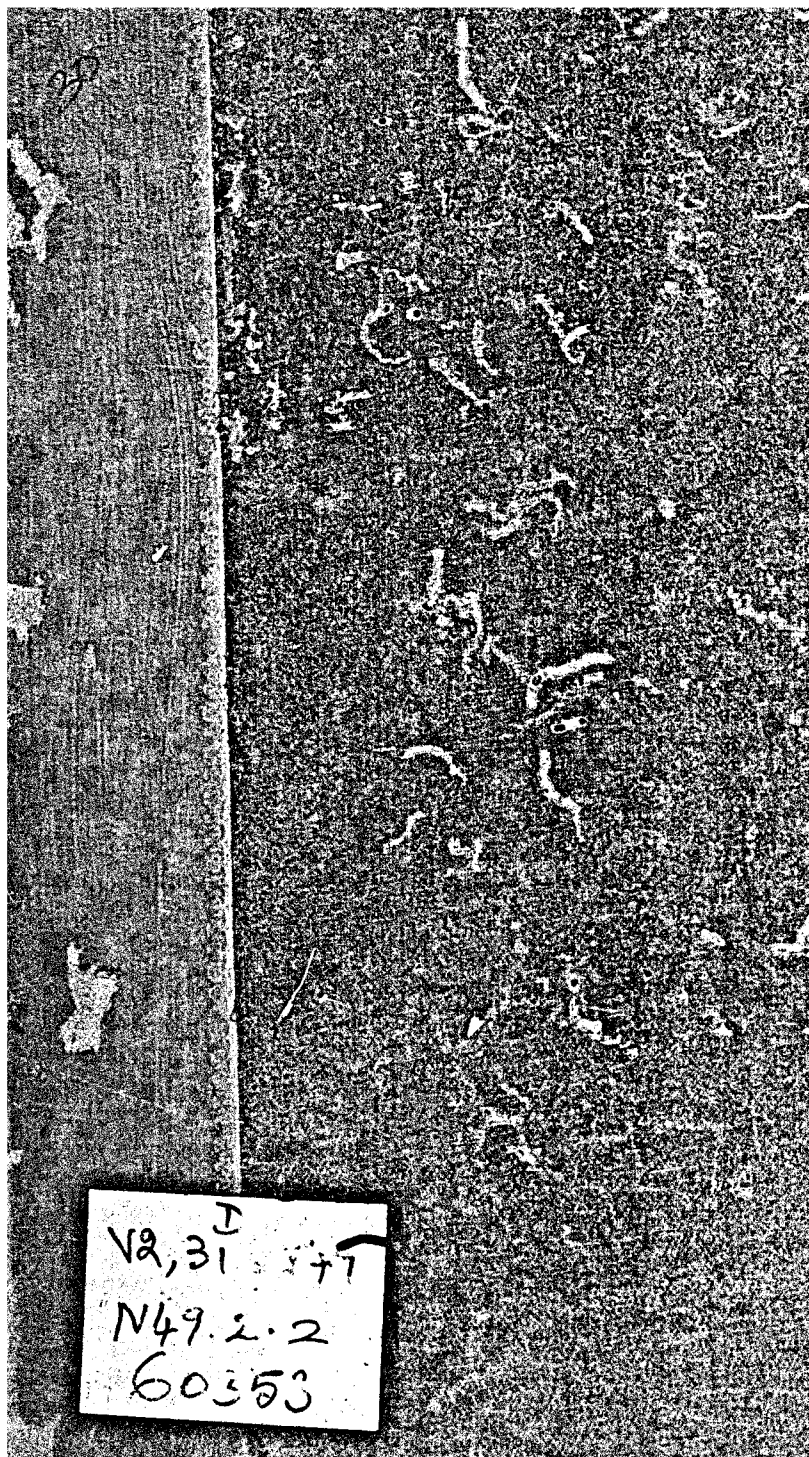




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THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) DEBATES

(PART II—PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND
ANSWERS)

Official Report

Volume II, 1949

(24th February, 1949 to 18th March, 1949)

Fourth Session

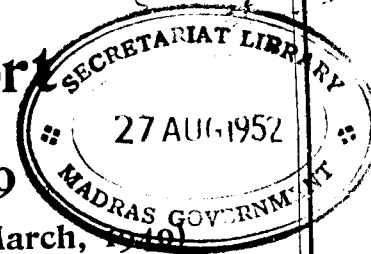
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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
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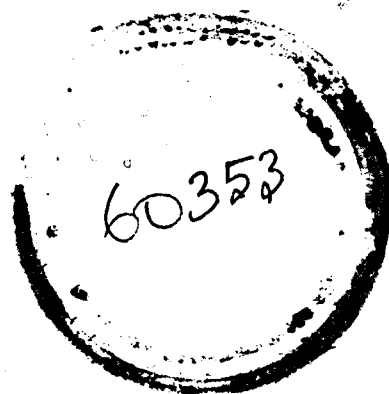
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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) DEBATES

[PART II—PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS]

Thursday 24th February, 1949.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Deputy Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11-45 A.M.

HINDU CODE—*contd.*

Mr. Deputy Speaker: We will proceed to the consideration of the Hindu Code.

Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor (U.P.: General): May I raise a point of order?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar rose—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: A point of order has been raised by Mr. Kapoor.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Minister of Law): I was going to refer just to that. Sir, the Order Paper contains sixteen different motions. Some of them raise points of order and some of them are substantive motions. I was going to express myself on them before I actually spoke on my motion. However, if my friend has to say something, let him do so.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Let us hear his point of order.

Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor: Sir, on the previous occasion when the motion was being taken up I stood up to raise a point of order. I was then directed by the Honourable Speaker to wait until the point of order raised by my friend Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad had been disposed of. That point of order was disposed of that day exactly at 5 p.m. thereafter the House rose for the day. I hope you will be kind enough to allow me to raise that point of order now. But before I do so I want to assure the House that my object.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable Member will kindly state his point of order. There need be no apology or argument. I should like to hear the point of order.

Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor: My point of order relates firstly to the rights and privileges of the members of this House and secondly to the competency of this House in the present Session to deal with such an important and controversial measure as the Hindu Code Bill when a large number of members of this House are not attending and cannot attend, not for personal reasons, or party reasons, but for reasons of state and in the interest of the country as a whole, being at present busy in the provincial legislatures with the budget sessions, although they are very anxious and eager to attend this House and participate in the discussion of this motion which materially affects the whole Hindu society.

Honourable Members: This is no point of order at all.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I am here to decide whether it is a point of order or not. You will kindly bear with it. I expect he will conclude his sentence soon.

Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor: I know many of my friends here are very impatient to proceed with the Bill. It was therefore, Sir, that I at the outset wanted to assure the House that my object is not to sabotage the Bill with many provisions of which I am in agreement. My object is that things should be done constitutionally, the right thing should be done at the right time and in the right manner. As you are aware.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I have heard the point of order. The honourable Member feels that this House is not competent to proceed with this Bill. This is number one. Number two is that certain members, whom he would like to have in this House, are not here. Neither is a point of order against the motion for consideration being taken up. This is a sovereign Legislative Assembly fit to pass any legislation it likes. I have heard the point of order and do not want to hear any more arguments in favour of it. As regards the absence of some members, it is no doubt true that a number of members could not be here both from the Provinces and the States. But it is always open to them to come here and take part.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar: General): May I say,.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker: So far as the Chair is concerned and so far as this House is concerned, no such direction has been given and therefore the House is competent to proceed with its business. Honourable Members can come in at any time and take part in the debate. I rule out this point of order.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: With all respect to you.....

Honourable Members: Order, order.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I would not hear anything more.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: The previous ruling given by your.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I have considered all the previous rulings. I have got them here.

Shri V. S. Sarwate (Madhya Bharat): I wish also to raise one point of order.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Is it any point of order?

Shri V. S. Sarwate: Yes.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Honourable Member will kindly briefly state the point of order.

Shri V. S. Sarwate: I shall be very brief. My point of order is this: The for the purposes of this Bill the provisions regarding publication have not been satisfied. It is due to the Chair to see that those provisions are observed. I refer to rule No. 20 which says: "As soon as may be after a Bill has been introduced, the Bill, unless it has already been published, shall be published in the Gazette." There is also a provision that a report of a Select Committee is to be published with the amended Bill. My submission in this case is this: that the Bill was published originally sometime in April 1947 before the Independence Day. The political set-up of India has since changed and changed for the better. What I wanted to draw your attention to is this: that the Indian States which were not a part of the then British India were not to be affected by this Bill. Subsequently some States have merged and some have acceded to the Union in all subjects in August 1948. This is subsequent to the publication. There has been a Covenant of these States as the Chair may know sometime in August 1948. The result of that Covenant is that the States would now be automatically governed by any legislation which the Centre passes either

its powers of exclusive jurisdiction or concurrent jurisdiction. I therefore submit that it is the duty of the Chair to protect and guard the rights of the people of these States concerned who are affected by any Bill. I submit that the object of this is two-fold. Such provision enjoining publication enables the constituencies or the people affected by any Bill to express their re-actions, their opinions and their feelings about it. I believe this is a fundamental principle of democracy that no Bill shall be passed unless the people affected thereby are given an opportunity to express their opinion thereon. Secondly, the object of this publication is that the members of this Assembly may have an opportunity to ascertain what their constituencies feel about it. I need not say that it is the duty of the members here not to represent their individual views. They have to represent the views of their constituencies when important matters are concerned. As far as details or minor matters are concerned they may have discretion to express their views. But when a measure affects the whole life, the whole structure of society, then in such cases, in such vital matters it is the duty of the members to ascertain the views of their constituencies and represent them here correctly. They should not state what they feel. They should state what their constituencies feel. For this purpose, it is necessary that the Bill should be published. I submit that the Bill was published in the Gazette, but it was not published at the time when the people of the acceding States and merged States were in a position to give that serious consideration to this Bill, which this Bill deserves. Therefore I submit it was not a proper publication, as far as these people are concerned and now, since the Chair is here to guard their interests, I appeal to the Chair to order that the Bill be published before it is taken up for consideration.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: My reply to the point of order raised by my honourable friend is two-fold. In the first place, there is never any obligation cast upon this House for circulating any Bill for publication before the House can take the matter into consideration. It is only in special cases, when the House by a Resolution or the Government by any executive action desire that the Bill is so important that public opinion might be invited; that public opinion is invited. There is no such right, no obligation at all on the Legislature or on the Government and therefore, from that point of view, the point of order is no point of order at all.

My second submission with regard to the point of order is this, that we have deliberately confined the operation of this Bill to the provinces of India, and so far as the Provinces are concerned, the opinion has been canvassed three times, and I do not think any more purpose would be served by canvassing public opinion for the fourth time. When the occasion comes for the extension of the Bill to the Indian States, no doubt, this Legislature when a proper motion is placed before it, or the Government of the day, will take care that the wishes and the intentions of the States which have come into the Indian Union, will be consulted.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I agree with the Honourable Law Minister that inasmuch as the scope of this Bill is confined in the first instance only to Provinces of India and it is highly problematical whether it will be extended to the acceding states and if so, on what terms and conditions of accession, it will be time for them to consider whether they can come in or not. As regards the other one, it is not obligatory to send the Bill for circulation unless by a motion accepted by the House. The Select Committee has considered this matter and has found this has not been so materially altered as to necessitate a re-publication in the official Gazette. For these reasons I rule out the point of order.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Sir, before I proceed to speak on my motion, I think it would be desirable if I.....

Shri B. Das (Orissa: General): There is obstruction everywhere. Everybody rises to a point of order. Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad rose six months ago.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad (West Bengal: Muslim): It is a different point of order. My honourable friends should have a little patience.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I can only state that honourable members will kindly consider well before they raise a point of order. I also expect they will consider that if it should turn out to be a dilatory motion, they will invoke upon themselves the criticism of the House.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: My point of order is not dilatory.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: It is open to any honourable member to raise a point of order. An honourable member can take as many points of order as are reasonable and proper.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: The objection to the point of order is dilatory. My point of order is this: the Honourable Minister for Law has already spoken on this motion. He completed the first part of the motion and then the subsequent stages began. He has a right to reply at the end of the debate. Now the motion has been made that the Bill be taken into consideration and a speech has been delivered on the 31st of August, 1948. We have on the agenda a list of amendments. We have to proceed straight to the agenda and then when a motion is made the Honourable Minister certainly has a right of reply, and in the end a general right of reply. At this stage, the Honourable Minister cannot make a second speech on the motion.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I find from the proceedings on the 31st of August, 1948 the following:

"The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Minister for Law): Sir, I move:

"That the Bill to amend and codify certain branches of the Hindu Law, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration."

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad (West Bengal: Muslim): Sir, on a point of order.

Mr. Speaker: I shall hear the Honourable Minister first and then take the point of order.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Sir, in view of the urgency of other Government business which is on the agenda and to which Government feels it must give precedence, I do not propose to make a speech in support of my motion, because it is quite obvious that if I were to make a speech in support of my motion, that is bound to give rise to a debate which will result in the consumption of a great deal of the time of the Government. We have already few days left before the House is due to rise, and I, therefore, request you to allow this motion to stand over for further consideration in the next session of the Assembly."

In view of this, the Honourable Dr. Ambedkar is entitled to proceed. I am exceedingly sorry that this point of order has been raised. It is only a dilatory motion.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: As I was going to say, it would facilitate my work a great deal if I were to know from you what procedure you propose to adopt with regard to the 16 motions that have been tabled as against the motion which I have made, and about which I propose to speak during the subsequent period. These 16 motions fall into three different categories. There are certain motions which propose that the Bill be further circulated for eliciting public opinion. There are certain motions which propose that the Bill

be referred to a Select Committee, which is different from the Select Committee which already reported on the Bill. And there are motions which propose that the Bill may be re-committed to the same Select Committee which has already reported.

There was one other or rather two other motions, one standing in the name of my honourable friend, Shri Prabhu Dayal Himatsingka and the other standing in the name of my honourable friend, Shri Biswanath Das, which propose that the Bill should be circulated to people residing in the acceding states, before the Bill could be taken into consideration. With regard to these two motions, a point of order was raised recently by my honourable friend, Shri V. S. Sarwate, which you have been good enough to dispose of and I therefore take it that motions Nos. 7 and 8 must be taken to have been deleted from the agenda of today. The other motions remain and I want to know whether it is your desire that these motions may be put simultaneously along with my motion, so that all of them may be debated together and ultimately each motion may be put to the House separately, or whether you propose to have these motions taken up before my motion, so that they may be disposed of and the ground may be cleared for my speech on the motion, which I have tabled.

I might say one or two points with regard to the motions that have been made. There are certain motions which you are bound to put, I agree, unless the movers of these motions by themselves voluntarily desire not to move these motions. There are certain motions which are within your discretion, and unless you are satisfied that these motions are not dilatory motions but have behind them certain points of substance, it would not be open in accordance with the rulings which have been given by previous speakers, who have dealt with these questions, to put these motions to the House, because the Chair must be satisfied that they are motions behind which stand substantial grounds and they are not purely dilatory. For instance, the motion that the Bill should not be taken into consideration now, but should be taken into consideration at some later stage is one of those motions, I submit, which according to the rulings of the Chair heretofore could fall within your discretion, where you are satisfied that the reasons advanced by my honourable friends are substantial reasons, and therefore, you should put the motion to the House. For instance, the motion for recommittal is one such motion, because if you will kindly refer to these two volumes of Rulings,—I am sure you have.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker: What I propose to do is this.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I should like to have your guidance in this matter.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I have considered this matter and the number of motions that have been tabled. So far as motions 1 and 2 are concerned, motion 1 is that the Bill as amended by the Select Committee be withdrawn.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): I do not propose to move it at this stage: not that I am not entitled to move it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Then it is not necessary to go into the question whether it is in order or out of order. The second motion is.....

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I am not moving it at this stage.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Then there is the amendment by Master Nand Lal that the consideration of the Bill be postponed to the Budget Session of 1951.

Master Nand Lal (East Punjab: General): I am not moving it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: These three withdrawals clear the ground. By what ever name they may be called, these three motions, substantially are for adjournment of the debate. I thought that, before the Honourable Law Minister the mover of the Bill proceeds the movers of these motions must have risen in their seats and pressed for the taking up of these motions, because, before their motions are disposed of, the Honourable mover could not be allowed to speak. Inasmuch as they were not moved, I kept quite. Now it is clear they are withdrawn. The other motions *viz.*, those for re-circulation or for reference to Select Committee, whatever their nature might be, they are motions which under the Rules any person is competent to make. It is a question for the House to deal with them. So far as the Select Committee motions are concerned, I must be satisfied in the first instance, about their need. Apart from that, there is a motion for re-circulation with respect to which some such requirements have not been laid down, so far as I can see in any rule or rulings. Therefore, I propose at this stage to allow the mover of the Bill to make his speech and after he concludes his speech, allow the motions for Select Committee and Circulation to be moved without any speech. Then, the discussion will go on on all the motions and I will put them one after another to the House.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I am obliged for your guidance Sir. As usual when presenting a motion for the consideration of a Bill as reported by the Select Committee it is the duty of the Chairman of the Select Committee, in the first instance, to draw the attention of the House to such changes as may have been made by the Select Committee in the original Bill which has been referred to the Select Committee. I propose to follow that procedure in the first instance.

Sir, the first part of the Bill deals with marriage and divorce. So far as this part of the Bill is concerned, the Select Committee has added two clauses which relate to the restitution of conjugal rights and to judicial separation. These provisions specifically were absent from the original Bill. The draftsmen of the original Bill felt themselves content by reference to the Indian Divorce Act of 1869 which contains provisions relating to the restitution of conjugal rights and judicial separation. The original draftsmen of the Bill felt that a reference in this Bill to the Indian Divorce Act would be quite sufficient to invoke these two provisions which were contained in the Indian Divorce Act and consequently it was not necessary expressly to mention these two matters in the Code. The Select Committee felt otherwise. The Select Committee felt that as this was going to be a complete Code of Hindu Law, it was wrong to leave the code incomplete, and so to say, legislate by reference. They therefore thought that, instead of leaving this matter to be invoked by reference to the Indian Divorce Act, it would be desirable to embody in the Code itself the provisions contained in the Indian Divorce Act relating to these matters and consequently the part dealing with marriage and divorce has been expanded by the Select Committee by the addition of the clauses relating to these two matters. The House will see that there is no change as a matter of fact between the original Bill and the Bill as drafted by the Select Committee. All that is done is that what was done by reference to the Indian Divorce Act has been done expressly and positively by the inclusion in the Code of specific sections relating to these matters.

With regard to adoption, the Select Committee has introduced a few new changes. The first change that they have made is that when a father is disqualified by reason of the fact that he had changed his religion and ceased to be a Hindu, the mother has been given the right to give a boy in adoption. In other words, change of religion by the father from Hinduism to some other religion has been introduced as a disqualification in the matter of the right to give in adoption. Consequently, a mother in those circumstances has been

empowered to give a boy in adoption. Similarly, if a widow was there and there was a boy, that boy certainly could be given in adoption by the mother when the father was not living. There again, a disability has been introduced to the effect that if the widow ceased to be a Hindu, she would lose her right of giving the boy in adoption, which she would otherwise have.

Another change which has been made by the Select Committee is with regard to the different modes of taking a boy in adoption. Hitherto, as the House knows, there are various forms of adoption. The main form of adoption which is recognised by the Smritis is what is known as the Dattaka form of adoption. In addition to the Dattaka form of adoption, there have prevailed in the various parts of India, customary forms of adoption such as Godha Adoption, Kritrima Adoption, Dwyamushyayana Adoption. The Select Committee felt that as they were codifying the law, it is desirable not to allow any room for customs to grow, because the effect of custom being permitted would be to eat into the Code and make the Code after certain time null and void. Therefore, the Select Committee decided that if anybody wants to adopt under this Code, nobody can make any adoption except in accordance with the provisions of this Code, and Dattaka shall be the only form and no other.

Then, Sir, we come to the question of the right of the adopted boy to divest the persons in whom property has been invested before the adoption takes place. As every member of this House, who is aware of the provisions of the Hindu Law, will know, under the existing Hindu Law, it is permissible to a boy who has been adopted, no matter at what stage he has been adopted—he may have been adopted forty years after the death of the father—time makes no change at all in his rights—to file a suit to set aside any alienation or transfer of property made by the widow who has adopted him. Any amount of litigation goes on on this particular point. In fact, if anyone were to examine the total amount of litigation among the Hindus on the various points of Hindu Law, I am sure they will find that litigation on the question of divesting the property by the adopted boy would be the largest volume. It is therefore desirable that this matter should be settled once and for all. The Rau Committee adopted the procedure of dividing adoption into two categories—adoption made three years before the death of the father and the coming into operation of the Code; and adoption made after the Code. They laid down that a boy, if he was adopted three years before the death of the adoptive father would be entitled to the original rights which an adopted son had under the Hindu Code. But if he were adopted three years after he would not be entitled to set aside alienation.

The second thing that happened as a result of adoption under the Hindu Law was that he completely divested the widowed mother who made the adoption, with the result that the entire corpus of the property passed into the hands of the adopted boy, who, in a certain sense was a stranger, and notwithstanding the notional change that he entered into the family of the adopted father, he practically continued his affiliations with the members of the natural family. The result was that after the adoption had taken place, instead of the adopting mother getting any kind of security for herself as a result of adoption, which a natural mother would get from a natural son, she found that this new adopted boy ran away with the property and left the mother with nothing but the right of maintenance. We thought that that was not a desirable state of affairs from the point of view of giving security to women, and consequently certain changes were made. The original distinction that was adopted in the Rau Committee was deleted and a provision was made that the rights of the adopted son shall accrue to him not from the date of the death of his adopting father but shall accrue to him from the date of his adoption, so that any alienation that may have been made prior to his adoption were beyond his reach, were unchallengeable by him.

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The second provision that we have made was that the adopted son shall not as a result of adoption deprive the adopting mother completely of her right of property. What the Bill says in its altered form is that only one half of the property of the widow will go to the adopted son. The other half, notwithstanding the fact that the widow has adopted will continue to be in the possession and enjoyment of the adopting mother. The result is that the Committee has permitted adoption which the Hindu community feels is a necessary thing for the purpose of perpetuating the family. But at the same time we have taken care to see that the adoption does not beggar the mother altogether.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Is not that the result under the Deshmukh Act?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: No. As I say, she gets only the maintenance.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: She gets half the share of the property.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: As soon as the adoption takes place all that passes to the son.

Shri Prabhu Dayal Himatsingka (West Bengal: General): According to the 1937 Act she is a co-heir with the son.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi (Madras: General): The son comes later on.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: That may be so. Now I am coming to minority and guardianship. Here there are only two changes made by the Select Committee in this part of the Bill. The first change is that the power of the Hindu father as a natural guardian of his minor son has been taken away if he renounces the world or ceases to be a Hindu. The original law was that the father was the natural guardian and no matter what change took place in his condition either by his religion or in any other way, he still continued to be the guardian of his minor son. The Committee felt that as this was a Code intended to consolidate the Hindu society and their laws, it was desirable to impose this condition, namely, that the father shall continue to be the natural guardian so long as he continues to be a Hindu. The Code in its altered form also has introduced another change, namely, that a Hindu widow has been given power to appoint a testamentary guardian if her husband has not appointed anyone. She had not any such power and this power has been given to her by the Select Committee.

Now, Sir, I come to the part of the Bill which deals with succession and I will first refer to changes made in the succession to males. Now so far as what are called the compact series of heirs under the Hindu Law, which are placed in category I by the Rau Committee is concerned, the Select Committee has made no alteration at all. The compact series remains as it is, both in the line of heirs as well as in the order of heirs. That matter has not been altered at all. But with regard to persons which are included in clauses 1 to 4 of the Rau Committee, certain changes have been made both in the matter of the line of succession and also in the matter of priority of succession. The Committee has followed both the principles, namely, propinquity as well as natural love and affection, and it is on that basis that the Select Committee has made certain alterations in the heirs set out in clauses 1 to 4 of the original Bill. The Select Committee has also done one thing more: it has curtailed the number of degrees of agnates and cognates who can become heirs to the deceased, and also it has removed the other heirs, such as for instance, heirs which are not related, such as Sam Brahmehari Guru and so on. The reason why the Select Committee has curtailed the number of heirs as provided for in the original Bill is this. We are under this code giving the

right to make a will to every Hindu. A line of criticism has been levelled in a very important journal, namely, the Journal of Comparative Legislation, in which a very eminent lawyer has made the point that when you give the right to make a will, it is unnecessary to provide such a long list of heirs, which extend to the fourteenth degree from the deceased. If the deceased is interested in a man which is related to him in the fourteenth degree and is alive at the time of his death, it is open to him to make a will and to give a part of his property to the particular person in whom he is interested.

If the deceased himself during his lifetime has not chosen to remember a relation who is related to him by the 14th degree there is no particular reason why because of mere intestacy he should be permitted to come in for a share. That is one of the reasons why the Select Committee adopted this provision.

I might also draw the attention of the House to the fact that with regard to widows a disqualification has been introduced by the Select Committee which says that a widow on remarriage shall lose her right of inheritance.

Then with regard to the daughter's share, which of course existed in the original Bill itself, the Select Committee has made a somewhat important alteration. The original Bill said that the daughter shall get a share equal to half the share of the son and in order to make equity equitable in devising the line of succession to the Stridhan property of the woman they had also provided that in that case the son will take one half of what the daughter takes, so that the daughter will take one half in the father's and the son will take one half in the mother's property. I cannot say that that was an inequitable proposition but somehow the Select Committee and I believe I can say against the best part of their judgment increased in their enthusiasm the share of the daughter in father's property from one half to one full share, equal to that of the son. (An honourable Member: "The son is also given.") I am aware of that. With regard to succession to females there are only two changes which the Select Committee has made. Under the existing rule the husband of a woman in the case of succession to females comes much later under the Hindu law and that provision was included by the old Rau Committee. The Select Committee felt that that was rather unjust, because it may be (it is often possible) that much of the property which is called Stridhan property or property which comes into the hands of a woman may, and perhaps does, to a very large extent come from the husband and if the husband is the principal source of the property, that comes into the hands of the woman, it is not proper that it should be postponed to other heirs. Consequently the Select Committee altered the provision and brought the husband in line with the other Stridhan heirs, so that the husband now shares simultaneously with the heirs of a woman, who share in the Stridhan property. As I said that because that increased the share of the daughter in the father's, they also *pari passu* made the share of the son in the mother's Stridhan property equal to that of the daughter.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: They balanced the son and daughter.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: No change has been made in the law relating to maintenance which is worthy of requiring any mention to this House.

Then I come to the question of the joint family. It has been said that the provisions contained in the Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee contained provisions relating to joint family which are absolutely new. I would like to take this occasion to repudiate that suggestion. No change has been done by the Select Committee. The provisions of the Mitakshara

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joint family were originally contained in the Bill as drafted by the Rau Committee and it was placed before this House on the 9th August, which the House accepted and sent to the Select Committee. (*Honourable Members*: 9th April.) Therefore my first submission is that no new change has been made by this Select Committee. All that the Select Committee has done is to add two new clauses—clause No. 88 and clause No. 89. Clause 88 deals with the doctrine of what is called pious obligations. Clause 89 deals with the liability of the joint family to pay joint family debts. It was unnecessary to include these clauses, because once you break up coparcenary property it is not necessary to make any express provision with regard to the doctrine of pious obligation, because the doctrine of pious obligation is necessary where there is survivorship property: because by survivorship where A takes the property of B and the property of B is encumbered with debts, no special doctrine is necessary to impose an obligation upon B; because in hereditament which a person gets, he takes both the profit and the burden of it. But in view of the theory of the Mitakshara that every coparcener gets the property by survivorship, which does not belong to the deceased, the Patna High Court, if I may say so, as well as the Bombay High Court Bar pressed upon us very strongly that it was very desirable that these two things which were implicit, so to say, in the Mitakshara doctrine of joint family, shall be stated expressly in the Code, so that when the question of judicial interpretation arises there may be no occasion for any kind of dispute, doubt or controversy. As one of the objects of the Code was to make the law clear not merely to the lawyers but to the ordinary citizens and as it is a suggestion which came from such a weighty authority as the Patna High Court and the Bombay High Court Bar, we thought it desirable to introduce these two things, namely no obligation to pay debts on the original ground of pious obligation and the liability to pay primary debts which belong to the family. Besides that there has been no change at all. If my friends have some doubt still on the subject that we have made fundamental changes in regard to the joint family of the Mitakshara, I would like to draw their attention to section 86 (Part V: Joint Family Property). Section 86 of the new Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee is the same word for word, except for ordinary verbal changes, as part III-A section 2, on page 12 of the original Bill as drafted by the Rau Committee. Similarly section 87 which also deals with joint property is word for word the same as part III-A, section 2, page 12. Anybody who compares the two I am sure will accept the proposition which I have enunciated in this House that this is not an innovation by the Select Committee at all but they form part and parcel of the original Bill as drafted by the Rau Committee.

I should like to dispel any further doubt that may exist on this point by referring to the Rau Committee's Report (page 13). This is what the Rau Committee says (paragraph 51):

"Turning now to the contents of the Draft Code the main proposals on which differences of opinion have manifested themselves in varying degree are the following :

- (1) the abolition of the right by birth and the principle of survivorship and the substitution of the *Dayabhaga* for *Mitakshara* in the *Mitakshara* Provinces ;
- (2) giving of half a share to the daughter ;
- (3) the conversion of the Hindu woman's limited estate into an absolute estate ;
- (4) the introduction of monogamy as a rule of law ;
- (5) the introduction of certain provisions for divorce".

I think honourable Members will see that the Rau Committee in setting about its work made it perfectly known to everybody in this country that the Code that they had framed and which subsequently was embodied by them did contain the specific provision. I have no doubt about it that anybody who has read the volumes of evidence which have been collected by them previously by the Joint Select Committee appointed by this House, by the Rau Committee and by this Government by an executive order—would find that there is no person either in this House or outside, who has paid any attention to this part of the Code, who will be under any wrong impression that the Rau Committee had decided or proposed that this co-parcenary should not be abolished. It is therefore not a new innovation of the Select Committee at all.

The Select Committee has made some changes with regard to the application of the Hindu Code. The Rau Committee's Bill contained a provision that the Bill should not extend to areas to which the Marumakkattayam and Aliyasanthanam laws apply. Somehow the Select Committee in its enthusiasm transgressed, if I may say so without any disrespect, the bounds of reasonableness and came to the conclusion that there ought to be no area which ought to be exempt from the operation of this Code. Consequently they deleted the provision.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: In the interests of uniformity.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I do not know whether it was done rightly or wrongly; that is a matter which the House will consider at a later stage.

Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava (Ajmer-Merwara): May I ask whether the honourable speaker was dissenting from that view?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I will dissent at a later stage perhaps. I have no empty mind but I have still an open mind.

Shri H. V. Kamath (C. P. and Berar: General): Not a vacant mind!

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: On every question I hope.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Sir, in the ordinary course a speech of the sort which I have made is generally regarded not only appropriate but sufficient for the occasion. But it would be futile on my part to disguise the fact that there is a section—if not a large section, a section in the House—which feels a certain amount of compunction over certain parts of the Bill. Neither can I disguise from myself the fact that outside the House there are many people who are not only interested in the Bill but, if I may say so, very deeply concerned about it. I therefore think that it is only right, if you will permit me, to add a few general observations with regard to the points of controversy which I have noticed in several newspapers which I have been perusing ever since the Bill has been on the anvil. I will take this matter also part by part and section by section. I will deal only with what I regard have been considered as points of controversy. Let me take marriage and divorce. Here I find that there are three points of controversy. The first point of controversy is abolition of castes as a necessary requirement for a valid marriage; the second point of controversy is the prescription of monogamy; and the third point of controversy is permission for divorce.

I will take the first point of controversy, namely—abolition of caste restrictions. So far as this Bill is concerned, what it does is to arrive at a sort of compromise between the new and the old. The Bill says that if any member of a Hindu community wants to follow the orthodox system which requires

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that a marriage shall not be valid unless the bride and bridegroom belong to the same *varna*, the same caste or the same sub-caste, there is nothing in this Code which can prevent him from giving effect to his wishes or giving effect to what he regards as his *dharma*. In the same way if one Hindu who is a reformist and who does not believe in *varna*, caste or sub-caste, chooses to marry a girl outside his *varna*, outside his caste, outside his sub-caste, the law regards his marriage also as valid. So far as the marriage law is concerned there is therefore no kind of imposition at all. The *vydhikas*, the orthodox, are left free to do what they think is right according to their *dharma*. The reformers who do not follow *dharma* but who follow reason, who follow conscience, have also been left to follow their reason and their conscience.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi (U. P.: General): Are they permitted to marry outside their religion also if their conscience directs them in that manner?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Well, we will have another Bill for that. I do not know whether my honourable friend Mr. Tyagi is unmarried. If he is I will hurry it up.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: I want to make way for others.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Consequently, what will happen in Hindu society so far as marriage law is concerned if there will be a competition between the old and the new. And we hope that those who are following the new path will win subsequently. But, as I say, if they do not, we are quite content to allow two parallel systems of marriage to be operative in this country and anyone may make his choice. There is no violation of a *shastra*, no violation of a *smriti* at all.

With regard to monogamy it may be that it is a new innovation. But I must point out that I do not think that any Member in this House will be able to point out having regard to customary law or having regard to our *shastras* that a Hindu husband had at all times an unfettered, unqualified right to polygamy. That was never the case. Even today, in certain parts of South India there are people who follow this, a section of the Nattukottai Chettiyars—the case has been reported in the Reports of the Privy Council itself, I am not depending on mere heresay evidence—but among the Nattukottai Chettiyars there is a custom that a husband cannot marry a second wife unless he obtains the consent of his wife. Secondly, when a consent is obtained, he must allot to her certain property which I think in the Tamil language is called *moppu*. That property becomes her absolute property so that if after her consent the husband marries and ill-treats her, she has a certain amount of economic competence in her own hands to lead an independent life. I cite that as an illustration to show that there has not been an unqualified right to polygamy.

A second illustration which I would like to give would be from the Arthashastra of Kautilya. I do not know how many Members of the House have perused that book, I suppose many of them have. If they have, they will realise that the right to marry a second wife has been considerably limited by Kautilya. In the first place, no man can marry for the first ten or twelve years because he must be satisfied that the woman is not capable of producing children. That was one limitation. The second limitation imposed by Kautilya on the right of second marriage was that the husband was to return to the woman all the *stridhan* that she had acquired at the time of marriage. It is only under these two conditions that Kautilya's Arthashastra permitted a Hindu husband to marry a second time.

Thirdly, in our own country, in the legislation that has been passed in various Provinces, monogamy has been prescribed. For instance in the

marumak *kathayam* and the *aliyasanthanam* law both of them prescribe monogamy as a rule of marital life. Similarly, with regard to the recent legislation that has been passed in Bombay or in Madras, similarly in Baroda, the law is the law of monogamy.

I hope the House will see from the instances I have given that we are not making any very radical or revolutionary change. We have precedent for what we are doing, both in the laws that have been passed by various States in India, also in the ancient *shastras* such as Kautilya's Arthashastra. If I may go further, we have got the precedent of the whole world which recognises monogamy as the most salutary principle so far as marital relations are concerned.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta (Delhi): What about the Mohamudan law?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: We shall come to Mohamudan law when we discuss the Mohamudan law.

Coming to the question of divorce, there again I should like to submit to the House that this is in no way an innovation. Everybody in this House knows that communities which are called *shudra* have customary divorce and what is the total of what we call *shudra*? Nobody has ever probably made any calculation as to the total number of *shudras* who go to compose the Hindu society, but I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that the *shudras* form practically 90 per cent of the total population of the Hindus. What are called the 'regenerated' classes probably do not fill more than ten per cent of the total population of this country, and the question that I want to ask of honourable Members is this: are you going to have the law of the 90 per cent of the people as the general law of this country, or are you going to have the law of the 10 per cent of the people being imposed upon the 90 per cent? That is a simple question which every Member must answer and can answer.

So far as the 'regenerated' classes are concerned there was a time, if one refers for instance to the time when the Narada *smriti* or the Parashara *smriti* were written, when the *smritis* recognised that a woman can divorce her husband when he has abandoned her, when he died, when he has taken *parivrija*, and she was entitled to have a second husband. Consequently, it may be that at a later stage I shall read to you some extracts from your *shastras* to show. (An honourable Member: "Your *shastras*") Yes, because I belong to the other caste.

I shall read the extracts to show that what has happened in this country is that somehow, unfortunately, unnoticed, unconsciously, custom has been allowed to trample upon the text of the *shastras* which were all in favour of the right sort of marital relations. My submission, therefore, to the House is that so far as any new principles have been introduced in the law of marriage or divorce, whatever has been done is both just and reasonable and supported by precedent not only of our *shastras* but the experience of the world as a whole.

With regard to adoption, there are again three points of controversy. One point of controversy with regard to adoption is this, that like the old Hindu law we do not make similarity or identity of caste a requisite for a valid adoption. We follow the same rule that we have followed with regard to marriage. Here again, I may say that if a Brahmin wants to adopt a Brahmin boy, he is free to do so. If a *Kayasth* wants to adopt a *Kayasth* boy, he is free to do

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so. If a *Shulra* wants to adopt a boy of his own community he is free to do so. If a Brahmin is so enlightened as not to adopt a boy belonging to his own community but adopts a *Shudra* he is also permitted to do so. There is therefore no kind of imposition.

Seth Govind Das (C. P. and Berar; General): Why do you consider such a Brahmin enlightened?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Well, I do not know. From my point of view certainly he is enlightened; from your point of view he may be a very dark man, but that is a difference of opinion.

With regard to the question of the limitation on the right of an adopted son to challenge all alienations made by the widow before adoption, I do not think that there can be any controversy at all. There is no reason why we should continue the notion that a boy when adopted becomes the son of the adopted father right from the time when the adopted father died. This is a pure fiction. It has no value at all. It is not merely a fiction; it is a fiction which gives rise to tremendous litigation and tremendous difficulties. It is therefore right that the adoption should be simultaneous with the vesting of the property. I do not think any member of the House will think that this is a proposition which we ought not to accept at this stage. (*Shri B. Das*: "We all accept".)

Similarly, as I have stated, the limitation upon the right of a boy who is adopted to divest the mother completely and to make her nothing more than a dependant waiting for such maintenance as the adopted boy may give, I do not think that there is any member of the House who will think that such a situation can be justified on any ground whatsoever. I think it is right that we preserve the right of adoption which the orthodox community cherishes so much, but, Sir, I do not understand why there should be adoption. Most of us who make adoptions have no name to be recorded in history. Personally, I myself certainly would not like my name to go down in history, because my record is probably very poor. I am an unusual member of the Hindu community. But there are many who have no records to go down and I do not understand why they should indulge in adopting a son—a stupid boy, uneducated, without any character—not knowing his possibilities and fastening him and fathering him upon a poor woman, whom he can deprive of every property that she possessed. Therefore, my submission is this, that if you do want to cherish your old notions with regard to adoption, at any rate make this provision that the adopted boy does not altogether deprive the mother of the property which is her mainstay. I do not think that that limitation can be at all a point of controversy.

With regard to the question of the abolition of customary adoption, I would like to say two things. There is a general argument which the House will be able to appreciate. It is this. A Code is inconsistent with customary law. That is a fundamental proposition. If you allow a Code to remain and at the same time permit custom to grow and custom to plead against the Code, there is no purpose in having a Code at all, because a custom can always eat into the Code and make the Code null and void. With regard to this particular matter of customary adoption such as *Krithrim* adoption, *Godha* adoption and *Dwaimushayan* adoption, my submission is this, that these are really not adoptions at all. As the Privy Council in one of its rulings has definitely stated, adoption is purely a religious affair. The getting of property by the adopted son is a secondary matter. He may get property; he may not get property, and even though he may not get property his adoption from a religious

point of view may be valid. Therefore, my submission is this, that all these customary adoptions are nothing else but devices to keep property within the two families which enter into this bargain, and in my judgment, since we have passed the Constitution and included in the Directive Principles one article saying that the State should take steps not to allow property being concentrated in the hands of one or a few, such devices like the *Dwaimushayan* where two parties merely agree to share the property and keep it with them ought not to be tolerated. Besides, there is no reason why parties who want to make a genuine adoption should not conform to the rules and regulations regarding the *Dattaka* adoption which is permitted by the law.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: It is now one o'clock. The Honourable Minister may continue after Lunch.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Deputy Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar) in the Chair.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I want now to take up the points of controversy relating to the topic of co-parcenary law. The question is raised: Why does the Bill wish to seek to abolish the co-parcenary which is prescribed by what is called the Mithakshara law? Now, Sir, having applied my mind in the best way I can for the proper exposition of this subject, I think this is a question which required to be considered from three different points of view. One is how large a volume of property is included within the ambit of what is called co-parcenary property. If the volume that is comprised within what is called co-parcenary property is a very large part of the property which a man in these days holds, then no doubt some serious attention will have to be paid to this question. Therefore, that is the first aspect of the question that one has to examine.

The second aspect that we have to consider with regard to the retention of what is called co-parcenary property is whether any co-parcener had individually the right to alienate property. Thirdly, whether any co-parcener has a right in himself to break up the co-parcenary. Obviously, if the property included within the class of property called co-parcenary property is a small part of the property, different questions will arise. Similarly, if any co-parcener, under the present existing Hindu law, has already got the right to alienate his share in the property, then obviously, the question whether this law or this Bill is abrogating co-parcenary property would stand on a different footing. Similarly, if under the existing Hindu law a co-parcener has an inherent right to break up a co-parcenary, then my submission is that the question that this Bill breaks up the co-parcenary becomes very much less momentous than is thought of by most Members of the House as well as people outside.

Let me therefore take the first question: What is the extent of the non-co-parcenary property which a co-parcener may hold, notwithstanding the fact that he is a member of the co-parcenary? Now, my friends, who have paid attention to this subject and know what the position is under the Hindu law, will know that there is no disqualification upon a co-parcener to hold separate

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property while he continues to be a co-parcener. A co-parcener may have capacity to hold two different sorts of property—property which belongs to the co-parcenary and property which does not belong to the co-parcenary, but belongs to himself and does not go by what is called survivorship.

Let me give the House some idea of the extent and nature of the property which a co-parcener can hold, although he is a co-parcener. I have taken from the existing text books on the Hindu law, the following categories of property which a co-parcener can hold, notwithstanding the fact that he is a co-parcener. Firstly, property inherited by a Hindu from a person other than his father, grand-father and great grand-father. If a Hindu gets property from a person who is not his father, grand-father or great grand-father, that property is in his hand and is separate property and does not belong to the co-parcenary. Secondly, property inherited by him from his maternal grand-father, thirdly gift of ancestral moveables made to him by his father and fourthly property granted by Government to an individual who is a member of the co-parcenary becomes his personal property and not the property of the co-parcenary. Then fifthly we have ancestral property lost to the family and recovered without the aid of the family property. That also, although originally co-parcenary property, becomes his private property. Then sixthly, there is the income from separate property and purchases made from the income of such property. They are also private property. 7, share of a co-parcener by partition if he has no male issue. 8, property held by a sole surviving co-parcener when there is no widow with the power to adopt. 9, separate earning of a member of a joint family co-parcenary and 10 gains of learning. Such vast amount of property included in these 10 categories is today under the Mitakshara law the private property of a co-parcener. It does not become the property of the co-parcenary.

Let me illustrate this by one plain illustration. There are hundreds and hundreds of clerks in our Secretariat, some drawing small salaries, some drawing huge salaries, more than the salaries of the Members of the Cabinet—Rs. 4,000. (*Honourable Members:* “Clerks? Are they clerks?” I mean officers. In a certain sense they are glorified clerks

The point I want to put to the House is this: that such large income as gains of learning, which come up in individual cases to Rs. 4,000, if there was a joint family in the true sense of the word, ought to go to the joint family for the joint maintenance of that family. What happens? Under the Gains of Learning Act passed only a few years ago, this very Assembly not I mean the Members, passed a law that such gains of learning, which form, as I say, the principal part of the income of a joint family and which a member is enabled to earn by reason of the education that was given to him out of the family income, have now been made his personal and private income. My submission to the House is this: when so large a property, as I have mentioned, included in these ten different categories have already been made a modification of the original laws of Mitakshara private property, what is the balance of property that is left which can be said to comprise the co-parcenary property? My submission is that really very, very small volume of property is left to comprise within what is called the co-parcenary. Let me take the other question. It is said that the co-parcenary—I hope Members understand that co-parcenary is something very narrow and very limited and it is not the same thing as a joint family, which is quite a different matter—system enables the Hindus to conserve the property, to retain it, that there can be no break-up, there can be no squandering of money so to say on the part of any

member of the family. A question that I want to put to the House is this: Is it true under the existing law of the Mitakshara that this property cannot be alienated, cannot be squandered? The answer is completely in the negative. Let me give you one or two illustrations. I am taking the case of the father. The father can alienate joint property for antecedent debt. All that the father has to do is to first of all create a debt, say one thousand or two thousand rupees on a personal promissory note. Subsequently, after six months he becomes entitled to sell the whole of the co-parcenary property, if that becomes necessary for the purpose of meeting that antecedent debt. Now, a submission that I want to make to the House is this: Does the lodgment of such enormous power in the hands of a father to sell the property for purely antecedent and personal debts? I want the House to bear in mind that the Mitakshara law makes a distinction between the father and the manager so far as the alienation of property is concerned. True a manager cannot alienate a property belonging to the co-parcenary unless and until it is proved that there is a family necessity for which alienation is necessary. But with regard to the father, there is no such obligation at all. A father can create a debt personally for himself and he becomes entitled to alienate that property for a purely personal debt which has not been incurred for the purposes of the family. The only limitation that is imposed upon the right of the alienation of the father under the Mitakshara law is that the debt must not be impious, must not be for an immoral purpose and if it is not immoral, then the father can alienate the whole of the property of the co-parcenary. There is no limit at all.

Similarly, take the case of the son. It is also under the Mitakshara law within the competence of a son to demand the partition of the family property at any time he likes. I could have well understood the argument for the conservation of the co-parcenary property if the rule of Hindu Law was that no co-parcener was entitled to alienate the property, that the property must remain the property of the co-parcenary, but that is not the case. The root of dissolution, the root of destruction of the co-parcenary property is in the co-parcenary itself, because it is the co-parcenary law that gives a vested right, a right from the very birth to demand partition of the property and disrupt the whole of the society.

Thirdly, even if a son does not alienate his property, he can create a debt on the property for his own personal purposes and the creditor who has advanced that money under Mitakshara law has a perfect right to sue for the partition of the co-parcenary in order to recover his debt. A stranger, therefore, under the Mitakshara law has a right to break up the co-parcener. I would like to ask my honourable friends, who are worried about this matter, where a large part of the estate, of the assets lies outside the co-parcenary property and so far as the co-parcenary property is concerned, the father has a right to alienate without any kind of limitation except the immorality of the debt, the son has a right to break up the property at any time he likes and the son has a right to create a charge on the property enabling the creditor to sue for partition, is it something which might be called a solid system, which is fool-proof and knave-proof? My submission is this, that the co-parcenary property law as it stands, contains within itself the elements of disruption. Therefore, the Bill is doing nothing very radical in saying that the share shall be held separately. As we all know to-day the condition is such that everybody wants

to live separately. The moment a father dies, the sons claim that there shall be partition and that they shall live apart and what the Bill is doing is to give a legal recognition to facts, as they exist to-day. There is nothing that is radical at all in this part of the Bill.

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Of course, I should say one thing which I think is generally not realized. I started by saying that a distinction has to be made between co-parcenary and joint family. This Bill while it does away with co-parcenary, maintains the joint family. It does not come in the way of the joint family being maintained. The only thing is that the joint family in the Mitakshara law will be on the same footing and of the same character as the joint family under the Dayabhaga law. It must not be supposed that because the Mitakshara law does not prevail in Bengal that there is no joint family. There is a joint family. The only distinction will be that the members of the joint family instead of holding their rights as joint tenants, will hold them as tenants in common. That will be the only distinction that will be between the existing law in the Mitakshara and the future law in the Mitakshara.

Now, I come to woman's property. I do not know how many members of this House are familiar with the intricacies of this subject. So far as I have been able to study this subject, I do not think that there is any subject in the Hindu Law which is so complicated, so intricate as the women's property. (An honourable Member: "As the woman herself"): As the woman herself. If you ask the question, what is *stridhan*, before answering that question, you have to ask another question and find an answer for it. You must first of all ask, 'is she a maiden' or 'is she a married woman'. Because what property is *stridhan* and what property is not *stridhan* depends upon the status of the woman. Certain property is *stridhanam* if she has obtained it while she is a maiden; certain property is not *stridhan* if she has obtained it after marriage. Consequently, if you ask the question what is the line of inheritance to the *stridhan*, you have again to ask the question whether the *stridhan* belongs to a maiden or the *stridhan* belongs to a married woman. Because, the line of succession to the *stridhan* of a maiden is quite different from the line of succession to the *stridhan* belonging to a married woman. When you come to the question of succession to married women's property, you have again to ask the question, does she belong to the Bengal School or does she belong to the Mitakshara School. If you ask the question whether she belongs to the Mitakshara school, you will never be able to find a definite answer unless you probe further and ask whether she belongs to the Mithila School or the Benares School or some other School. This is a most complicated subject. At the same time, I should like honourable members to bear two things in mind. One is this: so far as women's property is concerned, generally speaking, it falls into two categories. One category is called her *stridhan* and the other is called widow's property. The latter property is property which she inherits from a male member of her family, and according to the existing law property which she owns only during her life time and subsequently that property passes to the reversioners of the male heir. That is the position.

Therefore, so far as women's property is concerned, we have two different sorts of inheritance and two different sets of property, *stridhan* property and widow's property. The heirs to *stridhan* property are quite different and distinct from the heirs to the property she inherits from a male member. The question, therefore, we have to consider in codifying this particular branch of the Hindu Law is this. Are you going to maintain the two principal divisions which exist at present, namely, *stridhan* property and widow's property? Secondly, are you going to maintain the double line of succession, one line of succession for the *stridhan* property and another line of succession for widow's

property? These are the two principal questions which arise when one begins to codify this law. The Committee came to the conclusion that so far as codification was concerned, its purpose would be defeated if we allow the present chaos to continue. We must either decide that a woman will not be entitled to have absolute property or we must decide that a woman should have absolute property. We must also decide what should be the line of heirs for a woman; whether they should be uniform or they should be different. The Committee came to the conclusion that so far as right to property is concerned, there should be uniformity and uniformity should recognise that the woman has absolute property.

I know a great deal of the argument that is always urged against women getting absolute property. It is said that women are imbecile; it is said that they are always subject to the influence of all sorts of people and consequently, it would be very dangerous to leave women in the world subject to the influences of all sorts of wily men who may influence them in one way or another to dispose of property both to the detriment of themselves as well as to the detriment of the family from which they have inherited the family property. The view that the Committee has taken is a very simple one. In certain matters or certain kinds of property which is called *stridhan* property the Smritis are prepared to invest women with absolute right. There can be no question at all that a woman has an absolute right over her *stridhan* property. She can dispose of it in any way she likes. My submission to the House is this. If the woman can be trusted to dispose of her *stridhanam* property in the best way she likes, and nobody has ever raised an argument for the obliteration of that rule of Mitakshara, the burden of proof lies upon the opponents who say that the other part of the property, namely, widow's estate, which the woman has inherited, should not become her absolute property. It is they who must prove that while the women are competent to dispose of a certain part of the property which they possess, they are not competent to dispose of a certain other part. The Committee, on a very careful examination, failed to find a satisfactory solution of this dilemma. The Committee, in my judgment, very rightly, came to the conclusion that if in certain cases women were competent and intelligent to sell and dispose of their property, they must be held to be competent in respect of the disposal of the other property also. That is the reason why the Committee have made this rule that women should now possess absolute property.

The other question that arises on this issue, namely women's property, is the share of the daughter. I know it would be a very great under-statement to say that this is a ticklish question; it is a very anxious question. There are many people in this world, in India today, both orthodox and unorthodox who cannot help producing daughters; they do. I do not know what would happen to this world if daughters were not born. At the same time, they do not want to extend to the daughter the same love and affection which a parent is bound to extend both to the male and female issue. But, I am not going to use any such high level of argument in favour of the proposition which has been enunciated by the Select Committee; I am going to speak on a much lower tone. The first thing that I would like to address myself to this House is this. The inclusion of the daughter among the heirs is not an innovation which is made by this Committee. Honourable members who are familiar with the law of inheritance as it prevails both under the Mitakshara and Dayabhaga, I am sure, will admit that the daughter is included by both of them under what is called the compact series. As members will know, Hindu heirs are divided into several categories. The first category, is called,

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compact series. After that, there is a series of heirs spoken of as *Sapindas*, then comes *samanodakas*. After that comes the *bandhus*. *Bandhus* are divided into three categories: *Atma bandhus*, *Pitru bandhus* and *Matru bandhus*. The compact series is really a special class of heirs which does not conform strictly to the basic principles of heirship surrounded round *gotraja*, *samanodaka* and *bandhus*, because it is a mixed category. It is a category which is based on double foundation. It is based on propinquity; it is also based on religious efficacy. They do not conform to any of the criteria which have been laid down for determining the categories of *sapindas*, *samanodakas* and *bandhus*.

If you take both the laws, the Mitakshara as well as the Dayabhaga, you will see that the daughter is included within the category known as compact series. The only distinction between the Mitakshara and the Dayabhaga is this. According to the Dayabhaga the necessary element in heirship is the capacity to offer oblation. Consequently the Dayabhaga makes a rule between a daughter who is unmarried, a daughter who is married, a daughter who is married but has a son, and a daughter who is a widow. They give preference to a daughter who is married and has a son. Next to that they give preference to a daughter who is married. The unmarried daughter comes third. But it is within that category, the reason being that a daughter who is married and has a son, is ready there to offer oblation, because her son can offer oblation. A daughter who is unmarried, has no son, and therefore his possibility of offering an oblation does not exist. That is why she has been kept down. But the point I want to emphasize, and which I want the House to bear in mind is that there is no innovation as such in the inclusion of the daughter in the category of compact series. She has always been there both according to the Mitakshara and according to the Dayabhaga. The only innovation which the Bill seeks to make is to raise the status of the daughter. Under the Bill she becomes simultaneous heir, along with the son the widow, the widow of the predeceased son, son of a predeceased son of a predeceased son, widow of a predeceased son of a predeceased son.

The point is this that originally, and particularly according to the Mitakshara Law, no female was entitled to any kind of share at all. This law was changed in the year 1937 whereby the widow of the deceased, the widow of the predeceased son and of his grandson and great-grandson—they were all made simultaneous heirs along with the son. The only omission that was made was in respect of the daughter. The Government at that time was not prepared to lend its support to put the daughter on the same level as the widow and the widows of the predeceased son and the predeceased son's son. This is therefore the only innovation that the Bill makes. It merely raises it up in the order of heirs. It is not that for the first time she has been made an heir.

Now I come to the question of her share. As the Rau Committee has pointed out, and as many of the witnesses who know the Shastras have pointed out, that it is impossible to deny the fact that the daughter according to the Smritis was a simultaneous heir along with the son and that she was entitled to one-fourth share of her father's property. That has been accepted as a text from the Yagnavalkya and also from Manu. I once counted 137 Smritis and I do not know why our ancient Brahmins were so occupied in writing Smritis and why they did not spend their time doing something else it is impossible to say, assuming that that occupation was a paramount occupation

of the day. There is no doubt about it that the two Smritikars whom I have mentioned—Yagnavalkya and Manu, rank the highest among the 137 who had tried their hands in framing Smritis. Both of them have stated that the daughter is entitled to one-fourth share. It is a pity that somehow for some reason custom has destroyed the efficacy of that text: otherwise, the daughter would have been, on the basis of our own Smritis, entitled to get one-fourth share. I am very sorry for the ruling which the Privy Council gave. It blocked the way for the improvement of our law. The Privy Council in an earlier case said that custom will override law, with the result that it became quite impossible to our Judiciary to examine our ancient codes and to find out what laws were laid down by our Rishis and by our Smritikars. I have not the least doubt about it that if the Privy Council had not given that decision, that custom will override text, some lawyer, some Judge would have found it quite possible to unearth this text of Yagnavalkya and Munismriti, and women to-day would have been enjoying, if not more, at least one-fourth of the share of their property.

The original Bill had raised the share of the daughter to one-half. My Select Committee went a step further and made her share full and equal to that of the son.

I am not entitled to disclose what happened at the Select Committee and how this provision came to be made. I am perfectly...

Shrimati Renuka Ray (West Bengal: General): Unanimously!

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Was it a compromise between twice the share of a son claimed and half the share provided in the Bill?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: It was not a compromise. My enemies combined with my enthusiastic supporters and my enemies thought that they might damn the Bill by making it appear worse than it was.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Have you any enemies.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: However, this is the position, namely, so far as the daughter's share is concerned, the only innovation that we are making is that her share is increased and that we bring her in the line with the son or the widow. That also, as I say, would not be an innovation if you accept my view that in doing this we are merely going back to the text of the Smritis which you all respect.

I might also say that in discussing this question about the share of the daughter, myself, and the members of the Law Department examined every system of inheritance. We examined the Muslim system of inheritance: We examined the Parsi system of inheritance: We examined also the Indian Succession Act and the line of succession that had been laid down and we also examined the British system of inheritance, and nowhere could we find any case where a daughter was excluded from a share. There is no system anywhere in the world where a daughter has been excluded.

Now, Sir, one question has been brought forth constantly—that the giving of the share to the daughter means disruption of the family. I must frankly confess that I cannot appreciate the force of that argument. If a man has twelve sons and one daughter, and if the twelve sons on the day of the death

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of the father immediately decide on partition and obtain a twelfth of the total property of the father, is the partition going to be much more worse if there was a daughter, the thirteenth, who also demanded a share?

Twelve shares or 12 fragments is not a better situation than 13 fragments. If you want to prevent fragmentation we shall have to do something else, not by the law of inheritance but by some other law, whereby property shall not be fragmented so as to become less useful from a national point of view for purposes of national production.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar (Madras: General): Is the Hindu Code applied to agricultural land?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: It is not. I am saying generally.

I think I have, so far as I know, exhausted what I have to say on the various points of controversy which I had seen raised both by members of this House as well as by the members of the public. I hope that the clarification which I have given on the various points will allay the fears of members who are not well disposed towards this measure. They will realise that this is in no sense a revolutionary measure. I say that this is not even a radical measure and I should like to draw the attention of the members of this House to one important fact, namely the constitution and composition of the Rau Committee. There were four members of that committee but I should like to point out that two of them who have signed the report are far from radical members of the Hindu community. My friend Mr. Gharpure, whom I have known for a long number of years, is one of the most conservative members I know.....

Shri H. V. Kamath: Politically or Socially?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Politically and socially also. In fact I have no hesitation in saying that he may on certain occasions find it very difficult to touch me even with a barge pole. He is so conservative. My friend Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri is no doubt a liberal but he is certainly not a radical so far as I know. If these people conservative in their attitude have signed the report I think we can take it for granted that the measure to which they have put their signature could not be revolutionary and certainly could not be destructive of the foundations of the Hindu Society. So far as I am concerned I am a very conservative person: Although some people may not accept that fact, I am indeed very conservative. All I say is that I am a progressive conservative and I should like to tell the House one important fact which I think every one of us must bear in mind, particularly the conservative members of this House. The great political philosopher Edmund Burke who wrote a big book against the French Revolution because of its radicalism and revolutionism did not forget to tell his own countrymen who were very conservative one very important truth. He said that those who want to conserve must be ready to repair and all I am asking of this House is this: that if you want to maintain the Hindu system, the Hindu culture, the Hindu society, do not hesitate to repair where repair is necessary. This Bill asks for nothing more than repairing those parts of the Hindu system which are almost become dilapidated.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Sir, on a point of reminder, the Honourable Dr. Ambedkar promised some citations from the Smritis. Will he keep his promise?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I shall do so at the end. Fortunately for me I have secured a copy of Mr. Dwarkanath Mitter's own book "Rights of Hindu Women". I was going to cite certain texts which show that the rights which the Vedas had given to women were taken by the Smritis in the meantime and some other smritis tried to restore those rights. I shall cite them in the course of my speech.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Could the Honourable Minister enlighten the House as to the evidence which was produced before the Select Committee?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: As honourable Members know two bodies came to us and asked for evidence to be taken. The Committee decided that their evidence be taken. One body came and one body sent in a written reply. That body was the Dharma Nirnaya Mandal. In general they are absolutely in agreement with the provisions contained in the Bill. The other gentleman who came obviously was not.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Motion moved:

"That the Bill to amend and codify certain branches of the Hindu Law, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration".

Two amendments were not pressed. What about the next amendment?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Sir, I am not in a position to move any of my amendments.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: As I have already stated in answer to the suggestion made by the Honourable the Mover of the Bill I shall allow these motions to be made without any speeches at the time of moving the motion. After all the amendments are moved whichever are relevant and are admitted, there will be discussion on them as also on the original motion.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: On a point of order, Sir, is it open to an honourable Member to say that he is not in a position to move his amendments?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: It is.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: Sir, I am directed.....

An Honourable Member: By whom?

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I am directed to move my amendment without a speech at the first instance. (An honourable Member: "Who has directed you?") I am directed by the Honourable Deputy Speaker. I find that honourable members are extremely impatient.

Shri R. K. Sidhva (C. P. and Berar: General): No, we are not. Proceed.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I have been directed, I repeat, to move my amendment without a speech. On account of the eloquence of my honourable friend the Law Minister I was already speechless...

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: You are already disobeying your mandate.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: There are the bright ladies who have also created a profound impression upon me and just before I stood up Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava, a very powerful member, said that he was not in a position to move.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Is this preamble necessary for moving his amendment?

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I was already rendered speechless and that is why I was expressing my gratitude for suggesting that I should not make any speech.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable Member will speak later.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: Sir, I beg to move with considerable amount of nervousness:

"That the Bill be circulated for the purpose of obtaining further opinion thereon by the end of 1949".

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Amendment moved:

"That the Bill be circulated for the purpose of obtaining further opinion thereon by the end of 1949".

Shri B. Das: Sir, as this is a dilatory motion I suggest it may be ruled out of order.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: On a point of order; in the morning also there was some ruling about dilatory motions. I submit, Sir, that they are the privilege of a Member. Although I stand by Dr. Ambedkar in many respects with regard to this Bill, I submit that dilatory motions are the privilege of those Members who are not in power—of individual Members as well as parties. Let it not be taboed. It is a democratic right of Members to delay business if they choose to do so. Therefore a motion should not be disallowed because it is considered to be dilatory. Dilatory motions are the privilege of a House of democracy.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I do not see any point of order in what Mr. Tyagi has said. He wants full discussion to be allowed on this. As regards the point raised by Mr. B. Das I am not able to understand it. Does he mean to say that under any of the Rules such a motion is not allowable? If so he Report is presented, the procedure is this. (*An honourable Member:* "What Rules are they?") The Rules that we adopted last session.

The Rule says:

"If the member in charge moves that the Bill be taken into consideration, any member may move as an amendment that the Bill be re-committed or be circulated or re-circulated for the purpose of obtaining opinion or further opinion thereon".

Therefore under the Rules this kind of motion is allowed. I want to know how I am expected to disallow this motion.

Shri B. Das: I am aware of that Rule. But I was guided by the ruling of this morning that no dilatory motions would be allowed. I therefore raised the point of order.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: May I be permitted to say something? I think the point raised by my friend Mr. B. Das is a perfectly correct point of order, because of this...

Honourable Members: No.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: When the Deputy Speaker has given a ruling it cannot be questioned.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable Members will not speak all together. They will rise in their seats and also speak one at a time. Let me hear the Honourable the Law Member. I will allow an opportunity to every Member to speak on this point provided he is able to make a proper contribution to the Debate. Nobody need be impatient.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Sir, as you will recall the motions which are permissible under the Rules of Business fall into two categories: one set of motions are such that the Speaker must put them to the House; the other set of motions are such that the Speaker must first be satisfied that they are proper motions before he can put them to the House. Let me illustrate this by reference to a motion for adjournment. Under the Rules every honourable Member is permitted to move an adjournment motion. But merely because a certain member has tabled an adjournment motion that in itself does not authorise, enable, or empower the Speaker to put it to the House, because it is laid down that unless the motion is held to be admissible by the Speaker the motion shall not be put. I can give various other illustrations. With regard to a motion like this, namely, the adjournment of the consideration of the Bill and circulations for further opinion, my submission is that such a motion falls within that category of motions where the Speaker is required to be satisfied before he can put the motion to the House. It has been the universal practice in this House that any such motion for the postponement of the consideration of the Bill or for circulation, made after the Select Committee has made its Report, is *prima facie* dilatory. Unless the member who makes the motion advances substantial reasons for such a motion and the Speaker is satisfied that the reasons advanced are substantial such a motion will not be admissible. There are many rulings in these books but I should like to draw attention to ruling No. 1 in book No. 1. In regard to this motion no substantial reasons have been given.

An Honourable Member: But he has not spoken at all.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Let the Honourable the Law Member conclude.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I was only drawing your attention to a ruling (No.1) in this book. There are various others also. It says:

"During the discussion on the Cotton Excise Duty Abolition Resolution a motion was moved to adjourn the debate on the Resolution. (*Which practically means sending it away for circulation or to leave it up.*)

"The President while accepting the motion on this particular occasion without creating a precedent remarked:

"The Chair cannot allow a motion to adjourn consideration of a proposition to be moved merely in order to enable another item of business to come forward. It must be supported on substantial grounds."

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: The ruling says it is not a precedent but you want to make a precedent of it.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: The President says 'I am ruling but I am not creating a precedent'.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: In this matter I would call your attention to page 81 of 'Decisions of the Chair' which says that there are certain motions which can be stated to be of a dilatory nature. The question of circulation is not certainly one of such nature. But there are motions of a dilatory nature and it is in the discretion and power of the Chair to allow them or not to allow them. One page 81 of this book in regard to re-committal of motions it has been held that though to start with, it may be regarded as a dilatory motion, if something happened in the Select Committee or some events have transpired since, the Chair is perfectly authorised to say that it is not a dilatory motion. Now the honourable Member has not been asked what the reasons are and before that my honourable friend gets up and says that it is a dilatory motion. It is absolutely wrong for him to suggest at the very outset that it is a dilatory motion. A circulation motion is not a dilatory motion. Unless the Speaker comes to the conclusion that nothing has transpired in

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the Select Committee or no further events have taken place which justify him to retard that motion I think the Speaker is not entitled to say that any of the motions are also dilatory. Ordinary motions countenanced by the rules cannot be regarded as dilatory motions.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: Sir, I think matters can be cut short in a minute. The precedent relied upon by the Honourable the Minister of Law does not apply to this situation at all. The heading is, "Adjournment of Debate",...

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: This is an adjournment of debate, if the motion is carried.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: No, it is entirely different as I shall show. The sub-heading is, "Adjournment of Debate: Motion when allowed to be moved." I do not move for an adjournment of this debate, which certainly could be done under amendment No. 2, that is:

"That the consideration of the Bill, as reported by the Select Committee be postponed."

My object is continuance of the debate, consideration of the motion, and I want the consideration to be taken along with my motion. A further reading of the ruling relied upon by Dr. Ambedkar will make it absolutely clear:

"During the discussion on the Cotton Excise Duty Abolition Resolution a motion was moved to adjourn the debate on the Resolution."

"The President while accepting the motion on this particular occasion without creating a precedent, remarked: The Chair cannot allow a motion to adjourn consideration of a proposition to be moved merely in order to enable another item of business to come forward. It must be supported on substantive grounds."

As I understand it, there was at the time one motion before the House and there was another perhaps more interesting or more important in advance. A Member proposed the adjournment of the discussion of a resolution which was under consideration so that another more interesting Motion may be taken up. It was the attempt to adjourn the first Motion that was said to be unacceptable. Here I do not propose adjournment of the debate.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: It all comes to that.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: Here we are concerned with the interpretation of Rule 52. The plain reading of this rule would show that the motion is in order. Without abrogating the rule it cannot be held that it is out of order.

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru (U.P.: General): This Bill admittedly has created a great deal of feeling and it would be most undesirable to add to it by restraining the discussion in any way. I think the only way of making every section of the House feel that full opportunity was being given to it to express its opinion on this and to allow the discussion. Whatever our individual views regarding the merits of the Bill before us may be, that should be no ground for opposing the Motion of my honourable friend Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad.

Dr. Ambedkar quoted a ruling of the Chair in regard to a matter that is not on all fours with that under consideration now. In the first place the ruling was given in regard to a Resolution and not in regard to a Bill. In the second place, the rules lay down clearly that so far as a Bill is concerned a Motion may be made not merely that the Bill be circulated but that it may be re-circulated, not merely that it should be referred to a Select Committee but that it should be re-committed to it. The language is therefore absolutely clear. If, whenever a Motion is made for the re-committal or re-circulation of a Bill, it is opposed on the ground that it is a dilatory Motion, the clear rights, the

rights most unequivocally given to Members by the Rules will be completely null and void. We may feel impatient that a Motion like that of Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad may be ruled out. We may be ready to turn it down, but that is no reason for not allowing it to be moved. In my humble opinion, it is most assuredly in order and we shall be doing a great injustice if in order to pass a law in which we are keenly interested we whittle down the rights of Members and try to interpret the Rules in a manner convenient to whatever may happen to be the majority at any particular time.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: Sir, the only point is that under Rule 52(2) no doubt every Member has a right, but the important point is that it is subject to admissibility which is at the discretion of the Speaker. All that Dr. Ambedkar said was, that we have no doubt the right to ask interpellations, but that certainly does not mean that all interpellations should be put on the Agenda Paper; it is subject to admissibility. There being the discretion, all that you have got to decide now is, whether it is in the nature of a dilatory Motion. You may ask Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad to give his reasons. If you are satisfied that he has a good ground to move his Motion, then you have got the discretion to allow him to move it. Therefore, it is now for you, Sir, to ask him and be satisfied; and if you are satisfied that he has valid grounds, certainly he can move the motion. That is a point which Dr. Ambedkar raised. Every Member is entitled to speak and take his chance. All that you are concerned with, is a matter of procedure; the procedure being that a Motion is subject to admissibility, which is within your discretion. I may suggest that you may ask Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad to give his grounds and it is ultimately for you to decide whether it is in the nature of a dilatory motion, in which case you have to rule it out of order; but if you are satisfied about the grounds then you may allow the motion to be moved.

Mr. Tajamul Husain rose—

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Sir, I have something important to say.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: On the point of order?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: All right.

Mr. Tajamul Husain (Bihar: Muslim): Sir, I caught your eye first. I have also got a point of order.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: After this point of order is disposed of Mr. Tajamul Husain's point of order will be considered.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Sir, you have already quoted the rule. I am sure no ruling can be given by any President against a Rule. The thing is this: there may be a subject under discussion in the House on which opinions may be divided—it is quite natural. One section of the people may look upon the subject as a boon, and the other section may look upon the subject as a danger, as a plague, as a curse. That section of the people who look upon the subject as a curse has the right not only to delay the Motion, but even to kill it. Here also, I think this section has the right to move the Motion and I think justice demands that they may have all the privileges and all the rights.

Mr. Tajamul Husain rose—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: There is another point of order which the honourable Member is raising, I will come to it next.

I am afraid the honourable Member Mr. Naziruddin has himself invited all these points of order because he started one this morning. Apart from any

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technicalities we may ask Mr. Naziruddin what his purpose is and what important points he has in view in making his motion for circulation.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I think this question.....

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: May I ask you, before Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad replies, whether you have come to the conclusion that the right of the member to move the re-circulation of the Bill is subject to the discretionary power of the Chair?

Honourable Member rose—

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order, order. Members must respect the Chair. When I stand up, they will kindly sit down. I think I have heard sufficiently. Is it not open to the Chair to ask for reasons? It does not mean that I have come to a conclusion one way or the other. I am trying to make up my mind. I have heard Mr. Bharathi's point. Apart from the question as to whether the Chair, under the rules, has got the right to allow or disallow, I want to know on what grounds—if there are any—this motion should be accepted. After hearing that, I shall give my ruling.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: My reply to that is two-fold. The first is the admissibility of the motion as a matter of law, and secondly as to the reasons for the motion, they are matters of merit. At present, I have been asked by the Chair not to make a speech and I have been entirely prevented from giving the arguments on the merits as to why this motion should be accepted. I submit a distinction should be made between the legality and admissibility of the motion and the grounds on which it is based for the acceptance of the same by the House. I submit that at this stage, in order to admit the motion which I have made, I think, Sir, I may not say anything at all.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I have heard sufficiently on this matter. So far as Mr. Das' point that this motion is one of a dilatory nature, I consider that this motion differs materially from the one referred to by the Honourable the Minister for Law. He quoted the rulings of the Chair and gave the instance of ruling No. 1 on the postponement or adjournment of the debate. When motions for postponement for which there are no particular rules of procedure are made, it is open to the Chair to treat them as dilatory motions and require to be satisfied on what substantial grounds an adjournment of the debate is necessary. So far as the present motion for circulation is concerned, it is one for which provision is made in Rule 52(2). The Honourable the Minister for Law referred to the analogy of adjournment motions, but regarding adjournment motions there are specific rules laid down here, giving power to the Speaker to come to a conclusion as to whether *prima facie* a motion is in order or not. I am referring to rule 36. The right to make adjournment motions depends upon certain conditions as in the case of questions. Unless a question comes under one or other categories provided for under the rules it is open to the Speaker to disallow it; similarly, with respect to adjournment motions also, there are six conditions which must be satisfied. There is provision also for asking for leave. First of all, it is open to the Chair, if it so chooses, to say that a motion is not in the public interest, it is old and so on. Secondly, even if he chooses to admit it, he must ask if the motion has the support of at least twenty five members of the House; then leave is granted. In such cases special provisions have been made. This present motion for circulation does not fall in the same category as the others.

As regards ruling 120 on page 81, it refers to Select Committee motions. I do not find any ruling of the Chair till now, in either of these two books "Decisions of the Chair" in point stating that a motion for re-circulation is a dilatory motion. In these circumstances, I do not want to curtail the powers of the House. It does not mean, if I allow the motion, the House is obliged to accept it. Even if it is moved, the House may reject it after debate if it is not satisfied. Under these circumstances, inasmuch as the rulings are not clear on this point, I do not want to throttle this motion. The honourable Member may proceed. I have already said that honourable Members will first move the motions standing in their names and then there would be a debate on all the motions together. The next amendment stands in the name of Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava and Shri Jhunjunwala.

Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava: The motion moved by my honourable friend Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad is substantially the same. Therefore, I would like to support his motion.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: He need not give his reasons for not presenting. What about Mr. Jhunjunwala?

Shri B. P. Jhunjunwala (Bihar: General): I join my friend Mr. Bhargava.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: So he does not press. Nos. 7 and 8, I have already said are out of order. The scope of the Bill is confined to the provinces and not to any acceding State.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: In regard to States which have entirely united themselves within the Indian Dominion, they stand on a different footing. The Eastern States have combined with the province of Orissa. They are now part of India. The Bill will apply to them.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I can understand it only this way,—whether they have become part of a province or not if they are parts of a province, the Bill will apply. It is not necessary that a copy of the Gazette should be sent to every village and every corner of the country. If the State has become a part of province, it takes all the rights and liabilities of the province. I do not see any reason why the Bill should be once again circulated. Therefore I rule amendment No. 7 is out of order. No. 8 is also out of order. No. 9, does Mr. Bhargava move?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I have already said that I do not propose to move

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Then the next amendment. Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: Sir, I beg to move as an alternative to the one which I have already moved:

"That the Bill be re-committed to the same Select Committee, to which it was sent, for a further report thereon with reference to the original Bill which was referred to it on the 9th April, 1948."

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Amendment moved:

"That the Bill be re-committed to the same Select Committee to which it was sent for a further report thereon with reference to the original Bill which was referred to it on the 9th April 1948."

Shrimati Renuka Ray: In view of the Speaker's ruling, it is out of order. It goes against the Speaker's ruling.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The re-circulation motion is before the House. Why should the House not consider this motion also after all?

Shrimati Renuka Ray: It goes against the Speaker's ruling of the other day.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: May I ask the Lady Member how it goes against the Speaker's ruling?

Shrimati Renuka Ray: The Speaker ruled that the Bill is the same as committed to the Select Committee and therefore there cannot be a motion for recommitment to the Select Committee. There has been no substantial change in the Bill.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: There are many substantial changes as I shall show.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: No speeches across the benches please. So far as the arguments advanced by the Lady Member are concerned, what I feel is this. The Speaker certainly said that the Bill considered by the Select Committee is not different from the one committed to it. But recommitment may be on various other grounds. Therefore, unless any objection is taken on other grounds.....

Shrimati Renuka Ray: The words "original Bill" are there.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Original Bill is the same as the other Bill. Therefore, he has said "original Bill". We will drop the word "original".

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I would humbly submit that the word "original" is there. Therefore, we cannot drop it now from the motion..

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Speaker ruled that the Bill that came out of the Select Committee was the original Bill and therefore there is no harm in using the word "original". The objection taken was that the original Bill was not considered by the Select Committee. Hon'ble the Speaker ruled that it was the original Bill itself that was considered by the Select Committee. Therefore, the honourable Member has stated in his amendment that the original Bill be recommitment to the Select Committee. The argument advanced by the Lady Member is against her own objection. I find there is nothing wrong in this motion.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: The Mover's intention is quite different. He does not consider this Bill as the original Bill and therefore he wants this to be sent to the same Select Committee.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Though the intention of the Mover is clear, I think my honourable friend Pandit Naziruddin Ahmad, in drafting the amendment has slightly over-reached himself. I would suggest to him that he may reconsider the whole matter and bring it up again sometime later.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I do not consider that the use of the word "original" affects the position at all. On the other hand, the Speaker's ruling was that it was the original Bill that was referred to the Select Committee and that it was that Bill that came back in a modified form. I cannot accept that as an objection. There is no good, spending more time over this matter.

Amendment No. 13 may be moved.

Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava: My amendment is substantially the same as the one moved by Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad. I will speak in support of it and not move mine.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable Member will then have to take his turn after that of the Movers of the other amendments.

Amendment No. 14 is not moved.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I intend moving my next amendment if my amendment No. 10 is passed.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I rise to a point of order. Amendment No. 15 goes against the Speaker's ruling.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The Speaker's ruling does not cover this point. This House may not be satisfied with the re-arrangement made by the Select Committee. Therefore the original motion that it be referred to the Select Committee can stand. There is no point of order so far as this matter is concerned.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: Then, Sir I move:

"That the Bill be re-committed to the Select Committee with instructions for report on the original Bill as presented to the House restoring the original arrangement of self-contained separate Parts and Chapters for enactment separately".

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I am afraid, I must disallow this amendment. As there can be no objection to the re-arrangement of Parts and Chapters, I rule this amendment out of order.

Shri B. Das: Sir, before the next amendment is moved, I want your ruling as to whether one Member can move five amendments?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Alternative amendments can be given notice of. The honourable Member has been sufficiently long in this House to know this.

In the next amendment of Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad, the only addition is of the words "31st December 1949". I do not think he need move amendment No. 16.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: The Select Committee referred to there is a separate select committee.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I do not think I can allow this amendment to be moved. The honourable Member must have given the names of the Members for the Select Committee at the time of giving notice of the motion.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I have divided it into two parts. First of all there is the idea of the Select Committee. If it is acceptable.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The House cannot be asked to give its opinion first in a matter of this kind. As the honourable Member has not given the names of the Members for the select committee to the Chair earlier, his amendment is ruled out of order.

Discussion on the general motion may now be resumed. I call upon Seth Govind Das to speak now.

Seth Govind Das: *Sabhapathiji*.....

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: During general discussion the honourable Member who has moved an amendment has the first right to speak.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable Member will leave it to the Chair. The Chair knows the procedure.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: I have been trying to raise a point of order for a long time. Sir, I shall be very brief. The honourable Member Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad who is very keen on punctuation, on commas and full stops etc. has given notice of this amendment that this Bill be circulated. This is absolutely out of order. The honourable Member should have worded his amendment thus: This Bill be re-circulated. That is my point of order. This is what the relevant rule says: 'any member may move as an amendment that the Bill

[Mr. Tajamul Husain]

as reported by the Select Committee be re-committed or re-circulated as the case may be for the purpose of obtaining opinion or further opinion thereon'. Therefore, the honourable Member who is very keen on commas and full stops etc. should have put the words "re-circulated for further opinion." My point of order, therefore, is that as the wording of this amendment is not according to the rules, it may be ruled out of order.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: It is true that the honourable Member who has tabled this motion, who is ordinarily careful with reference to punctuations has committed there error of not putting the word 're'. I ought not to decide it as a matter of form, but as one of substance and this motion for circulation

A.P.M. comes after the report of the Select Committee has been received. Therefore, it means under the circumstances only 're-circulation'. I have already given the ruling. The ruling will stand. The debate will be continued by Seth Govind Das.

Shri V. S. Sarwate: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I want to bring to your notice that I have already given a motion for re-circulation and it is based on those two motions. I do not know, why it was omitted in the consolidated list. These two motions are dated the 21st August 1948. I do not wish to take further time of the House. I will read the motion so that it can be taken up for further discussion. The motion stands thus:

"That the Bill as reported by the Select Committee be re-circulated for the purpose of obtaining further opinion thereon".

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Have honourable Members got copies of this notice? (*An Honourable Member:* "Yes, Sir") I will ask the honourable Member to read it out.

Shri V. S. Sarwate: The motion runs as follows:

"That the Bill as reported by the Select Committee be re-circulated for the purpose of obtaining further opinion thereon".

Mr. Deputy Speaker: When was this notice of amendment given?

Shri V. S. Sarwate: Notice was given on 1st August 1948. The amendment forms part of Supplementary List No. 2.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The motion was made on the 1st August and the 12th of August is the date of the Select Committee's report and possibly a week later it was presented to the House.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: The motion was made on 31st of August.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The motion need not be made. It is after the presentation of the report. But all notices lapse after the session is over. A fresh notice should have been given. I do not know if honourable Members have got copies of this.

Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor: I have got a copy of this. It is a consolidated list: Notice of Amendments....This was sent from the office on the 28th August 1948. There are twenty-four amendments mentioned in this list and Mr. Sarwate's amendment stands as the fourth on this list.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: These notices were all for the last session. These notices have all lapsed at the end of that session. Only those amendments, copies of which have been placed on the table before each honourable Member now, these only will have to be taken for consideration. The other notices have lapsed. Therefore further debate will be continued by Seth Govind Das.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : सभापतिजी, मैं यह देखता हूँ कि इस बिल का विरोध करने वाले और इसका समर्थन करने वाले दोनों ४ समूहों में बाँटे जा सकते हैं। विरोध करने वालों में एक समूह उन व्यक्तियों का है जो इसका विरोध उसी दृष्टि से करते हैं जिस दृष्टि से सती प्रथा को उठाने के लिये जो कानून बनाया गया उसका विरोध किया गया था; ईश्वरचन्द्र विद्यासागर ने विधवा विवाह के सम्बन्ध में कानून बनवाया उस समय जिस दृष्टि से उसका विरोध किया गया था; श्री शारदाजी ने बाल विवाह रोकने के लिये कानून बनवाना चाहा उस समय जिस दृष्टि से उसका विरोध किया गया था। शारदा बिल के समय में कौंसिल आफ स्टेट में था और उस समय के उस बिल के विरोध का हाल मैं स्वयं जानता हूँ। यह वह समूह है जो यह मानता है कि हमारे वेदों में, हमारे शास्त्रों में, हमारी स्मृतियों में, जो कुछ लिखा गया है, उसमें कोई भी परिवर्तन नहीं हो सकता। मैं उस समूह का नहीं हूँ। हमारे धर्मशास्त्रों को भी यदि देखा जायगा तो पता लगेगा कि समय समय पर अगर एक ऋषि ने कुछ कहा तो दूसरे ऋषि ने दूसरी बात कही। यदि यह बात न होती तो आज एक सौ से ऊपर स्मृतियाँ हमारे ऋषियों ने न बनाई होती। अगर उन स्मृतियों को देखा जायगा तो मालूम होगा कि एक स्मृति जो कुछ कहती है दूसरी स्मृति वही बात नहीं कहती। दूसरी स्मृति दूसरी बात कहती है तो जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा कि जितने सुधार हुए हैं उन सब सुधारों के विरुद्ध जो समूह आवाज उठाता है, उस समूह में मैं नहीं हूँ।

विरोध करने वाला दूसरा समूह वह है जो यह तो मानता है कि हमको इन विषयों में सुधारों की आवश्यकता है परन्तु साथ ही वह यह भी मानता है कि इस समय यह कानून हमारे सामने लाया जाना उचित नहीं है। यह तब आना चाहिये कि जब नया चुनाव हो जाय, नये चुनावों के पश्चात् जब हमारे नये प्रतिनिधि आ जायें उस समय उनके सामने यह कानून लाया जाय। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि हिन्दू कानूनों में इस समय कोई परिवर्तन न किया जाकर तीन वर्ष के बाद भी किया जाय तो कोई अनर्थ नहीं होगा। यह एक ऐसा विषय है जिस पर देश को विचार करना है, हम सब को विचार करना है जो यहां पर मौजूद हैं उनको विचार करना है, जो भविष्य में यहां पर आने वाले हैं उनको विचार करना है इसलिये जो दूसरा समूह यह कहता है कि इस बिल को लाने का न यह उपयुक्त समय है और न यह उपयुक्त स्थान है मेरा यह ख्याल है कि उस समूह के कहने में बहुत अधिक बल है और मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमको इस पर अवश्य विचार करना चाहिये।

जो इस कानून के पक्ष में हैं, वे भी, जैसा मैंने कहा, दो समूहों में बाँटे जा सकते हैं। एक तो वे हैं जो हमारी किसी भी प्राचीन परम्परा को देखना ही

[सेठ गोविन्द दास]

नहीं चाहते, जो इस बात पर भी विचार नहीं करना चाहते कि यह देश एक प्राचीन देशों में से है, इस देश का एक विशेष इतिहास है, इस देश की एक विशेष संस्कृति है, इस देश की एक विशेष परम्परा है। इस प्रकार के सुधारक लोग हैं वह इस बात की परवाह नहीं करना चाहते कि हमारे यहां पहले क्या था और आज हमको अपने देश का निर्माण कैसे करना है। इस प्रकार के सुधारकों में पश्चिमी शिक्षा का बहुत बड़ा प्रभाव है और यह समाज के सुधार में न प्राचीन इतिहास का ध्यान रखना चाहते हैं और न प्राचीन संस्कृति और प्राचीन परम्परा का ही। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि, यदि इस प्रकार का सुधार इस प्राचीन देश में हुआ तो यह भारतवर्ष, भारतवर्ष नहीं रह जायगा, यह और कुछ ही हो जायगा।

सुधारकों का दूसरा समूह वह है जो यह मानता है कि सुधार तो करना चाहिये परन्तु हमें सुधार करते समय अपने प्राचीन इतिहास, अपनी प्राचीन संस्कृति और अपनी प्राचीन परम्परा को भी देखना चाहिये। मैं पहले समूह में नहीं हूँ परन्तु दूसरे समूह में हूँ। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि सुधार करना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है; परन्तु सुधारों की आवश्यकता होते हुए भी हमको अपनी प्राचीन परम्परा, प्राचीन सभ्यता और प्राचीन संस्कृति का ध्यान रख सुधार करना चाहिए।

इस समय जब कि हमारा विधान बन रहा है, जब विधान के मौलिक अधिकारों को और निर्णायक अधिकारों को हम पास कर चुके हैं और जब यह आशा की जाती है कि अगली १६ मई और १५ अगस्त के बीच हमारा विधान पूरा बन जायगा तब यदि यह कानून नये विधान के अनुसार आता तो उपयुक्त बात होती। आज जब हम इस देश को 'सैक्यूलर स्टेट' (Secular State) कहते हैं, आज जब हम यह मानते हैं कि इस देश के नागरिकों को, हर एक धर्म मानने वाले को,—हर एक जाति को चाहे वह हिन्दू हो, मुसलमान हो, सिक्ख हो, पारसी हो, कोई भी क्यों न हो,—समान रूप से नागरिक अधिकार होने चाहिये तो मैं यह कहता हूँ कि डाक्टर अम्बेडकर साहब को एक ऐसा बिल यहाँ पर लाना चाहिये था जिससे हिन्दुओं का ही सम्बन्ध न होता बल्कि जो इस देश के रहने वाले सभी लोगों पर लागू होता। अपने देश को 'सैक्यूलर स्टेट' (Secular State) मानते हुए एक हिन्दू कोड बिल को लाना मुझे एक असंगत बात मालूम पड़ती है।

अब यदि हम इस बिल की ओर देखें तो हमें यह बात स्वीकार करनी पड़ेगी कि इस बिल में.....

श्री आर० के० सिंघवा : डाक्टर अम्बेडकर साहब ने प्राचीन शास्त्रों को बताया। आप भी बतावें कि कौन सा शास्त्र हिन्दू कोड के खिलाफ है।

सेठ गोविन्द दास : अब यदि इस बिल को हम देखें तो हमें मालूम होता है कि इस बिल में कई धाराएँ ऐसी हैं जिन धाराओं को स्वीकार करने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये और यदि यह बिल नहीं रुका और पास हुआ ही तो मेरा विश्वास है कि हम उन धाराओं को बिना किसी विशेष वाद विवाद के स्वीकार करेंगे। परन्तु इसी के साथ हमें यह भी दिखाई देता है कि कई धाराएँ इसमें ऐसी भी हैं जिन्हें स्वीकार करने में बड़ी आपत्ति हो सकती है और स्वयं डाक्टर अम्बेडकर साहब ने आज बतलाया है कि कई धाराएँ विवादग्रस्त धाराएँ हैं और उन विवादग्रस्त विषयों पर उन्होंने पूरा प्रकाश भी डाला है। पहला विवादग्रस्त विषय है विवाह और तलाक। यदि हम विवाह और तलाक को लें तो मैं एक बात को तो स्वीकार करने को तैयार हूँ कि हमें अपने कानून में इस प्रकार का परिवर्तन करना चाहिये जिससे जात-पात की समाप्ति हो जाय। और यदि कोई ब्राह्मण किसी शूद्र से विवाह करना चाहता है, या कोई शूद्र किसी ब्राह्मण से विवाह करना चाहता है तो उनको विवाह के सम्बन्ध में, या ब्राह्मण और शूद्र छोड़ दीजिये, कोई हिन्दू किसी मुसलमान से विवाह करना चाहता है, या कोई मुसलमान किसी हिन्दू से विवाह करना चाहता है, कोई भी जाति के लोग यदि किसी दूसरी जाति में विवाह करना चाहते हैं तो कोई आपत्ति नहीं होनी चाहिये। हमारे यहां जात पात ने हमारे देश को नष्ट कर दिया है। इस देश और समाज के टुकड़े, छोटे से छोटे टुकड़े, हो गये हैं। और आज विवाह के सम्बन्ध में उन टुकड़ों के सबब से जो दिक्कतें होती हैं वहाँ हम सब जानते हैं। पुराने लोग भी जानते हैं और आज जब उन्हें इस प्रकार का विवाह करने पड़ते हैं तो उनकी नाक भी सिकुड़ती है। वह कहते हैं कि हम अपने लड़के की शादी अपनी इच्छा के विरुद्ध करते हैं या हमें अपनी लड़की की शादी अपनी इच्छा के खिलाफ करनी पड़ती है तो इस आजादी के मैं बिल्कुल पक्ष में हूँ। मैं तलाक के भी पक्ष में हूँ। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, कि यद्यपि अब तक संसार में कोई ऐसी विवाह पद्धति नहीं निकली है जो सब आपत्तियों के निवारण करने की चीज मानी जाय, परन्तु इसके साथ हमें यह भी देखना है कि यदि पति पत्नी एक दूसरे के साथ सुख से नहीं रह सकते तो उन्हें तलाक का अधिकार होना चाहिए। डाक्टर अम्बेडकर साहब ने यह कहा कि इस देश के नव्वे प्रतिशत लोगों में अब भी तलाक की प्रथा है। ये नव्वे प्रतिशत शूद्र कहलाते हैं, मैं तो शूद्रों और ब्राह्मणों में कोई फर्क नहीं मानता और उन्हें शूद्र कहना सबसे बड़ा जुर्म मानता हूँ.....

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: Does it not cut at the root of Hindu religion?

सेठ गोविन्द दास : नव्वे प्रतिशत शूद्रों में तलाक है, उनमें भी मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि उनके जो रीति रिवाज हैं उनको न मान कर यदि हमने इस बिल को पास किया तो नव्वे प्रतिशत लोग.....

श्री राज बहादुर : अध्यक्ष महोदय : क्या मैं माननीय सदस्य से प्रार्थना कर सकता हूँ कि तलाक के स्थान पर कोई हिन्दी का शब्द प्रयोग करें ?

सेठ गोविन्द दास : मैं समझता हूँ कि माननीय सदस्य हिन्दी भाषा का अर्थ नहीं जानते। जितने शब्द हिन्दी में ले लिये गये हैं वे हिन्दी के ही हैं वह चाहे 'तलाक' हो चाहे और कुछ। फिर भी यदि वे तलाक के लिये शब्द सीखना चाहते हैं तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसा शब्द विवाह-विच्छेद हो सकता है। हाँ, तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि उन नव्वे प्रतिशत लोगों के रीति रिवाज को हटा कर अगर यह कानून पास किया गया तो इसका यह अर्थ होगा कि वह अपने रीति रिवाज के मुताबिक तलाक नहीं दे सकेंगे और उसमें उन्हें बहुत अड़चनें पड़ेंगी। इसलिये अम्बेदकर साहब की जो इच्छा है कि लोगों को विवाह करने की पूरी आजादी हो, लोगों को तलाक देने की पूरी आजादी हो तो उसमें भी बड़ी भारी अड़चनें आ पड़ती हैं। औरतों और मर्दों को, सबको मैं इस प्रकार की पूरी आजादी देने के पक्ष में हूँ।

अम्बेदकर साहब ने जो यह कहा कि हम जो दस प्रतिशत उच्च वर्ण के लोग कहे जाते हैं ब्राह्मण, क्षत्री या वैश्य, वह नव्वे प्रतिशत के लोगों पर कुछ चीजें लादना चाहते हैं। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि हम जो दस प्रतिशत पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं वह नव्वे प्रतिशत लोगों के ऊपर कुछ चीजें लादना चाहते हैं। लादते ब्राह्मण, क्षत्री वैश्य नहीं हैं, लादते वह लोग हैं जो किसी प्रकार से इस ऐसेम्बली में आ गये हैं। मैं अपनी बहनों से भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं इस बात को स्वीकार करने को तैयार नहीं हूँ कि मेरी बहन दुर्गाबाई और रेणुका और यहां जो स्त्रियां हैं वह स्त्रियों का प्रतिनिधित्व करती हैं, या यहां जो बहनें विजिटर्स गैलरी (visitors gallery) में आती हैं वह स्त्रियों का प्रतिनिधित्व करती हैं। मैं मानता हूँ कि जो यहां नहीं मौजूद हैं, जो विजिटर्स गैलरी में नहीं आती हैं, वह इस देश की स्त्रियों का अधिक प्रतिनिधित्व कर सकती हैं बनिस्वत उनके जो यहां पर मौजूद हैं। हमें स्वीकार करना होगा कि जो आज यह बात कही जाती है कि कुछ उच्च वर्ण के कहे जाने वाले लोग निम्न वर्ण के कहे जाने वाले वर्णों पर अपनी राय लादते हैं यह सही नहीं है, पर सही बात यह है कि दस प्रतिशत पढ़े लिखे लोग नव्वे प्रतिशत पर अपनी राय लाद देना चाहते हैं। इस देश की जनता क्या चाहती

है, इस बात को न जान कर वह अपनी राय इस देश की जनता पर न ला दें में यह नहीं चाहता कि यहां पर इस प्रकार का कोई कानून पास हो जो जनता की राय के खिलाफ हो।

Shrimati Renuka Ray : Do 90 per cent. of the people know that you are drawing up a constitution ?

Seth Govind Das : We know that the people are with us. To talk as if this is your own concern is not correct. We have come with a mandate from the people in that respect.

दूसरी बात उत्तराधिकार के सम्बन्ध में यहां पर कही गई है। यह कहा गया कि उत्तराधिकार के मामले में हमको बहुत से सुधार की आवश्यकता है। मैं मानता हूँ कि उत्तराधिकार के सम्बन्ध में भी बहुत से सुधार की आवश्यकता है। और मैं यह भी मानता हूँ कि स्त्रियों को कोई उत्तराधिकार न दिया जाय और वह सम्पत्ति न ले सकें तो वह उनके प्रति बड़े से बड़ा अन्याय है। स्त्रियों को उत्तराधिकार का अधिकार होना चाहिये। अब स्त्रियों को उत्तराधिकार का अधिकार कहां तक होना चाहिये यह सवाल है। डा० अम्बेदकर साहब ने मनु और याज्ञवल्क्य की स्मृतियों की बात यहां कही और यह कहा कि उन स्मृतियों में भी लड़कियों को चार आने तक उत्तराधिकार दिया गया है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहां तक उत्तराधिकार का सम्बन्ध है वहां तक यदि याज्ञवल्क्य और मनु की यह राय है तो भी मेरे मत से इसमें सुधार होना आवश्यक है। इस देश में या इस संसार में एक जमाना था जब मातृ-गृह थे पर आज के समाज में मातृ-गृह न रह कर पितृ-गृह हो गए हैं। जब तक इस देश में तथा संसार में मातृ-गृह थे और विवाह के पश्चात् वर कन्या के यहां आ कर रहता था उस समय तक कन्या को पिता की सम्पत्ति में अधिकार होना ठीक बात थी। परन्तु अब जब पितृ-गृह हैं और कन्या पिता के यहां से श्वसुर के यहां जाती है उस समय पिता की सम्पत्ति में कन्या को अधिकार देना मेरी दृष्टि से उचित बात नहीं है। मेरी दृष्टि में वर को श्वसुर की सम्पत्ति में अधिकार होना चाहिये। ज्योंही विवाह हो जाय त्यों ही वर को सम्पत्ति में उतना ही अधिकार मिलना चाहिये जितना लड़के को मिलता है। आज जो लड़के को पूरा अधिकार है और यदि कोई स्त्री विधवा हो जाय तो उसे खाने और कपड़े का अधिकार ही रहता है मैं इसके विलकुल खिलाफ हूँ। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि स्त्रियों को अधिकार तो होना चाहिए सम्पत्ति पर, पर उनका अधिकार होना चाहिए श्वसुर के घर की सम्पत्ति पर, पिता के घर की सम्पत्ति पर नहीं।

श्री मोहन लाल गौतम : यदि इवसुर न हो ?

सेठ गोविन्द दास : तो पति के घर में ।

श्री मोहन लाल गौतम : यदि पति न हो ?

सेठ गोविन्द दास : तो लड़के के घर में ।

श्री मोहन लाल गौतम : और अगर लड़का न हो ?

مسٹر تجمل حسین : لڑکی کی شادی نہ ہوئی ہو تو کیا کریگی ؟

सेठ गोविन्द दास : वह अलग बात है। उनको कहीं न कहीं से मिल ही जाता है यहां पर जो यह दृष्टान्त दिया गया है कि अगर १२ लड़के हों और तेरहवीं लड़की हो, तो यदि १२ लड़कों को पिता की सम्पत्ति में विभाजन करने का अधिकार है तो तेरहवीं लड़की को क्यों न हो। मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि १२ लड़के अपने पिता के घर में रहते हैं १२ लड़कों का जो विभाजन होता है वह उसी स्थान पर होता है।

श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र शर्मा : अगर लड़की भी पिता के घर रहना चाहे ?

सेठ गोविन्द दास : और लड़की दूसरे के घर जाती है, इसलिए लड़की के लिए यह बात लागू नहीं हो सकती।

एक बात सम्पत्ति के उत्तराधिकार में और हुई है और वह यह कि अब उत्तराधिकार का अधिकार वसीयतनामे से होगा। जहां वसीयतनामे नहीं लिखे जायेंगे वहीं झगड़े पड़ेंगे। यह नहीं, पर जहां वसीयतनामे लिखे जायेंगे वहां भी झगड़े पड़ेंगे। डाक्टर अम्बेदकर साहब, जो बहुत विख्यात वकील हैं, इस बात को जानते हैं कि जितने वसीयतनामे आज तक लिखे गये हैं उनमें से कितने प्रतिशत वसीयतनामे कचहरियों में आये और कितने वसीयतनामों पर मुकदमे चले। मुझे भय है कि जो अधिकार आप सम्पत्ति के उत्तराधिकार का लड़कों और लड़कियों को इस कानून के मुताबिक देना चाहते हैं, उसमें ज्योंही वसीयतनामा आया त्यों ही वह सम्पत्ति न लड़कों को मिलेगी और न लड़कियों को मिलेगी। वह सब वकीलों के यहां चली जायगी।

फिर एक बात और होगी। डा० अम्बेदकर साहब चाहते हैं कि लड़कियों को भी सम्पत्ति में उत्तराधिकार का अधिकार दिया जाय। तो मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि जिस तरह का आज हमारा समाज संगठित है, उसमें जो पिता वसीयतनामा करेंगे वह लड़कियों को कुछ नहीं देंगे, वह लड़कों को ही देंगे और जो स्त्रियों को उत्तराधिकार देने का आपका उद्देश्य है वह इससे पूरा नहीं होगा। मैं उत्तराधिकार के सम्बन्ध में यह कहना चाहता हूं कि उत्तराधिकार का विषय बड़ा जटिल है, जैसा कि डाक्टर अम्बेदकर साहब ने भी खुद कहा है। हमको तो ऐसा लगता है, चाहे हम साम्यवादी या समाजवादी न हों, कि एक तरफ से इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स (Industrialists) की आवाज उठी हुई है कि इस देश में उद्योग बंधे नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं, दूसरी जगह उत्तराधिकार का प्रश्न उठा हुआ है, अतः सबसे अच्छा तो यह हो कि आप व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति को ही समाप्त कर दें। यदि यह व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति समाप्त होकर एक नई सामाजिक रचना हो, वह सामाजिक रचना साम्यवाद और समाजवाद के सिद्धान्तों पर हो यह मैं नहीं कहता, पर इस व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति का नाश होकर एक नये प्रकार की सामाजिक रचना की जाय मैं इस पक्ष में हो गया हूं। यदि हमारे सम्पत्तिशाली लोग देखेंगे तो उनको मालूम होगा कि यह सम्पत्ति उनके भी कोई कल्याण की चीज नहीं है मैं उसी वर्ग में से आता हूं कि जो सम्पत्तिशाली कहा जा सकता है। परन्तु हम देखते हैं कि आखिर इस सम्पत्तिसंग्रह से सच्चा सुख किसे मिल रहा है। मैंने किसी भी ऐसे श्रीमान् को नहीं देखा कि गरीब आदमी का पेट तो आध सेर या बीस पाव में भरता है तो श्रीमान् का पेट १० या २० सेर खाकर पचा सकता हो। मैंने कोई भी ऐसा श्रीमान् नहीं भी देखा कि अगर गरीब आदमी का शरीर पांच या सात गज कपड़े से ढकता हो तो श्रीमान् सौ, दो सौ या चार सौ गज इकट्ठा पहन लेता हो।

آنریبل مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد : بعض لوگ یہی کہتے ہیں -

सेठ गोविन्द दास : और मुझे तो महलों में रहने का अभ्यास है और मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर किसी श्रीमान् को उनके महल में किसी बड़े हाल में सुला दिया जाय तो उनको नींद नहीं आती। सोने के लिए तो १२ या १४ फुट का कमरा ही चाहिए। आजकल सम्पत्ति एक दुख हो गया है और सम्पत्तिशालियों के लिए भी जिन लोगों को यह नहीं मिलती उनकी इच्छा होती है उसको पाने के लिए और जिनके पास है उनको उसके मारे इतनी मुसीबत है कि वह चैन से रह नहीं सकते।

آنریبل مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد : اور چہرزا بھی نہیں چاہتے -

सेठ गोविन्द दास : छोड़ना इसलिए नहीं चाहते कि उस सम्पत्ति के संग्रह करने वाले को समाज में इज्जत की दृष्टि से देखा जाता है।

श्री सीताराम एस० जाजू : उसको त्याग या दान कर देने वाले को भी तो इज्जत की दृष्टि से देखा जाता है।

सेठ गोविन्द दास : हमारे साम्यवादी और समाजवादी कहते हैं कि जितने सम्पत्तिशाली हैं वे सब चोर हैं, डाकू हैं और उठाइगीरे हैं। कुछ साम्यवादी और समाजवादी इससे भिन्न हो सकते हैं मैं सबके लिए नहीं कहता, लेकिन बहुत ऐसे हैं कि यदि उनको यह सम्पत्ति मिल जाय तो वह समाजवाद और साम्यवाद छोड़ दें। सम्पत्ति के संग्रह करने वाले आज भी समाज में इज्जत की दृष्टि से देखे जाते हैं, हमें समाज की भावनाओं का, और मूल्यों का इस प्रकार परिवर्तन करना चाहिए कि सम्पत्तिशाली सचमुच चोर, डाकू और उठाइगीरे माने जाने लगे और तब मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कोई भी सम्पत्तिशाली इस तौक को अपने गले में नहीं रखना चाहता। तो यह उत्तराधिकार का झगड़ा सुलझाने के लिए मैं तो यह चाहता हूँ कि हमारे ला. मेम्बर (Law Member) डाक्टर अम्बेदकर साहब एक ऐसा बिल ले आवें जिससे व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति की समाप्ति ही हो जाय और उन लोगों का भी उद्धार हो जाय जो कि इसके चक्कर में पड़े हुए हैं।

श्रीमती जी० दुर्गाबाई : क्या आप इसका विरोध नहीं करेंगे ?

सेठ गोविन्द दास : मेरा यह ख्याल है कि यह दो ही ऐसे विषय हैं इस बिल में जिनके सम्बन्ध में बहुत वादविवाद उठाया जा सकता है। और मेरा यह भी ख्याल है कि समय को देखते हुए यदि हम इस वादविवाद में न पड़कर इस बिल को हमारी जो अगली धारा सभायें हैं उन तक मुलतवी कर दें और उस समय हम इस देश में इस सम्बन्ध में लोगों की राय ले लें और लोगों की राय लेकर चुनाव के पश्चात् इस विषय को हम यहां पर लावें और इस विषय को हम हिन्दू कोड के रूप में न लावें परन्तु जिस प्रकार हमने विधान पास किया है, जिस तरह इस देश के प्रत्येक समाज के व्यक्ति के लिए लावें तो उचित होगा.....

Dr. Meno Mohan Das (West Bengal: General) : Point of order, Sir. Is there no time limit for allowing this kind of discussion ?

Mr. Deputy Speaker : There is no time limit.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, और इन शब्दों से मैं अपने इस कथन को समाप्त करता हूँ, कि मैं यह आवश्यक मानता हूँ कि हमारे सामाजिक कानूनों में सुधार आवश्यक है। मैं यह भी मानता हूँ कि जो लोग इसका विरोध

उस प्रकार करते हैं जिस प्रकार उन्होंने सती प्रथा के सम्बन्ध में जो बिल आया था उसका, या विधवा विवाह के सम्बन्ध में या बाल विवाह के सम्बन्ध में जो बिल आया था उसका विरोध किया था, वह ठीक नहीं कर रहे हैं। पर इसी के साथ मैं यह भी मानता हूँ कि यह बिल इस समय ठीक अवसर पर उपस्थित नहीं हुआ है और हमें इस समय इस पर विचार न कर लोगों की राय लेकर आगे इसको पेश करना चाहिए। इतने ही शब्दों के साथ मैं न तो इसका समर्थन करता हूँ और न इसका विरोध करता हूँ।

(English translation of the above speech)

Seth Govind Das: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I find that the supporters and opponents of this Bill can be divided into four groups. One of the opponent groups consist of those persons who oppose this measure with the same viewpoint as was exhibited by certain antagonists at the time of enactment of law for the abolition of Sati, the law which was got passed by the late Shri Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar for widow-remarriage and the measure put forth by Mr. Sharda for the prevention of child marriages being brought on the Statute Book. At the time of Sharda Bill, I was a member of the Council of State and I personally know the opposition that was then meted out to this Bill. This group is of the opinion that no change can be made in that what has been prescribed in the text of our Vedas, Shastras and Smritis. I do not belong to that group. It would be noticed even from reference to our Dharmashastras that if one Rishi (Sage) said something from time to time, the other said something else. Had this not been the case, our Rishi would not have written Smritis numbering more than one hundred. If you go through these Smritis, you will find that the tenets laid down in one Smriti differ from those contained in the other. Each of these Smritis enunciates a different principle. Then just as I have stated, I am not one of those groups who have opposed almost all the reforms that have been introduced hithertofore.

The second opposing group is that which on the one hand believes that there is obviously a necessity for making reforms in these affairs, but on the other hand, it holds that this is not the proper time for the enactment of such a legislation. This should be brought forth only after the new elections have taken place, and when our new representatives have been elected. I would like to say that there will not be any harm if instead of making any change in the Hindu Law at present, we do this even three years hence. This is a subject over which the whole country has got to think; all of us have to think, all of those who are sitting here have to think and those who are likely to occupy these seats in this House in the future shall have to think. Therefore, I feel that there is a good deal of force in the arguments advanced by the second group that it is neither the proper time nor the place to bring forth such a measure, and for this reason, I would urge that we should consider this aspect.

Just as I have stated, even the supporters of this Bill can be divided into two groups, one which does not at all like to see any of our old traditions, and does not want to recognise the fact that this country is one of the ancient countries having a brilliant past, glorious history, high culture and great traditions. Such type of reformers do not at all care as to what our past heritage is and how are we to reconstruct our country today? These reformers have been considerably influenced by the Western education, and have scant regard for the ancient history, culture and even the old traditions in the sphere

[Seth Govind Das]

of social reforms. I would like to say that if such sort of reforms are introduced in this ancient country this *Bharatvarsha* (India) will no longer remain as *Bharatvarsha*—but it would become something else. The other group of reformers is that which believes in the necessity of reforms being introduced but after having due regard to our ancient history, culture and traditions. I do not belong to the first group but to the second. I admit that it has become absolutely necessary to introduce reforms, but in spite of all this, we should carry out the reforms after keeping in view our old traditions, ancient culture and civilisation.

At this time when we are framing our Constitution, when we have already passed the clauses relating to the fundamental and justiciable rights and when it is hoped that our Constitution will be finally adopted sometime during the period intervening between the 16th of May and 15th of August next, it would have been quite in order had this measure been brought forth in consonance with the provisions of the new Constitution. Today when we call our country a 'Secular State', when we admit that all the persons in this country—whatever religion they believe in, to whatever community they may belong, may be Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Parsi—whoever he may be—he should be given equal rights of citizenship. Therefore, I would say that the Honourable Dr. Ambedkar should have presented to this House such a Bill which would have concerned not the Hindu's alone, but would have been made applicable to all the citizens of this country. While admitting this country as a 'Secular State', the idea of introducing a Hindu Code Bill seems to me quite inappropriate. Then again if we now see this Bill, we shall have to admit this that it.....

Shri R. K. Sidhva: The Honourable Dr. Ambedkar referred to the ancient *Shastras*. You may also point out which of the *Shastras* go against the provisions of Hindu Code?

Seth Govind Das: Now if we see this Bill, we find that it contains many such Clauses to the acceptance of which there should not be any objection. And if at all this Bill is not postponed but is passed into Law, I am sure we shall accept these Clauses without indulging into any sort of controversy. But along with this, we also feel that it contains many such Clauses the acceptance of which is susceptible of being considerably harmful. The Honourable Dr. Ambedkar has himself admitted today that many of the Clauses are of controversial nature and he has also thrown sufficient light on these controversial issues. The first controversial issue is 'marriage' and 'divorce'. If we take up the 'marriage' and 'divorce', I would be prepared to accept one thing at least that we should make some such change in our legislation which would do away with the Caste System. And if any *Brahmana* wants to marry a *Sudra* or a *Brahmana*; or setting aside the case of a *Brahmana* and a *Sudra*, if any Hindu wants to marry a Muslim or any Muslim a Hindu, or if the members of any community want to have inter-communal marriages, there should not be any bar to such marriages being solemnized. This Caste System has ruined our country. It has resulted in the ramification of our country and society into small parts—nay even the smallest sections. All of us are very well aware of the disabilities that exist in the marital sphere today and which are the outcome of this dismemberment. The old people also know this and even today—they look upon the solemnization of such marriages with abhorrence. They say that they have to marry their sons as well as daughters against their wishes. But I fully support such a freedom being given. I am even a supporter of 'divorce'. I would submit that notwithstanding the fact

that no 'Marriage Code' has so far been invented in the world which may be regarded as the panacea for the removal of all ills, still we have got to see that if the husband and wife cannot live a harmonious life, they should be given the right of divorce. The Honourable Dr. Ambedkar has stated that the system of divorce already prevails among 90 per cent. of the people in this country. These 90 per cent. are called *Sudras*. I, on my part, do not find any difference between the *Brahmana* and *Sudras*, and feel that it would be the greatest crime to call them *Sudra* even.....

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram (Minister of Labour): Does it not cut at the root of Hindu religion?

Seth Govind Das: Divorce exists amongst the 90 per cent. of the *Sudras*. In this case too, it so looks to me that if we pass this legislation in utter disregard of their customs and usages, then 90 per cent. of the people.....

Shri Raj Bahadur (United State of Matsya): Sir, may I request the honourable member to use any Hindi equivalent for the word "*Talaq*" (divorce)?

Seth Govind Das: I feel that the honourable member does not understand the implications of the Hindi language. All those words which have been included in Hindi belong to Hindi alone—may it be '*talaq*' or anything else. If he still wants to know the Hindi equivalent of '*talaq*', I would tell him that this can be substituted by the word "*Vivah Vichehhd*" (विवाह-विच्छेद) (dissolution of the conjugal rights).

I was just telling you that if this legislation is passed after brushing aside the customs and usages prevalent amongst those 90 per cent. of the people, then it would mean that they would not be able to divorce in their traditional manner and they would thus be confronted with many difficulties. Therefore, it is bound to give rise to a very great difficulty inasmuch as it runs counter to the wishes expressed by the Honourable Dr. Ambedkar that every body should be given the full liberty to marry and divorce. I am in favour of such sort of liberty being completely given to all the men and women.

The Honourable Dr. Ambedkar also pointed out that 10 per cent. of the people amongst us who are called Caste Hindus viz., *Brahmana*, *Kshatriyas*, or *Vaishyas* want to thrust some thing upon those who form the 90 per cent. It so looks to me that those of us—who are ten per cent. in number—who form the intelligentsia want to load a few things on those comprising of 90 per cent. It is not the *Brahmana*, *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas* who put the burden, but this is done by those people who have managed to come to this Assembly in some way or the other. I would also tell my sisters that I am not prepared to accept this view that my sister members, Shrimatis G. Durgabai and Renuka Ray and other lady members who are sitting in this House represent the women; or those sisters who sit in the visitor's galleries represent them. I admit that those who are not present here, those who do not come in the visitor's galleries can represent this country better than those who are sitting here. We shall have to admit that the allegation which is being made today that some high-caste people want to thrust their opinion upon the low-castes is not correct. But in reality the position is that the ten per cent. educated people want to thrust their opinion upon the remaining 90 per cent. Without knowing anything as to what is the will of the people in this country, they should not thrust their opinion upon them. I do not want that any legislation should be passed in this House which is against the wishes of the people..

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) [24TH FEB. 1949]

Shrimati Renuka Ray: Do 90 per cent. of the people know that you are drawing up a constitution?

Seth Govind Das: We know that the people are with us. To talk as if this is your own concern is not correct. We have come with a mandate from the people in that respect.

The other thing which has been mentioned here is in regard to 'Succession'. It has been stated that we are required to carry out drastic reforms in the law relating to Succession. I agree that there is a great scope of reforms being made in the Succession System. And I also admit that it would amount to the greatest possible injustice being done to the females if they are not conferred upon the right of succession and thus precluded from inheriting the property. The women should be given the right of succession. Now the question arises as to what extent should such right of succession be vested in the females. The Honourable Dr. Ambedkar has in support of this quoted from the *Smritis* of Manu and Yagnavalkya and pointed out that these *Smritis* also confer upon the females the right to inherit property to the extent of one fourth. I would like to say that in my opinion some improvement should necessarily be made in the domain of succession even if these are the views held by Manu and Yagnavalkya. There was a time when the matriarchal system existed in this country or even in the world. But in the present-day society, the matriarchal system has been replaced by the patriarchal. So long as the matriarchal system existed in this country as well as in the world and the husband used to come and stay at the bride's house after marriage, it was quite appropriate that the daughter should have a share in her father's property. But according to my viewpoint now when the patriarchal system is in vogue and the girl leaves her father's house for that of her father-in-law; it would not be proper to give her any share out of the father's property. In my opinion the daughter-in-law should be given the right to share her father-in-law's property. As soon as the marriage is consummated, the daughter-in-law should be given the share equal to that of the son. Today the son enjoys the full right, and if any woman becomes widow, she is entitled to the right of maintenance only *viz.*, food and clothing. I am totally against it. Therefore, I would urge that the women should undoubtedly be given the right to share in the property, but that should be restricted to her father-in-law's property only and not that belonging to her father.

Shri Mohan Lal Gautam (U. P.: General): If there is no father-in-law?

Seth Govind Das: Then in the husband's house.

Shri Mohan Lal Gautam: If there is no husband.

Seth Govind Das: Then in the son's house.

Shri Mohan Lal Gautam: And if there is no son?

Mr. Tajamul Husain: And if she is not married then what would she do?

Seth Govind Das: That is a separate thing. They do get from some source or the other. In the example which has been cited here that when there are twelve sons and thirteenth a daughter, and the twelve sons have got the right to distribute their father's property, then why should not the thirteenth daughter be given the same right? I would say that all the twelve sons live in their father's house. The distribution which the twelve sons make is made at the same place.

Shri Krishna Chandra Sharma (U. P.: General): If the daughter also wants to live in the father's house?

Seth Govind Das: Since the daughter has got to adopt another house, this cannot be made applicable in her case. Another thing that has been added in respect of succession to property is that the right of succession will now be governed in accordance with the contents of the will. In cases, where the wills are not executed, disputes will arise. Not only this, disputes will arise even otherwise. The Honourable Dr. Ambedkar who is a renowned lawyer is aware of the fact as to what percentage of the wills executed hitherto were brought up before the Courts and on how many wills were the suits instituted? I am afraid that as soon as the will comes in, neither the sons nor the daughters would be able to share the property under the provision of this law which seeks to confer upon them the right of succession. All that property will be grabbed by the lawyers.

Then again another thing will happen. The Honourable Dr. Ambedkar wants that the daughters should also be given the right of succession to the property. Then I would submit that in our society which is undivided at present, when the fathers execute the will, they will not bequeath anything to their daughters, but would give to the sons alone, and thus this would defeat the very object with which you want to confer the right of succession on the women. In regard to succession, I would like to say that just as Dr. Ambedkar has himself admitted, it is a very intricate subject. It so looks to us—we might or might not be Socialists or Communists—that on the one hand the industrialists have raised the voice that the industries are not being developed in this country and on the other hand the question of succession has been mooted out. Therefore, the best thing would be that you should abolish the system of private property. If after the liquidation of this private ownership, a new society is evolved—I do not say that the structure of that society should be based on the principles of Socialism and Communism—but I have since formed this opinion that a new class of society should be built after the liquidation of the individual holdings. If our capitalists see to this they will no doubt find that this wealth is no longer a source of solace to them. I belong to that very class which can be termed as capitalist. But we see who is deriving the real pleasure out of this hoarded wealth? I have not come across any such capitalist who can fill his belly by eating and digesting 10 or 20 seers, while a poor man can be satiated by taking half a seer or three quarter of a seer. I have also not seen any such capitalist who puts on about 100, 200 or 400 yards of cloth at a time, while a poor man can cover his body with only five or six yards.

The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (Minister of Education): Some people do wear!

Seth Govind Das: I am accustomed to live in palaces, and I would like to say that if any capitalist is made to sleep in one of the large halls of his palace, he cannot enjoy the sleep. For sleeping purpose, only one room measuring about 12 or 14 feet is required. Now-a-days wealth has become an affliction—for the wealthy too. Those people who do not get this, they desire to acquire it and those who have got it suffer great hardships and on account of that they cannot live peacefully.

The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: And they do not want us to give up also!

Seth Govind Das: They do not want to give up because the man who hoards that wealth is looked upon with great esteem in the society.

Shri Sita Ram S. Jajoo (Madhya Bharat): The man who renounces this or gives it in charity is also equally respected.

Seth Govind Das: It is alleged by our Socialists and Communists that all the capitalists are robbers, dacoits and wayfarers. Some of the Socialists and Communists might differ from this. I cannot ascribe this to all of them. But many of them would renounce their Socialistic and Communistic creed if they can acquire this wealth. The hoarders of wealth are even today held in esteem by the society. We should try to overhaul the conceptions and values of the society in such a manner so that the capitalists may in reality be treated as dacoits and robbers; and then only I would say that a capitalist would like to wear this collar around his neck. Therefore, with a view to tackle this knotty problem of succession, I would urge that our Honourable Law Minister Dr. Ambedkar may bring forth such a measure which should seek to abolish the system of private ownership and thus ameliorate the condition of those people who have fallen a victim to this.

Shrimati G. Durgabai (Madras: General): Will you not oppose that?

Seth Govind Das: In my opinion these are the only two points in this Bill which are subject to good deal of controversy. I am also of the opinion that keeping in view the trend of the time and without indulging into any sort of controversy, we postpone the enactment of this Bill till the formation of the new Assembly and in the meantime invite the opinion of the people in this connection; and after ascertaining the wishes of the people, we should bring forth this measure as soon as the fresh elections are held. We should not present this measure in the form of a Hindu Code but the proper course would be to pass it in the same manner in which we have passed our constitution which provides for the rights of every citizen in the country.

Dr. Mono Mohan Das (West Bengal: General): On a point of order, Sir, is there no time limit for allowing this kind of discussion?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: There is no time limit.

Seth Govind Das: With these words I would conclude, and say that I feel it absolutely necessary that reforms should be made in our social laws. I also admit this that those people who oppose this Bill in the same manner in which they behaved at the time of the enactment of laws relating to the abolition of *Sati*, widow-marriage and prevention of child marriages are not following the right course of action. But along with this I also admit that this Bill has not been moved at the opportune time and we should postpone its consideration at the moment. We should present it only after ascertaining the public opinion. With these words, neither I support this, nor oppose this.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani (U.P.: General): Sir, ever since we had a sovereign legislature no piece of legislation has given rise to greater excitement and controversy than this Hindu Code Bill. If all this controversy had been based on reason and on the merits of the changes proposed in Hindu Law it would have been to the good but much of the controversy is clouded by irrelevant issues. The argument of Religion in Danger has inspired much of the propaganda against the Code. It is urged that it will shake the foundations of the Hindu religion. Those who put forward such argument do a great injustice to their own religion.

Hindu religion is primarily concerned with the spiritual emancipation of the individual, his progress towards self-realisation. The self-fulfilment of an individual stands in need of certain moral and spiritual principles as truth, justice, non-violence, etc. These are embodied in our scriptures. These are unchangeable and fundamental. The social arrangements, institutions, conven-

tions and customs that have evolved through the ages are not religion. The Hindu Code does not seek to disturb the Hindu religion but to amend and modify the Hindu civil law. The law has changed from time to time. It is different from religion and has never been unchangeable and static. The authors of the *Dharma Shastras* changed the law from time to time according to the consciousness of the community at the time. The right to make changes was well recognised by the *Dharma shastras*. The Hindu law became rigid and static only after the advent of the British.

It has been the boast of Hinduism that while the fundamentals have remained unchanged, the Hindu social institutions have changed to suit changing circumstances. Continuous adaptability has been the strength and essence of Hinduism. Unless Hindu society is to remain static and dead the law must change to fit in with the changing circumstances. We also know that the *Smritis* have not remained unchanged. The *smritis* did include other branches of law besides those of succession and marriage. These have been dealt with by the Indian legislature and some of them have been superseded. Hindu religion did not flounder. Hindu religion has survived that shock. If Hindu religion could survive the shock of these changes I am sure Hindu society and religion can survive the shock of a little more change.

We have also brought in social legislation of great importance. We have abolished the *Sati*: we have abolished child marriage: we have also abolished to a great extent untouchability. Hindu religion is a very catholic and liberal religion. So the argument of religion in danger does not behove us. Within the fold of this liberal and catholic religion people of various views, customs and manners have found shelter and lived. Today what has happened? Why have we lost our faith in our own religion that we are raising the cry of religion in danger? It does not mean that I want to say that all those who oppose us are orthodox and are reactionaries. I only want to point out that in forcing your point of view you are only doing injustice to your religion when you put forward this argument.

Another argument is this that this Bill should not have been taken up for consideration now and that we have not given the country sufficient opportunity to get acquainted with the provisions of the Bill. As far as I know this Bill has been before the House and before the country for about the last ten years. Some of the measures embodied in the Bill as Succession Bill and Marriage Bill, I think, were introduced in the House in 1943. The Hindu Law Committee was appointed in 1944. Its Report was published, I think, in 1945 or 1946 and the draft Bill has been translated into thirteen Indian languages. Thousands of copies of this draft Bill have been circulated. Even after this if we do not know the provisions of the Hindu Code Bill then it is our fault and not the fault of the Government. Besides that the Bill won't be passed in a day here. We will take a lot of time to consider it. It will take a good deal of time when we consider it in detail. At that time we will have enough opportunity to go to the public, to acquaint them with the provisions of the Bill and also to ascertain their opinion. There is a whispering propaganda, a very strange propaganda, that this Bill should be postponed till after the next general election. Why should it be postponed. Because this may adversely affect our party's popularity? Is it befitting or worthy of the Congress to put forward such arguments? Have we ever considered our popularity before our duty? If we think that a Bill is just, if we consider that a Bill is for the good of the people then it is our duty to go ahead with it. To shelve a Bill just in order to catch votes for the next election is not right. I think it is not even honest. For us the good of the people has always been the supreme consideration. If we don't take this point of view, if we don't keep this attitude before us, we will never be able to sponsor any radical change. Whatever be the field

[Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani]

of our life when a radical change is sought to be made we are bound to come against some vested interests and some established custom. There is always bound to be a cry against such changes. If we give up reform on that score then we shall never change anything.

I would like to say this. Much has been said about the volume of opinion against the Hindu Code Bill. I would like to say with all humility that there is also a very good group—an intelligent, thoughtful group—supporting the measure too. And that intelligent, thoughtful group does not consist of women alone. We have a lot of brothers with us in this measure. We have also seen in history in other countries whenever a radical change was introduced, whenever any reform was sought to be brought into being, it was a small conscious minority that forms up the cause, that educated the public, that did propaganda and after some time public opinion veered round it. So I am sure though it may be that there is a volume of opinion against the Hindu Code, if what we are trying to do is just and right, I am more than sure that public opinion will come with us. Not only will it come with us but it will bless us after a time for the good (*An Honourable Member*: "It is already with us") measure that we have passed. They say they have got the majority with them. So this is my answer.

In the heat and controversy many times we forget that the Bill does not consist of merely the Succession and the Marriage provisions. We have tried to make a uniform and entire system of law. In this entire system of law or Code we have tried to put right a lot of discrepancies, inequities, and injustices. For instance this morning Dr. Ambedkar in his learned speech told us how the provisions regarding guardianship, maintenance, adoption etc. are going to be beneficial to the society. Those who are totally opposed to the Bill have been forgetting the good side of the Bill, the non-controversial side, and have concentrated all their attack on the entire Bill.

Let us come to the question of Succession itself which is greatly opposed by large sections of the people.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: It is opposed by vested interests only.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: It is opposed by large sections. They had levelled two points—against the breakage of the joint family and the grant of absolute rights to women. I will take the second point first. We are seeking to have a society where men and women should be equal, where people of all castes will be equal. We are trying to bring about a perfect democracy of which we have dreamed all these years. We are pledged to give women equal status in society. We are pledged to do away with all sex discrimination and this pledge does not start from the time when we bring into effect the New Constitution. I would like to remind you that in the Karachi resolution these pledges are embodied. After that when we accepted office, then also we again reiterated that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex. If men and women are to work equally, if they are to function as equal citizens of the state, if they are to fulfil their obligations towards the state, how can we have such discriminatory rules in the matter of property rights of women? Unless woman gets her full share of property you cannot expect her to fulfil her obligations to the state. Of course whenever we make any changes, established custom and established rules are disturbed. It causes a certain amount of dislocation and inconvenience, but we have to tolerate them and take them as inevitable. We must not try to enlarge the importance of the inconvenience that is caused to us. Dr. Ambedkar and others have told us that the *smritis* recognize the right of property of women. What law gave us practice denied

us. In practice the right was abrogated. What we are trying to do today is only this.—We are not going against the fundamentals of Hindu religion or Hindu custom or Hindu law; what was granted to us by Hindu law but which was arbitrarily denied to us, we are now trying to take back—or rather you are giving it to us, this right which has been denied to us by society all these years. It is merely justice done—long deferred justice.

If you come to modern times, by the Act of 1937 you have given property right to the wife, to the daughter-in-law, to the grandson's wife and so on and so forth. The only person who is left out is the poor daughter. It is but in the fitness of things that now it should be included here. Therefore I do not see what is there to argue much about it. If we have given to other women this right, if women can inherit from the husband's side let her inherit from the father's side which is very natural and right.

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: They want her to develop to the other stages.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: In regard to joint family there is a very great feeling about it. I do not know why there is such a feeling. Most of the people I come across are anxious to get out of the joint family. The sons do not like to stay with the father. I see most of the families distributed all over the country. So joint family is a very rapidly crumbling institution according to me. Even the legal position of the joint family is very faulty as Dr. Ambedkar has pointed out to us in the morning. Even under Mitakshra system a member of the joint family merely by expression of his will can bring about a partition.

I would therefore like to ask you where is the joint family about which you are crying so loudly?

Much was said about the protection that is given to the unprotected women in the joint family. I know in the past in the joint family unprotected women did get protection. Even now some of them do get protection but at the same time we know hundreds of women who, failing to get any shelter in the joint family, having no economic resources of their own, are hounded to a life of degradation and shame. Many of us women, who are doing social work, come across innumerable such cases. Therefore, not only is it right, not only is it just to give woman her portion but it is absolutely essential to give her the share if you want to safeguard the Hindu society about which you speak so loudly.

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: And something more.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: So much the better. Give us a little more. You have denied us in the past, make it up now.

As regards marriage, the Bill merely seeks to introduce uniformity of practice to avoid confusion and uncertainty. This may entail a little difficulty to those classes which are governed by the customary law but the proposed sacramental and civil marriages are such that it can be put into practice by the poorest and the most backward classes. So I do not think it will create any great difficulty. There is some objection to the registration of sacramental marriages. I think it is purely sentimental because registration is only permissive. If you do not want to avail of the registration you are free not to avail of it.

An Honourable Member: It is compulsory.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: No compulsion.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: No compulsion, either would do.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: If I am wrong, Dr. Ambedkar will correct me. It has been put there as a safeguard; that is all.

We come to the question of inter-caste and *sagothra* marriages. I was hearing my friend who preceded me. I do not know how we can wax eloquent over the objection to *sagothra* and inter-caste marriages because I find a very large number of such marriages taking place in the society. If we did not have such marriages it was all right, but when a very large number of such marriages are taking place, either we compel them to have an irregular marriage or we drive them out of the Hindu fold or we make them go somewhere or they have to go to the civil registration office and get it done. When it is there, why not accept the fact? When it is a practice why not recognise it and give it legality? Therefore, it is but right at this stage, when Indian society has changed so considerably to allow inter-caste and *sagothra* marriages within the Hindu fold.

About monogamy, here also I feel that the society has on the whole accepted monogamy. Polygamy is looked down upon; polygamy finds no favour in our society, though cases do occur. Again, we recognise the current practice amongst an overwhelming majority of Hindus and we legalize it. Moreover as we are trying to bring about a society where men and women are equal, we cannot afford to have a double set of morality for men and women and I should think the men should be happy to have this introduced because by the provision of monogamy we are levelling up the standard of men's morality to that of women. I should think that the men should be thankful to us.

An Honourable Member: Very thankful. We can get easy divorces and marry again.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: As for divorce, though we do not deny the sentiments of the orthodox, men and women, analysing it, we find, that divorce did exist in our ancient scriptures. The grounds of divorce that we have allowed are extremely reasonable and just. We have not allowed any divorce on frivolous grounds as it has been in some parts of the Western world. Care has also been taken to formulate such a procedure that divorce would be resorted to only under very grave circumstances. If we see the records of Baroda, Travancore, Cochin and Malabar where divorce is allowed, very few people have availed themselves of the law. Only under exceptional circumstances it comes to help the people to get out of a very difficult situation. Hindu social tradition is such that we will not on flimsy grounds rush to the court and break up a marriage. The people who fear that the grant of the right of divorce may amount to disruption of the family life of the Hindus are absolutely unjustified.

Then I take Dr. Ambedkar's argument of the morning that divorce prevails among 90 per cent. of the Hindus, so why not extend it to the other 10 per cent. It will be very right and just when we see that among these 10 per cent. divorce cases are occurring. If there had been no divorce cases then I would have understood it, but we see that whenever our men and women want a divorce they leave the Hindu fold and become Muslims or Christians and by doing so they insult those religions of which they make a mere utility. Therefore, we should recognise the existing circumstances and allow divorces.

Sir, I have nothing more to say except that I want to tell my brothers here that we women even when we pressed for our rights have never forgotten the greater good, the larger good. We have been very conservative in this matter. You know even for our political rights we have never encouraged things which we have considered wrong. Even when the British were there we have always stood for joint electorates. Even in the new Constitution we have never

pressed for separate rights for ourselves. We would have pressed for these if we did not think that they go against the benefit of the entire society. If Hindu women benefit, I am sure the Hindu society stands to benefit. This is for the larger good; that is why we are pressing this point.

Here, I would also like to say that our men on the whole have been very co-operative and helpful to us. They have not stood against our progress. It may be that this is due to the benevolent influence of Mahatma Gandhi. You all know that Gandhiji was one of the greatest supporters of women's rights. The tradition that he has established has been followed by our men; because of Gandhiji's influence, because of the sympathetic attitude of our leaders, we have never had to fight for the political rights as women of other countries had to fight. Therefore, I am more than sure that now we will follow the good traditions, we will keep up the spirit of co-operation that we have had all these years and all my brother Members will support this Bill and consider this Bill not as a measure of right for the women, not a measure of justice that you are giving to the woman, but as justice done to the society. This is a measure by which we are trying to make Hindu society healthy and wholesome. The Hindu society is full of defects. We are now independent. If in the world we have to take our status, we have to set our house right; unless we do it we cannot take our position in society. Therefore, let us get together and remedy the defects that are in the house. I only appeal to you and I am sure we will have the support of all of you for this good measure.

The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Friday the 25th February, 1949.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)
DEBATES

(PART II—PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

Friday, 25th February, 1949.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Deputy Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11-50 A.M. • DEATH OF MIAN MOHD. RAFI

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Before I proceed further with the business of the day I want to make a reference to the demise of Mian Mohd. Rafi who was Secretary of this Assembly. He started as Deputy Secretary in 1931 and in 1947 he retired. He had a glorious record of work and assisted this Assembly ably with his services. He was a barrister. I would request the honourable Members of the House to stand in their seats in silence for a minute in memory of the deceased.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

NOTIFICATIONS UNDER THE CENTRAL EXCISES AND SALT ACT, 1944

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai (Minister of Finance): Sir, I beg to lay on the table a copy each of the following notifications in accordance with Section 38 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944, namely:

(1) Central Excises Notification No. 15, dated the 23rd October, 1948, (2) Central Excises Notification No. 16, dated the 30th October, 1948, (3) Central Excises Notification No. 18, dated the 27th November, 1948, (4) Central Excises Notification No. 19, dated the 27th November, 1948, (5) Central Excises Notification No. 20, dated the 18th December, 1948, (6) Notification No. 33/115-CX(Tex)/48, dated the 31st December, 1948, (7) Central Excises Notification No. 1, dated the 1st January, 1949, (8) Central Excises Notification No. 2, dated the 5th February, 1949.

MINISTRY OF FINANCE (REVENUE DIVISION)

Notification No. 15-Central Excises, dated the 23rd October, 1948.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 37 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944 (I of 1944), the Central Government is pleased to direct that the Notification of the Government of India in the late Finance Department (Central Revenues) N8. 34-Central Excises, dated the 25th September 1943, shall be cancelled with effect from the 15th September 1948.

MINISTRY OF FINANCE (REVENUE DIVISION)

Notification No. 16-Central Excises, dated the 30th October, 1948.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 37 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944 (I of 1944), the Central Government is pleased to direct that the following further amendments shall be made in the Central Excise Rules, 1944, namely:—

In the said Rules, for rule 97, the following rule shall be substituted, namely:—

“ 97. *Refund of duty on goods returned to factory.*—(1) The Collector may grant refund of the duty paid on manufactured excisable goods issued from a factory which are returned to it for being remade, refined, reconditioned, or subjected to any other similar process in the factory ;

Provided that—

(i) The goods are returned to the factory within one year of the date of payment of duty ;

[Dr. John Matthai]

- (ii) at least 48 hours' notice is given to the proper officer before the goods are received into the factory;
- (iii) the goods are presented before they are taken into stock to the proper officer for inspection and if necessary, for taking samples;
- (iv) the goods are identified to the satisfaction of the Collector;
- (v) the goods, as originally issued from the factory, are not found to have been tampered with in any way, and the smallest packages meant for retail sale are intact and unopened;
- (vi) the value of the goods at the time of their return to the factory is in the opinion of the Collector not less than the amount of duty originally paid upon them at the time of their clearance from the factory;
- (vii) the amount of refund payable on the goods is not less than rupees one hundred; and
- (viii) a detailed account of the returned goods, and the processes to which they are subjected after their return to the factory, is kept in the factory records.

Provided further that no refund shall be admissible in respect of the duty paid—

- (a) On goods which are disposed of in any manner other than for production of goods of the same class;
- (b) on the unmanufactured tobacco from which cigars, cheroots and cigarettes so returned to the factory have been produced.

(2) No refund under sub-rule (I) shall be paid until the processes mentioned therein have been completed and an account under clause (viii) of the first proviso thereof has been rendered to the satisfaction of the Collector within six months of the return of the goods to the factory.

MINISTRY OF FINANCE (REVENUE DIVISION)

Notification No. 18-Central Excises, dated the 27th November, 1948

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 37 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944 (I of 1944), the Central Government is pleased to direct that the following further amendments shall be made in the Central Excise Rules, 1944, namely:—

In the said Rules—

- (1) In rule 49, for the existing proviso the following shall be substituted, namely—

“Provided that the manufacturer shall on demand pay the duty leviable on any goods which are not accounted for in the manner specifically provided in these rules, or which are not shown to the satisfaction of the proper officer to have been lost or destroyed by natural causes, or by unavoidable accident during handling or storage in such store room or other approved premises, and shall also be liable to a penalty which may extend to five times the duty chargeable on such goods found deficient.”

- (2) In rule 225, for the words “his employees” occurring in the title, and for the words “an employee” in the text of the rule the words “any person” shall be substituted.

MINISTRY OF FINANCE (REVENUE DIVISION)

Notification No. 19-Central Excises, dated the 27th November, 1948

In exercise of the powers conferred by sub-section (1) of section 37 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944 (I of 1944), the Central Government is pleased to direct that the following further amendments shall be made in the Central Excise Rules, 1944, namely:—

- (1) In the said Rules, for the existing rule 7, the following shall be substituted, namely:—

“7. *Recovery of duty.*—Every person who produces cures, or manufactures any excisable goods, or who stores such goods in a warehouse, shall pay the duty or duties leviable on such goods, at such time and place and to such person as may be designated, in or under the authority of these Rules, whether the payment of such duty or duties is secured by bond or otherwise.”

- (2) The existing rule 9 shall be renumbered as sub-rule (1) and the following shall be inserted as sub-rule (2) namely:—

“(2) If any excisable goods are removed or deposited in contravention of sub-rule (1) from any place specified therein the producer or manufacturer thereof shall pay the duty leviable on such goods upon written demand made by the proper Officer, whether such demand is delivered personally to him, or is left at his dwelling house, and shall also be liable to a penalty which may extend to two thousand rupees, and the goods in respect of which the demand is made shall be liable to confiscation.”

MINISTRY OF FINANCE (REVENUE DIVISION)

Notification No. 20-Central Excises, dated the 18th December, 1948.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 37 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944 (I of 1944), the Central Government is pleased to direct that the following further amendments shall be made in the Central Excise Rules, 1944, namely:—

In the said Rules—

- 1. (i) At the end of rules, 14, 140, 154 and 192, the following proviso shall be added, namely:—

“Provided that in the event of death, insolvency or insufficiency of the surety, the Collector may, in his discretion, demand a fresh bond; and may, if the bond is with security, demand at any time he considers it fit to do so, additional security.”

- (ii) at the end of Rule 48, and of sub-rule (1) of Rule 191, the following proviso shall be inserted, namely:—

“Provided that the Collector may demand additional security at any time he considers it necessary to do so.”

- 2. In appendix I, in Form A.L.—6 (Central Excise Series No. 8)—

- (i) after paragraph 4, the following paragraph shall be inserted namely:—

“* 4. A. I/We have verified that the surety/sureties specified in the Bond(s) executed by me/us in forms

under rule(s) is/are alive
and is/are solvent”.

- (ii) the following shall be inserted as a foot-note, namely:—

“* Strike out if the application is made for the first time and if the bond has been executed with security”.

- (iii) after paragraph 5, the following paragraph shall be inserted namely:—

“6. I/We declare that to the best of my/our knowledge and belief the information furnished here is true and complete”.

(Published in the Gazette of India Extraordinary, dated the 1st January, 1949).

MINISTRY OF FINANCE (REVENUE DIVISION)

NOTIFICATION

New Delhi, the 31st December, 1948.

No. 33/115 CX (Tex)/48. — In exercise of the powers conferred by section 37 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944 (I of 1944), the Central Government is pleased to make the following amendments to the Central Excise Rules, 1944, namely:—

“In Chapter V of the said Rules, after rule 96, the following heading and rules shall be inserted, namely:—

“E. I.—CLOTH.

96A. *Definitions.—In this Section—*

- (i) “piece of cloth” means any running length of cloth and includes dhoties, towels, sarees, chuddars and such other items ordinarily sold by the pair, whether they are produced in pairs or in singles.

- (ii) “ex-factory price” shall mean the minimum ex-factory price, exclusive of the excise duty, which is specified in respect of any class or specification of cloth by the Textile Commissioner under the Indian Textiles (Control) Order, 1948, or the contract price thereof, whichever is less.

96B. *Ex-factory price to be specified.*—No manufacturer shall sell or deliver cloth of which the ex-factory price has not been specified by the Textile Commissioner.

96C. *Marking on cloth.*—(1) There shall be marked on each piece of cloth at a distance not

[Dr. John Matthai]

exceeding one yard from any end—

(i) the word "Medium" where the count of warp yarn (whether single or folded) in cloth (excluding the border) is 17s or finer; the word "Fine" where the count of warp yarn (whether single or folded) in the cloth is 35s; and the word "Superfine" where the count of warp yarn (whether single or folded) in the cloth is 48s or finer;

(ii) the length of the piece in standard yards, and

(iii) the ex-factory price of such piece.

(2) The markings prescribed by sub-rule (1) may be made in the following cases as follows, namely:—

(i) in the case of mesh cloth, the markings may be made on a small label of cloth stitched to the mesh cloth;

(ii) in the case of raised blankets, the markings may be made on a small label of cloth securely stuck on the blanket;

(iii) in the case of lint, the markings may be made on a piece of paper securely stuck on the lint.

96D. *Additional Markings.*—For the purpose of these rules, the markings to be made by manufacturer or dealer on any class or specification of cloth manufactured or sold by him at the time and in manner of making such markings, specified by the Textile Commissioner under the provisions of the Indian Cotton Textiles (Control) Order, 1948, shall be deemed to be additional requirements as respects markings to be complied with by a manufacturer or dealer.

96E. *Quantity which may be packed in each bale.*—No manufacturer of cloth shall pack cloth except in bales containing not less than 1450 yards and not more than 1550 yards.

96F. *Marking on bales.*—There shall be marked on every bale or other package of cloth—

(a) the markings specified in clauses (i) and (iii) of sub-rule (1) of rule 96C;

(b) the total number of yards of cloth packed therein;

(c) in the case of dhoties, saris, towels, chaddars or other items ordinarily sold by the pair, the number of such pairs;

(d) in the case of rags, fents, seconds and other damaged and sub-standard cloth if sold by the weight, the net weight of the bale or other package and ex-factory price per lb.

96G. *Exemption.*—Nothing in rule 96C shall apply to rags, fents, seconds and other damaged and sub-standard cloth.

A. N. PURI,
Deputy Secretary.

MINISTRY OF FINANCE (REVENUE DIVISION)

Notification No. 1: Central Excises, dated the 1st January 1949.

In exercise of the powers conferred by section 37 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944, the Central Government is pleased to direct that the following further amendments shall be made in the Central Excise Rules, 1944, namely:—

[In the said rule, in sub-rule (3) of rule 71, for the words "Where only a distinguishing mark is used specimen impressions thereof shall be submitted to the proper officer for approval and record" the following shall be substituted, namely:—

"Specimens of all such labels shall be submitted to the Collector for his approval and record, before they are brought into use".

MINISTRY OF FINANCE (REVENUE DIVISION)

Notification No. 2: Central Excises, dated the 5th February 1949.

No. 2.—In exercise of the powers conferred by section 37 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944, (I of 1944), the Central Government is pleased to direct that the following further amendments shall be made in the Central Excise Rules, 1944, namely:—

In the said rule, in clause (i) of sub-rule (1) of rule 96C after the words brackets and figures "where the count of warp yarn (whether single or folded) in the cloth is 35s", the words "or finer" shall be inserted.

ESSENTIAL SERVICES (PREVENTION OF STRIKES) BILL

The Honourable Shri Satyanarayan Sinha (Minister of State): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the prevention of strikes in certain essential services.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani (U.P.: Muslim): Sir, I beg to oppose the motion for leave to introduce the Bill.

Honourable Members: Order, order.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable Member will have an opportunity in his turn. I shall first put the motion to the House. Then I will hear him.

Motion moved:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the prevention of strikes in certain essential services."

Maulana Hasrat Mohani: Sir, I beg to oppose the motion.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Normally it has been the practice not to oppose a motion of this nature at this stage. In some other places as in Provinces the Bill is published in the Gazette without this formal leave and as soon as it is introduced it is taken into consideration. But a different procedure is adopted in this House. A motion is first made asking for leave to introduce a Bill. It is normally granted. It is only the first stage. Even the papers are not circulated. There will be opportunity for the honourable Member to express himself fully at the second stage when the motion is made to take it into consideration. I leave it to the honourable Member.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani: Will it not be a waste of time and energy?

An Honourable Member: This is waste of time.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani: I have very serious reasons for not granting the leave.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I know the honourable Member is always ready, but unfortunately the other Members are not ready.

Honourable Members: It is waste of time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Honourable Members will kindly leave it to me to guide the deliberations of the House so long as I am here. They need not remind me again and again that it is a waste of time. I would like to give all honourable Members an opportunity within their legitimate limits. Honourable Members will kindly bear with me. I am only suggesting to the honourable Member that while he may be prepared other Members may not be and they do not have even the copies. Now I will put this motion without any further discussion. The honourable Member will have ample opportunity; other honourable Members also will have an opportunity at the proper stage.

The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the prevention of strikes in certain essential services."

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Shri Satyanarayan Sinha: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

HINDU CODE—Contd.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The House will now proceed with the further consideration of the following motion moved by the Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar on the 31st August, 1948:

"That the Bill to amend and codify certain branches of the Hindu Law, as reported by the Select Committee, be taken into consideration."

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad (West Bengal: Muslim): Sir, I have moved amendments and I think it will be proper for me to advance arguments and for others to speak. Instead of that if I have to listen to them now and then speak, where would be the scope for them to reply?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I think the honourable Member who has moved an amendment to the motion will be in a better position if he speaks later because as he knows he won't have an opportunity to reply.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I do not wish to reply.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: In that view it will be right that the honourable Member should hear certain speeches for and against his motion so that he may be able to reply and he may speak once for all. I have called Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava. (Interruption) The duty of regulating the order of speakers is with the Chair. I feel it right to call upon Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : माननीय डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, इस हिन्दू कोड बिल के बारे में जिसने सारे हिन्दुस्तान को

Mr. Deputy Speaker: In English please.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : चूँकि यह मामला बहुत अहम है इसी वजह से मैं हिन्दी में बोलना चाहता हूँ ।

Dr. Mono Mohan Das: We can understand the Hindustani speaker by the Honourable the Minister of Education. It is entirely different from the Hindi or Hindustani spoken by Seth Govind Das, or Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava. As beginners we do not know which is Hindustani.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: There is no set standard which is copied here. What ever is spoken is Hindustani.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : पेश्तर इसके कि मैं अपनी तकरीर को शुरू करूँ (Honourable Members : English please) चूँकि बहुत से मैम्बर साहिबान की स्वाहिश है कि मैं अंग्रेजी में अपनी तकरीर करूँ मुझे उनकी इस स्वाहिश का अहतराम करने में किसी किस्म की कोई हिचकिचाहट नहीं है लेकिन सारे मैम्बर साहिबान जानते हैं कि अपनी जवान में अपने आपको जाहिर करना ज्यादा आसान है वमुकाबले अंग्रेजी के। इस वास्ते अगर वह मुझे इजाजत दें तो मैं हिन्दी में ही तकरीर करना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन अगर वह ज्यादा इसरार करेंगे तो मुझे हरगिज किसी किस्म का इसमें भी इन्कार न होगा कि मैं अंग्रेजी में ही अपनी तकरीर शुरू कर दूँ। (माननीय सदस्य : हिन्दी ! हिन्दी !) चूँकि मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत सारे साहिबान इसमें इसरार नहीं करते हैं इस वास्ते मैं हिन्दी में ही बोलना पसन्द करता हूँ।

श्रीमती जी० दुर्गाबाई : आप सहल हिन्दी में बोलने की कृपा करें ताकि हम भी समझ सकें ।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : मैं कोशिश करूँगा कि निहायत सहल हिन्दी में बोलूँ ।

मैं इस हिन्दू कोड बिल पर आज जब इस हाउस के सामने तकरीर करने खड़ा हुआ हूँ तो मेरे दिल में बहुत से मुस्लिफ ख्यालात एक दूसरे से लड़ाई कर रहे हैं। मैं शुरू में ही अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ कि मैं उन लोगों में से नहीं हूँ कि जो हिन्दू सभ्यता का, इस देश के हिन्दू कल्चर का इस कोड से खातमा होने का इकरार करते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दू कल्चर और हिन्दू सोसाइटी और हिन्दू सभ्यता हमेशा तक, जब तक जमाना कायम रहे, उस वक्त तक रहे। मैं इसका हर्गिज मुस्लिफ नहीं हूँ। न मैं डरता हूँ कि इस बिल से या किसी और बिल से हिन्दू सभ्यता या कल्चर को कोई नुकसान पहुंच सकेगा। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि वह खराबियाँ जो बहुत असें से हिन्दू सोसाइटी के अन्दर आ गई हैं और जिन के वास्ते डाक्टर अम्बेदकर साहब ने अपने आखिरी अल्फाज में इस हाउस से अपील की थी, वह दूर हों और उस अपील पर बड़े ठंडे दिल से गौर किया जाय। अगर दरअसल हिन्दू सोसाइटी को कायम रहना है तो इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि अगर रिपेयर करने की जरूरत होगी तो इसकी रिपेयर करनी ही चाहिए। मैं उन लोगों का सख्त विरोधी हूँ कि जो यह कहते हैं कि इस बिल से हिन्दू कल्चर खत्म हो जायेगा। मैं एक मिनट के वास्ते भी यह मानने को तैयार नहीं हूँ कि इस असेम्बली को या इस सभा के अन्दर ऐसे आदमियों को, जो पुराने स्मृतिकारों की तरह की ही काविलियत रखते हैं, हमारे शास्त्रों में या हमारे कानून में कोई तबदीली करने का हक हासिल नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हर समाज के लोगों को अपने जमाने के मुवाफिक अपना कानून बनाने का पूरा अख्तियार है। अगर आज कोई शख्स यह अपील करता है कि यह पुराने जमाने का कायदा है, हमको इसी के मुताबिक अमल करना चाहिए, तो मैं उसके मुतालिक यह अर्ज करूँगा कि कोई भी ऐसा कायदा नहीं है जिसका तजर्बा हिन्दुस्तान ने न कर लिया हो। हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर ऐसे इलाके मौजूद हैं जहाँ 'सिस्टम आफ इनहैरिटेन्स' हिन्दुस्तान के दूसरे हिस्सों से बिल्कुल मुस्लिफ है। क्या हम नहीं जानते हैं कि खासी ट्राइब्स में और सदर्न (Southern) पंजाब के कुछ हिस्सों में सारा इनहैरिटेन्स का इन्स्टीट्यूशन इस बात पर इनहसार करता है कि लड़कों के बजाय लड़कियों को सारी जायंदाद मिलती है। हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर ऐसे इलाके भी हैं जहाँ लड़की के सुसराल जाने के बजाय खाविन्द को बीबी के घर ले जाया जाता है यह मुल्क ऐसा मुल्क है कि जिसके अन्दर सब तरह का कानून रह चुका है। कौनसा ऐसा सोशल सिस्टम है जिसको हमने ट्राई नहीं किया। कल ही डाक्टर अम्बेदकर साहब ने फरमाया था कि कुछ स्मृतियों में दर्ज है कि लड़कियों को लड़कों

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

के साथ एक तरह से heir हेयर करार दिया जाय। इसलिए यह तो पहले से मौजूद ही था। इसके अलावा भी मैं नहीं जानता कि कौनसा ऐसा कानून है जो आज नया कानून कहलाया जा सकता है। डाइवोर्स आज बहुत सी जगह मौजूद है। पुरानी स्मृतियों के देखने से मालूम होता है कि उनमें भी डाइवोर्स का जिक्र है। सिर्फ इसी वजह से कि यह उसूल पुरानी स्मृतियों में मिलते हैं मैं यह मानने को तैयार नहीं हूँ कि हमको उन्हीं उसूलों पर वापस चला जाना चाहिए। अगर वह उसूल हमारे ख्याल में आज के लिए ठीक नहीं हैं तो उन उसूलों को क्यों कायम रखा जाय। मैं जानता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर ऐसा भी जमाना था जब शादी का इन्स्टीट्यूशन ही हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं था और लोग शादी को नहीं जानते थे। हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर नियोग का सिलसिला पहले अर्से तक जारी रहा। हिन्दू ला (Law) में आठ तरह की शादियों का जिक्र है। इन शादियों में से कुछ को तो शादी के नाम से मंसूब भी नहीं किया जा सकता। क्या कोई कह सकता है कि उन उसूलों को इस जमाने में वापस लाया जाना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ हर्गिज नहीं। मैं इस वास्ते इस सवाल को जो आज हमारे सामने पेश है इस नुक्ते ख्याल से नहीं देखना चाहता हूँ कि पुराने जमाने में क्या चीज मौजूद थी और किस तरह हमारे वुजुर्ग अपने कानूनों को बना कर अपनी सोसाइटी को रेग्युलेट करते थे। मेरे सामने सवाल यह है कि आज के जमाने में हमारी नीड्स (needs) के मुताबिक, हमारे लीगल कन्सेप्शन (legal conception) के मुताबिक, हमारी जंरुगियात के मुताबिक हमें किस चीज की जरूरत है। इस कोड के मुताबिक मुल्क के अन्दर एक बड़ी सकत कशमकश रेस्टलेसनेस (restlessness) और अनईजीनेस (uneasiness) पैदा हो गई है। कुछ औरतें यह कहती हैं कि हम मर्दों के बराबर हक लेंगी। यह औरतों का कोड है। कुछ लोग यह कहते हैं कि नहीं हर्गिज औरतों को कोई हक नहीं। मैं इस हाउस में निहायत आज़िजी से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक इस बिल का सवाल पेश है हमें हर्गिज किसी स्लोगन (Slogan) पर या किसी ऐसी बात पर ध्यान न देना चाहिए कि यह औरतों के हक में है या मर्दों के हक में है। हमें ठंडे दिल से देखना चाहिए कि क्या यह रवैया ठीक है। कौन आदमी यह कह सकता है कि वह एक मां के पेट से पैदा नहीं है, और कौन औरत कह सकती है कि वह एक मर्द की बेटा नहीं है। इस वास्ते क्या ऐसे मामले में हम अपनी बहनों के साथ, अपनी लड़कियों के साथ और अपनी माओं के साथ ठीक सलूक नहीं करेंगे। क्या आज हमारी माएँ, बहनें और लड़कियां यह डिमांड करती हैं कि वह मर्दों के साथ, अपने भाई, बाप और लड़कों

के साथ ठीक सलूक नहीं करेंगी। इसलिए इस मामले में किसी बख्त (bitter) कंट्रोवर्सी (controversy) के लाने की जरूरत नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक बड़ा नाजुक सवाल है। इसे हम ठीक तरीके से और ठंडे दिल से देखें।

पेश्वर इसके कि मैं इस के ऊपर आगे चलूँ एक सवाल के बारे में दो एक बातें अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ ताकि कम से कम हाउस के मेम्बरान और खुसूसन मरी बहिनें इस बात को न समझें कि मैं किसी खास ख्याल को लेकर इस बिल की मुखालिफत करता हूँ या सपोर्ट करता हूँ। मैं शुरू में ही अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ कि मैं उन अशख़ास में से हूँ जो जानते हैं कि जब तक औरतों को जायदाद मनकूला वगैर मनकूला में हुक्कू नहीं मिलेंगे उस वक़्त तक औरतों की परसोनैलिटी (personality) का पूरा डेवलपमेंट (development) नहीं होगा। मैं औरतों के इकानामिक डिपेंडेंस (economic dependence) का सख्त मुखालिफ़ हूँ। मुझे सीता जी का वह श्लोक पसन्द नहीं, जिसमें उन्होंने कहा है :

मितं ददाति हि पिता मितं भ्राता मितं सुतः

अमितस्यतुदातारं भर्तारम् का न पूजयेत् ॥

मैं रामायण की परसितिश करता हूँ लेकिन मैं इस उसूल को एक मिनट के वास्ते भी मानने को तैयार नहीं हूँ कि औरतों को हमेशा के लिए डिपेंडेंट (dependent) रखा जाय। जैसा कि चन्द स्मृतियों में लिखा है कि जबतक औरत की शादी न हो तब तक वह अपने बाप के काबू में रहे, शादी के बाद अपने ख़ाविद के काबू में रहे और अगर वह बेवा हो जाय तो अपने बेटे के काबू में रहे, मैं इसके मानने के लिए एक मिनट को भी तैयार नहीं हूँ।

इस वजह से नहीं कि यह औरतों के वास्ते दुःखदाई है। मैं जानता हूँ कि जबतक इस देश के अन्दर औरतें ज़वर्दस्त परसोनैलिटी हासिल नहीं करेंगी, जबतक औरतें इकनौमेकली (economically) अपनी हालत ठीक न करेंगी और जबतक हर तरह से उनकी हालत ठीक नहीं होती तो हमारी नसल की तरक्की नहीं होगी। औरतों को हर तरीके से मर्दों की तरह तरक्की का मौका दिया जाय। मेरा ख्याल है कि छोटे नुक्ते ख्याल से देखना इस सवाल को हरगिज जायज नहीं है। हमें दूरदर्शी बनकर सारी जाती व देश के भले के दृष्टिकोण से इसको तै करना है। हम हजारों वर्षों से हिन्दुस्तान में जितनी चीजें रायज हैं मानते चले आये हैं और आज भी हम उनको (preserve) प्रिजर्व किये हुए हैं। लेकिन साथ ही हमें यह देखना होगा कि हम कैसे इस दुनिया के अन्दर जो slogans चल रहे हैं कि औरतों को मर्दों के बराबर हक़ मिलें उन पर अमल करें। अगर इस उसूल को पूर्णतया न

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

भी मानें तो भी हम committed हैं कि मर्दों के बराबर कम से कम उनको तरक्की की गुंजाइश व मौका दें। इस असूल को हमको अपने सामने रखना होगा। इसलिए मैं साफ तौर पर कहना चाहता हूँ कि औरतों को जायदाद मनकूला और गैर मनकूला में जहर जायज हकूक मिलें।

मैं इस बात के बेहद हक में हूँ। मैं डाक्टर अम्बेदकर साहब को मुबारकवाद भी देता हूँ कि उन्होंने एबोलिशन आफ कास्ट (abolition of Caste) का असूल शादी व एडोपशन (adoption) में इस विल में मान लिया है। मेरी जवान में ताकत नहीं है कि मैं यह अर्ज करूँ कि मैं इस सवाल को कितना जहरी समझता हूँ। मैं इस सवाल को इस तरह से देखता हूँ कि यह एक नेशन बिलडिंग सवाल है। यह हमारी जिन्दगी और मौत का सवाल है। यह असूली चीज है। अगर किसी चीज ने हिन्दुस्तान का सत्यानाश किया और पाकिस्तान बनवाया और हिन्दुस्तान को आगे न बढ़ने दिया वह यह caste system है। अगर कोई नक्स सोसाइटी के अन्दर है, जो इसको धुन की तरह खा रहा है जिसने ब्रह्मणों को दूसरों का दुश्मन बना दिया है, जाटों को गैरजाटों का दुश्मन बना दिया है और क्षत्रियों को तीनों को दुश्मन बना दिया है तो वह यह जात का सवाल है। मैं नहीं चाहता कि हमारे देश में जो महात्मा गांधी देश पिता रास्ता बतला गए हैं कि Classless society बने हम कैसे इस को मानने से इन्कार कर सकते हैं। दो सवाल हैं एक तो रोटी का और दूसरा बेटी का। लोगों को एक करने के लिये बेटी के सवाल का जहाँ तक ताल्लुक है जब तक यह सवाल हल नहीं हो जाता तब तक हिन्दुस्तान की नेशन बिलडिंग का सवाल हल नहीं हो सकता। इस वास्ते मैं, जहाँ तक इस सवाल का ताल्लुक है, इसके बेहद हक में हूँ।

जहाँ तक मानोगमी monogamy का सवाल है इसके बरखिलाफ़ शायद ही कोई मेम्बर हो। मैं जानता हूँ कि जहाँ तक इस मानोगमी के असर का सवाल है, जिस इलाके से मैं आता हूँ वहाँ इसके पास करने से खराब असर पड़ेगा क्योंकि आज भी जहरत के मुताबिक ऐसा होता है कि जब कोई शख्स मर जाता है तो उसकी बेवा रह जाती है तो उसके छोटे भाई के साथ उसकी शादी हो जाती है। मैं जानता हूँ कि इस आने वाले जमाने के अन्दर हमें यह दकियानूसी रिवाज जो कायम है इस रिवाज को नहीं रखना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि जिन लोगों को यह एफ़ेक्ट (affect) करेगा अगर उनको अच्छी तरह से इसकी खराबियों को बतलाया जायेगा और समझाया जायेगा तो वह इस चीज को छोड़ने को बिलकुल तैयार हो जायेंगे।

यह जो सवाल आता है मानोगमी का और जिन लोगों के मुताबिक मैं जिक्र कर रहा हूँ, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ उन लोगों का ख्याल था कि जिस जमाने में हिन्दुस्तान में विडो मैरिज (widow-marriage) न थी, उन्होंने अपनी जरूरत के मुताबिक इस असूल को माना और इसी हिसाब से बनाया। इसलिए जहाँ तक मानोगमी का सवाल है, जहाँ तक एबोलिशन आफ कास्ट (abolition of Caste) का सवाल है, और जहाँ तक औरतों को हकूक दिये जाने का सवाल है, मैं साफ तौर से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ मैं उनके हक में हूँ।

जहाँ तक डाइवोर्स (Divorce) का सवाल है, मैं जानता हूँ डाइवोर्स का रिवाज बहुत बड़े हिस्से हिन्दुस्तान में मौजूद है। कुछ लोगों की निगाह में, आज के दिन डाइवोर्स कुछ बुरा नज़र आता है। दरअसल इस मुल्क के अन्दर जिसके अन्दर हमारे रिवाजों के मुताबिक औरतें सती हो जाती थीं डाइवोर्स की मुश्किल कोई ताजुब की बात नहीं। हमारे ख्यालात के मुताबिक शादी अटूट रिशता कायम करती है और इस नुकते ख्याल से डाइवोर्स का हक हमें नहीं देना चाहिये। लेकिन मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस मुल्क के अन्दर डाइवोर्स हमेशा से मौजूद रहा है और आज के दिन भी मौजूद है। अगर लोग अपनी आंखें बन्द करके चलना चाहते हैं, नहीं देखना चाहते हैं कि आज दुनिया के चारों तरफ क्या हो रहा है तो उनकी मर्जी है। डाक्टर अम्बेदकर साहब ने हम को बतलाया कि यह रिवाज हमारे यहाँ ९० प्रतिशत है। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इससे कुछ थोड़ा ज्यादा है कम नहीं है। जहाँ तक डाइवोर्स का ताल्लुक है और जहाँ तक हिन्दुस्तान में इसका अमल किया जाता है। मैं इसके हक में हूँ। इस वजह से नहीं कि यह आजकल की सोसाइटी में मौजूद है बल्कि इस वजह से कि यह हमारे कस्टम में मौजूद है। इस वास्ते मैं डाइवोर्स के हक में हूँ।

सवाल यह पैदा होता है कि इस हिन्दू कोड विल में जो सलैक्ट कमेटी से आया है सब से बड़ी मुश्किल यह है कि यह काफ़ी दूर तक नहीं जाता। दरअसल बात यह है कि जो कस्टम हमारे यहाँ मौजूद है और सलैक्ट कमेटी ने जो रिफार्म किये हैं वह बहुत थोड़े हैं, पंजाब के लोग इतने पिछड़े हुए नहीं हैं। पंजाब के लोग हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों से सोशल रिफार्म में बहुत आगे बढ़े हुए हैं। यह कोड उस हद तक नहीं जाता। यह एक तरह से सोशल रिफार्म उनके लिए नहीं है बल्कि उनको पीछे की तरफ ले जाता है। अगर इस कोड को पंजाब के किसी दहात में हिन्दू या सिक्ख को दिखाया जायेगा तो वह कहेगा कि "अरे साहब आप यह क्या कर रहे हैं हमको तो आप बहुत पीछे फेंके दे रहे हैं। हम तो इससे बहुत आगे बढ़े हुए हैं। इससे तो आप हमको पीछे की तरफ ले जाना चाहते हैं"। इससे पंजाब के लोगों को फायदा नहीं होगा।

[पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव]

जो मौजूदा कोड सिलेक्ट कमेटी से आया है यह ऐसी शकल में आया है कि जिसके अन्दर पंजाब के लोगों की जरूरतें बहुत पीछे रह गयीं हैं और उन जरूरतों को महज पीछे ही नहीं छोड़ दिया गया है बल्कि बहुत सी चीजें हमको इसके अन्दर मजबूर करती हैं कि इस कानून को हमें तोड़ना पड़ेगा अगर यह इसी शकल में रहा। अगर हम अपने इंस्टीट्यूशन्स को कायम रखना चाहते हैं तो वे इस कानून की शकल में कायम नहीं रह सकते और यह कानून बहुत तकलीफदेह हो जाता है।

श्री मोहन लाल गौतम : कोई मिसाल दीजिये।

पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव : मिसाल तो मैं अभी अर्ज करता हूं। मैं जनाब की इजाजत से इस तमहीद के बाद यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि मुझको इस बिल के बारे में क्या क्या ऐतराज करने हैं और किस हद तक इस बिल को सपोर्ट करना है। बहुत सारे प्रावीजन्स इस बिल में ऐसे हैं कि जिनके बारे में शायद कोई खिलाफ न हों। बहुत ही कम ऐसे आदमी होंगे जो यह कहें कि हम इसके सारे प्रावीजन्स के खिलाफ हैं। लेकिन जनाब वाला, आप इस बिल को पढ़ें तो इसमें १७ में से ११ मेम्बरों के नोट्स आफ डिसेंट हैं और वह लोग कौन हैं। वह हैं मिसेज अम्बू स्वामीनाथन, और श्रीमती रेनुका रे। इन दोनों के नोट्स आफ डिसेंट हैं।

Shrimati Renuka Ray : These notes are not on fundamental principles.

पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव : I am coming to that. सच पूछिये तो जो इन ११ आदमियों ने नोट्स आफ डिसेंट लिखे हैं वह खुद इस बिल की, जैसा कि यह सिलेक्ट कमेटी से आया है मुखालिफत करते हैं। मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि इनमें किन किन के नोट्स आफ डिसेंट हैं। इनमें नोट आफ डिसेंट हैं बक्शी टेकचन्द जी का जिन्होंने सारी उच्च सोशल रिफार्म का काम किया है और जो बहुत हद तक सोशल रिफार्म के लिये आगे जाने को तैयार हैं। जब वह भी नोट आफ डिसेंट लिखते हैं तो हमारे लिये सोचने की बात है कि हम कहाँ जा रहे हैं। अगर इन नोट्स आफ डिसेंट को पढ़ा जाय तो मालूम हो जायगा कि दर असल यह जो बिल सिलेक्ट कमेटी से आया है इसकी कम अज कम पूरे तौर पर १७ में से ११ आदमी मुखालिफत करते हैं। अब मैं इस तमहीद के बाद यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि क्यों इस बिल के लिये इस सूरत में मैं ऐसे मोशन को मूव करने को तैयार हूँ जो आम तौर पर यह ख्याल किये जाते हैं कि डायलेटरी (Dilatory) हैं।

مسٹر تجمل حسین : میں حضور! ایک پوائنٹ آف انفارمیشن چاہتا ہوں۔ میرے آنریبل ممبر فرماتے ہیں کہ ۱۸ ممبر جو سلیکٹ کمیٹی کے نئے انہیں سے ۱۱ نے نوٹ آف ڈسینٹ لکھا ہے۔ اگر وہ اس بل کے خلاف ہیں تب میں یہ جاننا چاہتا ہوں آنریبل ممبر سے کہ یہ بل سلیکٹ کمیٹی سے کیوں کر دیکلنڈ ہو کر آیا کہ ہم لوگ اسکو پاس کر دیں۔

पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव : मेरे ख्याल में डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, यह सवाल न इनफार्मेशन का है और न कोई पाइन्ट आफ ऑर्डर ही है। अब आप इस बिल को देख लीजिये। इसमें मिस्टर भारती ने भी नोट आफ डिसेंट लिखा है।

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi : Mine is a little ahead of the Bill. I want to enlarge the scope of the Bill. That is my dissenting minute.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Should honourable members go on explaining every remark and every sentence? It is not necessary.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi : No, Sir, I was.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member's note of dissent is in print. He will have his turn if he wants to offer any explanation. It is no good going on interrupting a speaker and other honourable Members also be simultaneously standing up.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi : May I say, Sir.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker : I have heard the honourable member sufficiently.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi : On a point of personal explanation, Sir?

Mr. Deputy Speaker : Order, order.

पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव : जनाब वाला, मैं भारती साहब को तकलीफ नहीं दूंगा कि वह अपने नुक्ते ख्याल को हाउस के सामने रखें। मैं खुद ही रखे देता हूँ जो नोट मिस्टर भारती साहब का है वह यह है कि वह इस बिल के उसूलों के मुखालिफ नहीं हैं। वह चाहते हैं कि लाजिकली (Logically) सब औरतों को यह अम्नियार दिया जाय, कि जिनकी लिमिटेड एस्टेट है उन सब को वह चाहते हैं कि एबसोल्यूट ओनर (absolute owner) फौरन बना दिया जाय।

I am correct, I think.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi : I am not permitted to reply.

Mr. Deputy Speaker : The honourable member Pandit Bhargava may go on.

पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव : इसीलिए मैं जनाब से अर्ज कर रहा था कि यह बिल जिस तरह से आया है इसके अन्दर बहुत से मेम्बरान ने जो सिलेक्ट कमेटी

[पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव]

में थे डिसेंटिंग नोट्स लिखे हैं। यह नोट्स किस ख्याल से लिखे थे, यह मैं आयन्दा आगे चलकर बयान करूंगा और मैं चाहता हूँ कि मुझे बीच में इंटरप्ट (interrupt) न किया जाय।

मैं, जनाब वाला, अर्ज कर रहा था कि बाबूजूद इसके कि यह बिल जितना दूर जाता है उसके आगे मैं सोशल रिफार्म में जाने को तैयार हूँ, फिर भी मैं इस काविल अपने को नहीं पाता कि मैं इस बिल की पूरे तौर से सपोर्ट करूँ। और यह नैचुरल (natural) है। आखिर डाक्टर अम्बेदकर साहब जिनकी मेहरबानी से यह बिल इस शकल में आया है और जिन्होंने एक ऐसी तकरीर फरमाई है कि जिससे हर एक हिन्दुस्तानी, हिन्दू का सिर ऊंचा होता है, वह भी इसके सारे प्रावीजन्स के सपोर्ट में नहीं है। इसीलिए उन्होंने फरमाया कि कई जगह सिलेक्ट कमेटी रीजन (reason) के बाहर चली गई है। मैं इससे ज्यादा सख्त लपज इस्तेमाल नहीं करना चाहता। लेकिन मैं यह कहता हूँ कि वह भी इसके खिलाफ हैं और इस तरह १२ नोट इसके डिसेंट में हैं। तो मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि जब १७ में से १२ इसके खिलाफ हैं तो ऐसी सूरत में हाउस को ताज्जुब नहीं होना चाहिए अगर मैं नजीबुद्दीन साहब ने जो अमेंडमेंट पेश की उसकी ताईद करना चाहता हूँ।

वजह साफ है मैं नहीं चाहता कि मुझे कोई साहब मिसअंडरस्टैंड (misunderstand) करें। इस बिल में बहुत से ऐसे सेक्शन्स हैं जिनके लिए मैं नहीं चाहता कि उनके पास होने में एक मिनट की भी देर लगे। अगर उनका यह मोशन डाइलेटरी (dilatatory) होता तो मैं ताईद नहीं करता। मेरे भी बहुत से मोशन्स डाइलेटरी नहीं थे। मैं जानता हूँ कि यह बिल इस असेम्बली में यानी इस सेशन में पास होने वाला नहीं है। इसको पास करने के लिए इस असेम्बली का एक और स्पेशल सेशन करना होगा। वह अगले ६ महीने तक होगा। मैं जो एतराज कर रहा हूँ वह इस ६ महीने के अरसे में आसानी से तय हो सकता है।

मैं जनाब की इजाजत से यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि यह बिल वापस सिलेक्ट कमेटी के सुपुर्द न किया जाय और इसके वास्ते वजूहात बिलकुल डिफरेंट हैं। शायद कुछ अशस्त्रास के दिल में यह हो कि मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि यह बिल किसी तरह खत्म हो जाय। मैं इस बिल को खत्म करना नहीं चाहता। मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह बिल पास हो। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि इसके अन्दर जितनी अच्छी अच्छी चीजें हैं उन सब को कबूल कर लें। इसलिये इस बिल को ठंडे दिल से देखने की जरूरत है। इसमें होट पैदा करने की जरूरत नहीं है। इसलिये मैं जो कुछ अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ उसमें चाहता हूँ कि आप ठंडे दिल से सुनें और मैं समझता हूँ कि डाक्टर अम्बेदकर उसे मिसअंडरस्टैंड नहीं करेंगे।

मैं निहायत आजजी से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ, लड़ाई के तौर पर अर्ज करना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन जो कहना चाहता हूँ उसको कहने की मुझे जुरत होनी चाहिये और मैं चाहता हूँ कि दूसरे शक्स उसको कम से कम जनरसली (generously) नहीं तो फेयरली इंटरप्रेट (fairly interpret) करें। मेरी गुजारीश अदव के साथ यह है और मैं इसको कम वक्त नहीं देता हूँ। मैं अब यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ, जैसा कि हाउस के हर एक मेम्बर को मालूम है कि नये इलेक्शन्स होने वाले हैं। जो कोई मेम्बर यहां आये है यह इनडाइ क्ट इलेक्शन से तशरीफ लाये हैं, डाइरेक्ट इलेक्शन और अडल्ट सफ़रेज (adult suffrage) से हमारे बाद लोग आने वाले हैं। कांस्टिट्यूएंट असेम्बली में हमने एक रिजोल्यूशन पास किया था। उसके मुताबिक सन् १९५० में इलेक्शन हो जावेंगे। तो उस वक्त मैं यह कहने को तैयार हूँ, जैसा कि जवाब वाला ने फरमाया था कि यह बिल्कुल सावरेन (sovereign) बाडी है। लेकिन ताहम प्रोप्रायटी के असूल पर मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसे मसले पर जिसके अन्दर ३० करोड़ आदमियों की रोज मर्ग की जिन्दगी के सवालात पर हम फ़ैसला करने वाले हैं। तो यह बेहतर होगा कि जो लोग डाइरेक्ट इलेक्शन से और अडल्ट सफ़रेज से आने वाले हैं वह इस पर फ़ैसला करें। मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि यह मुनासिब होगा।

मैं प्रोप्रायटी के असूल पर अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। कुछ लोग यह महसूस करते हैं कि यह एसेम्बली सिर्फ कांस्टिट्यूशन बना सकती है। यह वही आर्गुमेन्ट (argument) है जो कल दिया गया था कि जब बारह लड़कों में जायदाद तकसीम होने पर फ्रैगमेंटेशन (fragmentation) नहीं होता है तो एक लड़की में और तकसीम करने पर भी नहीं हो सकता है। मैं कहता हूँ कि, 'one wrong cannot justify another'. श्री मोहन लाल गौतम फरमाते हैं कि एसेम्बली को कांस्टिट्यूशन बनाने का अधिकार भी नहीं है मैं इसको नहीं मानता लेकिन अगर आप मानते हैं तो आप, उस गलती को दोहरा क्यों रहे हैं। यह बहुत गलत है। अगर यह असूल आपका नहीं है तो दूसरी बात है। मेरी राय में कांस्टिट्यूशन फ्रेम (frame) करने वाली यह एसेम्बली सावरेन बाडी है। यह बिल्कुल लीगल है। और इसी तरह इस हाउस को पूरा अख्तियार है कि वह जो चाहे आज कानून पास करे। लेकिन ताहम सिर्फ प्रोप्रायटी की, सिर्फ इसी चीज की मुनासिबत का तकाजा है कि हम इसमें जल्दी न करें। हजारों वर्षों से हम इन्हीं असूलों पर चलते आये हैं और मेरा इस वास्ते यह कहना है कि छः महीने के अर्से में आसमान नहीं गिर पड़ेगा कि हम अभी जल्दी करके फ़ौरन इसको पास कर दें। इसलिये मैं निहायत अदव से अर्ज करूंगा कि जैसा कि जनाब वाला ने अपने डिसेंटिंग नोट में लिखा है, इसमें बारह आदमियों, बारह राशियों में से एक राशि आपकी है और आप के साथ बाबू रामनारायणसिंह ने इसके अन्दर सफ़ह ११ पर लिखा है।

[पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव]

"The members have been elected indirectly and have no mandate from the electorate. The mass of opinion and the majority is against most of the provisions of the Bill and the Bill seeks to alter the fundamental structure of the Hindu Society."

मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इन्साफ़ यह चाहता है कि डाइरेक्ट चुनाव के प्रतिनिधियों को मौका दिया जाना चाहिये कि वह ऐसेम्बली में आकर इसका फ़ैसला करें। हमारे निहायत मोहतरम और हमारे देश के सच्चे लीडर डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद ने भी इस उसूल को मान कर एक लेटर लिखा था कि यह सारे का सारा बिल आने वाली ऐसेम्बली के सामने आये।

مسٹر تجمل حسین : گورنر جنرل نے جو لکھا تھا وہ کیا تھا ؟

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : हुजूर, गवर्नर जनरल साहब की निस्वत जो आप कहते हैं उसका जिक्र यहां आ चुका है। लेकिन मैं निहायत अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि मैं वृजुओं की राय की पूरी वक़्त, पूरी इज्जत करता हूँ। इस मामले में आज मेरा ताल्लुक है, हर एक औरत का ताल्लुक है जो गांव में रहती है। हर एक इन्सान इससे मुतासिर होगा इसलिये हर एक को अपनी राय देने का हक़ हासिल है। मैं जो नहीं मानता हूँ वह यह है जो कल मेरी बहन सूचेता कृपलानी ने फ़रमाया था कि इस डंग से सदियां बीत जायेंगी। दस बरस से यह कानून बन रहा है। सन १९४८ में यह बनाया गया था। यह आर्गुमेन्ट मुझे अपील नहीं करता। क्या मैं पूछ सकता हूँ कि इस देश में कितनी लिट्रेसी है? क्या मैं पूछ सकता हूँ कि इस देश के अन्दर औरतें कितनी लिट्रेट हैं? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ अपनी बहनों से जो यहां की मेम्बर हैं, जो मेरी बहनें यहां पर हैं उनकी राय का मुझ पर असर है, लेकिन मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि इस मामले में उनकी हजारों बहनें जो गांव और शहरों में रहती हैं क्या उनको राय देने का हक़ हासिल है। इस वास्ते मैं अर्ज करूंगा अपनी बहनों से कि उनको इस बारे में अपने ऊपर थोड़ा सा सब्र से काम लेना चाहिये, थोड़ी रिस्ट्रैन्ट से काम लना चाहिये। अगर मैं अर्ज करूँ कि उनकी राय भी इसमें शामिल की जाय जिन्हें अपनी राय देने का पूरा हक़ है, तो उसे ज़ुर्म न समझा जाय। मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस मामले में हरगिज़ हरगिज़ गांव वालों और शहरवालों को यह पता नहीं है कि यह क्या बिल है और उसकी क्या प्राविज़न्स हैं। लोग कहते हैं वाह वाह। मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि उन लोगों को जिन्होंने इस बिल की प्राविज़न्स को नहीं देखा है, बहुत से मेम्बर इस हाउस के हैं जिन्होंने इसको महसूस नहीं किया है कि इसकी अहमियत क्या है।

Shrimati G. Durgabai When you consider women of this country fit enough to understand the provisions of your other Bills for reform, don't you think they will be able to understand the provisions of this Bill?

पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव I welcome this interruption, because it gives me an opportunity to explain the real point.

जनाववाला, एतराज किया गया है कि किसी ज़माने में सती का बिल पास हुआ, किसी ज़माने में विडो मर्रेज (Widow Marriage) बिल पास हुआ, शारदा ऐक्ट पास हुआ और इस मर्तवे भी इस हाउस की खिदमत में जो बिल रक्खा हुआ है, वह इस नौईयत का है जिसके अन्दर मिसेज़ दुर्गा बाई के मुताबिक किसी कदर इस लेवेल (level) से ऊंचा है, जो आम आदमी के रायों के मुताबिक पास हो।

Mr. Tajamul Husain: May I be allowed to move a point of order?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: What is the point of order, please?

Mr. Tajamul Husain: My point of order is this, Sir, that the contempt of the whole House has been committed by my honourable friend in this way: you heard him out and he says that there are members of this House who have not understood the Hindu Code Bill. This amounts to a contempt of the House and I want a ruling on this.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I do not think that there is anything in this point of order. All that the honourable Member means is that the full implications of the Bill may be understood differently by different sections of the people. According to him they have not been understood in the manner in which he would like honourable Member to understand it.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : इसके अलावा मेरा हरगिज़, जनाववाला, यह क्लेम नहीं है, मैं हरगिज़ यह अर्ज करने को तैयार नहीं हूँ कि मैंने इस बिल की प्राविज़न्स को और मेम्बरों से ज्यादा समझा है। मैं अपनी वाक़त यह अर्ज करने को तैयार हूँ कि इस बिल के सारे इम्पलीकेशन्स (implications) सारे क्लाज़ेज़ सारे मेम्बरों के खसूसन में, अपने बारे में कह सकता हूँ कि मैंने इसके प्राविज़न्स को पूरी तरह नहीं समझा है। और जो साहवान यहां वकील नहीं हैं वह कह सकते हैं कि उन्होंने सारा समझा है लेकिन जो यहां वकील मौजूद हैं वह अपने दिल पर हाथ रख कर नहीं कह सकते कि यह जो सेलेक्ट कमेटी से बिल आया है उसके पूरे प्राविज़न्स को समझा है। इस हाउस के अन्दर मुझे इजाज़त नहीं है, लेकिन अगर मुझे इजाज़त दी जाय तो मैं मिस्टर तज़म्मूल हुसेन से दो तीन सवाल करना चाहता हूँ और वह जवाब दें कि वह समझते हैं या नहीं। मेरा हरगिज़ मन्शा नहीं है कि मैं हाउस की वेइज्जती करूँ। मैं निहायत अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि मेरा हरगिज़ मन्शा नहीं है : . . .

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Every citizen is presumed to know the law, every honourable Member is presumed to have read this Bill. The honourable Member can go on with his speech.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव: मैं जनाबवाला की खिदमत में अर्ज कर रहा था इस तमहीद के बाद मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि क्यों मैं नजीरउद्दीनसाहब के ऐमेन्डमेंट के हक में हूँ। मैंने कुछ बातें जनाब की खिदमत में अर्ज कीं कि चूंकि हाउस उतना रिप्रेजेंटेटिव नहीं है, जितना कल होना है, और इसमें बहुत दूर का वकफा नहीं है, चन्द महीने के बाद नया हाउस आजायेगा। इस लिये बहुत मुनासिब होता। लेकिन इससे भी बड़ी जो वजह है वह यह है कि जनाबवाला को यह साफ़ जाहिर है कि आज Properties में दो तरह की चीजें हैं। एक लैंड्स (Lands) और दूसरी हाउसेज (Houses). जहां तक लैंड्स का ताल्लुक है वहां तक यह बिल लैंड्स को हाथ नहीं लगाता। हर एक शख्स का सक्सेशन, इनहेरिटेन्स खुसूसन हिन्दुस्तान में जो एक ऐंग्रीकल्चरल कंट्री है जिसके अन्दर नब्बे फीसदी लोग गांव में रहते हैं उसके अन्दर क्या इसका नतीजा होगा। अगर एक शख्स मर जायगा तो उसकी जमीन एक कानून से गवर्न (govern) होगी और मकान जो गांव के अन्दर है वह एक दूसरे कानून से गवर्न होगा। आज मेरे साथ क्या होगा। मैं दिल्ली में थोड़ी सी जायदाद अगर रखता हूँ तो मेरी यह जायदाद एक कानून से गवर्न होगी और बहादुरगढ़ की जमीन की जायदाद दूसरे कानून से गवर्न होगी। मरा मकान बहादुरगढ़ के खेत में बना हुआ एक कानून से गवर्न होगा और दिल्ली का मकान दूसरे कानून से। क्या यही युनिफार्मिटी (Uniformity) है? अगर इस किस्म की चीज रखी जाती है तो इसका नतीजा क्या होगा। बहादुरगढ़ में एक अप्वाइन्टमेंट आफ हेअर (appointment of heir) होता है जिसको हिन्दुकोड रिक्गनाइज नहीं करता तो वह लड़का जो अप्वाइन्टेड हेअर (appointed heir) है वह जमीन का मालिक तो होगा जो बहादुरगढ़ में है, लेकिन मरने वाले के मकान पर और आदमी का दावा होगा। लड़का जमीन पायेगा लेकिन मकान पर उसका दावा नहीं रहेगा तो आखिर वह लड़का कहाँ जायेगा।

इस बिल का असर यह होगा कि यह लैंड्स को अप्लाई नहीं करेगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि डाक्टर अम्बेदकर चाहते हैं कि एक नया कानून पास करें जिसमें इकानमिक होलिंग बनाये जा सकें और मामूली आदमी की जमीन के टुकड़ न हों। लेकिन वह कानून कब आयेगा, अवलीशन आफ जमींदारी कब होगा, इसका मुझे पता नहीं।

Shrimati Renuka Ray: You can introduce such a Bill immediately.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव:—मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया में इरादे ऐसी आसानी से पूरे नहीं होते जैसा कि मेरी बहिन का ख्याल है कि महज बिल लाने से यह इरादा पूरा हो जायगा। यह एक ऐसा बिल है जो कि देश की भलाई के लिए है, पर इसमें कितनी अड़चनें पड़ रही हैं। जो जमीन का बिल होगा जिसमें कि सबके हक छीने जायेंगे उसमें कितना असा लगेगा और वह कहाँ पास होगा। यह तो प्राविंशियल गवर्नमेंट के अख्तियार में है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हम अपने कांस्टीट्यूशन में ऐंसा चेंज करें कि जहां तक लैंड का सवाल है वह भी कांस्टीट्यूशन के जरिये सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के अख्तियार में हो। अगर यह बिल पास होगया तो मैं यह खराबी देखता हूँ कि सिकनी जायदाद तो इसके अन्दर आती है और जमीन इसके अन्दर नहीं आती। यह एक सख्त कन्फ्यूजन (confusion) है। पहले बिल में अब यह चेंज कर दिया गया है कि अब यह बिल सेंट्रली एडमिनिस्टर्ड एरियाज (centrally administered areas) की जमीन को भी एप्लाई करेगा, यानी अजमेर मेरवाड़ा और देहली के मकानात और जमीन दोनों पर यह लागू होगा। और बाकी प्राविंसेज में यह जमीनों को एप्लाई नहीं होता। देहली और अजमेर मेरवाड़ा में यह गावों की जायदाद और शहरों की जायदाद को एप्लाई होगा। इसका यह बड़ा भारी नुकस है जो इसके बोटम bottom को निकाल देता है।

अभी लोगों को मालूम नहीं है कि इस बिल का उन पर क्या असर होगा। इसी लिए मैंने अर्ज किया था कि इसका पूरा पबलीकेशन नहीं हुआ है। मैं जानता हूँ कि अगर आज लोगों को पता लगे कि इस कानून के जरिये उनके ला आफ इनहेरिटेन्स (Law of inheritance) में इतना सख्त और फंडामेंटल चेंज किया जा रहा है कि जिसका असर हिन्दुस्तान के हर एक खानदान पर पड़ेगा, तो एक दफा सारे हिन्दुस्तान से लोग दिल्ली में आकर अपनी दरखास्त पेश करेंगे और चाहेंगे कि यह कानून पास न किया जाय। बहुत से लोगों को इल्म नहीं है। इसका इल्म मेम्बरों को है, बार एसोसिएशन्स (Bar Associations) को है और कुछ अखबार पढ़ने वालों को है। आप समझ सकते हैं कि इन लोगों की तादाद कितनी कम है। इस किस्म का बिल जो सारी हिन्दू सोसाइटी पर असर रखता है, इस का काफी सर्कुलेशन नहीं किया गया और न इस पर राय ली गई है। एक कमेटी बनी थी, उसने बहुत जगह गवाहियां लीं और उसकी रिपोर्ट मेरे हाथ में है। अगर आप देखेंगे कि वह कहाँ गये, उन्होंने क्या किया और किसकी राय ली, तो मालूम होगा कि उसने सिर्फ कुछ बड़

[पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव]

बड़े और पढ़े लिखे लोगों की राय ली है और देश के ज्यादातर हिस्से की राय नहीं ली है। इस में पढ़े लिखे होने का सवाल नहीं है। इसके बारे में तो हर बाप और मां जो अपनी जिम्मेदारियां जानता है राय दे सकता है। इससे तो हर एक आदमी एफेक्टेड (affected) है और हर एक आदमी राय देने के काबिल है। इसके अलावा मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि जो तबदीलियां असली बिल में सिलेक्ट कमेटी ने की हैं उनका तो इल्म किसी आदमी को नहीं है। सिर्फ असेम्बली के मेम्बरों को इसका पता है, बाकी किसी को इसका पता नहीं है कि सिलेक्ट कमेटी ने क्या क्या तबदीलियां की हैं। तो यह सवाल पैदा होता है कि चूंकि सिलेक्ट कमेटी ने इस में तबदीलियां कर दी हैं इसलिए इसका सरकुलेशन बहुत जरूरी होगया है। उस पुराने सवाल को छोड़िये कि कोई कानून भी कस्टम में बहुत जल्दी तबदीली न करे, जबतक कि उन बहुत से लोगों की राय न ली जाय जो कि उससे एफेक्टेड होते हों। आज जो कानून लाया जा रहा है उसमें सिलेक्ट कमेटी ने ऐसी तबदीलियां कर दी हैं जो कि वाइटल (vital) हैं और जिनका कि इल्म हर एक शख्स को होना चाहिए। इसी लिए सरकुलेशन और भी ज्यादा जरूरी है।

पेस्तर इसके कि मैं उन तबदीलियों के मुतालिक कुछ जिक्र करूं मैं हाउस की तबज्जह एक चीज की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूं। मुझे अफसोस है कि ला डिपार्टमेंट जो कि कानून का पुतला है क्योंकि उसका नाम ही ला डिपार्टमेंट है, वही लोग कानून की परवाह नहीं करते। जब वही लोग एक ऐसा प्रोसीड्योर कायम करते हैं जो कि उनको नहीं करना चाहिए था तो मुझे कहना होगा

در کفر از کعبه خیزد کجا بود مسلمان

मैं उस सवाल को टच (touch) नहीं करना चाहता जिसका फैसला आपके प्रेडिसेसर ने कर दिया है। वह सवाल फैसल हो चुका है। वह रूलिंग मेरे वास्ते फाइनल (final) है। मैं उसको क्वेश्चन (question) नहीं करता। मैं उस रूलिंग की बहुत इज्जत करता हूं जो कि मैं जानता हूं कि उनका वह रूलिंग मेरे ख्याल के मुताबिक दुरुस्त नहीं था। लेकिन मैं उसको क्वेश्चन नहीं करना चाहता।

Mr. Tajamul Husain: No one can say inside the House that the ruling of the Chair is wrong.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I am sorry the honourable Member has not understood Mr. Bhargava at all. What he says is that he does not agree with

the ruling but he cannot question the ruling here. It is open to any member to think for himself and also to say that in his opinion he does not accept it, but he is bound by the ruling. I think there is nothing wrong.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव: जनाववाला, मुझे अफसोस है कि जब मेरे लायक दोस्त तजम्मूल हुसैन कोई पाइंट आफ आर्डर उठाते हैं तो वह एक मिनट भी कायम नहीं रहता। मैं चाहता हूं वह कोई ऐसा पाइंट आफ आर्डर उठाये कि जिसका मैं भी जवाब दे सकूं। मुझे मालूम है कि वह इस वक्त एक दूसरे मेम्बर साहब से यह पूछ रहे हैं कि यह बिल लैंड्स पर एप्लाइ होता है या नहीं और दिखाते और कहते यह हैं कि मैं इस कोड बिल को समझता हूं। तो मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि मैं बिल्कुल अपने राइट्स में हूं कि मैं यह कहूं कि मैं उस रूलिंग से मुस्तलिफ राय रखता हूं, मैं चन्द एक दूसरे उसूल पेश करना चाहता हूं जिनको स्पीकर साहब की रूलिंग ने टच भी नहीं किया है। मैं हाउस की तबज्जह निहायत आजिजी के साथ खास तौर पर इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूं कि यह हाउस जो कि कानून बनाने वाला हाउस है यह अपने कानून का मालिक है। हमारा कोई मामला मुल्क की किसी कोर्ट के सामने नहीं जा सकता। अगर यह हाउस एक कानून के बनाने में अपने उसूलों को छोड़ देता है तो हम एक ऐसी गलती करते हैं कि हम उसकी जिम्मेदारी से बरी नहीं हो सकते। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि अभी जो यह रिड्राफ्टेड (redrafted) बिल सिलेक्ट कमेटी की रिपोर्ट में आया है उसमें हमने जो गलतियां की हैं वह तीन तरह की हैं। अन्वय यह कि जब एक बिल हाउस के सामने आ जाय, हाउस के पोजेशन (possession) में आ जाय, और हाउस के अन्दर इंट्रोड्यूस हो जाय, उसके बाद सिवा हाउस के कोई मेम्बर, खाह वह कितना ही बड़ा हो, कितना ही अच्छा हो, वह बगैर हाउस की मर्जी के एक कामा (comma) को भी तबदील नहीं कर सकता। अगर कोई क्लेरिकल मिस्टेक हो तो और बात है, और वह भी अगर कोई मेटेरियल मिस्टेक हो तो उसको फिर प्रिंट करना पड़ेगा और सरकुलेट करना पड़ेगा और हाउस में फिर पेश होने के बाद किसी कमेटी के सुपर्द किया जा सकता है। मैं जनाववाला की खिदमत में निहायत अदब के साथ अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि मैं जनाव की खिदमत में दो तीन टेक्नीकल मामले पेश कर रहा हूं। उनके बारे में मुझे अदब से अर्ज करना पड़ेगा और लोगों की खिदमत में, डाक्टर अम्बेडकर की खिदमत में नहीं क्योंकि वह टेक्निकल रूल्स और टेक्निकल बातों में वाकिफ हैं और वह जानते हैं कि इन टेक्निकल रूल्स को छोड़ देने से कितनी बेइन्साफी हो सकती है। तो मैं अर्ज कर रहा था कि उन टेक्निकल रूल्स को छोड़ देने से सिवा बेइन्साफी के और गैर कानूनी चीज के होने के फायदा होने की कोई चीज नहीं हो सकती। मिस्टर औसलो हाउस आफ कामन्स के एक बड़े मंत्री हो चुके हैं। उन्होंने फरमाया था कि

[पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव]

टेक्निकल रूल्स के खिलाफ कोई काम न हो। टेक्निकल रूल्स माइनारिटीज के प्रोटेक्शन के वास्ते बने हुए हैं, और सारे हाउस के प्रोटेक्शन के वास्ते बने हुए हैं और वह इतने फंडामेंटल हैं कि जब भी उनके बाहर निकला जायगा तो सिवा गलती के और कुछ नहीं हो सकता। यह उसूल मेज पार्लियामेंटरी प्रैक्टिस (May's Parliamentary Practice) में दिया हुआ है जो कि मदर आफ पार्लियामेंट्स का उसूल है। वह उसूल यह है कि एक बिल इंट्रोड्यूस होते ही वह इंट्रोड्यूस करने वाले मेम्बर के हाथ से निकल जाता है और हाउस के हाथ में आ जाता है। मैं मेज पार्लियामेंटरी प्रैक्टिस (May's Parliamentary Practice) के अल्फाज का तर्जमा कर रहा हूँ जो कि मैं पढ़ कर सुनाऊंगा।

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I do not think anybody in the House doubts that any honourable Member even though he may be the mover has got the right to change the Bill when once it has been placed before the House. As I understand it, the Honourable Speaker's ruling is that the very same Bill was considered in the Select Committee. Therefore, there is no good canvassing that position. The Honourable the Law Minister did not say that another Bill was considered in the Select Committee though the other draft which he placed before the Select Committee was considered along with the original Bill. As any honourable Member is entitled to place amendments before the Select Committee, instead of sending piecemeal amendments, according to him, he printed all his amendments and placed them before the Committee. That is the ruling of the Honourable the Speaker. Barring that, the honourable member can go on. Nobody doubts the position stated in May's Parliamentary Practice that it is not open to a member even though he may be the mover of the Bill, to change the Bill when the House is seized of it. The Honourable the Speaker has said this has not been done. We are bound by that; otherwise the honourable Member may go on.

पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव: मैं सिर्फ इतना अर्ज करना चाहता था और मैं जनाब की राय को सुनकर और भी इस चीज पर मजबूत हो गया। आपने फैसला कर दिया है कि अगर किसी तरह यह साबित हो जावे कि फिलवाकेई कोई तर्फीम। इस मसले पर सलेक्ट कमेटी के खबर नहीं आई और तो मानना चाहिये कि Redraft Bill को कंसिडर नहीं करना चाहिये था। इस वास्ते मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि मुझे फिर जनाब की खिदमत में हलिंग पेश करने की जरूरत नहीं है। Hansard Vol. 215 जो १८७३ की हलिंग मेरे पास है जिसके पृष्ठ ३०२ के अन्दर करार दिया गया है कि अगर एक मेम्बर बिल पेश करने का नोटिस देता है और बिल छप जाता है तो दूसरी रीडिंग से पहले वह मेम्बर उस बिल में तब्दीली नहीं कर सकता। अगर करता है तो फैसला स्पीकर का यह हुआ कि बिल वापिस लिया जावे—बिल आगे नहीं चल सकता।

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The position of law is accepted; there is no need to canvass that. I do not think the Honourable the Law Minister denies the position of law that he is not entitled to change.....

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: No.

Mr. Deputy Speaker:any comma or semi colon except as accepted by the Select Committee. But, it is open to him to place matters before the Select Committee. I think that was the ruling of the Chair. The honourable Member may go on.

पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव: जनाब वाला मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि दूसरा जो ओरिजनल बिल था उसको हाउस के सामने रखा जाय तो मुझे कोई एतराज नहीं होगा। इस तरह से यह बिल हाउस के सामने कनसिडर किया जाता तो किसी को भी एतराज नहीं होता। इस तरह से पेश होने के बाद जो बिल क्लोज बाई क्लोज और बर्ड बाई बर्ड टेक्निकली कनसिडर किया जाना चाहिये था। अगर यह चीज नहीं हुई और अगर कोई बिल सलेक्ट कमेटी में भेजा गया और बर्ड बाई बर्ड और क्लोज बाई क्लोज सलेक्ट कमेटी में कनसिडर किया जाय तो मैं उसे अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर महज यह पहला बिल मेम्बर साहब के सामने था, या उनके जेब में था या घर से पढ़ कर आये थे। मैं जनाब का ध्यान पार्लियामेंटरी प्रैक्टिस की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ। किसे सलेक्ट कमेटी के मेम्बर का यह कलेम नहीं है इसके बरखिलाफ। मेरे पास तो मजबूत बज्हात हैं और उनकी तरफ मैं जनाब का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। सब से अव्वल तो गालिवन मेजरटी रिपोर्ट में लिखा है।

"We confined our deliberation to this redrafted Bill."

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: May I interrupt? This is not correct.

पंडित ठाकुरदास भार्गव: तो इस सेंस में इस सेंस में कहने हैं कि क्लोज बाई क्लोज और बर्ड बाई बर्ड उस सेंस से इस original बिल को कनसिडर नहीं किया है। जिस पापूलर सेंस से हमारे स्पीकर साहब ने इसके ऊपर फरमाया और लोगों के सामने जिस सेंस में मिस्टर बालकृष्ण शर्मा ने हाउस के सामने अर्ज किया, वह बिल हमारे सामने था। मुझे उस पर कोई एतराज नहीं। मैं यह मानने के लिए तैयार हूँ कि जो मिस्टर बालकृष्ण शर्मा और स्पीकर साहब ने फरमाया.....

(English translation of the above speech).

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the Hindu Code Bill that has throughout India.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker: In English please.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: As this matter is of vital importance so for this very reason I wish to speak in Hindi.

Dr. Mono Mohan Das (West Bengal: General): We can understand the Hindustani spoken by the Honourable the Minister of Education. It is entirely different from the Hindi or Hindustani spoken by Seth Govind Das or Pt. Thakur Das Bhargava. As beginners we do not know which is Hindustani.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: There is no set standard which is copied here. Whatever is spoken, is Hindustani.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Before I begin my speech, (Honourable members: "English please") as a number of honourable members desire that I should speak in English I have not the least hesitation in paying deference to their wishes. But all the honourable members know that it is easier to express oneself in his own mother tongue rather than in English. So, if they allow me I wish to speak in Hindi. But if they would insist on my speaking in English then I would not have the least objection in commencing my speech in English. (Honourable members: "Hindi, Hindi"). As I think that a majority of the honourable members do not insist upon my speaking in English so I like to speak in Hindi.

Shrimati G. Durgabai (Madras: General): Kindly speak in simple Hindi so that we also may be able to understand.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I will try to speak in simplest Hindi. Today when I have stood up to deliver a speech before the House about the Hindu Code Bill a number of conflicting thoughts are clashing with one another in my heart. At the very outset I beg to submit that I am not one of those people who declare this Hindu Code Bill to be the death knell of the Hindu culture, and Hindu Civilization. I wish that the Hindu culture, the Hindu Society and the Hindu Civilization may survive till eternity till the end of this world. I am, in no way, an opponent to this. I am not at all afraid that this Bill or any other Bill would in the least be able to put the Hindu Culture or Civilization to harm. I wish that those evils that have crept in the Hindu Society since long, and about which Dr. Ambedkar made an appeal before the House in the concluding parts of his speech, may be eradicated; and the appeal may be considered over very thoughtfully with a cool heart. But in fact if the Hindu Society is to be preserved then there is no doubt that if necessity would be felt for repairing the society then repairs will have to be done. I strongly oppose those persons who hold that this Bill would put the Hindu Culture to an end. I am not prepared to acknowledge even for one moment the fact that this Assembly or the honourable members of this House, who have the same ability as the *Smritikars* of the old, do not have the right of making any changes in our *Shastras* or Laws. I hold that the members of each and every community have got the fullest rights to frame laws according to the needs of the time. Today if some one makes an appeal that this being an old custom so we must act accordingly; then about such an allegation I would submit that there is not a single custom that India has not experimented with. There are certain places in India where the system of inheritance is quite different from the other parts of India. Do we not know that among the Khasi tribes and in some parts of Southern Punjab the entire institution of inheritance depends upon the fact that the entire property devolves upon the daughters instead of sons. There are certain parts in India where instead of the girl going to her father-in-law's place the husband of the girl is imported into the wife's family. India is such a country where every type of custom and law has been in vogue. Is there any such social system that we have not tried. Only yesterday Dr. Ambedkar told that in some *Smrities* it is mentioned that daughters should be declared similar heirs along with sons. So this provision was present since long. Apart from this I do not know of any other law that can be called a new one. Divorce is customary in many places even today. On going through the old *Smrities* it is found that divorce is mentioned there also. I am not prepared to accept that we must revert to those old ideals simply because for the reason that they are mentioned in the old *Smrities*. If we think that those ideals do not suit our present day society then why should those ideals be kept up. I

know that in India there was a time when even the institution of marriage itself was not in vogue in India, and the people did not know anything about marriages. In olden days the system of *Niyog* continued for a long time in India. The Hindu Law mentions 8 kinds of marriages. Some of those kinds of marriages can not even be called marriages. Can anyone assert that those ideals should be re-introduced in the present times. I do not think there is any. So I do not want to consider the question that is before us today from this view point as to what was in vogue in the olden days and how our ancestors used to regulate the society by framing laws of their own. The question before me is that in the present times what things we require after fully taking into consideration our needs, our legal conceptions and our necessities. This Code has created throughout the whole country a great deal of unpleasantness, restlessness and uneasiness. Some women declare that they would have rights equal to those of men. This Code favours the women. Some declare that women have no rights. Very humbly I beg to submit to this House, that, till the time the Bill is under consideration here, we must never pay any attention to the various slogans or any such things like the allegations that this Bill is favourable to women or it is favourable to men. With a cool heart we must think over whether this Bill is appropriate or not. Which man can say that he has not been born of a woman, and which woman can say that she is not the daughter of a man. So in a matter like this will we not treat our sisters, our daughters, and our mothers with kindness. Do our mothers, sisters and daughters demand that they will not behave properly with their husbands, their brothers and sons. So it is not necessary to introduce any bitter controversy in this matter. I know that this is a very delicate problem. We ought to consider it in the proper manner and with a cool head.

Before I discuss this point any further I wish to submit a few things about a question so that at least the honourable members of this House and my honourable sisters in particular may not think that I oppose or support this Bill with some set ideas. At the very outset I wish to submit that I belong to that school of thought who believes that till the women are not given their proper rights in both the immovable and movable properties their personality will not attain full development. I very strongly oppose the economic dependence of women. I do not like that *shloka* of *Siti-ji* wherein she has said;

मितं ददति हि पिता मितं भ्राता मितं सुतः

अमितस्य तु दानारं भर्तारं का न पूजयेत्॥

I hold Ramayan in a very high esteem but I am not, for one moment, prepared to accept the principle that the women should always be kept dependent. I am not, for one moment, prepared to accept the verdict of a few of the *Smrities* that a woman till she is not married must remain under the control of her father, and after marriage under the control of her husband, and if she becomes a widow then under the control of her son. I oppose this verdict of the *Smrities* not for the reason that it is painful to women. I know that till the women of India will not attain a strong personality, till the women will not improve their condition economically and till they will not have an all round development our genealogy will not improve. Like men the women also should be given all kinds of opportunities for their development. I think that it is not at all justifiable to look at this question from a narrow angle of vision. We have to decide this question very prudently and keeping in view the welfare and advancement of our entire nation and country.

Since thousands of years we have been believing in certain prevailing customs and rites and have also been preserving them. But along with this we have also to decide our line of action as to how we should act upon the slogans that are being raised in the present day world like "women must have

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rights equal to men. We may not accept this principle *in toto* but we at least stand committed to afford them scope and facilities equal to men for their development. We will have to keep this principle in view. Therefore I wish to submit without any reserve that women must get their lawful rights in the movable and immovable properties. I am strongly in support of this. I also congratulate Dr. Ambedkar for his accepting in this Bill the principle of the Abolition of Caste in marriages and adoption. I do not possess sufficient eloquence to let you know how important I consider this question to be. I look upon this question in this light that it is question of nation building. It is a question of our life and death. This pertains to basic principles. If any thing has ruined India, marred her progress and became an instrument in creating Pakistan it is this caste system. If there is anything that has entered our society and is eating into the vitals; that has made Brahmins an enemy of others, the Jats enemies of non-Jats and the Kshatriyas the enemy of all other communities, it is this caste system only. I do not know how, can we refuse to follow the path of formation of a class-less society, the path pointed out to this country by Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation. The two things, that are instrumental in uniting the people of this country, are inter-dining and inter-marriages. As far as the question of inter-marriages is concerned, till this question is not resolved the problem of nation building in India can not be solved. Therefore as far as this question is concerned I am strongly in its favour.

As far as the question of monogamy goes there may not be a single member against it. As far as the consequences of monogamy are concerned I know that its passing would badly affect the area I come from. Because even today, according to the circumstances, it generally happens that when some one dies leaving his widow, the widow is re-married to the younger brother. I know that in the coming times we should not continue these out of date customs. I think that if the defects of this out of date system would be told and explained to those people whom it will affect then they would also readily agree to renounce it.

As regards the question of monogamy and the people about whom I am talking I wish to submit that these people according to their needs and intelligence thought out and adopted this principle in that time when widow re-marriage was not in vogue in India. Without any reservation, I wish to submit that as far as the questions of monogamy, abolition of caste system and giving of the fullest rights to women, are concerned I am fully in support of them.

As regards the question of divorce I know that the system of divorce exists in a major portion of India. These days to some people this system of divorce appears to be bad. In fact in a country like ours where according to our customs the women used to commit *Sati*, the opposition of the system of divorce is not a thing to be wondered at. According to our beliefs marriage constitutes an indissoluble relationship, and from this point of view the right of divorce should not be given. But I like to submit that the system of divorce has always been in our country and is still present to this day. If the people wish to walk with their eyes closed, if they do not want to see as to what is happening in the world around them, then it is upto them to do so. Dr. Ambedkar told us that this system is found in 90 per cent. of the people of this country. I beg to submit that these figures are under-estimated rather than over-estimated. As regards the question of divorce and as far as it is in practice in India I am entirely in support of it, not for the reason that it is in vogue in the present day society but for the fact that it is one of our own customs. Therefore I am in favour of divorce.

The question arises that in this Hindu Code Bill, as it has emerged from the Select Committee the main defect is that it does not go far enough. In fact the customs prevalent in our country and the reforms suggested by the Select Committee fall far too short. The people in Punjab are not so backward. As regards social reforms the people of Punjab are far ahead than those of the rest of India. This Code does not go to that extent even. For them this Code is not a kind of social reform but it draws them back instead. If this Code would be shown to any Hindu or Sikh of the rural areas of Punjab then he would say, "Oh Sir, what are you doing? You are retrogressing us to a great extent. We are far ahead of all this. You want to take us still backward." The people of Punjab will not be benefited by this Code. The present Code has emerged from the Select Committee in such a form that the needs of the people of Punjab have lagged far behind; the needs have not only been left behind but certain things in this Bill compel us that we will have to throw this Bill out if it remained in the present form. If we want to preserve our institutions then they cannot be preserved in the present form of the Bill, and thus this Bill becomes annoying.

Shri Mohan Lal Gautam (U.P.: General): Quote any example.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I just give an example. After this introduction, with your permission Sir, I beg to submit the objections that I have to raise against this Bill and say to what extent I have to support this Bill. There are many such provisions in this Bill about which no one may have any objection. There would be a very few persons who would say that they are against all the provisions of the Bill. But Sir, if you were to go through the Bill you would find that there are notes of dissent from 11 out of the 17 members of the Select Committee, and who are they? Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan and Shrimati Renuka Ray are among them. Notes of dissent from both of them are there.

Shrimati Renuka Ray (West Bengal: General): These notes are not on fundamental principles.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I am coming to that. To tell the truth these 11 members who have written notes of dissent, themselves oppose this Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee. I was submitting as to who have written notes of dissent. One of the notes of dissent is from Bakshi Tek Chand who has worked for social uplift throughout his life and is prepared to go to any extent for social reforms. When he also writes a note of dissent then it is for us to think as to where are we going? If these notes of dissent he carefully lead then it would become clear that out of 17 members at least 11 strongly oppose this Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee. After this introduction I beg to state why I am prepared to move such motions, which are generally considered dilatory, against this Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee.

Mr. Tajamul Husain (Bihar: Muslim): Sir, I beg to raise a point of information. The honourable member has stated that 11 out of 17 members of the Select Committee have written note of dissent. If they are opposed to this Bill, then I would like to enquire from the honourable members how this Bill came to be recommended by the Select Committee so that we may pass it.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in my opinion this question is neither a point for information nor a point of order even. You may go through this Bill yourself Sir. Mr. Bharathi has also written a note of dissent.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi (Madras: General): Mine is little ahead of the Bill. I want to enlarge the scope of the Bill. That is my dissenting minute.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Should honourable members go on explaining every remark and every sentence? It is not necessary.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: No, Sir, I was.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member's note of dissent is in print. He will have his turn if he wants to offer any explanation. It is no good going on interrupting a speaker and other honourable members also by simultaneously standing up.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: May I say, Sir.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I have heard the honourable member sufficiently.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: On a point of personal explanation, Sir?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order, order.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Sir, I would not give Mr. Bharathi the trouble of explaining his view point before the House. I myself present his view point. The note of Mr. Bharathi is that he is in no way against the fundamental principles of this Bill. He wants that as a logical consequence the women must be given the right that all those women who own limited estates, he wants that they at once be made absolute owners. I am correct, I think.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: I am not permitted to reply.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member Pandit Bhargava may go on.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: For this very reason Sir, I was submitting that a number of members of the Select Committee have written notes of dissent on that form of the Bill as has emerged from the Select Committee. With what intension these notes of dissent were written. I will submit later on, but I wish that I may not be interrupted in the course of my speech.

Sir, I was submitting that although this Bill does go to a certain extent and I am prepared to go even beyond that in social reforms yet still I do not find myself in a position to fully support this Bill. And this is quite natural. Even Dr. Ambedkar himself, by whose kindness the Bill has taken this form and who has delivered such a speech of which very Indian and especially every Hindu must feel proud, is not in support of all the provisions of this Bill. Therefore he told that at places the Select Committee has gone out of reason. I do not want to use harsher words. But I say that he also is against this Bill and in this way there are 12 notes in its dissent. So I was submitting that when 12 out of 17 members are against this Bill then in such a condition the House should not feel astonished if I wish to support the amendment moved by Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad. The reason is quite clear. I do not wish that any of you may misunderstand me. There are many such sections of this Bill about which I do not wish that their passing be delayed even by a minute. Had his motion been dilatory I would not have supported him. Many of my motions also were not dilatory. I know that this Bill is not going to be passed in this Assembly i.e. in this Session of the Assembly. A special session of the Assembly will have to be called to pass this Bill. The next session will come off after about 6 months. The objection that I am raising can very easily be decided in this period of six months. With your permission Sir, I wish to submit that I do not want that the Bill may not again be sent back to Select Committee; and for such a move my reasons are quite different. Perhaps some of the honourable members might be thinking that I wish that this Bill may anyhow come to an end. I do not want to kill this Bill. I wish that this Bill be passed. I wish that all the good points of this Bill be accepted. So it is

necessary to look upon this Bill with a cool heart. It is not necessary to infuse heat. Therefore, I wish, that whatever I want to submit, you must hear it with a cool heart and I think that Dr. Ambedkar will not misunderstand it. I wish to submit all this very humbly and not with the spirit of antagonism. But I must have the courage to say what I want to say and I wish that others must interpret it at least fairly if not generously. I submit all this very respectfully and attach no less importance to this. Now I wish to submit that as each and every honourable member of the House knows that new elections are to be held. All the present members have come here by indirect election. The members that are to come after us will come from direct election and adult suffrage. According to the resolution passed by us in the Constituent Assembly the elections will be held in 1950. Only then I would be prepared to call that, as you yourself Sir, had said, an absolute sovereign body. Yet still on the principle of propriety I beg to submit that instead of us deciding a matter that concerns the daily life of 30 crores of people it would be better that those people, who are to come from direct election and adult suffrage, should decide this issue. I would submit that this will be the proper course. I wish to submit on the principle of propriety. Some people feel that this Assembly can frame the constitution only. This is the same argument that was advanced yesterday that when fragmentation does not take place on dividing a property among twelve sons then there cannot be any if it is further divided so as to include a daughter as well. But I say that 'one wrong cannot justify another'.

Shri Mohan Lal Gautam has said that this Assembly is not also competent to frame the constitution even. I do not agree with his views but if you do agree then why are you repeating the mistake? This is quite wrong. If you do not hold this view then it is another thing. In my opinion this constitution-framing Assembly is a sovereign body. It is perfectly legal and in the same way this House is fully authorised to pass today any laws that it likes. Yet still the sense of propriety, the sense of proportion, demands of us that we must not make haste in this matter. We have been following these principles since thousands of years and therefore I wish to submit that in the next 6 months the sky will not fall down upon our heads, so that we may pass the Bill immediately with undue haste. Therefore I would very humbly submit that as you Sir, have written in your dissenting note; out of these twelve persons, the twelve signs of the Zodiac—you are one of them; and along with you Babu Ramnarayan Singh has also mentioned on page 11:

"The members have been elected indirectly and have no mandate from the electorate. The mass of opinion and the majority is against most of the provisions of the Bill and the Bill seeks to alter the fundamental structure of the Hindu Society."

I very humbly beg to submit that justice demands that the representatives of direct election after being elected to this Assembly should be given the opportunity of deciding this matter. Our much respected and a true leader of the country Dr. Rajendra Prasad, agreeing with this principle, had also written a letter that this Bill as a whole be presented before the coming representative Assembly.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: What it was that the Governor-General had written?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Sir, whatever you say about the Governor General has been mentioned here. But I very respectfully beg to submit that I highly honour and esteem the opinion of the elders. This matter today concerns me, concerns every woman who lives in any distant village. Everybody will be affected by this and so every one has got a right to express his opinion. Why I do not agree is that yesterday my honourable Sister Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani had said that in this manner centuries would pass. This Bill has been on the

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anvil for the last ten years. It was drafted in 1941. This argument does not appeal me. May I ask how much literacy is there in this country? May I ask how many women of this country are literate? I wish to address my honourable sisters here, who are the members of this House and whose opinion I highly esteem; but I would say whether thousands of their sisters who live in villages and towns have the right to express their opinion in this matter. For this reason I would urge my honourable sisters here that they should have patience in this matter and exercise some restraint. If I were to submit that the opinion of those also be included, who have full right to express their opinion, then this may not be considered a crime. Very respectfully I beg to submit that the people living in towns and villages are not at all aware what the Bill is and what its provisions are. Some honourable members say "Hear" "Hear". Very respectfully I beg to submit that those people who have not studied the provisions of this Bill and a number of members of this House have not at all realized what its importance is.

Shrimati G. Durgabai: When you consider women of this country fit enough to understand the provisions of your other Bills for reform, don't you think they will be able to understand the provisions of this Bill?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I welcome this interruption, because it gives me an opportunity to explain the real point. Sir, an objection has been raised that once upon a time the Satta Bill was passed, widow marriage Bill was passed, Sharda Act was passed; and the Bill that is before the House today is also of the same category which, according to Shrimati Durgabai, is something higher in level from those that can be passed taking into consideration the opinion of the common people.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: May I be allowed to move a point of order?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: What is the point of order, please?

Mr. Tajamul Husain: My point of order is this, Sir, that the contempt of the whole House has been committed by my honourable friend in this way; you heard him out and he says that there are members of this House who have not understood the Hindu Code Bill. This amounts to a contempt of this House and I want a ruling on this.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I do not think that there is anything in this point of order. All that the honourable member means is that the full implications of the Bill may be understood differently by different sections of the people. According to him they have not been understood in the manner in which he would like honourable members to understand it.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Besides this Sir, I do not claim and I am not at all prepared to say that I have understood the provisions of this Bill any more than the other honourable members of the House. About myself I am prepared to say that I have not understood fully all the provisions, all the clauses and all the implications of this Bill and this I can say about all the honourable members and myself in particular. The honourable members here, who are not lawyers, can say that they have fully understood the Bill; but the lawyers present here can not say with confidence that they have understood all the provisions of the Bill as has emerged from the Select Committee. I am not permitted in this House but if I be permitted then I like to put two

or three questions to Mr. Tajamul Husain and he should give an answer whether he understands or not. It is not at all my intention to commit contempt of the House. Very respectfully I beg to submit that it is not at all my intention.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Every citizen is presumed to know the Law, every honourable member is presumed to have read this Bill. The honourable member can go on with his speech.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I was, submitting Sir, after this introduction I was submitting why I am in favour of Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad's amendment. Sir, I submitted some facts for your kind consideration, that this House is not so representative as it is to be tomorrow and this is not to take much time, in a few months the new House will come into being and therefore it would have been proper to (postpone the discussion on this Bill till the new House comes into being).

A still stronger argument in favour of my submission is that you, Sir, are well aware of the fact that today property includes two different types of things. One is lands and the other houses. As far as the landed property is concerned this Bill does not affect it. What will be its effect on succession in a country like India which is mainly an agricultural country and where 90 per cent of the people live in villages. After the death of a person his lands will be governed by one law and his house in the village will be governed by another law. What will happen to me? If I have some property in Delhi then this property will be governed by one law and my landed property in Bahadurgarh will be governed by another law. My house built in my fields at Bahadurgarh will be governed by one law and my house at Delhi by another law. Is this uniformity? If such a thing is being maintained then what the result would be? The appointment of an heir takes place at Bahadurgarh whom the Hindu Code does not recognise, then that boy, who is the appointed heir, will of course inherit the landed property at Bahadurgarh but on the residential house of the deceased some one else would have a claim. The boy will get the landed property but will have no claim on the house, then after all where the boy will go? The effect of this Bill would be that it will not apply on landed property. I think that Dr. Ambedkar wishes to pass a Bill whereby economic holdings could be made and the landed property of average man may not be partitioned. But when this Act will come into being and when the abolition of zamindari takes place, I am not aware of this.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: You can introduce such a Bill immediately.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Respectfully I beg to submit that intentions are not so easily fulfilled in this world as my honourable sister thinks that simply by introducing a Bill this intention will be accomplished. This is a Bill for the benefit of the country, but how many obstacles this Bill is encountering. How much time the Land's Bill, whereby the rights of everybody will be usurped, will take and where will it be passed? This is under the power of the Provincial Government. I wish that we may make such changes in our constitution whereby, as far as the question of lands is concerned, under constitution, this may also be within the powers of the Central Government. If this Bill is passed then I see in it the defect that it does affect the residential property and does not include the landed property. This is a great confusion. A change has now been made in the original Bill that now this Bill will also apply to the lands in the Centrally administered areas, i.e., it will be applicable on both the residential and landed properties of Ajmer-Merwara and Delhi. In other provinces this Bill does not apply to lands. In Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara this will apply to both the rural and urban properties. This is a great defect of this Bill and which knocks out its bottom.

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As yet the people are not aware how this Bill would affect them. For this reason only I had submitted that full publicity has not been given to this Bill. I know that if today people were to know that through this Bill such far reaching and fundamental changes are being made in their law of inheritance, changes which will have affect on each and every family of India, then at one time the people of the whole of India on coming to Delhi would present their applications that this law may not be passed. Many people are not aware of this. The knowledge is shared by the members of this House, Bar associations and a few of those who read newspapers. You can well understand how small the number of such persons is. Such a Bill, which affects the entire Hindu Society, has not been given sufficient circulation and no opinions on this have been taken. A committee was set up, it took evidences at many places and the report of the committee is with me. If you would see as to where the members of this Committee went, what they did and whose evidences they recorded; then you would find that the committee has asked the opinion of some well placed and educated persons only and they have not taken the opinion of a major part of the country. In this there is no question of education. For this Bill every mother and father, who fully realize their responsibilities, can give their opinions. Everybody is affected by this and so every person is competent to give his opinion. Besides this I would submit that nobody has the knowledge of the changes that have been made by the Select Committee in the original Bill. Only the members of the Assembly have information of these changes, the rest of the people do not know what changes the Select Committee has made. Now the question arises that as the Select Committee has made changes in this Bill so its circulation has become very necessary. Leave aside the old question that no law should make rapid changes in the customs of the people till the opinion of a majority of those people, who are to be affected by it, be not taken. The Bill that is being introduced today is one wherein the Select Committee has made such changes as are of vital importance and about which everybody must have full information. For this reason only its circulation is all the more necessary.

Before I submit anything about these changes, I wish to draw the attention of the House towards one point. I regret to say that the Law Department itself which an embodiment of law because its name even is Law Department, these same people do not respect the law. When these people themselves establish such a procedure that they must not, have established, then I will have to say—

گر کفر از کعبہ فیض کجا بود مسلمانے

I do not want to touch the question that has been decided by your predecessor. That question has been decided. That ruling is final for me. I do not question it. I highly honour that ruling although I know that this ruling according to my opinion was not correct, yet I do not want to question it.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: No one can say inside the House that the ruling of the Chair is wrong.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I am sorry the honourable member has not understood Mr. Bhargava at all. What he says is that he does not agree with the ruling, but he cannot question the ruling here. It is open to any member to think for himself and also to say that in his opinion he does not accept it, but he is bound by the ruling. I think there is nothing wrong.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I am very sorry that whenever my honourable friend Mr. Tajamul Husain raises any point of order it does not survive even for a minute. I wish that he may raise such a point of order which I

may also be able to reply. I know that at this time he is enquiring from another honourable member whether this Bill applies to lands or not but he pretends and says that he understands this Code Bill. Then I like to submit that I am perfectly within my rights if I say that on the ruling I hold a different opinion. I wish to submit a few other fundamentals that have not at all been touched by the Honourable the Speaker's ruling. Most humbly I beg to draw the attention of the House particularly towards the fact that this House which is a constitution making House, is a master of her laws. None of our matters can be referred to any court in the country. If this House forsakes its principles for the sake of passing a certain act then we commit such a mistake that we cannot be absolved of its responsibilities. I beg to submit that in this redrafted Bill, reported by the Select Committee, the mistakes that we have committed therein are of three types. Firstly when a Bill comes before the House, comes in the possession of the House, and is introduced in the House, then after this except for the House no member of the House, however big he might be, however good he might be, cannot even change a comma therein without the consent of the House. If there be any clerical mistakes then it is another thing; and if that also be a material mistake then it will have to be printed again and re-circulated and after again being introduced in the House can be referred to any committee. Very respectfully I beg to submit Sir, that I am presenting two or three technical points for your kind consideration. About these points I will have to submit very humbly to the other honourable member, but not to Dr. Ambedkar as he is familiar with technical rules and things and he knows how much injustice can be done by forsaking these technical rules. So I was submitting that by forsaking these technical rules except injustice and unlawful things nothing beneficial can be accomplished. Mr. Ouslow has been a very famous speaker of the House of Commons. He had said that no work should be done in contravention of the technical rules. For the protection of minorities, for the protection of the House as a whole, there are technical rules, and these rules are of such a fundamental character that whenever the limits will be transgressed nothing except mistakes can be accomplished. This principle has been laid down in the May's Parliamentary Practice, which is the convention of the Mother of Parliaments. The convention is that as soon as a Bill is introduced it passes out of the hands of the member introducing it and comes within the power of the House. I am translating the words of May's Parliamentary Practice which I will soon read out to you.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I do not think anybody in the House doubts that any honourable member even though he may be the mover has got the right to change the Bill when once it has been placed before the House. As I understand it, the Honourable Speaker's ruling is that the very same Bill was considered in the Select Committee. Therefore, there is no good canvassing that position. The Honourable the Law Minister did not say that another Bill was considered in the Select Committee though the other draft which he placed before the Select Committee was considered along with the original Bill. As any honourable member is entitled to place amendments before the Select Committee instead of sending piecemeal amendments, according to him, he printed all his amendments and placed them before the Committee. That is the ruling of the Honourable the Speaker. Banir that, the honourable member can go on. Nobody doubts the position stated in May's Parliamentary Practice that it is not open to a member even though he may be the mover of the Bill, to change the Bill when the House is seized of it. The Honourable the Speaker has said this has not been done. We are bound by that; otherwise the honourable member may go on.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I wanted to submit only this much that after hearing your opinion I have become still more staunch on my belief. You have decided that if it is somehow proved that in fact no amendments on this controversy came before the Select Committee then it should be accepted that the redrafted Bill should not have been considered. For this reason I would submit that I have no need to quote the ruling again before you Sir, I have got a ruling of Hansard Vol. 215 of 1873 wherein at page 502 it has been laid down that if a member gives notice of introducing a Bill and this Bill is printed then that member cannot make any changes in the Bill before the second reading, and if he makes any changes then the Honourable the Speaker gave the ruling that the Bill be withdrawn—the Bill cannot be further discussed.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The position of law is accepted: there is no need to canvass that. I do not think the Honourable the Law Minister denies the position of law that he is not entitled to change.....

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Minister of Law): No.

Mr. Deputy Speaker:any comma or semi colon except as accepted by the Select Committee. But, it is open to him to place matters before the Select Committee. I think that was the ruling of the Chair. The honourable member may go on.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Sir, very respectfully I wish to submit that if the other original Bill is placed before the House then I will have no objection. Had this Bill been considered in the House in this manner then nobody would have any objections. After being introduced in this manner the Bill should have been technically considered clause by clause and word by word. If this procedure has not been adopted, and if the Bill was sent to the Select Committee and in the Select Committee it was not considered word by word and clause by clause then I would like to ask if the first Bill was before the honourable member or was it in his pocket or had he come after reading it at his house. I wish to draw your attention Sir, towards Parliamentary Practice. No member of the Select Committee has any claims against this. I have with me strong reasons and I wish to draw your attention Sir, towards them. In the first place perhaps in the majority report it is written:

"We confined our deliberations to this redrafted Bill."

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: May I interrupt? This is not correct.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: The original Bill has not been considered clause by clause and word by word in the actual sense of the term. In the popular sense as the Honourable the Speaker said before and in the sense in which Shri Balkrishna Sharma submitted before the House, the Bill was before us, then I have no objection against the Bill. I am prepared to accept that whatever Shri Balkrishna Sharma and the Honourable the Speaker have stated.....

Shrimati G. Durgabai: On a point of order. He is questioning the ruling of the Speaker.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I understand the honourable Member, though I do not understand every word that he says. I am bound to safeguard the ruling of the Speaker. I am not interested in seeing that what I may have said today may be upset by a Chairman who follows me. The ruling of the Speaker is there. Though the honourable Member speaks forcibly on one or two points, I understand that he wants to persuade the House to allow the country an op-

portunity to consider the Bill. That is all that he means (*Honourable Members:* "No, no"). I may say immediately I do not intend to go behind the ruling of the Speaker. Any arguments that may be advanced for consideration by the House or the country at large is welcomed but not in a spirit to question the ruling of the Speaker.

Dr. Mono Mohan Das: On a point of information. I want to be informed whether the next ten minutes will be taken up by the honourable Member so that we who do not understand Hindustani could return to our hotels.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Since you have been pleased to say that you do not follow me and I want every word to be followed by the House and by your goodself I will speak in my broken English.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar (Madras: General): Hitherto you have had no consideration for those who did not know Hindi. There is a large number of them here and if you do not care for them and you do not want them to listen, it is your own look out.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I had already decided to speak in English and my friend's orders are only supplementary. But after what you have been pleased to say, I will continue in English.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Whatever has been heard has been heard in Hindustani.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I am not going to repeat all that I have said as it will not be possible. In future I shall submit to you what I have to say, so that I may not be charged for attempting.....

Mr. Tajamul Husain: There should be no repetition.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I do not want to be ordered by Mr. Tajamul Husain. If he does not want to.....

Mr. Tajamul Husain: I am addressing the Chair.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I do not want Mr. Tajamul Husain to make unintelligent interruptions.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I am sorry that Mr. Tajamul Husain goes on interrupting repeatedly. I am here to protect the House so that there is no repetition. It is unfortunate that we are spending much time in this way.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I do not want to repeat. I submit that the manner in which the Honourable the Speaker gave his ruling I respect it and I will not say a word against the ruling, though I maintain, Sir, that that ruling is not the last word.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: It is the last word in this House.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I am not going to be taunted by these things. I think the House can revise its own order. I can quote a ruling to this effect from the book 'Decisions of Chair.' At the same time, let the House not think that I am asking the Deputy Speaker to review that order at this stage. I am not doing so. Let the House not be impatient. But may I ask where is the rule that a ruling once given cannot be revised? There is no such rule. Since I am not attempting to get the ruling revised, this does not arise. What I was saying was that the ruling of the Speaker was to this effect that the Bill was considered along with this

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redrafted Bill not in the actual sense nor in the technical sense in which we understand what "consideration" is. I submitted for your consideration that in the technical sense in which we use the word "considered" this Bill was never considered.

Shri Mohan Lal Gautam: I beg to state that this is a repetition of what he spoke in Hindustani.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: In so far as to enable me to understand the full implications.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Without these preliminary remarks I could not make myself understood and those who know would have realized that I could not do more than this.

I was submitting with a view to convince you that as a matter of fact the real consideration, technically so called, was only given to the redrafted Bill. I said that I wanted to submit certain arguments: firstly, the report says that "we confined our deliberations to the redrafted Bill". Secondly, Sir, the dissenting note of Bakhshi Tek Chand as well as of Balkrishna Sharma says the same thing. I do not want to read further because the Members have read it and it will be waste of time to read it again. When Mr. Balkrishna Sharma spoke the Honourable the Speaker was pleased to accept his statement. He again repeated in his speech that "we confined our attention to this redrafted Bill": and when you see the report you will find that in the report itself there are some indications for instance in clause 99 that only the re-drafted Bill was considered in the technical sense.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I am not able to follow what the honourable Member is driving at so far as this is concerned.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I am sorry I have not heard what, has fallen from Mr. K. C. Sharma.

Honourable Members: Order, order.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: Sit down!

Mr. Deputy Speaker: If you will permit me I will try to get along. There are two questions. If it is a question that we ought not to proceed with this Bill, then, that point has been decided. The Bill has been taken into consideration. The Speaker has said that this Bill was before the Select Committee and with the other amendments that have been tabled. Therefore, so far as that matter is concerned, I may immediately say I am not in a position to go beyond the ruling of the Speaker. Apart from the question of a similar case in the Civil Procedure Code, a ruling has been given and it is not desirable to go over it in the same case. It may not be a precedent for some others. When it comes up in any other connection it will be open to the Chair or members of the House or whoever might occupy the Chair for the time being to go behind the previous ruling. At this stage in the same proceedings I am not prepared to go behind it. In these circumstances I would like to ask the honourable member for what purpose these arguments are raised. If as I understood sometime ago, it is only for the purpose of persuading the House to accept the motion for circulation in view of the fact that the Select Committee did not look into the original draft but the other one, both of them were before the House. So it is not as a point of order but for the purpose of persuading the House, which I can understand. For

that reason May's Parliamentary Practice and other rulings need not be referred to. So far as the matter of law is concerned enough has been said and I would request the honourable member if possible to conclude this portion of his argument and proceed to some other matter.

Shri R. K. Sidhva (C. P. and Berar: General): Sir, the previous speaker, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava said that the Speaker's ruling is not final. May I, Sir, draw your attention...

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I do not want any further arguments on the matter. I have already given my ruling that so far as this proceedings is concerned the Speaker's ruling is final. I cannot allow any questioning of that. It is therefore unnecessary to reinforce the argument or to strengthen my hands.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Sir, it is far from my mind to invite you to give a ruling contrary to the Speaker's. I am not going to request you to do that. I can quite understand that it is not desirable to review a ruling when it is given in the same case, though I know according to law you are perfectly competent to give another ruling. The law is not so narrow as not to provide for cases in which injustice is perpetrated. So I shall desist from speaking any further on this subject that the ruling of the Chair may be looked into. What I am submitting is that there are several motions before the House and it is not the only motion for circulation. This Bill could go before the same Select Committee and it could come back to the House in 15 days. As I submitted already it is not a matter of dilatory tactics. All that I want is that the House should adopt a procedure which is according to law and which is fundamentally right. I am a member of this House and as such I have a right to see that the Bill sent to Select Committee is considered in a manner which the law requires. There is no escape, therefore, from its recommitment to the same Select Committee. This is the reason which I want to submit before you. After all the taxpayer has to pay for every minute of the time taken in this House and I hate to take a dilatory or obstructionists attitude. All the same.....

Mr. Tajamul Husain: You are doing it all the same.

An Honourable Member: He is again on the Speaker's ruling.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I hope the House will bear with me for a little more time....

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Is the honourable Member likely to take more time?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Yes, Sir.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock.

*The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock.
Mr. Deputy Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar) in the Chair.*

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Sir, when the House rose for Lunch I was submitting for your consideration that the functions of a Select Committee are to go through the text of the Bill word by word—the function of a Select Committee is to go into the text of the Bill clause by clause, and if necessary, word by word. I would refer to May's Parliamentary Practice.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: May I request the honourable Member to proceed to another point because I have already given a ruling?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I respect your ruling. You were pleased to say that you are not going to reverse the ruling given by the Chair and I do not want it to be reversed. As a matter of fact I am unfortunate that I have not been able to make myself fully appreciated. The ruling of the Chair says that this Bill was with the Select Committee at the time when the

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draft was being considered. I do not dispute that at all. My dispute is that the functions of a Select Committee were that they should have gone through the original Bill clause by clause and word by word. It is not only this. As the House is bound so is the Select Committee bound to consider the Bill clause to clause and word by word.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: We will assume that under the ruling both the original Bill and the amended draft were there and they looked into it clause by clause. What follows next? Is it the question that we ought not to go into this and it is not competent to do so? If that is so, it has already been ruled. When once it has been ruled how is it open to go into it again?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: On a question of fact I would still request the Members of a Select Committee, to kindly enlighten the House whether both the Bills were taken and considered together. Assuming that this is correct my contention is that unless and until every clause of the original Bill was taken, unless and until it was considered clause by clause and word by word the requirement of law and procedure is not complied with.

Shri H. V. Kamath (C. P. and Berar General): Has not the question of competence of the Select Committee been disposed of by the Speaker once for all?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I am trying to meet that point myself. Whenever I find it difficult I will ask the honourable Member, Mr. Kamath, to help me.

I have already said I am anxious to know what follows. I will assume for the moment that both the Bills were there and that the other draft Bill was considered clause by clause. What next? What is the legal objection?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I request you to give me two or three minutes to explain my position. There is another aspect of the case also. Besides this being a fundamental rule that the original Bill should be taken clause by clause and word by word the way in which the entire Bill is to be considered is that each clause must be considered of the original Bill, then the new clause, then the Schedule, then the new Schedule. Parliamentary Practice gives that. The next question is what is the effect. What follows—this is the question before you. I beg to call your attention in this connection to the general principles of practice and law as well as the particular point involved. In regard to the general practice the rule of law is absolutely clear that when any law or any practice or the general principles require that a certain procedure is to be observed, unless and until that procedure is observed the thing cannot be regarded as having been validly done. For this principle I will quote another authority of the Privy Council itself which is 1936 Privy Council Page 253.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I am assuming the next step also. I am only taking the honourable Member's argument step by step. Let us assume it is so—that the Select Committee did not consider this or considered something else. Then the honourable Member evidently wants to say that I have no jurisdiction to go into the matter. It is with respect to that I want to say that it has already been ruled by the Speaker. I shall hear the honourable Member if he is able to satisfy me that that ruling does not cover the point he has stated. So far as I am concerned I have considered it carefully and I believe the same has been covered. I would therefore suggest to the honourable Member to proceed further without taking any more time. Already we have taken much time on this. There are other speakers also waiting to speak. I would like the honourable Member to dispose of this point as early as possible and go to any other point if he wants to.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: My humble submission is that the previous ruling of the chair did not consider this point. The only point raised by Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad was that the motion cannot be allowed to be made as only the redraft was considered. That was the simple point. This point which I am urging in regard to taking up clause by clause was not even argued. The effect will be this that a Bill will be sent to Select Committee and if you don't observe this fundamental rule any other Minister may alter the Bill, put a redraft, get it considered and the real purpose of this fundamental rule that it should be considered clause by clause will be defeated. This is sufficient ground that no person had a right to make any alteration whatever in the Bill—for this I would refer you, Sir, to the ruling of the Speaker in the Commons (page 301 of Hansard, Volume 215). If you agree with me in this and in the Committee being required to go through it clause by clause then the position is absolutely clear that this Bill must be recommitment to the same Select Committee. Let the Select Committee devote two hours—I do not want that the Report should not come in this session—I want them to devote two hours and consider the original Bill clause by clause, and we will consider it then. This point I may submit was never considered by the Speaker and I beg of you kindly to consider this point.

Leaving aside this point as you have asked me not to spend any more time on it I would take up the other points. Now the question is what is the effect of this. One fact as I have already submitted is that we must abide by the rules, and the rules in a matter of this kind are fundamental rules which cannot be disobeyed. Then what is the real effect of it? That I am submitting to you. Now the differences or discrepancies between the provisions of the original Bill and the Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee relate not only to matters of procedure but to matters of great substance. In the Dissenting Note given by Bakshi Tek Chand and Pandit Balkrishna Sharma it has been pointed that as a matter of fact in the redrafted Bill very drastic changes were made and they have given examples of the changes. I am not satisfied that they have exhausted all the substantial changes in the minutes and I would beg of you to consider it from my point. When I began my speech I invited your attention to the fact that in this measure, as it has emerged from the Select Committee after the redrafted Bill was considered, many changes have been made which are certainly destructive of the institutions which we have got in the Punjab. I will first of all call your attention to the institution of appointment of an heir. In regard to the appointment of an heir we know the views of the Honourable Dr. Ambedkar. He himself stated that he thought that the adoption of heirs is an artificial affair. I also think so. We remember the speech made by Mrs. Hansa Mehta at the time when the Bill was sent to the Select Committee. She also made certain remarks. Now, according to the present measure, no person could adopt an heir in any form except in the *Dattaka* form, whereas according to the original Bill the *Kritrim* and *Godra* forms were also allowable. So far as adoption is concerned, adoption of a son is a mere fiction. How can such a son become a real son? But the Hindu law provides for it and I have no quarrel with those who believe in it. But in regard to appointing heirs to property, just as the Romans did by way of *Nominis Hereditio*, if the people in the Punjab had got practices like that nobody has the right to touch them. According to our institutions, in the appointment of an heir, though it is in effect just like an adoption, there is no religious efficacy, there are no particular ceremonies, there is no question of age. The son is not engrafted in the family of the adopter but he continues in his own family. There are various rules and the Punjab High Court has given hundreds of rulings over this point. That

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institution is too strongly fixed in the public mind and you will be tampering with the custom of at least a crore of people if you are not allowing it in this Code. According to the Hindu Code no other form of adoption will be allowed. That is the provision in the present code; it does not go far enough. I understand that so far as custom is concerned, custom has been ruled out except to the extent which has been recognised.

When I read the speech of Dr. Ambedkar himself which he was pleased to deliver at the time when the Motion was referred to Select Committee, I found that his attitude was very reasonable and he made certain statements in regard to custom which are very much opposite to the provisions of the Bill. Sir, I doubt very much whether this Law Department Committee had on its personnel our Law Member himself. I do not know who those persons were who tampered with the Bill, but at the same time I can certainly say that I very strongly suspect—though I do not know it—that Dr. Ambedkar must not have been there because he is very anxious to see that the customs of the ninety per cent of the people are not affected—as I am anxious to see. Either this thing missed him—he may not have appreciated it—or some other persons might have been there who were not Members of the Select Committee. They entirely changed the face of the Bill, which they had not the right to do; then it was the other Bill which was considered—it is a fiction that the original Bill was there and considered. Sir, I would refer you to page 3652 of the proceedings (9th April, 1948) in which Dr. Ambedkar said:

"His second comment was that the Bill had not taken into consideration the customary law. He cited some ruling of the Privy Council. I should have thought that at this hour of the day it was unnecessary to cite the authority of the Privy Council because it has been well established by a long course of decisions, that so far as the Hindus are concerned custom would override the text of the 'Smriti'. We all know this. But what are we doing? What are we doing is this. We are shutting down the growth of new customs. We are not destroying existing customs. The existing customs we are recognising because the rules of law which are prevalent in Hindu society are the result of customs. They are born out of customs and we feel that they have now grown so sturdy that we can indeed give them flesh and life in the body politic by one legislation."

Dr. Ambedkar was referring to the speech of Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri; He also said:

"that we had not taken into consideration the question of the tribal people, whose life is undoubtedly governed in a large measure by customary law. If my friend had read the definition in this code as to who is a Hindu and who is not and to whom this Code applied, he would have seen that there is a clause which merely said that persons who are not Muslims, Parsis, or Christians, shall be presumed to be Hindus: not that they are Hindus. The result is that if a tribal individual chooses to say that he is not a Hindu it would be perfectly open to him under this Code to give evidence in support of his contention that he is not a Hindu, and if that conclusion is accepted by the Court he certainly would not be obliged by anything contained in this Bill."

The position is this: if I accept my institutions as good, if I appoint my heirs according to the custom which governs me, then according to Dr. Ambedkar I am not a Hindu. That is my difficulty. Either you must provide for these one crore of people and accept their customs or.....

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Minister of Law): I have no desire to interrupt my friend, but I must say that I do not accept the interpretation that he puts upon that part of my speech. It refers to quite a different matter.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I am very glad that I am wrong. It gives me satisfaction that Dr. Ambedkar did not want that the one crore of people should go out of the pale of the Hindu law. But all the same, the argument

I was submitting was this. If this custom was good—and I claim it is good, because according to the definition given in this very code, the custom is ancient, reasonable and not opposed to public policy or morality—I claim this custom should have been recognised by the Code. But this custom is not recognised. To a certain extent the *kritrima* form was adopted as a good form by the original Bill but the present Bill says that no adoption will be recognised except this kind of adoption which according to Dr. Ambedkar is governed by certain rules. What are the rules? A man must not be more than 15 years of age. He must be given by somebody in adoption. He must not have married. Even according to the present law of adoption these rules are not there. Supposing a Hindu's daughter and son-in-law have died then the daughter's son cannot be adopted; the sister's son cannot be adopted, even the nephew cannot be adopted if the parents are not there. It is common knowledge that even today this rule that if a person is married he cannot be adopted, is not in practice and according to law in vogue, it is not necessary that a person should not have married before he is adopted. Similarly about age. So, all these measures have been changed in such a way that they cannot fit in with the present conditions, or they cannot be useful to us or cannot govern us.

We passed in the Constituent Assembly that we want a Civil Code. Even if this were not the Hindu Code and if Dr. Ambedkar was charged with the duty of framing a Civil Code, (I think he will be so charged after the Constitution is passed), he will certainly include this civil institution—the nomination of an heir—in the Civil Code also. A man may be able to help, in their old age, those who appoint him the heir. My submission is that this point alone is sufficient to see that as a matter of fact the re-draft is much worse than the original Code and full attention was not paid to the original Bill. If full attention had been paid this thing would have been considered. Had it been considered clause by clause you would not have arrived at this.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: This part of the Bill was, if I may say so, very much considered.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I am very glad, Sir, that the original Bill was considered. Then the only technical point remains, that it was not considered clause by clause. There is intrinsic evidence that it was not so considered. What is the effect? Supposing there are provisions omitted. How were those provisions considered? When the entire attention was on the draft of the other Bill those clauses could not have been considered. This is not a technical matter.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable Member is aware that the House is not bound by whatever the Select Committee has done. The Select Committee have sent a recommendation; it is open to the honourable Member to accept or not to accept it; if he does not accept it, he can persuade the House not to accept it. We need not go into that again. After all, some Members were there. It is not right to go into what they considered or what they did not consider. The honourable Member would do better in addressing the House as to why we ought not to accept a provision or why we should accept it.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I will accept your advice, Sir. I will not refer in future to what happened before the Select Committee. I will only say this point, with your permission. Even if the Select Committee acquiesced in this fraud that the original Bill is not to be considered and the substitute Bill is to be considered, we are not bound. An accused, before a criminal court, acquiesces in a certain procedure which is illegal; then it does not bind him. May I quote some rulings? A Court is required to go into a question and

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find out for itself whether there is good evidence or record to bind an accused under section 107 Criminal Penal Code. The accused says, "I agree to be bound in that evidence". The Court says, "You are bound". But the appellate Court still rules that the right procedure was not observed and the acquiescence of the accused in a wrong procedure does not make the order legal.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Is not the honourable Member satisfied with tearing the report of the Select Committee to pieces? Should he also say they are "accused"?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Those who are guilty of disregard of the fundamental rules of procedure which govern a Select Committee are today accused before the House. I am sorry I have to say something which may not be wholesome to some of my friends, but I do so in all humility and with a view to safeguarding the rights and prestiges of the House. I now leave this point and come to the second point.

In regard to marriage and divorce which are very important questions, what does the Code say and what are the facts at present? In Punjab no specific ceremonies are required for marriages which are called *Karwa* and *Chadar Andazi* marriages. The woman puts on the bangles supplied by the husband or the husband puts the *Chadar* on the wife and there the matter ends. (*Shri Maharir Tyagi:* "Charming marriage"). It is very easy for Mr. Tyagi to avail himself of such a procedure. It is not a sacramental or civil marriage. Again, in the original Code there was a loophole. Such persons could come to court and get themselves registered. The changed rule is that unless the marriage is sacramental, it cannot be registered. There are other points on which I shall have occasion to speak before you, but I wish to make certain general observations in regard to what is happening in regard to many persons and what has not been considered from the point of view of the common man.

In the mofussil areas, the people are illiterate. They are poor. They do not know the intricacies of the law. On the question of divorce, when Dr. Ambedkar said that he was speaking for ninety per cent. of the population, I know that he was saying nothing but the truth. In regard to this ninety per cent., how does the divorce take place today? They go to a petition writer and get a letter of release. Another way is they congregate together and put a white sheet on the woman.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: And supply a good deal of liquor to the fellows assembled!

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: That may be so, but it is not part of the ceremony. What is the present law, Sir? What have our leaders done for us? I am a representative of those poor people. I include myself in them. But when Dr. Ambedkar just by his finger indicates that he is one of those he will excuse me if I do not agree. Dr. Ambedkar lives here in a paradise.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I have lived in Improvement Trust ghawls for several years who charged me rupees three as rent.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: You can crush them under your feet; you can crush them under your thumb, but Sir, do you think that any poor villager getting about Re. 1 or Rs 1/8/- a day could go to a district judge without the help of a lawyer? Dr. Ambedkar is a lawyer. He wants that this world may be peopled by lawyers alone like me and by nobody else. What would happen to these people? Will they go to a district judge for dissolution of

marriage or divorce? (*An honourable Member:* "Impossible.") And this is not sufficient. Even if he obtains a decree, it should be confirmed by a High Court, which so far as Punjab is concerned is the High Court at Simla. Now, this procedure is unknown to people. It is a great tyranny upon those people. You are legislating for those who live in the Marine Drive in Bombay or in the palaces of Calcutta and Delhi and not for these poor people for whom you have such a soft corner in your heart.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: He wants to make it difficult. Do you want to make it easy?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Another answer is that they want to make it difficult. I do not want to make divorce easy. Absolutely not. I am in favour of divorce on one condition only, that you enact laws in which it may be very difficult to bring about conditions in which divorce may take place. Chastity and continuity of family life are the very pivot of our culture. But if I agree to divorce, it is because I see so many deserted women. It is on account of that that I agree. How can a poor man who is absolutely illiterate be able to engage a lawyer and go to a district or high court? It is impossible to accept this. This old Act of 1869 was enacted, not for the poor people of the Punjab or any other part of India, it was enacted for Christians who were of the same caste as the then rulers. There is a world of difference between them and these people. If you go through the provisions from article 38 to 50 of the Bill, you will come to the conclusion that such a complicated and intricate procedure has been laid down that it is very difficult to follow it. If you think deeply, you will find that the whole Hindu society will rebel against you if you pass those provisions. According to your law, if a man marries his aunt's (father's sister) daughter, that marriage is good; if he marries the daughter of his maternal uncle—it is in vogue in certain parts of Bombay, I understand.....(*An honourable Member:* "And Madras.") But so far as we are concerned it is regarded as highly incestuous. There is a very great difference. (*Shri Maharir Tyagi:* "The man may be killed.") Mr. Tyagi is not very far from being correct. It is a fact that in all the villages of East Punjab—and I speak with such feeling not because I want to speak with force but I regard it as true if you allow this thing to be done, that man shall be killed and nobody will associate with him. (*Mr. Tajamul Husain:* "Is there any compulsion?") If a man marries his sister or mother, is there any compulsion? Is this an enabling measure? This is going into the very vitals of the society. It is intolerable. It is impossible for us to be reconciled to this situation simply because in regard to some people there is such a custom. I do not say that those people should not be protected, but for them provision can be made.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: Exactly that has been provided if you refer to clause 7(5)—the parties should not be sapindas of each other.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: May I humbly enquire if a daughter of the aunt can be married to a man? I have seen the rules. I submit for your consideration that in these matters the law has been changed, and unless the law is brought to suit our conditions it is difficult for us to support this measure. That can be done in the Select Committee amendments can be moved. I do not want that the Bill should be throttled or killed.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: It can also be done by an amendment in this House.

An Honourable Member: I hope you will accept it.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I shall be prepared to accept any reasonable amendment.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I am very glad, and to that extent I am agreeable to support this Bill.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: Does the honourable Member intend to finish today?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable Member seems to be interested in this than other person, who are affected by this Bill. I have been noticing it. I cannot ask the honourable Member when he proposes to finish. It is open to him to take a reasonable time without repetition.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: It is not my intention to take one more minute than is necessary. If I am repeating, I may be called to order. If a Bill is there which affects the lives of thirty crores of people, it is not too much to consider it for several days.

Now I come to the provisions made by the Select Committee and to the most crucial questions in this matter. They are, whether in regard to succession and maintenance, what should be our attitude. I feel strongly on these. As I submitted in my earlier observations, I am in favour of giving to the women of India rights over property, movable as well as immovable, so that they may be economically independent. But, at the same time, I am opposed to giving the daughter a share in the property of the father. I want that, so far as an un-

3 P.M. married daughter is concerned, she may be given full share like the son as long as she does not marry. But as soon as she is married the position becomes different. I see that there is a lacuna in our law, but it may be met by enacting that, as soon as a woman marries a man, then the man and woman, when they are united in love, they may be united in property. Ultimately the man and woman may be joint owners and, when the father of the husband dies, both of them may succeed equally. Further on, the devolution of the property may take place in a particular way. I know that perhaps the demand for equality may not be fully met thereby. But in a matter of this kind, I do not think our sisters are well advised in weighing every question in golden scales. The yard-stick employed by them is not correct.

May I submit that, in regard to maintenance, they have such laws and such provisions the equal of which is not to be found anywhere else. Sir, the question of succession and the question of maintenance must be considered together. If they are not considered together, the difficulty will be that the full implications of the provisions will not be realised. Now, in regard to maintenance of a husband or a man are quite different from the duties laid upon women. According to the Chapter on Maintenance, the wife has a right to be maintained by the husband, but has the husband a right to be maintained by the wife? I am only saying that the rights are not equal. I maintain that the rights cannot be equal. They are diverse. Ladies and men have to do different work in life and on this basis it should be so arranged that the woman gets her full right and not an absolutely equal right.

Then again, Sir, a father has a right to maintain a minor son; but, so far as the daughter is concerned, what are the rights of a daughter, Sir? If a daughter is widowed or is married or unmarried, in every case and whatever the age of the daughter, her maintenance is absolute obligation. As a matter of fact, so far as the provisions for maintenance are concerned, I certainly want to congratulate Dr. Ambedkar for proposing that the ladies should be protected in every way and that they should be well provided for. But while this useful provision is there, there is also the other thing that the ladies should get a share in the father's property.

The Honourable Dr. Ambedkar told us yesterday that in times of old there was simultaneous devolution of property and that the daughter got about one-fourth according to Narad. I do not know what was the basis of social existence in those days and whether the family was then constituted as it is today. I do not know whether this point has been dealt with in some texts of Hindu Law. That is not an accepted proposition. Some say that this provision of simultaneous heirship refers only to unmarried woman. But, leaving that aside, I submit that, if in these times it was considered right, the question of questions is whether today, as we are situated after having observed the theory of Agnacy for a thousand years or more, are we justified in accepting the proposition that the daughter should get a share? What happens in a family? As long as the father is alive, the sons work with him in his business or in the field and they combine together to produce wealth. When the father dies of old age, that property which goes in the father's name is thus the result of the joint efforts of the sons and the father. Now, to say that the daughter should get a share of such a property which she had no share in producing—perhaps she was in some other place producing children is not fair. Let me not be misunderstood. I do not want that the daughter should not be given full rights. She may have them. But I do not want that this innovation, which is of such a fundamental character that it will affect every home in our country, should be made. I know my people all right. Choudhari Ranbir Singh who is a Jat knows how his son-in-law will be received in the family. I have been a practising lawyer for forty years and I know that in the case of self-acquired property, the daughter gets a share when there are no sons. If this innovation is introduced in the villages, in regard to entire property the result will be endless trouble. In every home if you let the son-in-law and the father and the mother of the son-in-law to live together with aunt's son and his family, it will create an impossible situation. This is not because we do not love our daughters. We do everything for them. In our place, if a daughter comes home to her parents, something is always given to her by way of love.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: Daughters should not be born in this country.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: To that I know what Dr. Ambedkar will say. He will say, 'Instead of sons, daughters should be born. Do we not know that among many Rajputs, the daughters were killed?' I do not want that to be done. It is necessarily wrong. What I am submitting is that for hundreds of years we have lived in such a society. We have regarded the son as the very pivot of the family. Without a son the daughter does not count in the family. It is the son which protects a man from hell (पतात त्रायते). If we were like the Muslims, we would certainly accept it, but it is very difficult. This interruption by Renuka Ray only brings into relief my argument that so far as the conceptions of the people are concerned and their mental outlooks are concerned, such an innovation would spell nothing but disaster. This is my humble submission and Mrs. Renuka Ray only supports me in this.

Mr. Krishnaswami Bharathi: I do not know which part of the country he comes from, but it appears that he does not know the custom in the Punjab. In no other province I can say the conditions are the same. What are these conditions due to? They are due to the fact that for thousands of years, our policy and our theory and our conception about the family has been exactly what has been in the Punjab. Sons-in-law are not all bad. Sons are not equally bad.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi (U.P.: General): It is the brother-in-law which matters.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: There is a proverb which runs as follows:

کوڑی گائے گھر کرے اور گورے نوانہ کھیت
جسامی ہمارے گم میں نیت لڑائی ہیئت

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

The following are the efficient causes of strife:

- (1) Construction of house in the place meant for deposit of village refuse;
2. A field in the vicinity of village common; and 3. The habitation of son-in-law in the village.

Another proverb.

یم جوانی بہانے زہیاری سنار
کدے نا ہووے اپنا کر دیکھو عیتبار

(The yama, the son-in-law, the maternal nephew, chowkidar and the goldsmith can never be yours. You may try them if you please.)

This is the truth. Let me say: Ask any person to go to the Punjab and find out among the Sikhs and Jats.

So far as this Bill is concerned, when this Bill was introduced, I remember that in the Objects and Reasons, this thing appeared:

"The Bill aims at providing uniformity in all branches of Hindu law for all provinces and for all sections. The old complex, intricate and different provisions of Hindu Law have also been simplified. Most of the provisions in the Bill are of a permissive of enabling character and impose no sort of compulsion or obligation whatever on the orthodox section of the community. Their only effect is to give a growing body of Hindus, men and women, the liberty to lead the lives which they wish to lead without in any way affecting or infringing the similar liberty of those who prefer to adhere to the old ways."

Now, Sir, in this very spirit, Dr. Ambedkar spoke yesterday. We want to see both the sections, the enlightened and the non-enlightened are accommodated. My humble submission to him is that so far as that is concerned, he is right; but for those humble people, whom you will neither regard as enlightened nor non-enlightened on the path of social life, you have not given the right provisions in the Bill and my humble request to Dr. Ambedkar is: Let him also kindly allow them to live on this earth.

Now, Sir, the very essence of a codification is that it includes certain enabling measures to accommodate the progressive and recognises customs which have grown in spite of texts to the contrary. It was never intended that established rights and provisions of law should be changed in this ruthless manner, which will create bad blood in the whole of the society. All our customs and all our cherished institutions are being crushed by this Bill.

When I come to the other provisions, as regards the succession, the position will be still more astounding. Now, Sir, so far as the Mitakshara is concerned, we know the consanguinity is the basis and so far as the Dayabhaga law is concerned, religious efficacy is the basis of inheritance. Dr. Ambedkar has been kind enough to give us another basis of inheritance. I do not want to say that he is far from wrong in what he is doing. He is doing the right thing, but I do not know what is the barometer for weighing this natural love and affection. Love and affection may also be perhaps understood. What is natural love. I do not know. According to our conceptions the brother is very dear to us. In our Sacred Ramayan, in Lakshman, brotherhood is enshrined. Sir, 'Uncles' who are just like parents are very dear to us. But what is the position of 'uncles and brothers' in this Hindu Code. If I were to tell you how that position has been affected, where they have been relegated, where they have been put, in the list of heir you will simply be astounded. If you kindly see the Seventh Schedule which has been sought to be made applicable to a Hindu in regard to inheritance, you will find that the first clause includes seven kinds of people and I want to know, Sir, how this new principle of natural love and affection is affected by this provision. In the first place Son; widow; daughter: This I can understand very well. Then you find 'son of a predeceased son': Even there I will allow it. Then comes 'widow of a predeceased son'. Sir, I do not understand how under the law of natural love and affection she is preferred to a daughter, son or an uncle. I do not think that so far as

the question of natural affection is concerned, the widow of a predeceased son, or son of a predeceased son of a predeceased son can be accepted. My opinion is that the Bill is based on a wrong stand-point if it provides for them. I can understand if this is only for providing for ladies, if they were not provided elsewhere. If they wanted not a widow, but the wife or a predeceased son or the wife of a son, I can understand it.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: This is by statute. If my honourable friend will read the Women's property Act, 1937, he will understand why these people have been put in the category simultaneously.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: The friend of Dr. Ambedkar knows it quite very well. But in that 1937 Act when that provision was made, the 'daughter' was not included.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I have said so.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: You want to add this to enable the daughter to succeed a father and succeed the father-in-law too. This is absolutely unfair. I do not see why you do not provide for this when you are making a new Code. You were making laws in which all claims should have been satisfactorily met, how should you have put in these provisions, because the Act of 1937 was there. I do not think this committee was justified in doing this. They ought to have given a full code in which every claim was satisfied. You cannot justify it otherwise. Therefore, you took protection under that Act. That is the position, Sir.

When I come to clause 2 of the original bill the 'mother' was considered as the better heir, because the 'mother' was a class by itself and the mother succeeded alone. Here I can understand natural love. Now the father has been placed along with the mother and they both come together. But if you proceed further what I maintain will be better understood. When you come to the second case, you find son's daughter, daughter's daughter. The son's daughter has got a special place in Mitakshara law and according to Mitakshara, she is one of the favourite heirs. What happens now, Sir, is that in the original bill in the first class, the daughter's son preceded mother and father. Now the daughter's son is sent on to the bottom. Then if you proceed further, Sir, in class IV, the brother and the sister come. And in class V, brother's son, sister's son, brother's daughter all come in. I can only state that a brother's son is made equivalent to a sister's son and a sister's daughter. Now, this is equality run mad, I should say. In our families, we know what is a brother and a brother's son. This is the result of the system or the institution of a family as we have been observing for the last 1,000 years. We cannot get away from this violent conflict. You are introducing provisions in this Bill which will make every person rebel against you, because these innovations in practices cannot be made by order. According to the provisions of this Bill, every Hindu, male and female has got an absolute right of making a will and every male and female in future will be absolute masters of their inheritance. You have given in my hand a power to the detriment of the ladies and I do not want that it should be used to the detriment of the ladies. After all, a father when dying will be within the power of the sons and the sons will see that the father disinherits the daughter: by will. While I am saying this, I may tell you, I have a daughter and I have provided for her when I provided for my sons. In the house in which I have been living with my sons and in the house in which my sons' wives have been living, I do not want that the daughter and her husband, her father-in-law and mother-in-law, her elder-brother-in-law should all come and occupy some rooms. That would be an impossible proposition.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Under the Bill there is not much chance of the father-in-law and mother-in-law being protected.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: They can come with the son-in-law. I will show there is a very good chance of a thing like this taking place. The father who does not want to touch even water at the house of the daughter, will get the property of the daughter, and her husband. I am coming to that subsequently.

I am only submitting that the ladies will be under a greater jeopardy of losing their rights in this way. The father will disinherit the daughter. She is not a heir according to class I; she does not succeed to the property of the father-in-law as wife of the son; but she succeeds only as a widow. Where is she then? I do not understand. She will be put to a great loss. I want, Sir, that the women should get their full rights. The theory which I have propounded—I have not given very great thought to it—I have only submitted it for the consideration of the entire House and for the consideration of Dr. Ambedkar—I do not know how it will affect other interests—there may be flaws and I do not vouch for it—but I consider, at the same time, that it will be a better arrangement than the present arrangement. The theory is that an unmarried daughter succeeds simultaneously equally with the son. The woman on marriage becomes joint owner in husband's property as husband would be joint owner in her property, then both succeed in husband's family.

Then, again, Sir, what would happen to the brother's son? and the sister's son? They are both on the same level. The brother's son lives in the same house probably or next door and does service everyday; the sister's son lives at Allahabad or Madras or some other place. How will they be equal. In regard to other provisions also,—I want to be brief—if the House wishes me to go into the other provisions also, I am perfectly prepared and I have got full notes about the changes and how they affect us—but I would be taking up the time of the House in such a manner as to deprive the other members of their opportunity.

Honourable Members: You may go on.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: There are many other considerations which go to show that this provision in clause (2) is not well founded either from the point of view of consanguinity or religious efficacy and even from the point of view of natural affection and love.

Next, I come to the succession of the female. After the Hindu Code Bill comes into vogue, the lady succeeds to the property of the father as well as to the property of the husband. Suppose the lady dies leaving husband and children, it is clear that the husband has been given the right and the children also succeed. So far so good. Then, when the husband and the children are not there, who succeeds? The father and mother of the lady. These people—there are lakhs like them—who do not even want to touch water from the house of the daughter, will get the property. (*Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi:* "Why" You cannot understand this; it is my difficulty. You cannot realise this. May I submit, Sir, that as soon as the father gives away the daughter to the son-in-law, the father never goes to the house of the daughter, never takes his food in her house and never even drinks water in her house, so that the purity is maintained that no daughter may be given in marriage for mere consideration or any other material gain. That is the basis. There are many people who would not even go to the village where the daughter is married. We must recognise facts as they are; it is no use saying that they do not know. It is quite possible that they do not know. It will happen that the father-in-law would get property bequeathed by the lady. That will be an intolerable position. Supposing a lady does not leave a husband and children and neither a father nor a mother, what happens? This is a crucial point. The property has been inherited by the lady from the father. The property, in the absence of husband, children, father or mother will not go to the son of her father. Let me put

position clearly. The property belongs to A's family. The property will not go to A's family, the brother of the woman, the real brother made of the same flesh and blood, but the property will go to hundreds of people of the husband's family of the list that you have given here. Since the woman is dead, leaving no husband and children, father and mother, in that case, the property is not inherited by her brother or brother's son or others, but it goes to the family of the husband. Why is it so. Because your Select Committee have not been able to shake themselves from the considerations which have been influencing the entire community for a very long time. (*Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi:* "What is the present position?") We are not concerned with that. You know the present position very well. It is stridhana; it is not inherited by the daughter; the position is different. I was submitting the property of one family is not inherited by the brother of the lady, but it goes to other people. This is a position which I cannot understand. But, you must realise that this is the position. You may remedy it; I beg of you to remedy it. This is a question on which you will be well advised to review. This is one of the points which I submit for your consideration. I will leave this question of succession at this; there are many other considerations which could be placed before you.

Then, I come to the power of disposal. I quite understand the very great hardships when there were restricted rights in regard to women's property. So far as the joint family is concerned, it is sought to be crushed under this Bill. The joint family is mouldering away; it is crumbling. From a very long time, certain circumstances have so arranged the fate of the joint Hindu family that it cannot survive. Sir, I do not want to shed tears over its going away. The Income-tax Act is the greatest monster in killing this joint Hindu family. I know that the joint Hindu family cannot stay for long. But, so far as this Bill is concerned, if it says that in future they will be tenants in common, I have no quarrel. This was given in the other Bill and this is also given in this Bill. I am too much of a realist to cry that my sacred ancient joint Hindu family goes away. There were days when there was great use for the joint family. Now we are turning back to co-operative forming, co-operative holding of properties, etc. At the same time, we are providing social insurance, etc. We are doing all these things in such a manner that we are reverting back to the principles on which the old joint Hindu family was doing. That is beside the mark; so far as the law goes, so far as the general circumstances of the country go, so far as this joint family is concerned, I do not think that it must be said.....

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram (Minister of Labour): It is a lost cause.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Whatever you may say, Sir, there is no question of cause here. I do not like the idea that legislation should kill the joint Hindu family.

In regard to marriage, Sir, I have to submit a few considerations more. It is a very difficult matter.

An Honourable Member: That has been dealt with before.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I have placed some considerations before.

An Honourable Member: This is second marriage.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I find myself in very good company when I make.....

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: You are, with the Law Minister himself.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan, Mr. Shiva Rao and Shrimati Renuka Ray wrote as follows:

"Regarding clause 6 of Part II of the Code on 'Forms of Hindu Marriage', we would point out that there are, in certain parts of the country, long-standing customs or usages which recognise as valid marriages which would not come under the category of either sacramental or civil marriages in accordance with the provisions of this Part. We would therefore suggest a proviso at the end of clause 6 to confer validity on such marriages."

What is this? I understand that the trouble is the same in that part of India from which Mr. Bharathi comes.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: Luckily I do not come from that part. I come from Tamilnad and they come from Malabar.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: So far as the question of adoption is concerned I find a similar thing in this dissenting note. So it is not the Punjab alone. It is also in other parts in which the rules of marriage and divorce and adoption are different from the orthodox rules and all of them should be protected, and I am very glad that these dissenting members represented their constituencies too well in making this observation.

I was speaking of sacramental marriages. So far as the non-sacramental marriage is concerned I have not said a word about it. I want that to be protected. In regard to sacramental marriages, the havoc played by the Committee is inexplicable. I do not understand for once how the civil marriage should be included in this chapter. If it is a civil marriage, it is a subject for the civil code. We have the Act of 1872. It is a very defective Act and I have submitted a Bill to put it right, and the Bill which I moved a few days back in this House for validating the marriage of all others, that would protect us much more than the inclusion of this civil code here. I am in favour of a civil code for the whole of India and I want the rules to be the same for all. It is our duty to do so but why should we include the civil marriage here? If it is to take away the evil effects of that law, then the other course is open. What happens in this civil code and the new kind of marriage which is neither sacramental nor civil but a registered sacramental marriage in which though the marriage takes place by virtue of a sacrament, yet if it is originally incestuous, then you go to a registering officer and you get it validated?

Shrimati G. Durgabai: It is only optional!

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I have replied, it may be optional but does it conclude the matter? The Hindu Code says that there are five conditions when the marriage takes place otherwise the marriage will not be permitted. The words are "conditions relating to sacramental marriage". That means in fundamental matters, as soon as one of the provisions is contravened, you allow the law to secure you to get away from the effects of that flaw. As regards the prohibition of the sapinda relationship, I beg to submit the difficulty is that the uniformity of law which we aim at is very difficult to secure in a country like India. It has been said that bringing about such a uniformity will be miraculous. I congratulate Dr. Ambedkar in working out that miracle and I am for this miracle being worked out. But when there are legal difficulties in local matters in which the conflict from the present position to the position that we want to see enacted is very great and very violent, I would ask of the House to so arrange matters that this conflict is avoided.

Now, Sir, I come from a place in the Punjab where there are villages upon villages having the same gotra and they believe that they are descended from the same common ancestor. You know this sapinda relationship which restricts the line of ascent and descent to three or five is not sufficient so far as

those people are concerned. I do not want to say that you broaden it further. At the same time this will be unacceptable and a thing with which we could never reconcile ourselves, if you ask us to allow a marriage of sapindas. This is an impossible position so far as we are concerned, and if you allow this then you are really cutting at the very root of our social system as is enjoyed in the Punjab for a very long time. This is my feeling also for the whole of India. Of course, I do not speak for the rest of India because there are certain gentlemen who question it. My view is that in the whole of India the position should be the same. Well, I am not dogmatic about it, but this is a very wrong rule that we are enacting and that the requirements of section 7, that marrying couple should not be sapindas should be waived in so far as registered sacramental marriages are concerned. So far as the Sarda Act went, a marriage once celebrated according to the Hindu Law and our notions, was always indissoluble. We are making a break from this rule in so far as we are providing for disrupting marriage by codes or customs. Otherwise when rule 3 has been abrogated, you can convict a man and send him to jail. I have submitted to the House through a bill that where a person not of proper age is married instead of a fine he should be imprisoned and the law should not be vested with the discretion that he should be allowed to go free. The whole country was against the Sarda Act and the present provision shows that if Rule 3 is followed, then the marriage will become avoidable. This is going against principles which we have not accepted for more than 20 years.

So far as the main provisions in the Hindu Code are concerned, I have dealt with them in brief with a view to bring them to the notice of the House and since my feeling is that the Bill is not going to be throttled out, I will deal with those matters when the clause to clause stage is reached.

To sum up, I want to say that so far as this House is concerned, it will be well advised in either sending this Bill out for circulation, because in that case nothing will be lost—as a matter of fact much will be gained: public opinion will be consulted and the public will feel that they are not being ignored. As a matter of fact many amendments have been made even after it has come from the Select Committee: even before the Select Committee the people in general did not know anything about it. In spite of all that has been said, I am convinced that people know about it. Dr. Ambedkar referred us to the two gentlemen who drafted this report and said that they were very good people and not such people as could be regarded as very much advanced in their views. I have got with me so many opinions of high court judges and more opinions are pouring in every day. All these people are against it. I did not want to read them out from the evidence that is printed in the report of the Hindu Law Committee. I would with your permission refer you to page 139 of this report, where there is the evidence of a lady, Miss Subral, Principal, Fateh Chand College for Women. She said:

"The unmarried daughter, one who is not fit for marriage, or one who has made up her mind not to marry should get the same share as the son and she should also be subject to the same obligations as the son. A married daughter should not have any share in the property. If an unmarried daughter marries, her share should go back to her brothers."

When the Committee was in Lahore to record the evidence, it is said in the report.

"As a matter of fact in the Punjab where I was presiding over the meeting of this committee some 500 women entered the Commercial Museum Hall, Lahore, where the meeting was held and with folded hands 'Do not bring son-in-law into the family and ruin our business.'"

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

In regard to business if you kindly consider what effect this will have on the business people you will simply be scandalised. A prosperous business conducted by a father and his sons is going on. The father dies and the business is run by the joint efforts of all and then the son-in-law gets in. What will happen to the business? It will go to dogs. I would refer the House to page 139 of the report. It is wrong to say that all the ladies are in favour. Thousands of enlightened ladies did not favour this, not because they did not want the daughter to be given any rights. I reiterate that so far as I am concerned as also those persons who think in the same way as myself, we do not want to see that the daughter is not given the full right or that women are not given their full right. We want women to rise to the same stature as man and to have the same rights. I am one with Dr. Ambedkar. I am like him a progressive conservative. I like that expression very much. I do not belong to the advanced school of thought. This Bill is not either revolutionary or radical, as Dr. Ambedkar said. This Bill deals with certain matters but the Bill has to be improved. Today there is in the Hindu society some sort of introspection and it is able to see that there has been decay. It is our duty to see that the dilapidation is repaired in the words of Dr. Ambedkar. I therefore submit that from this point of view let no body run away with the thought that we do not want to do justice to our sisters and daughters. If our sisters and daughters carry an impression like this they are entirely mistaken. I know about your good self, Sir. You are also in favour of this view that their rights should be secured. I therefore submit that this should not be looked at from this point of view. I want this Bill to be circulated and it may be taken up after the next elections when we have a more representative House. I do not maintain that this House is not fully competent or sovereign. If the House persists in proceeding with this measure there is no wrong in it but I would like to see that this Bill is considered and that justice is done to every interest concerned. At the same time what I do want as a lawyer and as a member of this House is that this Bill should be considered again by the Select Committee, even if it be for two hours, so as to remove all these defects and to legalise the original Bill being considered clause by clause and then this very Bill may be substituted if the Select Committee so pleases. I maintain that it is absolutely wrong to say that the original Bill was considered in the way in which the law required it to be considered or that the amendments were moved or accepted in the usual manner as is done in every Select Committee. This was not done. We should be quite cautious that we do not allow the thing to be done in a way which is fundamentally wrong. I would beg of Dr. Ambedkar to consider the question if he is satisfied that my objection is right. I would beg of him kindly to consider the point of view of the poor Punjab people who had no representation on the Hindu Law Committee.

Honourable Members: What about Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava. If you speak of Dr. Tek Chand who was on this Select Committee I will be very glad if you will give him his due. If he had not written this dissenting note where would you have been? If you accept him as a man whose views ought to be respected then go by his views. This is my submission. I am only a mouthpiece or a loudspeaker of what Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand has written. He has said in his note that you should allow nomination of an heir, that you allow divorce to take place in the same manner in which it is taking place today and he has also mentioned about non-sacramental marriages. In all these points when you take his name I beg of you kindly to follow him in what he has said in his dissenting note.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Shrimati Renuka Ray.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: Sir, my grievance is not being heard.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable Member's grievance will not go unheard.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: May I submit that I had certain points and I would like to have got the advantage of those points being made and the replies given to them.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable Member will have the advantage of his observations going unchallenged.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I do not like it, Sir.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I have already ruled that the honourable Member will not have his turn now. I have called Shrimati Renuka Ray.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: The Bill that is under the consideration of this House now, or rather the principles embodied in it, have been on the anvil of this legislature since 1943 and the insistent demands for these changes that are embodied in this Bill have been before the country for a very much longer time. It was more than 100 years ago that Raja Ram Mohan Roy wrote a treatise called "The Rights of Females to inherit property and their rights of marriage", and this matter was first brought to public attention. Since 1931 and 1932 there has been an insistent demand throughout the country, and at that time the need for the removal of legal disabilities of women and the need for a uniform and comprehensive code of legislation was made manifest in this country. Due to the fact that on the anvil of the legislature there were a number of Bills dealing with this subject, due to the fact that piecemeal legislation was leading to anomalies in law and because of this insistent demand, the Government of that day was forced and compelled to appoint the Hindu Law Committee better known as the Rau Committee on Hindu Law. It was as a result of the report of this Committee that the two Bills on intestate succession and marriage were introduced in 1943. At that time the opposition that has now again reared its head also came to the forefront. The substance of the opposition was the same as it is now but the approach was a very different one. The approach was naturally different because it was made to an alien government. The approach was made on the lines that they were the loyalists who were the ardent supporters of the Government, that it was the Congress, which was agitating, that was behind this demand which the women of India had brought forward and that the Government should not give any credence to it. I am not making statements without foundation. It is true that the nationalist press of this country did not give that opposition much chance. Yet the opposition did bring out many pamphlets wildly abusing our national leaders, not even sparing our beloved leader Mahatma Gandhi. There was a weekly paper produced called 'Hindu' in which these Bills were attacked and they were attacked on the basis that the national leaders of this country were behind it and it was due to their advice and under their influence that this was being done. Coupled with this factor, when the Government found that the women of this country were not willing to agree to those machinations which wanted to further divide and bring discord among them, when they realized that women were against separate electorates and that they stood behind those who were in the vanguard of the freedom movement of this country, then there was not much hope that a legislation of this type to improve the lot of women and to give them their rights would go through with the alien government in power. It was then that we realized that it was necessary to wait till a national government came in. Later the Government appointed the Hindu Law Committee, and the Bills were re-circulated. This Committee as the House knows, presented its Report after touring the country, taking the opinions of thousands of individuals and organisations in 1946 after the

[Shrimati Renuka Ray]

Interim Government came in. I will not recapitulate the subsequent steps when this Bill was reintroduced after 1947 in the present Legislature as these are well known to the Members of this House. But I merely want to point out that the opposition which is in substance the same, in character the same, has a new approach. I would like to know who are they who were opposed to the Congress in those days to say today to the Congress 'You will lose your elections if the Hindu Code Bill goes through' I would like to ask them when they were deliberately against the movement for freedom—when they neither supported it nor sympathised with it—when it was in spite of them that the Congress won the elections and the country's freedom, who are they today to tell the Congress that they will not win the elections. If anyone of them comes into the legislatures of the country today it is by the grace of the Congress and so it shall be tomorrow also.

This opposition that has reared its head and which is similar in character as before, has resorted to many devices. It has resorted to various types of tactics. The House is aware of the fact that the Governor-General's name was used and this was found to be a fraud. Only two or three days ago in a newspaper in Calcutta I saw the name of Shyama Prasad Mookerjee after that of two or three other well-known oppositionists and I was a bit surprised until I saw in small brackets the words "(of Uttarapara)". Sir, it was obviously intended to mislead, and if questioned they would have pointed out "of Uttaraparah." These are the devices, these are the tactics that are being used by the opposition. As you know, we do not question those who have genuine differences of opinion. But this type of tactics that are employed today.....

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: On a point of information, is it not Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee?

Shrimati Renuka Ray: No. It was not the Minister of the Central Cabinet. I do not know which Shyama Prasad Mookerjee he is.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I thought the description was "Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, President of the Hindu Mahasabha".

Shrimati Renuka Ray: That is not so. It was "of Uttarapara". Such are the tactics adopted by them that even Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad is taken in by them. The orthodox opposition has found its greatest champion from amongst the members of a community which recognizes the daughter's rights of inheritance. It is extremely surprising that the honourable Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad would deny to his Hindu sisters the rights that his own women have.

I would further say that there are some people who have asked "How is it that telegrams, circulars, and posters are being displayed by the opposition all over—at least in Delhi—and that M.C.A.'s are being flooded with wires; and how is it that those who are in support of the measure do not do the same?" Sir, those who support this Code are also representatives of social welfare organisations; they are people who work for the good of this country. Today when there is a national emergency in regard to any funds that they have, they would not consider it right and proper that they should use such funds in sending wires and letters when they can be used for the rehabilitation of refugees. One wire to M.C.A.'s in this House costs Rs. 165. With that money for three months a refugee woman can be given vocational training for rehabilitation. Do you want that these wires should be sent to you? I think it would be wholly wrong for such a procedure to be adopted. If we have not issued posters and circulars and wires it does not mean that the demand for the changes does not continue to exist.

I will not go into great detail on the provisions of the Bill after the brilliant and masterly analysis of the Honourable Law Minister. It is quite unnecessary. Unity is something we desire in this country, and a uniform and comprehensive Code of law for Hindus who are the majority in the country is surely a necessity in that case.

Turning to monogamy I would like to ask is there any one in this House or in the country who would contemplate with equanimity the fate for his own sister or his own daughter of being the first wife of a man who has married again. It is true that polygamy is not very customary: It is on the whole rare in the country. But in recent years we have seen that polygamy has become more frequent, and to the eternal shame of Indian womanhood there have been women who have knowingly and willingly agreed to become the second wives of such men. I do not think that I need elaborate the point that law must come forward to redress the grievances and the miserable plight of the women who are first wives of such men.

Turning to inter-caste marriage and *sagotra* marriage, when in the Fundamental Rights of our Constitution we say that all discrimination on account of caste and sex and other such things should go, surely inter-caste marriage which is a permissible measure will be only the very first step towards it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Caste can go; how can sex go?

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I said 'discrimination on account of caste and sex'.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable Member may go on.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: Turning to the divorce provision in this Code, I concede that these are restricted conditions. The home is the nucleus of society and I do believe that the primary reason for marriage is that it is for the protection of children and as such divorces should not be allowed on flimsy grounds, but for genuine cases of hardship we have to provide. Since 1943 when the Marriage Bill was first introduced I have had scores of letters and scores of people have come to me with their daughters who have shown to me how grave and how terrible is the hardship which the women do suffer. Unless there is such a provision, both for men and women, it will not meet genuine requirements.

Sir, let me dilate for a moment when I speak on this point, because the opposition about which I spoke have been going round telling many women who do not understand law or the provisions of a Code, that their own women were trying to bring in laws by which they will be divorced. They do not realise that it is only a permissive measure, that it is only the aggrieved person who can claim divorce, and for whom alimony is provided. These things are not mentioned. At hundreds of public meetings these matters were brought to me

4 P. M. and I had to explain the point, and I think the women Members of this Assembly can also say the same thing.

Turning to the joint Mitakshra family, I do not think there is any need for me to add one word to what the honourable the Law Minister has said on the subject. It has been fully amplified by him.

So far as the daughter's right of inheritance is concerned, it is the focus of the opposition. It is only natural because that alone proves that it is not bigotry so much, not blind prejudice so much, but it is the vested interests that are up in arms. The honourable the Law Minister has already spoken on this point, but I should like to say one or two more things. The economic status of a woman can only be established by the recognition of the daughter's right to inheritance. It was a point that was brought up by my honourable Friend

[Shrimati Renuka Ray]

Seth Govind-Das yesterday. He said—I do not know how far he believed in it—he said, “Why should we have inheritance?” Certainly, I do agree that a time will come and must come—if we want and believe in equality of opportunity for all, if we believe that disparity of wealth shall go—a time must come when inherited property must go out. But until such time, if there is a difference between the daughter and the son, then that difference means a difference in the status. It is the daughter’s status that has to be recognised; she as a daughter, as a woman, is a natural heir. It is not merely from the theoretical point of view that I mention this. We are dealing with intestate succession and it is far more natural that a father will not disinherit his daughter, than a father-in-law would, in spite of what my honourable friend Pandit Bhargava said. A woman’s rights in the joint family, which in years gone by may have served a very useful purpose, have not under the existing conditions been so sure in recent years. My honourable Friend Sucheta Kripalani made a point yesterday which I would like to endorse. Those women or men who are social workers know that an analysis of the inmates of rescue homes in this country will go to prove how many of these women are those who have been turned out of the joint family. Without having the training to earn their own living, turned out of their homes these women have been forced to live a life of shame. That is a question which the Hindu society must face. I am sure those who propounded the Hindu laws would never have contemplated such a state of affairs.

Women are the mothers of the race. No race can advance till its women can be responsible mothers and conscious citizens. There has been a good deal of propaganda done about educated women. A handful of educated women, it is said, want this Hindu Code or want this very halting and mild measure of reform. Sir, so far as women are concerned, it must be a handful because after all the educated element of this country is 15 per cent and the women who are educated are about 3 or 4 per cent even now. So, so far as the women are concerned it must be a handful, but behind them are, not today only but from decades past, the large mass of enlightened and progressive men who stand behind them. It is not the women of this country who alone are responsible for the fact that there is no suffragette movement; no feminist movement in this country—it is because their champions have been enlightened men, for decades past. Today the same state of affairs exists and I am sure that the majority in this House are also behind us. It is not a demand from the educated women of this country but a demand from all those who want that India shall progress. For, without women becoming conscious citizens taking the rightful place in society, it is not possible for us to progress.

Sir, it is well-known that slaves have resisted when the Shackles of their slavery were removed. It is a fact that serfs have objected to freedom. What is more, coming to our own country, it was held by the British that it was only the wretched Congress agitators who wanted freedom but that the mass of the people were quite willing to remain in the pathetic contentment of thralldom. If you speak today of pathetic contentment amongst the women, it is true, it is perfectly true that many women are not yet conscious. But is that a reason that you will not awaken them, that you will not make them conscious, that they should not become equal with men in the joint enterprise that is before us today of building a new India in an atmosphere of freedom? I ask, is there anyone who feels that it is possible to go ahead without the women of this country?

Before I conclude, I will say a word or two about what my honourable Friend Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava has said: I must say that I could not

quite follow him. This morning he called into question the competency of this Legislature, and in the afternoon just before he sat down he said that he...

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I never questioned the competence of this Legislature.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: So, I suppose what he said last is what goes. He spoke a good deal about the eleven notes of dissent. But as he knows and as the House knows, many of these notes of dissent were on minor issues and such notes of dissent are usually attached to all Bills and it does not mean therefore that a Bill should be re-circulated. This morning Pandit Bhargava said that two wrongs do not make a right when he said that this Constituent Assembly obviously is not fitted to draw up the Constitution of India. I wonder, considering that it is such a wrong thing; how he remains in that wrong Assembly. I am not going to contradict him or speak again on all that he has said this afternoon, because I think it was very ably answered before he ever spoke by the Honourable the Law Minister and Pandit Bhargava contradicted some of them himself.

There is one last point that I would like to make. The cry has been raised that Hindu society is in danger because of this mild, halting measure of reform. I too think that Hindu society is in danger. It is in very grave danger—danger from those who would bind and fetter it; danger from those who would not allow out-worn customs to be changed but would allow them to choke up the life-blood of our society. If those who today appear to be so concerned about Hindu society would give a little thought, they would agree with what the Honourable the Law Minister said, namely, that you must repair if you want to survive. I do not know who has given a prerogative to some people to stand up for Hindu society. I do not consider those who wish to bind and fetter Hindu law which has been changing with changing times throughout the centuries to be the exponents of Hindu society and Hindu law and those who wish to improve it and bring it back once again to the culture and heritage of our forefathers as people against it. I think it is those who would bind and fetter it, who are not the friends but the enemies of Hindu society. If Hindu society is to regain all that it has lost during the many years and the many centuries of decadence when Hindus were slaves, it has to come in line with the atmosphere of freedom that prevails in this country today. Men and women have to come forward equally to work for the country and there cannot be equality if there is no equality in the social laws of this country. Therefore, I plead that those who today are opposing this Code should give it a little more thought. If they do not, it may be that Hindu society and Hindu law may be left behind, for the march onwards must go on and India is not going to go back to slavery or domination by others.

Shri V. S. Sarwate (Madhya Bharat): I would offer my congratulations to Dr. Ambedkar for his learned and lucid exposition of the Bill, becoming as it was to a professor and an advocate that he is.

As regards the several provisions of the Bill, one would necessarily find himself in agreement with some and in disagreement with others. This is not the occasion to dilate much either on the points of agreement or on the points of difference. I would, in the general discussion, confine myself to certain broad principles and I would try to show that in these principles the Bill goes in a fundamentally opposite direction to the notions which have all along, in my humble opinion, been lying behind Hindu law.

[Shri V. S. Sarwate]

There has been a considerable section of Hindu society against this measure. It cannot be denied; it cannot be concealed. Some may say that it is a cry of "Religion in danger"; it is sentimental; it is reasonless. All the same, those who are bent upon making legislation which vitally affects a society of more than 20 crores would do well to pause, ponder and consider its substance. They should consider what is there in the Bill which makes so many people—intelligent, educated people—to be against the Bill.

[At this stage, Mr. Deputy Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao (one of the Panel of Chairmen)].

I submit that there are two reasons for this. The first point that I would refer to is the change in the nature of the joint property. I would submit that the co-parcenary aspect of the joint property has certain very noble ideas behind it. The co-parcenary means that there is a community of interest, as every member of the House knows. It means that every individual has the fullest right of enjoyment but he has no individual share nor the right to alienate the property. The whole trend of modern society, the progress of thought of the society, in my opinion, is in this direction. We may condemn Communists, but Communism in its pure form, pruned of certain things, is bound to come and would come. What does Communism mean in this aspect? As I understand it, it means "From each man according to his ability and to each man according to his necessity". In other words, a man is to enjoy the property in his hands to the minimum. He has to divest himself of individuality. He is never to consider that he has an exclusive individual interest in the property. If this is the basic understanding and if the world of progressive thought is moving towards this direction, I believe it would be admitted that it would be wrong to go into an opposite direction. Every effort should be made to promote such an idea and to promote such institutions as foster this idea. Dr. Ambedkar in his speech showed at length the attempts which have been made so far by the *Smritikars* and others to fritter away this idea of co-parcenership. Assuming that this is so, the effort now should have been in the opposite direction—not to complete the process of frittering but to restore the co-parcenary property.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: Impossible.

Shri V. S. Sarwate: Impossible? Yes, everything that is not attempted is avoided by saying it is "impossible."

Nothing is impossible in this world if you try. Now therefore I submit that the idea behind the co-parcenary property system is admitted. Each individual member or co-parcener has to enjoy in full the common property, though he has no exclusive individual interest in it and he cannot alienate his interest in it. So when you attempt to deal with it, this co-parcenary you should take the idea as a whole. The idea of the joint property, as conceived by *Mitakshara*, seems to be this: that there is right of survivorship, and that each family is a unit and not an individual. It means also that the family continues though the individuals in it pass away and whether one is a male or a female one has a right of equal enjoyment. There is equality of sex in this sense. Therefore it follows that whatever is the property of the family has to go to those persons who constitute the family. Therefore if a daughter does not constitute the family, if she is the member of another family, she would necessarily not enjoy any right in that family. It is not neglect or unfairness or want of affection for a daughter. The very idea of a joint family is this: that whosoever is the member, whether widow, male or female, as long as he or she continues to be member of the family, he or she enjoys the property of the family which nobody has a right to alienate. I would have welcomed a

provision to the effect that there would be no partition of joint family property and that no person or individual of the joint family has any right to alienate the family property. That would have been very welcome and in the right direction. That would have been according to the idea which is fundamentally behind the joint family system. It is the family which is taken as a unit of society and not an individual. Conceived from this point of view, no sister of mine need think that she has been ill treated, because she and her brother enjoy equal rights in this respect. I would therefore submit for the consideration of the Honourable Dr. Ambedkar that in such a vast country like India, nothing would be lost if there are separate experiments on social units. If it is wanted that an individual should be a unit, let that experiment be tried somewhere. If the joint family should be the unit of society let that experiment also be continued in some places. We are a sufficiently large country to have different experiments in society. Let both continue and let the persons choose the law or system they want to follow. So, instead of having one codified uniform law for the 20 crores of India, nothing would be lost if we have more than one system prevailing in this country.

I may in this connection refer to one of the observations made by Dr. Ambedkar. I admire him for his erudition. I heard him with respect, because in the course of his arguments he never descended to have a fling at somebody. His attacks were heavy, but they were straight and level. But, in the course of his remarks the other day, in the course of his otherwise lucid speech, he said that he did not know why the Brahmins of old were engaged in composing so many as 137 *Smritis* and enquired whether they had no better engagement. I believe when the Honourable Minister said this, his historical perspective left him for a moment. I may remind him that these 137 *Smritis* were not written simultaneously. They were written in a period covering more than 250 years at the least. Thus on the average it took them about 20 years to write each *Smriti*. That means one for every generation. But here what happens is that during the space of one year the Honourable Doctor prepares more *Smritis* than one. So he need not have indulged in that unedifying observation. It was also very unnecessary for the development of his argument.

Sir, I was dealing with joint family property. I submit that the basic principle of joint family property is this: that it allows restricted enjoyment.

Sir, the question is often asked, what is Hindu culture; what is Hindu religion as such? Where angels fear to tread it is difficult for others like me to rush. All the same one has sometimes to make provisional attempts and I shall make that attempt. I think, as far as the present topic is concerned, the fundamental points which the Hindus have kept before themselves are that there should be restraint on enjoyment all along. Not encouragement of enjoyment but restraint on enjoyment was their rule and, according to them, for the community of interest, the individual should lose himself.

Now, applying this principle of restraint, I submit that the whole Chapter on Marriage has to be recast. In this respect it has been stated that because ninety per cent. of the people by custom have this right of divorce, what are you going to do? It is asked, are you going to impose this custom of ninety per cent. on the remaining ten per cent? I submit an argument of this sort is a very good piece of rhetoric, but not of logic. What we have to consider and what the Honourable Doctor has to consider is not what is the custom, but what is good and what is beneficial. We have to consider what ought to

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be there. That has been the criterion all along and that should be the criterion. There will otherwise be anomaly. For instance, among ninety per cent. of the people there is the custom of drinking. We are certainly not for the matter of that prohibiting prohibition. It cannot be denied that there is the custom of drinking.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: It is not a custom.

Shri V. S. Sarwate: All right, you may think so. I am at liberty to express the thing in that way. (An honourable Member: "There are not ninety per cent. drunkards.") It is one thing to call it a custom in the community and another thing to call them drunkards. That is the difference. It is no argument to say that a certain custom is there and therefore it should be continued by law. The argument should be whether it is beneficial and if we consider from this point of view, and if a certain section of the Hindu community says that marriage is indissoluble, why force them and say that there shall be a dissolution, if the parties so choose? Argument may be advanced, that there is in this Bill no necessity, there is no compulsion, but there is an option. The option is always there. The option to a drunkard is he may or he may not go to the drinking shop. There is always the option, but he does go all the same when there is a drinking shop and a drinking shop has therefore to be closed by law. If it is to apply to a certain portion of the society, I would have welcomed it. In law of marriage, there should be monogamy. I admit it. I would go further and say that if you consider that from the point of view of restraint, there should be no second marriage either of the women or of the men. That would have been a welcome provision, but instead of that we are going to the other extreme and providing that every marriage should be if so chosen liable to be dissolved. This is not desirable to my mind. No doubt Divorce was allowed by ancient Hindus at a certain point of time. It was prohibited later on whatever may have been the historical conditions first. The reason appears to me is this that the unity of the family was to be kept intact. They wanted that the marriage once performed should not be dissolved so that no other woman should come in; and that the woman who was in the family should not go away and another should not come in. That contingency should be avoided as far as possible. To my mind this was one of the reasons why a marriage was not allowed to be dissolved. Therefore, my suggestion is this: Let there be two parts in the section of 'marriage'. Those who want that their marriages should be dissolved, let them marry according to civil marriage and let there be free dissolution of marriage for them according to the provisions which you make here. Let the other part be there, which may be sacramental, and in that part let there be no dissolution of marriage. This would, I think, satisfy both the parties. My humble submission is this: Why should dissolution be forced?

Shri Mahavir Tyagi In that case they will have to decide for separation before they marry.

Shri V. S. Sarwate: I believe my honourable friend has misunderstood me totally. What I say is that those males and females who want that their marriages should not be dissolved should marry according to the sacramental rights and those who wish that their marriages should in future be dissolved let them marry according to civil marriage.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: Does my honourable friend mean that there should be divorce before the marriage?

Shri V. S. Sarwate: Civil marriage does not mean divorce. It neither means separation nor divorce. When I say civil marriage, it means marriage; it cannot mean divorce.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: It does not mean even marriage.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. Let the honourable member proceed with his speech.

Shri V. S. Sarwate: My submission, Sir, is this: Let us get clear in our minds whether we are going to force certain things which certain sections of the people do not want? I go further and say when you once admit that sacramental marriages are sacramental, then let religion be the test for providing the conditions for such a marriage. If religion allows child-marriage and marriages of minors, let it be allowed. It is a contradiction in terms first to say that a marriage should be according to religion and then to add that it shall be according to religion and also according to what is provided in this Bill. That is contradiction in terms. Either allow sacramental marriages or do not allow sacramental marriages, if you do not like that. In that case, say that all marriages will be civil. If you say sacramental marriage is to be allowed, then the marriage has to be performed according to the sacraments. This is my humble contention and in so far as the provisions of section 7 of the Bill are concerned, they are not according to sacraments. There are certain other things added to sacrament. That should be strictly according to the religion, if religion is to be allowed. This is the second thing which I bring to your notice and this can be very easily done. This would satisfy and may to a great extent remove the causes of dissatisfaction which at present exist. Dealing with principles only, my simple suggestion is this, that in this very Act there should be provision which should allow society and the joint family in co-parcenary form to continue. Nothing would be lost thereby. In this country there are Muslims, there are Christians, there are Parsis—Parsis are a very small community—and still if they are allowed to have their own law of succession etc, what would be lost if a certain larger section is allowed to have co-parcenary, if they so chose. If this principle is once accepted then changes can be made in the whole draft according to that principle.

My further submission is that the Bill may be re-circulated for opinion. Here I do not touch on the ruling which has been already given by the Chair. The question that then arose was whether for purposes of the rules publication was sufficient and the ruling was that it was sufficient. That does not however preclude me from raising the point whether it is desirable that the Bill should be re-circulated. My submission is that it has been lost sight of that the Bill if passed would be automatically applicable to states whatever Dr. Ambedkar may say to the contrary. My humble opinion is that it would apply to all those territories of states which have merged in the provinces and all those areas which have agreed that the Centre would have the power to legislate for them.

Shri Sita Ram S. Jajoo (Madhya Bharat): What is the objection if it applies to Indian States as well?

Shri V. S. Sarwate: What I am saying is that it should apply. I am in favour of it. I do not understand why honourable members without allowing me to speak, go on anticipating me and pass certain remarks. I was submitting that the Bill should apply to the Indian States. I was only submitting that if it is to so apply and that is very much my wish, then there arises a fundamental right, which you ought in justice grant to every large area which is to be governed by your bill, to express its opinion. This Bill was not published in these large areas and therefore the peoples there were not in a position to give to the Bill that serious consideration which they would otherwise have given. Now when they know that the Bill would apply to them, and the Bill is published they would be in a position to express their reaction. It is a fundamental right

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of every person to be given an opportunity to express his opinion regarding any legislation which is going to affect him. It is further the duty of every representative of theirs to ascertain their views before he gives his vote here. Therefore, both from the point of view of the representatives of the States and from the point of view of the people of the States, it is only just that some time should be allowed to them to give their opinion. Therefore, I suggest a *via media*, that if in any case this Bill is not going to be finished in this session, if that be the contingency, which I think it may be, the honourable the mover of the Bill may consider whether it would not be desirable to take this up in a special session later on; the time that may intervene, namely two or three or four months would be quite sufficient to get the reactions of those people. I think this would be just and would also be in accordance with the spirit of the publication provisions. I appeal to the House to see whether justice does not require this. It should not be presumed that the last word has been said on the Code. It may be that the humblest of the humble may come forward with suggestions which may be useful to the learned Doctor. If opportunity is thus given, it would both satisfy the ends of justice and may be useful also.

With this appeal, I have finished, Sir.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Mr. Chairman,.....

Shri B. Das (Orissa: General): On a point of order, Sir, can a bachelor who has not married and has not begotten a son too offer pind to his forefathers make a speech on this Bill and contribute to the discussion?

Mr. Chairman: There is no point of order in this, as long as he is a Hindu, he can speak.

Shri H. V. Kamath: I shall also answer the point of order, Sir, rising, as I do, after two lawyer friends and a woman friend, I fear I am labouring under a handicap. I have neither the legal acumen of my honourable friends Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava and Mr. Sarwate, nor the sweet reasonableness of my honourable friend Shrimati Renuka Ray. As far as the lawyers are concerned, I am sure that my honourable friend the Law Minister will take care of them and will reply to the arguments that they have raised in the course of their speeches today. As regards Shrimati Renuka Ray, I am broadly in agreement with her and so there is no need for me to take up any of her arguments with a view to counter them.

My honourable friend Mr. B. Das raised a point of order when I stood up. That very point of order, I think, goes in my favour. I feel that my only claim to speak on this measure before the House is that because I have neither a wife, nor children nor property worth the name, I can bring to bear a dispassionate mind to bear on this subject, unswayed by emotions of the heart. Most of the provisions of this Bill relate to marriage and property, adoption and succession, provisions regarding matters which could be summed up in two words of most of our philosophers, namely, *kamini* and *kanchan*. Not having been so far encumbered with either, I hope I will have your indulgence and the indulgence of the House in making a few remarks on this Bill in a more or less disinterested manner, not uninterested, but disinterested manner.

This century, the 20th Century after Christ has, as we all know witnessed the emergence of women upon the stage of history, in Asia, as well as in Europe and America. India and our Hindu society have been no exception to this world movement. Fatefully interlocked with all the revolutionary upheavals which in our own time have been ripping open and transforming old

societies inherited from the nineteenth century and its long past are the relations between men and women. Our age has been marked by the dynamism of women who, with men, have set the world on fire. (An honourable Member: "But you are an exception.") and have also helped to frame plans for the world's reconstruction. Breathes there, I ask, a man with soul so dead, who does not recall with pride and a certain elation of the heart, the remarkable and heroic achievements of women—aye, poor, ignorant illiterate women—on the field of non-violent battle called Satyagraha, and ever on that more sanguinary field of battle, of blood and iron, of fire and steel. The hand that rocks the cradle has shown itself strong enough to wield the sword and gentle enough when necessary to raise itself in benediction against the aggressor. Leaving aside other lands and other climes, in our own India, we all know how women, along with men, though quite ignorant of modern warfare and though quite untrained to the *lathi*, the bullet and the prison, how they have flocked in thousands to the banner of Mahatma Gandhi and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. This story is too well known, for me to recount at any length. It is in this context of fast developing social and economic change that we have to view the measure that has been brought before the House. For, no law can function or can be made in a vacuum and no law can be divorced or viewed apart from the social milieu in which it has had its birth. In short, this age can be summed up in the facetious remark of a wag who said that today, women sit in Parliament and stand in buses. This in a nutshell, is the revolutionary change that has overtaken the present age, Sir, I feel that I am more or less a political Parivrajaka परिव्राजक and I set forth a few observations on this Bill.

I am glad that my honourable friends in this House who are not immediately affected by this measure have taken such great interest in this Bill. My honourable friend, the redoubtable Pandit Naziruddin—I feel, Sir, that the titled is not entirely unreserved. If, Sir, Mountbatten could be called a "Pandit" on the 15th August 1947, I feel that Mr. Naziruddin has a greater claim to be called a "Pandit" than Lord Mountbatten of Burma. Many such friends have been taking an interest in this measure and I welcome it as a happy sign of the times and a good augury for the future, for thus we are going in the right way of being one unified society, and ere long we will have one uniform civil code for the whole of our country.

Those Members, within and without the House who are not wholly in favour of the Bill and who do not want to go the whole-hog in this regard, take their stand—at least some of them—on the *Smritis* the *Shastras* and our Dharma. Well, Sir, what is Dharma? Unless we decide that question, we cannot appreciate or reject the stand that some people in this country are taking with regard to this measure. Dharma! Is it merely a code of ritual and externals and ceremonies, or is it something deeper, that pertains to the soul, the heart, the mind and the spirit? Dharma! The etymology of this word in Sanskrit is—Dharma is that by which the world is supported, *yenedam dharyate jagat*. That by which the world—"jagat"—is supported is Dharma.

Now are we not to ask whether the observance of a few ceremonies, rituals, and formal conventions constitute Dharma, or whether it is something deeper?

As regards the *Smritis* which are interlinked or interlocked with Dharma, my honourable friend Dr. Ambedkar said the other day that there are perhaps 127 *Smritis*. If I am wrong he will correct me. I believe he has counted them. Of the *Upnishads* it is stated there are 108 and so many other unknown and unearthed *Upnishads*. There may also be many more

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Smritis, unknown and unearthed. Of the *Smritis* known to Dr. Ambedkar there are 137. And now we have got the 138th *Smriti*. He will pardon me if I refer to this, not in a light-hearted fashion, because this is also a measure, which although not revolutionary, has introduced changes in our Hindu social relations. So I can apply the same term as has been applied to the other Hindu social codes and social texts that have been already written for us. This we may call the 138th *Smriti*. I may call it the Bhim *Smriti*. I hope Dr. Ambedkar will pardon me if I refer to this as the Bhim *Smriti*. If I have got to include the name of the other protagonist of the movement, which has culminated in the drafting and the presentation of this Bill, I would refer to it as the Narasimha *Smriti*. It is the Rau Committee which has led to this Bill. Ultimately I will not refer to it as the Bhim *Smriti* but the Bhim Narasimha *Smriti*.

Coming to the measure before us: though the *Smritis* are well-known, still they differ among themselves. The same *Smritikara* at times differs in different texts of the *Smriti*. It is very well known that even a poet is not consistent in his poetry. Shakespeare referred to women in one play as "Frailty, thy name is woman": in other play he goes on to describe a woman who was strong enough to inflict wounds in her own thigh: I mean Portia of Brutus! Coming to our own country, the great poet and philosopher, Tulsidas has said: *dhor ganwar Shudra aru nari yah sab tadana ke adhikari*. For the benefit of my friends who do not know Hindi, it means that a rustic, an illiterate man, an animal, a shudra and a woman—these all deserve a beating.

Shri Raj Bahadur (United States of Matsya): I would inform the House that the interpretation put by Mr. Kamath upon this well known couplet is absolutely incorrect.

Shri H. V. Kamath: I hope my friend will give us his interpretation when he has to speak.

Shri Raj Bahadur: It means that a Shudra who is like a *Dhol* or is uncivil and a "nari" (i.e., woman) who is like a pashu (beast) deserve admonition. It means that *Dhol*, (hollow) Shudra pashu, (beastly woman) deserve chastisement.

Shri H. V. Kamath: But our law-giver Manu says: *yatra naryastu puyante ramante tatra devatah*.

It means that where women are respected, there the gods are happy.

Leaving aside the various *Smritis* and the *Shastras*, what does our own—the greatest *Shashtra* to the Hindu—says? At the time when the *Gita* was preached by Srikrishna to Arjuna, there were so many customs among the Hindus which were derogatory to certain sections of the people that Srikrishna categorically told Arjuna in one of the well known texts on the highest goal of any human being:

Mr. Chairman: The honourable member can continue his speech on Monday.

The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Monday the 28th February, 1949.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) DEBATES

(PART II—PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

Monday, 28th February, 1949

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Chairman (Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

12-15 P.M.

STATEMENT RE LOCOMOTIVES IMPORTED FROM U. S. A. AND CANADA

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar (Minister of Railways and Transport): During the discussions on the Railway Budget, the Honourable Shri Mahavir Tyagi expressed misgivings regarding the order recently placed by the Railway Board for 300 locomotives in the U. S. A. and Canada; certain criticisms have also appeared in the press. In my speech at the close of the debates on the 23rd instant I commenced to reply to these but was unable to complete it for lack of time. At the request of the Honourable members present and with the concurrence of the Honourable the Deputy Speaker, I undertook to make a statement to the House giving the real facts, and with your permission, Sir, I now make this statement in compliance with that undertaking.

2. The criticisms levelled against these locomotives are broadly—

(1) As regards design—

- (a) that they are too heavy for Indian track;
- (b) that they are not intended to run on track supported by wooden sleepers;
- (c) that they are of a type suitable only to American conditions, and will not give satisfactory performance in India;
- (d) that they are designed to draw heavier loads which will require considerable alteration in the existing yards; and
- (e) that they are provided with bar frames which cannot be repaired in our Workshops.

(2) In respect of placing the orders—

- (a) that no effective tests of this type were conducted;
- (b) that the number ordered is too large for our requirements; and
- (c) that orders were not placed on the Continent of Europe.

(3) In general—

- (a) that Mechanical Engineers were not consulted in drawing up the design and that, when consulted later, they were of the opinion that it did not fit in with Indian requirements;

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- (b) that Government had to incur considerable expenditure on deputing experts to America to investigate this question; and
- (c) that a large number of locomotives of this type which had arrived in India, are idling as being unsuitable.

3. The recent orders for locomotives include 300 broad gauge WP type with one firm in the U. S. A. and two firms in Canada; 20 metre gauge YP type engines with one firm in the U. S. A.; and 150 metre gauge YG type with two firms in the U. S. A.

4. The WP type was evolved by the Railway Board in 1946 as an Express Passenger locomotive designed to burn inferior grade coal, with a tractive effort almost exactly that of an older type with a heavier axle load. As a first step, orders were placed for producing 16 locomotives of this type as prototypes for trials in India. Owing to the inability of the U.K. Manufacturers to produce these prototypes quickly, the order was transferred to a firm in the U. S. A. The first of these locomotives arrived in India in October 1947, and was put immediately through tests which, besides the usual ones, included boiler performance, fuel consumption with varying loads and on varying gradients, oscillation and hunting. The locomotive was also tested under "worn condition". The results were examined in the Central Standards Office for Railways and by the Railway Board, and the design was finalised in consultation with our Consulting Engineers, a British firm, whose expert personally visited India for the purpose. The WP type was also examined by the Locomotive Standards Committee, who raised no major objection. Whatever modifications were considered necessary as a result of the tests were incorporated in the final design before bulk orders were placed.

5. The WP locomotive has an axle load of 18.5 tons as against the axle load of 19.8 tons for the XC type Pacific locomotive with the same tractive effort which has been in use in this country. The total static plus hammer blow loads under the driving wheels total 12.4 tons for this type of engine as against 14.5 tons for the XC type, which means a reduction of 15 per cent. We have at present in use in India for goods traffic a certain number of locomotives of the XE type with an axle load of over 22 tons. The WP design is therefore very much lighter than a number of types which we have in the country including even the type in use with the same tractive power. This locomotive is considered safe for use on 80 lb. track, and most of our main lines are laid with 90 lb. rails and some sections with even heavier rails, namely, 100 lb. and 115 lb. The factor ruling the weight and type of engine that can run on any track is not the type of the sleeper on which the track is laid but the weight and type of the rail. The statement that the new WP engines are too heavy for the track has therefore no justification. Reference has also been made in the criticisms to the engineering works in progress in the Ghats near Bombay. These works have been undertaken as measures of safety and have nothing to do with the WP engine. I may mention that the WP engine has passed over the Ghats on the existing track on its journey from Bombay to Bhusaval.

6. I have already mentioned that, before the bulk order for WP engines was placed, extensive tests were conducted on the prototypes and the results analysed in consultation with the Consulting Engineers. The performance of the WP prototypes was so good that Railway Administrations specially asked for them. The 16 engines are operating on the E.I., G.I.P. and B.B. & C.I. Railways, working Mail and Express links very satisfactorily. The General Managers of all the three Railways have throughout expressed satisfaction at

the performance of these engines, with the exception of minor defects, steps to rectify which have already been taken in the bulk orders. In view of the apprehensions voiced in the House, I discussed the matter on the 24th with the General Managers of the three Railways on which these locomotives are now in use—who happened to be here for another conference—and they have since submitted to me written reports stating they are fully satisfied with the suitability and performance of these locomotives.

7. The provision of bar frames has come in for severe criticism on the ground that our Workshops are not equipped for undertaking repairs on them. It is correct that we have not yet done this kind of work, but there should be no difficulty in obtaining at once the necessary equipment for doing it and in training the staff for it in a short time. Steps are being taken towards this end. Workshop adjustments of this nature are inevitable in the adoption of any change in design. Every country in the world except the U.K. has adopted the bar frame and this design has been regarded by the Consulting Engineers, a British firm, as an improvement on the plate frame.

8. The reference to heavier loads in the design of the engine is probably to the WG type which is a goods locomotive with a bar frame. It is not dissimilar to the American and Canadian built engines which were imported during the war. The reason for evolving this new type was that the boiler design was the same as that for the WP and therefore more suitable for the use of inferior grade coal. The WP and WG boiler being similar, a greater degree of interchangeability and standardisation will be achieved, and this is expected to assist considerably in maintenance.

9. I have also already mentioned that, in drawing up the design of the WP engines, the Locomotive Standards Committee consisting of Chief Mechanical Engineers of Railways were consulted, and such minor points raised by them were considered by the Railway Board in consultation with the Consulting Engineers. But before placing bulk orders for the WG type, "trial before purchase" was not regarded as necessary. The British firm of Consulting Engineers, who examined the proposals, were however fully consulted. The WG is a high tractive effort, but slower speed, locomotive of a wheel arrangement known as 2-8-2 and not of the Pacific or 4-6-2 type. The 2-8-2 type is inherently one which is not sensitive to developing hunting or other dangerous tendencies. It was on the considered advice of our Consulting Engineers that a bulk order for 100 WG locomotives was placed with a firm of loco manufacturers in the U.K.

10. The number of locomotives becoming overage, and due replacement by March 1950 is about 1,470 and by February 1948 orders had been placed to cover only 489. It was necessary to bridge the large gap and, after investigation by the Chief Commissioner of Railways, orders were placed for an additional 390. Including these, the total orders placed so far cover only 879 locomotives, against the replacement requirements of about 1,470 by March 1950. The fear expressed that the orders so far placed by the Railway Board for locomotives are in excess of our requirements is therefore unfounded.

11. Our need for locomotives is urgent. The deciding factor in placing orders has been the price, delivery dates and the willingness of the manufacturers to produce in accordance with Indian designs. Orders for these locomotives were placed in the U. S. A. and Canada as the locomotive builders in these countries offered terms most suitable to us.

12. The criticism that Government had to incur expenditure in sending experts to America to investigate this question of design of locomotives is not correct. No expert has been sent out to America for this purpose.

[Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar]

13. Of the WP locomotives, so far only the 16 prototype engines have reached India. Therefore, there is no question of locomotives idling because they are "unsuitable". The first batch of the 300 WP locomotives is to be ready ex-Works in February/March 1949, and all the 300 should be in service on Indian Railways by the end of 1949.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi (U. P.: General): Sir, on a point of personal explanation...

Mr. Chairman: No questions now.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: I do not want to ask any question, but I only wanted to say a few words by way of personal explanation.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. The honourable member will remember that this Statement has been made in response to the request of the House that a statement might be made on the question. Therefore no questions arise on this Statement. Copies of the Statement will be distributed immediately to the honourable members.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

BUDGET OF DAMODAR VALLEY CORPORATION

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil (Minister of Works, Mines and Power): Sir, I beg to lay on the table the budget* of the Damodar Valley Corporation for the years 1948-49 and 1949-50 under sub-section (3) of section 44 of the Damodar Valley Corporation Act, 1948.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (West Bengal: General): This also may be circulated to the Members.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: It is being done.

HINDU MARRIAGES VALIDITY BILL.

EXTENSION OF TIME FOR PRESENTATION OF REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): I move:

"That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to provide that marriages between Hindus, Sikhs, Jains and their different castes and sub-castes are valid, be extended upto the 25th March, 1949."

The date given here on the order paper is 11th March, but with your permission I would like to amend it to 25th March as the honourable the Law Minister will be out of Delhi and he will not be able to devote much time to it. Therefore I move the motion with this amendment.

I want to say that I am very anxious that this Bill may be put before this House this session and therefore I request the honourable the Law Minister and the authorities in charge of this Bill to kindly see that the Select Committee makes its Report by the 25th March. I also beg the House to supplement my request to the authorities so that, as the Bill is a very important one, it may be passed this session.

Shri R. K. Sidhva (C. P. and Berar: General): The matter is entirely in the hands of the Select Committee. What has the House to do in this? My honourable Friend should request the Select Committee to expedite their Report and I think they will be pleased to do it.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I want an extension of the date. I want to urge that it is my anxiety that the Law Minister should see that the report is made in time and the House should support me in this.

*Not printed in the day's Debate. A copy placed in the Library of the House.—ofDED

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to provide that marriages between Hindus, Sikhs, Jains and their different castes and sub-castes are valid, be extended upto the 25th March, 1949."

The motion was adopted.

HINDU CODE—contd.

Mr. Chairman: The House will now proceed with the further consideration of the Hindu Code.

Shri H. V. Kamath (C. P. and Berar: General): Mr. Chairman, when this House adjourned on Friday afternoon the name of Shri Krishna was on my lips. I was saying that even so far as the highest goal of human existence is concerned man and woman have been placed on an absolute footing of equality by Shri Krishna in the *Gita*. The *Gita* to the Hindus is the sacred *smriti*, the supreme *shastra*, the quintessence of all philosophy and all religion. In that, very well-known verse, Shri Krishna says—

"*Streeyo vaishyastatha sudrastepi yanti paramgatim.*"

Women, *Vaishyas* and the *Shudras* who were apparently the down trodden and the suppressed classes or castes of that age, even they—Krishna says—are on a par, on a footing of equality, with *Brahmans* and the others.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi (Madras: General): You are right, Mr. Kamath.

Shri H. V. Kamath: So far as *moksha* and the *paragati* are concerned, there is absolutely no bar to the attainment of the same by women. I am sorry that at the present day there are some men, and even certain *swamis*—so called religious or spiritual heads—who believe that man and woman should be placed on an unequal footing. I agree that they are not identical in all respects...

Maulana Hasrat Mohani (U. P.: General): How are they equal?

Shri H. V. Kamath: But to say that they are unequal and to buttress that argument by fantastic reasons is to my mind shocking. The other day I had the good-luck—or the ill-luck—of listening to a *swami* saying that man and woman are unequal. And, pray, what were the reasons for that statement? He said—fantastic, the House will agree—he said that man grows a moustache and women does not. I am not joking, Sir, many of my friends were present at the meeting which the *swami* addressed, and he said it in all earnestness, in all seriousness, that man grows a moustache, woman cannot grow a moustache, and the woman at most can bear three, four or five children in a year.

An Honourable Member: In a year?

Shri H. V. Kamath: Depending upon whether she produces triplets, quadruplets or quintuplets. Sir, he went on to say that man, however is potentially capable of being the father of a hundred or more children. This, Sir, to my mind is a fantastic argument.

When we talk of equality of man and woman, we regard that on a spiritual basis which has been envisaged again by Shri Krishna in the *Gita*. He says:

"*Sarvabhutasthamatmanam sarvabhutani chatmani.*"

That is the basis, that is the yardstick, that is the measuring rod for equality of human beings or between man and woman.

"*Yo mam pashyati sarvatra
sarvam cha mayi pashyati.*"

This is the test, this is the criterion, this is the standard, this is the yardstick for equality of human beings, whether high or low, rich or poor, man or woman.

[Shri H. V. Kamath]

Well, Sir, I do not subscribe to that notion of inequality propounded by the *swami*. On the other hand, I also do not believe that woman—as some of them do today—attain equality with men by taking to smoking and drinking. That again, Sir, is something which is to be deprecated if by that they seek equality with man. Nor do I subscribe to the progressive conception of woman—progressive in the Western sense—who, perhaps in imitation of the West and so trying to be progressive, take to ball-room dancing and other Western habits. This, Sir, is also to my mind no way of securing equality with man.

Shrimati Purnima Banerjee (U. P.: General): It is not included in the Hindu Code. Does she dance alone without a partner?

Shri H. V. Kamath: I know that but we are talking of the equality of man and woman. And here, Sir, our great savant and philosopher, Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan who is an authority on Hindu *dharma* and Hindu way of life, says:

“The modern women, if I may say so, is losing her self-respect. She does not respect her own individuality and uniqueness, but is paying an unconscious tribute to man by trying to imitate him. She is fast becoming masculine and mechanical.”

Shri R. K. Sidhva (C. P. and Berar: General): What about the modern man?

Shri H. V. Kamath: I hope, Sir, our women will take this to heart and will not undertake such attempts at equality with man.

Shreemati Annie Mascarene (Travancore State): May I ask the question whether modern man is in any way better than that?

Shri H. V. Kamath: That is for women to answer.

Well, Sir, when I therefore talk of equality between man and woman I have before me the historical examples of Sita, Savitri, Damayanti, Gargi, Maitreyi and Ubhayabharati. Will you permit me to read from our own ancient history about these women and the place these women occupied in our ancient Vedic times and even later, on which so many of our opponents to the Hindu Code depend today? It is said that in the Vedic and Upanishadic age, woman occupied a very high place in society. Among the exceptional women of Upanishadic times the name of Maitreyi stands out in bold relief. The lustre of her spiritual mind illumines the world even today. For sheer intellectual acumen two women stand out in singular brilliance. An all-India religious conference took place—it has been the tradition in this country to have conferences of all sorts and religious conferences were not an exception—an all-India religious conference took place in the pre-historic age and another in the post-Buddhist age. They had been summoned not for mere academic debate but for the establishment of principles that should govern the spiritual life of the nation. The former was championed by the sage Yagnavalkya, the same as our law-giver, and the latter by the great Shankaracharya. The first conference, Yagnavalkya's conference, was convened by King Janaka, the great Janaka, the *karma yogi*, when the sages assembled from all quarters of India, from Kashmir to Kanya Kumari and I suppose from Khyber to Cherapunji, are silenced. Gargi boldly rises on behalf of the women, championing the cause of the humiliated. That, Sir, is the ideal towards which our women ought to be progressing and which they will, I hope, attain ere long. Gargi is defeated, but only after putting up a tough fight.

In a second Conference, Sankara Acharya's Conference, the task of presiding over this momentous meeting falls upon Mandanamishra's wife, Ubhayabharati. Now, it is very important—and I would like my women friends to

mark this—that in the history of the world there is not a single instance of a woman being chosen as a judge of an important meeting and making such an exceptional demand on her intellectual ability as well as integrity. She gives—Ubhaya Bharathi—gives the verdict in favour of the Shankaracharya. (*Honourable Members*: Hear, hear.) With the result that her husband becomes a monk and a disciple of his opponent, whose view henceforward becomes acknowledged as the paramount creed of the country. “In fact”, the author says—I am reading from the “Cultural Heritage of India” published by the Ramakrishna Mission—it is not the original authors—mark these words ‘it is not the original authors’—“with the emancipated mind of creative thinkers but the mechanically minded commentators”—Tikakars, not the *smritikars*, but those who wrote *tikas*—“who worked for the suppression of the rights of women, whom they bluntly assumed to be in league with ignorance and illusion.”

Now, Sir, many of our friends who are opposing this measure,—I do not mean in the House but those who are outside—they take their stand on Dharma. The other day I posed this question, “What is Dharma?”. One of the pamphlets issued by the Anti-Hindu Code Committee presumes to give us some advice, and what is that? They quote the old sloka—I do not remember exactly where it occurs—but the Panchathantra quotes it:

“*Nasasabha Yatra na Santi vriddhah,*

vriddhnateye na vadanti dharmam.”

That is not a Sabha or Assembly where there are no vriddhahs.

An Honourable Member: But we have so many of them here!

Shri H. V. Kamath: That man is not a vriddhah who does not talk of Dharma. I, Sir, am sorry that our friends of this Anti-Hindu Code Committee have not exactly understood the meaning of “vriddhah”—who is a vriddhah and who is not. In the Mahabharata there is a story: Saraswata Muni, a young boy of twelve, when there was famine in the country and all the old rishis who were fasting and doing penance on the shores of the Saraswati river fled for fear of their lives—they wanted to save their lives—this young boy at that time stuck to his post and his mother Saraswati fed him on fish in the morning, fish at noon and fish at night—that is why Saraswat Brahmins even today eat fish. This Brahmin boy, in spite of the famine, stuck to his post. The story goes on to say that the famine raged for many years in the land—twelve years—but our young boy, Saraswat Muni—the progenitor of all Saraswats in the world—continued to stay. After the famine was over, the rishis who had fled for their lives started coming back in dribblets, one after another, to the shores of the Saraswati river to resume their tapasya interrupted by the famine and they tried to boss over this young boy of 24. He was 12 when the famine started, and he was 24 when the famine ended. They started bossing over him. They said, “You sit at our feet; take instructions from us; learn from us; become our disciple.” He said, “Fie on you. Shame on you. You pretend to be *munis*, *rishis*, *tapasivis*, and you fly for your lives; you fly for fear of death. You have got to sit at my feet and learn from me.” Thus said the young man of 20 to those old men of 70 and 80. The Mahabharata goes on to say:

“*Na tena vridho bhavati yenasya palitam shirah*

yo vai yuvapyadhyastam devah sthaviram viduh.”

(A man is not a vriddha merely by virtue of his grey hair. Even a youth who has studied well is called a wise man by the gods.)

That man is a *vriddhah* who has attained *vriddhi*. Actually the word “vriddhah” is wrongly translated as old. It means that man who has attained *vriddhi*; you call it, wisdom, growth, development—that is *vriddhi*...Here our friends say:

[Shri H. V. Kamath]

"Na sa sabha yatra na santi vridhdah—
Vridhdha na te ye na vadanti dharmam."

I think that even in that sense of "vridhhi" or wisdom, there are a number of my friends here who will live up to that standard. But my friends have stopped short of quoting the whole *shloka*. They start by saying:

"Na sa sabha yatra na santi vridhdah
Vridhdha na te ye na vadanti dharmam."

But what is Dharam? The *sloka* goes on to say later on what is *Dharma*. These fellows conveniently omit that portion of the *sloka*. The *sloka* goes on to say:

"Dharmah sa na yatra na satyamasti"

That is not *Dharam* where there is no *satya*. Therefore, my quarrel with those who take their stand on *dharma* is that they have not understood what is *Hindu Dharma*.

I will again crave your indulgence to tell the House what our great savant and philosopher, Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan has to say on this subject, especially *Hindu Dharma*. He tells us:

"There has been no such thing as a uniform stationary, unalterable Hinduism whether in point of belief or practice. Hinduism is a movement; not a position; a process, not a result; a growing tradition, not a fixed revelation. Its past history encourages us to believe that it will be found equal to any emergency that the future may throw up, whether on the field of thought or of history."

We are happy that today the prediction is coming true. It was Swami Vivekananda who said fifty years ago that Vedanta will become the religion of humanity—the vedanta which has been given to the world by our seers, *rishis* and *munis*. Radhakrishnam goes on to say:

"We are beginning to look upon our ancient faith with fresh eyes. We feel that our society is in a condition of unstable equilibrium. There is much wood that is dead and diseased that has to be cleared away. Leaders of Hindu thought and practice."

I hope, Sir, that most of our friends here are in their own way leaders of Hindu thought and practice, I am sure of that—

"Leaders of Hindu thought and practice are convinced that the times require, not a surrender of the basic principles of Hinduism, but a restatement of them with special reference to the needs of a more complex and mobil social order."

"Such an attempt", he says, "will only be the repetition of a process which has occurred a number of times in the history of Hinduism. The work of readjustment is in process. Growth is slow when roots are deep. But those who light a little candle in the darkness will help to make the whole sky aflame."

I would commend this statement of the *Hindu Dharma* to those of my friends who oppose the Bill, even the consideration of the Bill, on grounds of *Dharma*. Who does not know and who does not recollect that this cry of '*Dharma* in danger' or '*Society* in danger' was raised by those that wanted to block every reform of Society attempted in the past? Is it not a fact that twenty-five years ago, when the movement against *asprishyata* (अस्पृश्यत) untouchability was started, some of our men, even high-class orthodox Hindus, said that Hinduism was in danger, social order was in danger and that disruption of society was coming? Yet, did we not persist in that much-needed reform? Did we not help to accelerate the evolution of Hindu society on an egalitarian basis? As a culmination of these attempts have not we adopted an Article in the draft Constitution prohibiting untouchability and banning it in any shape or form? If we could do that in spite of what the orthodox pandits claim for *Hindu Dharma*, surely I do not see any reason why we should not proceed to legislate or provide for the regulation of social relations and personal law.

Again, Sir, honourable Members will recollect the opposition that was started against the Sarda Act, which tabooed child-marriage, on the ground that *Hindu Dharma* was in danger and that Hindu religion and Hindu society were in danger. In the last century when the custom of sati, cremation of the widow with her husband, was sought to be abolished, these same reactionaries who block the road to progress denounced the attempt stating that the *Hindu Dharma* sanctioned sati and that it granted the highest salvation to women and therefore it should be continued. In spite of their agitation and obstruction, much-needed reforms like that were put through.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava said the other day that this Bill had not reached the rural population and that the rustics, the people in rural areas have not seen or read or considered it. He expressed anxiety to know their reactions to the Bill, before it was proceeded with in this House. When he said so, he forgot the fact that some of the Bills he himself had introduced had not been seen by the peasants of his own Hissar. I wonder if on his advice we are going to circulate copies of our Bills to every village and hamlet and homestead in the country.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi (U. P.: General): Peasants do not count these days.

Shri H. V. Kamath: I am astonished to hear from Mr. Tyagi that peasants do not count in these days. If they do not count, who does?

Honourable Members: You.

Shri H. V. Kamath: I am indeed grateful for the compliment. I hope, Sir, in the near future, not merely I, but all my friends in the House will count equally with me.

Sir, while I have every sympathy with certain observations made by Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava, I do not think that his opposition to the Hindu Code Bill on the ground that there has been no circulation or proper publication among the people affected, can stand scrutiny. That argument is absolutely untenable. In that way, every Bill sought to be passed here, which affects the lives of millions, would have to be sent to them, in order that they may register their approval or disapproval of the same.

Now, Sir, this vexed question of equality, I hope I have disposed of in a satisfactory manner. Sir, men and women are equal on a spiritual basis. The Gita, the Smritis and Sri Krishna himself have preached this doctrine of equality.

Coming, Sir to the question of property, property has been, according to most philosophers, political, social or otherwise, the root of almost all evil in the world. In this regard I subscribe to the proposition made by Seth Govindass—he is not in the House now—that it would be best if private property were abolished. Even litigation will decrease a good deal if this is done. One of our greatest law-givers and statesmen of ancient times—not Manu or Yagnyavalkya—but a warrior statesman, Bheeshma Pitamaha has expounded his doctrine in two *parvas* of *Maha-Bharatha*, viz., *Shanti Parva* and *Anusasana Parva*. There he tells Yudhistira about property: *akinchanasya shuddhasya na tulyamihia lakshyaye akinchanyamcha rajyamcha tulaya samatolayam atyarichyat daridryam rajyadapi guradhikam nityodvignohi dhanavan mrityorasyagato yatha*. He tells Yudhistira that this kingdom and voluntary poverty he has weighed in the balance. He says that this *akinchanya* voluntary poverty has proved more than the other. Because, he said, *nityo nityodvignohi dhanavan mrityorasyagato yatha*. The nearest equivalent to this in English is "Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown". If a man has property he is afraid of death.

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I am in agreement with Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava when he says that a wife and husband should become one not merely in love, but in property as well. Sometimes it happens that love is their only property: Husband and wife may have no property at all. Their only property may be their mutual love. But, Sir, we should face the stark reality of life to-day. It was, however, refreshing to hear Pandit Bhargava's personal experience in this respect. This world would be a happier place to live in, if men and women, husbands and wives are in the same happy position as Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava and his wife are. There are, however, hundreds of cases today where the relations between the wife and husband are not as happy as they should be, or as we wish them to be. (*Interruption*) I am speaking, Sir, from facts narrated to me by friends like my honourable friend, Mr. B. Das and I have come in possession of these facts, as told to me by my honourable friends, who have got experience in this direction.

Our Hindu Code Bill provides in this respect that a woman should be entitled to an absolute right in her property. In the Vedic ages and in the ancient ages, upon which our opponents of Dharma and the Hindu Code Bill take their stand, it was only in medieval times, when Hinduism was on the decline that women's rights to property came to be restricted—in the Vedic period the social position of women was generally high.

Mr. Chairman: There are a number of speakers, who want to speak. I appeal to the honourable Member kindly to be as short as possible.

Shri H. V. Kamath: I will try to be short, but I am afraid, the subject is so vast that it is difficult to be short.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Minister of Law): There will be plenty of occasion for Mr. Kamath to speak. There are at least 130 sections.

Shri H. V. Kamath: But I do not want to let some things remain unsaid today. Now in the Vedic period, I was saying that the social position of the women was high. An unmarried daughter was offered a share in her father's property, and the married daughter was given no interest therein, but she got ample dowry at the time of her marriage. So the argument advanced by my honourable friend, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava, in this respect, I think, may be considered by the House and by the honourable Minister sympathetically; because fundamentally being opposed to property myself, I do not think that any purpose would be gained by making the property position worse than it is today: Dr. Ambedkar referred to an instance of the property of a Hindu family consisting of 12 sons and one daughter. That is very well for him to quote that instance, but may I quote the other instance where there are 12 daughters and one son. What will happen if the Hindu Code Bill as it stands is applied in this case? The family property will have to be divided among all the daughters and one son. The son will be left in a little corner of the house, and if the daughters get married, they have got the right to bring their husbands and they have the right to dispose of the portion of the House to a stranger. Therefore the one little son like a little mouse will creep here and there and he would not have even a comfortable cosy corner to live in.

Therefore, Sir, this question of property is a very vexed question and we might consider whether a daughter instead of getting the property herself, whether she might not be allowed an equivalent share of the property in cash or jewellery, or whatever she might choose to have, as it was done in ancient times and in Vedic times. There was no property share at the time of marriage but she was given ample dowry in lieu of the share of the property.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Chairman (Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao) in the Chair.

Mr. Chairman: Before we begin the debate, I would like to make a suggestion. There are about 25 names on the list. This is a very important measure and as many speakers as possible would like to give their views on the Code. Therefore, I would request honourable Members to be as brief as possible and refer only to the relevant points for or against the Bill.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar: General): Sir, my name also may be included in the list.

Shri B. Das (Orissa: General): I did not know that I had to send in my name; I thought I would catch the eye of the Speaker.

Mr. Chairman: That is why I am telling honourable members to be as brief as possible and refer only to the salient points for or against the Bill. Members who want to speak may kindly send chits.

Mr. Tajamul Husain (Bihar: Muslim): May I know, Sir, whether my name is in the list? I spoke to the Deputy Speaker yesterday on Friday last.

Mr. Chairman: No harm in sending a fresh slip.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Sir, before I resume the thread of my little speech, I may assure you that I shall take much less time than my honourable friend, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava did.

Mr. Chairman: You have already taken an hour.

Shri H. V. Kamath: I said less time than my honourable friend Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava.

I was speaking about property: the basis for the allotment of property, was the principle which was expressed by Kanwa after he bade farewell to Shakuntala. Kanwa said:

"Artho hi kanya parakiya eva tamadya - sampreshya parigrahituk jato mamayam vishadah prakamam pratyarpitaryasa ivantaratmo."

The first line, "Artho hi kanya" does not mean, as has been literally translated, that a girl is somebody else's property. It means that a girl separates herself from the father's home when she gets married. It was on this basis that she goes into another household that in olden times, Vedic and later times, that a daughter was given no interest in the property, but ample dowry was given. Again, in the Vedic and later Smriti times, only when a father had no son, he appointed his daughter as the Putrika and such a daughter was equal to the son. This principle can very well be considered by our new law makers. They may try to incorporate the gist of this principle in the Code.

I wish agricultural property were completely excluded as it has been already excluded so far as the Governors' provinces are concerned. I refer to Part VII Chapter I. Section 94 says: "This Part shall not apply to agricultural land in Governors' Provinces;" Already, there is a cry against the fragmentation of land. We may hasten slowly in this regard so that this may not lead to further aggravation of this evil. As a matter of fact, if the entire land is nationalised, then no difficulty will arise; so long as this question is hanging fire and is not finally settled, we may decide to exclude agricultural

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land not merely in the Governors' provinces, but also in the Centrally administered areas from the operation of this Part.

Now, I come to the great question which has agitated humanity from the dawn of time: I mean that of marriage and divorce. On this question, the principle that we should go by, that should be accepted in legislating on this subject must be, to my mind, "Marriage should be easy, but divorce difficult." I think if this sound rule were adopted for law making, it would solve many of our troubles.

Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man (East Punjab: Sikh): In your case, marriage is more difficult than divorce.

Shri H. V. Kamath: There are always exceptions to a rule; I suppose I am one of them.

If I may be allowed to quote a recent historic instance, der Feuhrer Herr Hitler in Germany, when he fought the election in 1932, one of his election slogans was, "a job for every German man and a husband for every German woman". This slogan brought him, I understand, millions of women's votes, when he promised a husband for every German woman. This proves to the hilt the principle that I have sought to place before you that marriage should be easy and divorce difficult. My honourable Friend Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava; the other day, while speaking on this subject referred to this and said that there are usages and customs in various parts of the country according to which divorce could be effected. There is even this simplest custom, I am told, according to which the man says 'Taluk' three times and the wife is divorced. It may be that or some such custom; I do not know; that is why I said, I am told. I personally think that divorce should not be easy. One of the modern States, Soviet Russia, at its inception in the early twenties of this century, made marriage as well as divorce equally easy. But, by experience they have learnt that family as a social unit has got to be preserved and strengthened even in a communist State and therefore, now, though marriage is easy, divorce is next to impossible. I therefore think, however, much I am inclined to agree with Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava that certain usages and customs must be given currency and must be kept alive, as regards divorce, I think that the procedure adopted must be very difficult, so that, the family as a social unit may be strengthened and preserved.

There is one more observation that I would like to make on this subject. There are instances, Sir, where due to certain causes, a dissolution of marriage may not be quite desirable or may not even be agreed to by one of the spouses: by the husband or by the wife. In such cases, where the wife agrees that the husband may marry another wife, herself also living in the same or another house, I do not see any reason why, in spite of the reasons mentioned here, permission should not be granted to either of the spouses to marry when the other consents, without dissolution of marriage. In Delhi, we are aware of one notability who has got several wives living at the same time, though perhaps in different houses.

An Honourable Member: Who is that?

Shri H. V. Kamath: No names here please.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: I have not been able to understand; does my honourable friend agree with polyandry?

Shri H. V. Kamath: I will only say that.....

Mr. Tajamul Husain: Only an unmarried man can say so.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Sometimes, where a couple has been married for a long time, the Hindu mind cannot reconcile itself to the breaking of marriage ties with the wife even though the purpose of marriage is being frustrated. Therefore from the standpoint of love and humanity the new Code should provide, in my mind that on such an occasion a husband can get permission from his wife to marry another wife, and if she consents then the Court should not stand in the way. But the ideal of marriage as has been stated by Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava should be one in property and love. I shall go further and say that there should be two minds with but a single thought, two hearts that beat as one?

Shrimati Hansa Metha (Bombay: General): In Polygamy there will be more than two hearts.

Shri H. V. Kamath: I am not against polyandry if the husband does not mind it.

Shrimati Purnima Banerjee: Very liberal!

Shri H. V. Kamath: I take my stand on the principle of equality and I go to the extreme limit for both man and woman. It has been a regrettable incident or development of our history—our long and ancient Hindu history—that whatever rights women enjoyed in the early Aryan Age—the Vedic, Upanishad and Smriti age—these rights fell into disuse and were not given effect to in the later medieval age. I hope that this Code will so work that women, whose paradise was lost in the dark medieval age, paradise they will regain in the modern age.

I have received a little warning from a friend outside, telling me, in the name of God, in the name of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, in the name of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, please do not vote for this Bill. That very argument, I think, very well applies to a vote in favour of the Bill. I can say.....

Shri B. L. Sondhi (East Punjab: General): Is that friend male or female?

Shri H. V. Kamath: I can say, I make bold to say that in the name of God who has created man and women equal; in the name of the Mahatma, the Father of the Nation, who stood for the complete equality of man and woman; in the name of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, who sought and accomplished the complete emancipation of man and woman to the extent of calling women to battle if need be; in the name of God, in the name of Gandhi, in the name of Subhas, I think this Bill is a forward measure which will lead to the greater glory of Hindu society.

I have only one more remark to make. My honourable Friend, Dr. Ambedkar, said the other day in his peroration that either repair betimes or perish. We have to repair. Indeed we are repairing. I think the time has well-nigh come when, if we do not repair, then society will be rent in twain. A stitch in time will always save nine; otherwise the rent will grow more and more till society will be rent in twain.

I began, Sir, on Friday, the day before *Maha Shivaratri* and I am closing my brief remarks on the day after *Maha Shivaratri*. This day is sacred to the memory of one of the great women of the age—Mahasati Ma Kasturba and it is sacred to the memory of another great man—Swami Dayananda Saraswati. I hope their spirits—the spirits of Ma Kasturba and Swami Dayananda Saraswati—will inspire us in our work and help us in our difficult task. It is my hope and prayer to God that man and woman may travel together as

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pilgrims of life, dedicating themselves and consecrating their lives to the achievement of *artha* and *kama*, the *artha* and *kama* which are rooted in *Dharma* and which lead to the goal of *moksha*, the liberation from bondage, the goal of the Living God, in whom we live and move and have our being, and in whom all men, all women, all Creation, are equal, free and divine.

हरिओ३म् तत्सु । ब्रह्मार्पणमस्तु

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad (West Bengal: Muslim): May I point out that I am getting more and more like an anachronism? I have undertaken the task of opposing the original motion but I have not spoken up till now. It may be that at the proper time I will be squeezed out. There are too many speakers to come. To-morrow at four o'clock I understand the closure motion will be put.

Mr. Chairman: It is impossible to squeeze out Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad. The honourable Member will have a chance. Mr. Jhunjhunwala.

Shri B. P. Jhunjhunwala (Bihar: General): I would like to speak at another time.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: He either speaks now or he does not. According to the rules, if a Member is asked to speak, he must speak; otherwise, he loses the chance to speak on the subject.

Mr. Chairman: Babu Ramnarayan Singh.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity you have so kindly given me today to do my part to oppose the obnoxious measure which has come on the floor of the House for discussion. Sir, at the outset I must tell the House that I am not an orthodox man.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: You are not orthodox. I know you are not!

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: I am one of those who wants that all that is old must be broken without delay. But everything must be done with wisdom. When a thing is to be done, wisdom demands that we should judge when it is to be done and how it is to be done. I tell my honourable Friend Dr. Ambedkar that I am one of his admirers. I feel that he is the pride of the country: he is my pride also. But I do not understand why such a learned man is engaged in such a useless and pernicious job. Sir, this is a government measure. I do not know what they understand by law. Law is nothing but the will of the people expressed in terms of law. I am sorry that the Government does not understand what is law. I say that a majority of the people of this country feel that this measure should not have come on the floor of this House.....

An Honourable Member: No.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Take a plebiscite and you will find it.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: We are here representing them.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Apparently it appears that there is a measure called the Hindu Code Bill and a discussion is going on in this House but in fact a conspiracy is being hatched to disrupt the Hindu society. I feel that it is something like a preparation to invade the Hindu society. Nobody can say how long this Hindu Society has lived and flourished in this world. I can say that since the very creation of the world, since the creation of the sun and the moon, since the very creation of the human race the Hindu society has lived and flourished and during all these periods there have been innumerable

able invasions of all descriptions against this Hindu society, Buddha came first. At one time it looked that Hindu Society would be no more but the world Guru Sankaracharya came and exported Buddhism from this country and re-established the Hindu society. Then Islam came. That was also an invasion like Buddhism but it was also a military one but I must say that Islam also failed in this country.....

Dr. Mono Mohan Das (West Bengal: General): Islam has become the Saviour and you have taken the protection of Islam.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Islam could not become the saviour but Islam too failed in this country. According to Islam there is no caste system in the Koran but some sort of caste system developed among those who followed Islam. In the same way Jainism, Sikhism all came in and originally they were all invasions against Hinduism but in course of time they became tolerant and tried to develop and flourish side by side with the Hindu society and religion. This time this is also a sort of invasion but this invasion is a democratic one, though the force behind it is a dictatorial one.

Some of my friends have already said that there has been a discussion in this House as regards the authority of this House to enact this measure. It is true and I feel confident that this House is not competent to enact a measure of this kind. This is not a constituent assembly even.....

An Honourable Member: What is it?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: It is a part of the constituent assembly. A large number of members of this House either by order or by convention have been asked not to attend this Assembly.....

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: With that the House is not directly concerned. The Speaker has already said that that is not a matter for the House.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Whatever may be the ruling of the Speaker I am not talking against that. I bow to the ruling of the Speaker but I am bound to speak for the world about the competency or authority of this House to enact this measure. The mandate of the country to the Assembly is to frame the constitution of the country. But so long as that constitution is not complete or has not come into force the Government must go on. It was by a hotchpotch agreement with the foreign rulers that this arrangement had been arrived at in order to pass the budget and any other important legislation necessary for the administration of the country. But such a measure like this against which there is a lot of hue and cry throughout this country should not have come before this House for discussion or enactment.

When I hear in this House as well as outside the cry about the equality of women with man I fail to understand it.....

Mr. Tajamul Husain: May I ask the honourable Member why he accepted membership on the select Committee when he is opposed to the constitution of this very honourable House.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: There are many people who are confounded. The measure was sent to the Select Committee. This means that the House accepted the principle of the measure, but this does not mean that every member has accepted the measure or accepted the principle of the measure. There are so many principles involved in this measure that so far as the House is concerned nobody can say that it has accepted anything and everything.....

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: If it was sent to the Select Committee, it means that it accepts the principle.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: I was talking about the equality of man and woman. According to our Shastras man is not complete; nor is woman complete. According to our Shastras woman is called Ardhangi and even so man is not complete.....

An Honourable Member: What is man called?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Man is also half. I may tell you.....

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (West Bengal: General): Sir, it is impossible to speak in the House when an honourable member addresses it on an important measure like this and there are innumerable criticisms, and running commentaries, and laughter going on simultaneously. It is not in the interest of the dignity of the House. Members who do not like the speech may at least keep quiet so that those who want to listen may at least listen.

Mr. Chairman: Honourable Members will kindly allow the speaker to proceed.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Sir, I thank my honourable friend Pandit Maitra for the encouragement he has given me. I was talking about equality. So far as the purposes of the world are concerned and so far as the continuity of the human race is concerned there is no question of equality or inequality

3 P.M. between man and woman. Nobody can compare the hand with the feet, whether the hand is more useful or the feet are more useful, whether this eye is more useful or that eye. Man and woman are one and nothing more than one. As regards law I tell my sisters throughout the country that law cannot help them. What can help everybody and also the womenfolk is love and nothing but love. Love between the pair is the only thing which can make the pair happy. Well, they may get the right of divorce. One woman may be divorced today; other women may be coming for—marriage the next day. Monogamy may mean many-gamy: you won't allow a man to marry a second wife. The first wife will be divorced and he will marry the second day. The third day he will divorce that wife also and on the fourth day he will marry again. The process will continue. So far as pure love is concerned for that I think character of the people is most important. We must realize that in this country the people lost their character first and then anything afterwards. So, whatever we have to do in this matter we have to regain our character. As I say that the importance of hand cannot be compared with the importance of feet, so the importance of man cannot be compared with the importance of woman. I can rather say one thing. According to our *shastra* they are the goddess Lakshmi—Women are called in our society *Lakshmi*, *Saraswati*, *Grihalakshmi*. They are anything and everything. If I may compare man with woman I can say woman is much more important in the world than man. I can explain this further. If we remove or kill all men from the world the world will still go on. (*An honourable Member:* 'Except one man.') Not even one man. I say if all the men in the world be killed, the world will still continue and the human race will continue. (*Honourable Members:* 'Question'). I can explain it. There are my friends who question my statement. Well, Sir, if you kill all men today there will be millions of men in the womb of the women. Women are therefore certainly more important so far as the world is concerned. But those who talk of equality between man and woman want really to separate woman from man. Instead of helping the pair to be happy they are really destructive. As I say their importance is there; they are the *Lakshmi*. But at the same time it is very difficult to compare man with woman: Nature has created man and woman. Their tasks are different, their duties are different and their functions are different. What is the use of comparing the two? No comparison can really stand in this case.

My friends have talked about the provisions of the Bill. I shall touch only one or two points as regards the daughter's share in the father's property. First of all I was a son, then a brother, then a husband and then a father and so on. Not without exception, I cannot say, but I say that almost every Hindu father—I am also a Hindu father and I also have married my daughters here and there—every Hindu father is anxious to marry his daughter in a family which is superior in status, in wealth and in many other things to his own family. Now there is a talk of share of the daughter in the father's property. There have been jokes also. The daughter is respected in every way and is also given a share—you may call it a share—in the father's property by way of dowry and so on and so forth. When the question of share comes what will happen is this. Ordinarily if you come to my place as a guest I may show you hospitality as my friend or this and that. But if you come by way of right I do not think you will receive any hospitality from me. I tell my friends that law will not help anybody, as soon as the right for the daughter will be created in the father's property I think all question of love will go. My friend Mr. Kamath—although he suggested many things with which I do not agree—said one thing. Here is a family in which a man has got one daughter and two or three sons. The daughter will be married several miles away. The property may be small and after the marriage when the son-in-law, the *damad*, will be coming to his father-in-law's place for a share of the property, or as a share-holder, he will not be respected. Everything should develop in a proper manner and in a natural way. If this measure is enacted there may be a lot of complications and litigations and the principle of pure love will be killed in our society.

I therefore appeal to every Member in this House to consider the matter in a calm and quiet manner. As it has been suggested from several quarters in the House, and as I also said before, this House is not competent to enact the measure. How is it that they are so very anxious that this measure may be passed today? Why have not the courage to wait for a year or two? May I say they are afraid of the new elections?

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: No; not at all.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: The Hindu society has lived and flourished so long according to the same customs and same everything else. Then, heavens will not fail if we send the measure for circulation as my friend Mr. Naziruddin has stated. I appeal to each and every Member of the House to consider the measure in a calm manner. People may be afraid of the next elections, that we Congress people may not get votes. That question does not arise. We must be true to ourselves and to the constituency and people who have sent us.

So, I oppose this measure with all the emphasis at my command, and support the motion of my friend 'Pandit' Naziruddin Ahmad that the Bill may be circulated for public opinion.

Shri H. Siddaveerappa (Mysore State): I congratulate the honourable the Law Minister for the very lucid expression of the speech he gave while moving this Motion. Sir, a lot has been said that this measure vitally affects the Hindu society. I come from a part of this country, namely Mysore, where some of the fundamental things, this measure wants to introduce, are already in force. We have, for instance, got the law of adoption as also the law regarding the daughter's share, and several other things, though they are not on all fours with the present measure. But the principle is there. We have enacted a Bill as early as 1934, called the Hindu Women's Rights Regulation and for the last fourteen years that Bill is law in Mysore, but we have not found there

[Shri H. Siddaveerappa]

any general upheaval. There is not much litigation nor is there any disruption of the Hindu society as has been feared by some of the honourable Members here. As a matter of fact, by our experience we have come to understand that the measure which is now in force is not of the extent that is needed and another Committee has been formed with a view to see that there is further improvement in the existing measure.

It was said that the measure before the House affects the caste system or some other fundamental beliefs or principles of the Hindu society. Well, Sir, my reading of some of the Hindu literature is that if we study the Vedic period, that is from 2000-1400 B.C., and study the Hindu society then in existence, we do not see any of these four castes in the Hindu society then in existence. Every man born, according to his *guna* or *karma* had to go through all the *varnas* or *ashramas* in his life time. A boy, until he attained the age of twenty, had to perform the household duties and obey his *guru* and do all the other acts that were assigned to him, and he was called a *shudra*. After the age of twenty he was allowed to be married and he had to take the responsibility of maintaining the family. Then, according to the duty that was imposed on him he was called a *vaishya*. After he enjoyed life for some time and after he reached the age of 40 or so, when there was need for every man to defend the State, he had to do the duty of a *kshatriya*. After he attained a particular age, say 60, when he had seen so much of life, and on account of his experience and learning, he undertakes the task of teaching the disciples and doing other duties of wisdom, and he was called a Brahmana, a man who has got the *guna* of *Brahman*.

Therefore, this caste system in this country originated in a different way, and developed in a different way. But today we understand that there are nearly 13,000 castes and a much larger number of sub-castes which have got different traditions, different customs and what not.

We find today that we are one so far as political unity is concerned. If we want to have any uniform standard of rules or any uniform standard of our laws, it is absolutely essential that there must be some Code which gives a certain standard. May be if necessary at the consideration stage we may consider which of the clauses are necessary and which are not necessary; but if we say there is no need at all for a Code, I do not think any of us, if we apply a little commonsense, can accept that position. We see in this country there are people who profess different beliefs—*Dvaita* and *Advaita*. There are people who practise monogamy and polygamy and in some places there is polyandry also prevailing. Under these circumstances, is it not necessary for us to see that we have got a uniform code for purposes of inheritance, marriage and several other things? During the time of the Britishers we found that in the guise of religious neutrality or non-interference, they never cared to see that any evils in the Hindu society were wiped out; they never attempted any reform in that direction. As a matter of fact, when Warren Hastings was impeached by Burke, it is said that one of the charges levelled against him was that he used those caste codes for purposes of his personal aggrandizement. The Britisher saw that the caste system was ideally suited for his own advantage. Therefore he never interfered to bring about any needed reforms in the society. But that is no reason that at a time when we are free, we should not aim at bringing about this much-desired reform. Somebody said, we are proceeding further, why should we take up this measure so early as this and why should we not wait for some more time? My point is this: this reform was long overdue; it ought to have come much earlier but for the fact that we were a dependent nation and that we were not masters of our own destiny. My submission is that it has not come a day too soon.

So many other objections were raised regarding the competency of this House etc. As a matter of fact, the honourable the learned Mover has given a clear exposition as to how we are competent to bring about this desired result; So I do not wish to take the time of the House especially as there are many other speakers.

With regard to the principle of divorce, it is in my opinion a very much debated point. It is a thing which really agitates a large number of people in the Hindu society. Whether it be sacramental marriage or any other form of marriage, I do not wish to see that there should be under any circumstances an indissoluble tie of marriage. Instead of giving unfettered discretion to people, I would request the honourable the Mover to consider this point, namely, that a time-limit may be imposed—say five years or three years, whichever is approved by this House—within which the married people may be able to round off their angularities, having time to study each other, and if in spite of it they are badly off, it may be necessary that the marriage tie will have to be snapped.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Marriage on probation, you mean?

Shri H. Siddaveerappa: Not marriage on probation, but before anybody can have the benefit or advantage or whatever you call it of divorce, a particular period should be prescribed within which no married couple may be allowed divorce.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: That is the English law. They have three years there.

Shri H. Siddaveerappa: Let us consider the experience in the Western countries; for instance, let us take America. We have the experience of a famous divorce court judge, Lindsay. Whenever anyone went to him for a divorce, he used to tell: "You people will live together for one or two months and then come to me again. Even in spite of it, if you feel that you must get yourself divorced then you may apply." He says that invariably his experience as a judge is that whenever people try to separate each other, it is because that they have not tried to understand each other. If there was occasion to judge each other, there may not be recourse to this extreme form of separation. Therefore, I suggest that some such period should be prescribed in regard to divorce.

Regarding the theory of fragmentation of property, we find that agricultural land is not at all affected by this measure. It is a good thing in itself.

Ch. Ranbir Singh (East Punjab: General): It is affected, in Centrally Administered Areas.

Shri H. Siddaveerappa: No, it is not. Only the Centrally Administered Area is affected, which is a very small area. So far as this agricultural land is concerned, I think the time has come when we should undertake agrarian reform in the interests of our own agriculture and our own existence so far as food is concerned. Not only that, with regard to inheritance the time has come when we shall have to have some such thing as the law of primogeniture. In view of the fact that 90 per cent. of the people of this country are living in the villages and their property is mostly agricultural, and in view of the fact that this property of the 90 per cent. of the people is taken away from the operation of this Act, I believe the theory of fragmentation does not stand to logic or reasoning.

[Shri H. Siddaveerappa]

With regard to custom, some of my friends submitted that custom overrides law, therefore any custom having the sanction of law should be accepted. I think many of us, who have experience as lawyers, can easily see how custom conveniently comes in, handy to take away the effect of any benevolent law. I may give one instance. There is a provision in the Indian Penal Code under which if any girl is dedicated for an immoral purpose it is an offence. The marks of dedication are the tying of some beads round the neck of the girl. Now the ingenuity of a lawyer was able to invent the custom of tying of beads and apply that custom even in cases where the dedication was done for immoral purposes. Apart from this, we also know how on account of custom litigation sets in and how enormous amounts are spent in it, at least it was so in the previous regime. People used to spend enormous amounts in getting a decision on any particular point and squander money over judges distinguishing between two different judgments. Today this Bill is so simple, so lucid, that without recourse to any lawyer, any man can for about four annas ascertain what his position is with regard to law.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: He can manage everything with four annas, you mean?

Shri H. Siddaveerappa: It is quite possible. A day will come. We will have to try for that also. As a matter of fact, we have been seeing how these judicial decisions affect some of the property rights and other things. A judge comes to one decision and that will be law for some time. Tomorrow they may find out some other law, some text or *smriti* or some such old document, and we will be told that this law is overruled, with the result that nothing is settled in Hindu law. As a matter of fact, we have been seeing under the British regime, for the last 150 years, there have been so many decisions after decisions, any number of them, and still they say nothing is settled in Hindu law. I want to ask when we will have a settled form of law wherein the ordinary man can understand what exactly is his position. As a matter of fact, when a creditor wants to give some money, he has to satisfy who are his heirs, who have shares and all that, with the result that on an agricultural land on which he can give Rs. 1,000 loan, he gives only Rs. 500 or so. Therefore, taken from any angle of view, I believe this is a very healthy measure, so I give my wholehearted support to it.

Mr. Chairman: The debate will continue tomorrow after Question Hour.

DEMANDS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS FOR 1948-49—RAILWAYS

Mr. Chairman: The House will now proceed with the demands for supplementary grants to be moved by the Honourable the Minister in charge of Railways.

Shri R. K. Sidhva (C. P. and Berar: General): Before the Minister proceeds with his motion, I want to ask if it is your desire that we should close before 5 o'clock and what time will be allowed to consider these supplementary grants extending to Rs. 19 crores. It will be most unfair to this House if for discussing these supplementary grants which are over and above the Budget sanctions the House is only allowed an hour and a half. I submit that sufficient time should be given to the House to discuss and scrutinise this Budget. I have seen these items; some of them are certainly most objectionable. I therefore plead and appeal to you to give sufficient time—tomorrow or the day after—to discuss this supplementary Budget.

Mr. Chairman: We have got other business set down for tomorrow and the day after. General discussion of the General Budget will have to be begun. No further time can be given for this subject. We can discuss these supplementary grants till 4-15 p.m. when we adjourn for the presentation of the General Budget at 5 p.m.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: Then we may postpone consideration of this.

Mr. Chairman: There is no other time allotted for this. If we postpone this, it will upset the whole programme.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: It may be so. But I want to enter here my protest that you are devoting only 20 minutes for the discussion of a demand which involves as much as 19 crores.

Shri H. V. Kamath (C. P. and Berar: General): May I request that at least in future the business may be arranged more wisely, and with greater fairness and respect to the House.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (Bombay: General): May I suggest, Sir, that the discussion of the Hindu Code Bill may be postponed to a later date and tomorrow's time may be given to the discussion of this subject?

Mr. Chairman: All these points of view will be kept in mind.

Now the House will proceed to the Demands for Supplementary grants in respect of Railways.

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar (Minister of Railways and Transport): Is it the wish of the House that I should move all these supplementary grants together or one by one?

Honourable Members: All together.

Mr. Chairman: The practice is that they are taken as moved and put to the House.

DEMAND NO. 1.—RAILWAY BOARD

Mr. Chairman: Motion is:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,62,000 be granted to the Governor-General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Railway Board'."

DEMAND NO. 2.—AUDIT

Mr. Chairman: Motion is:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 3,25,000 be granted to the Governor-General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Audit'."

DEMAND NO. 3.—MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE

Mr. Chairman: Motion is:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 13,05,000 be granted to the Governor-General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Expenditure'."

DEMAND NO. 4.—WORKING EXPENSES—ADMINISTRATION

Mr. Chairman: Motion is:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 33,34,000 be granted to the Governor-General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Administration'."

DEMAND No. 5.—WORKING EXPENSES—REPAIRS AND MAINTENANCE

Mr. Chairman: Motion is:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 4,42,95,000 be granted to the Governor-General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Repairs and Maintenance'."

DEMAND No. 6.—WORKING EXPENSES—OPERATING STAFF

Mr. Chairman: Motion is:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 24,83,000 be granted to the Governor-General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Operating Staff'."

DEMAND No. 7.—WORKING EXPENSES—OPERATION (FUEL)

Mr. Chairman: Motion is:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 3,25,35,000 be granted to the Governor-General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Operation (Fuel)'."

DEMAND No. 9.—WORKING EXPENSES—MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES

Mr. Chairman: Motion is:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 63,22,000 be granted to the Governor-General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Miscellaneous Expenses'."

DEMAND No. 10.—PAYMENTS TO INDIAN STATES AND COMPANIES

Mr. Chairman: Motion is:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 9,28,000 be granted to the Governor-General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'payments to Indian States and Companies'."

DEMAND No. 11.—WORKING EXPENSES—APPROPRIATION TO DEPRECIATION FUND

Mr. Chairman: Motion is:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 7,75,24,000 be granted to the Governor-General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Appropriation to Depreciation Fund'."

DEMAND No. 14.—A—WITHDRAWAL FROM RESERVE

Mr. Chairman: Motion is:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 5,11,000 be granted to the Governor-General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Withdrawal from Reserve'."

DEMAND No. 15.—CONSTRUCTION OF NEW LINES

Mr. Chairman: Motion is:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,99,78,000 be granted to the Governor-General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Construction of New Lines'."

DEMAND No. 16.—OPEN LINE WORKS—ADDITIONS

Mr. Chairman: Motion is:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 be granted to the Governor-General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Open Line Works—Additions'."

There are two sets of cut motions, one set is from Seth Damodar Swaroop and the other set is from Shri M. Tirumala Rao. Of these only the first cut

motion of Seth Damodar Swaroop and the first cut motion of Shri Tirumala Rao are in order, because the other cut motions could have been moved at the time of the general debate and they have been moved and they have been discussed. So, even if these two cut motions.....

Shri M. Tirumala Rao (Madras: General): Before you give your ruling, may I say a word?

Mr. Chairman: I want to know which of these the honourable member desires to move.

Shri M. Tirumala Rao: Sir, these cut motions are intended to elicit information on certain topics which could not be discussed during the general discussion. Supplementary demand is a deviation from the main Budget for the current year. Therefore this is the only occasion on which we can raise points about the administration.

Mr. Chairman: Perhaps the honourable member knows that he can move only one cut motion.

Shri M. Tirumala Rao: I may be allowed to deal with all the three motions in a brief speech not extending more than 15 minutes to which the Minister for Railways may reply. I will not press the motions to a division.

Mr. Chairman: Will not that object be achieved if the honourable member speaks on the Demand and touch upon all the three cut motions?

The Honourable Shri K. Santhanam (Minister of State for Railways and Transport): The practice and the convention of the House....

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar: General): I rise to a point of order.

Mr. Chairman: Mr. Santhanam is on his legs.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Sir, I am rising to a point of order. It is not the practice in this House that anything may be taken as moved or passed. I think this is irregular. I do not know if there is any convention even like that.

Mr. Chairman: It is not a point of order.

The Honourable Shri K. Santhanam: Sir, I simply want to draw the attention of the Chair and of the House to the practice and the convention that under Supplementary Demands only the particular Demand is discussed. General questions of policy should always be confined to the general Budget Debate. Therefore, if there is any particular objection to the Demand or any item included in it, a cut motion may be moved. It is the privilege of the House to do so. But questions of policy should always come under the General Debate.

Mr. Chairman: That is what I wanted to point out to Mr. Tirumala Rao. The cut motion has to be confined to the Demand in question before the House. General questions of policy cannot be discussed under Demands for Supplementary Grants.

Shri M. Tirumala Rao: You can listen to my speech and then come to the conclusion whether it is covered by Mr. Santhanam's objection. Sir, I move:

"That the demand for a supplementary grant of a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,62,000 in respect of 'Railway Board' be reduced by Re. 1."

Sir, you are aware how the Budget discussion took place for nearly four days on the floor of the House and how the Honourable the Railway Minister had to cut short his speech in the middle of an important statement he was making. He has today the ear of the House to make that unfinished speech.

[Shri M. Tirumala Rao]

I do not want to discuss any particular general principal except that is allowed to me confining myself to the four corners of the cut motion. The purpose of my motion is this: that any extra expenditure involved in payment for the Railway Board is not justified. I want to say that the salaries of those incumbents have been already high and they are higher than the salaries of the secretaries of big Departments supposed to be above the Railway Board. This question has been mooted year after year and we have not had any specific reply from the Minister in charge whether this question is being reviewed at all or whether it will be reviewed in the near future in a manner to effect economies in the high salary bill. In spite of the amount already sanctioned for this purpose, I do not understand why the Government have come forward with a supplementary demand for Rs. 2,62,000. No doubt the purpose of this is mentioned in the proceedings of the Standing Finance Committee dated 3rd February. I am not satisfied whether this expenditure is necessary in view of the large establishment that this Department has. You have the Chief Commissioner, you have a Financial Commissioner, three Members, six Directors, one Secretary, all of them drawing salaries from Rs. 2,500 up to Rs. 5,000. The Commander-in-Chief of the Army in India, who is supposed to be in charge of the safety of this country controlling a huge land army, does not get Rs. 5,000 a month. The Secretaries in the Ministries do not get Rs. 5,000 a month. I want an assurance from the Minister that, after August 15th 1947, a new set of principles are governing this country with a view to economise as much as possible consistent with efficiency. No doubt there may be agreements and covenants and certain rules protecting the emoluments and privileges of certain high officials. But this cannot go on for ever. A beginning must be made now and these officials must be told that they cannot have enormous salaries which the general economic condition of the country cannot afford any longer.

I anticipate that I will not be permitted to move the other cut motions. But I wish to say a few words in this connection on the fuel operations. We are paying nearly 10 crores of rupees for freight alone on coal which cost only Rs. 10 crores in 1947. I drew the attention of the Chief Commissioner to this in 1947 and asked why he was unable to produce all the coal needed by the Railways. The total quantity of coal which the Railways consume is 89 lakhs of tons out of which coal lifted from the collieries of the railways comes to only 28 lakhs of tons.

Over nearly 60 lakh tons of coal is produced from private collieries which costs you a good deal and the carriage of this coal to your various railways has cost you nearly 10 crores of rupees. There must be an effective control and a long range plan of minimising the use of high-grade coal. Of course, we are thankful to your Railway Minister for the statement which he has made that they are designing engines which will also use low-grade coal. That is not enough. We are going to have a large scale scheme of electrification. We are going to have big multi-purpose schemes costing 400 to 500 crores of rupees. Two days ago the Electric Power Engineers have met in a conference and our Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil, Minister for Works, Mines and Power has stated that the next five years will see a programme of electrification of the country costing 300 crores of rupees. I want to know whether the Railway Board has sent up see how far the Railways can get electrification schemes on a large scale. We some of its own engineers, technicians and high officials to that Conference and must minimise the use of high-grade coal. The total quantities of high-grade coal that is available in India is limited, and after 60 years from now, you may be exhausting all the coal resources of this country, if you go at this rate.

Shri Ramnath Goenka (Madras: General): I suppose the honourable member has read the Railway Board's report for 1947-48. It tells you that 1,800 miles are.....

Shri M. Tirumala Rao: I have seen it. What I suggest is that there should be a large scale planning of electrification. You have started, no doubt I am glad, with only 1,500 miles of electrification out of a total length of nearly 35,000 miles in the country. That is not enough. What I suggest is that there must be a co-ordinated plan of not only conserving our coal. A small piece of information is given saying that experiments are being carried with regard to the gas turbine engines. The Railway Board has got its Standards Office as well as their Research institutions to get at this job and see that coal is substituted by other fuel. Therefore, I wanted to draw the attention of the House to this matter. As regards the third item the construction of new lines, I am afraid, the programme is very disappointing.

Mr. Chairman: May I point out to the honourable member that his remark will be out of order.

Shri M. Tirumala Rao: I submit that the Railway Board assumes responsibility for the whole administration, and I do not want to allow this opportunity to pass their extra demand, unless I see whether all the supplementary demands which include their activities, are quite just and reasonable.

I want to say one word with regard to that. With regard to the open lines also I suggest that there should be a comprehensive programme prepared by the Railway Board and they should see that more railway lines are opened and the country is opened up for traffic as well as for trade and commerce.

With these words, Sir, I move my motion.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: Sir, I rise to second the motion moved by my honourable friend, Mr. Tirumala Rao. I wish, Sir, that the House took a little serious view of these supplementary demands when they are presented to them. This is a supplementary demand asking the House to vote ninety-nine crores and some odd lakhs of rupees.

Shri Krishnaswami Bharathi (Madras: General): What is it?

Shri R. K. Sidhva: I do not know whether my honourable friend, Mr. Krishnaswami Bharathi has studied it and whether he knows what these items refer to. I say this because he was interrupting me.

Shri Krishnaswami Bharathi: It is a reflection on the House to say that we are not taking a serious view of all matters.

Mr. Chairman: The honourable Member will see that he does not cast any reflection on any honourable member.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: I am very glad, Sir, that the House has taken a very serious view of it. I wish that the House should have been given an opportunity to discuss this thoroughly and given more time for study of these supplementary grants that have been brought before this House from time to time.

Sir, in this demand, the item relating to the dearness allowance I can understand. If for emergency purposes supplementary grants are demanded, I can quite appreciate, because the Ministry could not have anticipated it when they framed their budget last year, but I fail to understand why crores of rupees under publicity, suspense account and the miscellaneous expenditure, which are ordinary expenses, should have been brought under the supplementary demands. There are no specific reasons given in the Standing Committee meetings which has been circulated to the members as the reasons for which these demands have been sanctioned.

Shri Ramnath Goenka: These are in the revised estimates.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): We have not received the book mentioned in the note to the agenda paper.

The Honourable Shri K. Santhanam: In the explanatory memorandum every one of these items have been explained as to the causes for the increased expenditure and the revised estimates were put before the House and discussed.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: This is all right, my point is this.....

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: May I draw the attention of the House to the fact that this Volume of Demands for Grants was circulated to honourable Members when the Budget was discussed. The fullest explanation of the variations between the revised estimate and the budget estimate are contained in pages 1 and 2 of this document. If the honourable Member had read it, he would probably not have raised the point that he could understand only the increase in the dearness allowance and not other matters.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: Pandit Bhargava raised the point. I stated that we received it.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: There is a note on the agenda paper circulated today which says: Book of Demands for supplementary grants giving detailed information will be circulated to Members in due course.

The Honourable Shri K. Santhanam: It has been circulated.

Shri Ramnath Goenka: This is dated the 18th of February.

Mr. Chairman: It has been circulated.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: I have received this, I must admit. I did not say that I did not receive it. My point is that the House has not been given sufficient opportunity and time to discuss this. I therefore submit that on important items like this, the House should be at least given one day. In the Provincial Assemblies, Sir, on a supplementary demand, one day is always given. I fail to understand why an hour and a half and an hour and a quarter should only be given for such supplementary grants. That is my complaint.

Then, Sir, I was mentioning that I could understand supplementary demand for emergency purposes in items of expenditure which have been incurred by the Ministry being brought before the House and these are items which they could not have anticipated when they framed the budget for last year, but for the other ordinary items such as I mentioned just now, I see no reason why this additional amount should have been spent and merely four lines are given over each item by the Standing Committees. In fact the House is not aware as to what are the specific reasons for the increase under these items. We demand that economy should be maintained, but on the contrary the miscellaneous items such as publicity, suspense account and miscellaneous expenditure are such items where details are not given. Under miscellaneous items, crores of rupees are shown; but no details are given under many heads. Therefore, I desire, in the future, the House should be given a fair opportunity to discuss this amount.

Sir, I want a little information. On page 12, it is stated: "The increase under 'Miscellaneous charges' is due mainly to payment to Messrs. Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. for the first experimental prototype coach (1.13 lakhs)". We know that new coaches were under the consideration of the Railway Ministry for the last three years and some provision has been made for the Silver Arrow; but we do not know what has happened to the Silver Arrow; whether the Ministry has absolutely dropped the construction of the Silver Arrow type which was in exhibition and on which the opinion of the House and various local

Advisory Committees were invited. I want to know whether the Railway Ministry has decided to substitute this prototype of Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., one of the coaches of which is now running in the Grand Trunk Express. I would like to know the definite policy of the Government as regards the new type of coaches. On the floor of the House, various times, it has been stated that there are no facilities in the third class carriages. This Silver Arrow type was more or less recommended by the various local Advisory Committees.

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: Have we not discussed this question of accommodation to third class passengers to the maximum possible extent during the other debate?

Shri R. K. Sidhva: When there is a Demand before the House.....

Mr. Chairman: I request the honourable Member to confine his remarks to the Demand before the House.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: I am discussing the demand. There is an item, prototype coach and I am entitled to seek information on this point.

What I was saying is, there is no clear-cut policy from the Railway Board regarding these third class new coaches: I want to know whether the Silver Arrow type is under consideration, whether this new type is also under considerations, if so, how many will be constructed, where they are constructed; but no definite answer to that is forthcoming.

As regards the Railway Board, my honourable friend has stated that the high expenditure on the Railway Board and the other item should be cut down. May I tell the honourable Minister that after the separation, the Pakistan Government has abolished the Railway Board in their country and appointed a Secretary to the Ministry and other officers? May I appeal to him to consider this question seriously whether the Railway Board, which is an antiquated one, which might have been necessary in the olden times for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of the British people, is still necessary. I would like him to go into the question whether there is not any overlapping of certain functions with the Railway Ministry, whether the Chief Commissioner has not an overriding power over the Railway Board, as to how the General Managers of the various Railways are functioning under the Railway Board and whether some of the defects in the present administration are not due to the antiquated rules that prevail in the Railway Board. If it is necessary for him to continue this Railway Board in the interests of the country, I will certainly support him.

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: May I remind the honourable Member that he has already supported the continuance of the Railway Board for the year 1949-50? We are dealing with 1948-49 to-day.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: I am sorry that such a poor and lame answer has been given to my argument. If the House today decided to abolish the Railway Board, I know they are not going to abolish it tomorrow. It will take more than a year to abolish the Railway Board. I have only asked the honourable Minister to bear this in mind and consider the question whether there is necessity to continue this Railway Board. If there is no necessity for this Board to continue, if the House decides to abolish it, I think it could be done only in 1951 because so many formalities have got to be gone through and there has to be a substitute for the Railway Board. The House knows its duty and the House has already raised that point in the general discussion on the budget. I therefore submit in all seriousness that this matter should not be lightly treated by the honourable Minister; he may look into the question. I may assure him that I have an open mind; if the honourable Minister comes and tells me that he has investigated into this matter and is convinced that the Railway administration

[Shri R. K. Sidhva]

will not be efficient and satisfactory without the Railway Board, I shall support him. I only want definitely to know whether he has investigated into the question. I want to know, what are the powers of the Railway Board, and whether the powers overlap or not. From the information that I have got, these things happen and the result is Ministerial orders are not properly carried out. If the Pakistan Government—it may be a small Government compared with us—have successfully abolished the Railway Board, I want to know why we require it here.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Whatever we may do or may not do, should we copy Pakistan?

Shri R. K. Sidhva: There is no question of copying Pakistan. I am only giving an illustration for consideration. I see no reason why it should not be considered if it is good from the point of view of economy and better administration consistently with efficiency. If somebody does a good thing, why not copy it?

As regards the cost of fuel, my honourable friend Shri Tirumala Rao has stated about the quantity of coal that exists. I am taking an absolutely different points as regards fuel. If the report of the Enquiry Committee is pursued, you find they have made a very serious structure of the question. They have given the illustration that the Nizam's State Railway has got a certain system of checking coal which is very satisfactorily working. There is no reason why, the Enquiry Committee says, that system should not be investigated and introduced here. I may tell my honourable friend Mr. Kamath, that Hyderabad is a small State and their railway is a small one when compared with us. The Enquiry Committee presided over by Pandit Kunzru has recommended that system. It does not mean that because a small Government has introduced something, we should stand on our prestige and say, we should not do it. I therefore say, that here is the recommendation of the Enquiry Committee.

Shri H. V. Kamath: On a point of explanation, Sir, I did not say that because Pakistan was a small State we should not copy it. England is a small State and we copy it in many respects.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: What I was saying is, this matter also requires consideration, from another aspect. There is today a three per cent leakage from the place where coal is loaded from the colliery to the place of termination and it is weighed. I want to know whether this coal evaporates during the transit, and where this coal goes. I am sure the Ministry knows, and if the honourable Minister does not know, his officers know, because there has been a reference to it that there is a great deal of leakage in transit. Whether this coal is smuggled or whether it really evaporates is a matter for consideration of the honourable Minister.

An Honourable Member: It is only a guess about leakage.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: It is not a guess; there is the report over this question.

As regards certain other items, under working expenses, I shall not go into the details, I shall only invite the attention of the honourable the Minister, to the suggestions made by the Enquiry Committee. The honourable Minister has been good enough to say that the House will be given an opportunity one day to discuss the Enquiry Committee's report and we are thankful for that. We were told that this report will be examined by the Ministry and then will be placed before us. We were not told whether it would be placed before the Standing Finance Committee and the CAC for Railways. We would request him to place the report before these two committees and then bring it before the House so that the House may have the advantage of knowing their

views. I am sure even if some of the recommendations are to be carried out, it will take a very long time; I know how the machinery moves. Therefore, I submit that this report should be examined by the Special officer that has been appointed, as has been stated to us the other day, and the examination by the Ministry should be expedited.

As regards electrification, Sir, I may only state that the recent Engineers Conference which met only three days ago have very strongly emphasised that if the coal situation is to be saved, in the interests of economy and in the best interests of the country's transport, electrification of railways should be expedited.

They have given the five railway sections which should be electrified immediately and machinery should be indented without the least possible delay. In the interests of the railways themselves and in the interests of fuel economy they have given the suggestion. I do not know whether that suggestion which has been made only two days ago has come to the notice of the Railway Ministry, but when it comes I am sure that there are certain sections of the railway where already electrification is there and electric trains are running and steps should be taken to extend this electrification with the least possible delay. Some of these electric railways have been introduced since the last fifteen years and no effort has been made to indent for more electric trains or extend their route. In Bombay the largest section is served on the G.I.P. and the B.B. & C.I. and the conference had made very strong recommendations to extend one section from Virar to Ahmedabad and the other from Poona to Bhusawal, and similarly in South India and in Bengal and Bihar. I am confident that the amount of security and the amount of facility that these electric trains give to-day to the passengers will be borne out by the passengers, who travel by these trains. I feel that no serious attention has been paid by the previous Ministry or the Railway Board in this matter, but for what reasons it is best known to them. Probably the question of war may have come in and so many other things. But I want to know whether they have placed orders for the importation of many more coaches and the extension of the electric installations. These electric trains give suburban passengers a very great deal of relief and this matter should receive the attention of the honourable Minister.

I have many more things to say but as time does not permit, I shall with these few words resume my seat.

The Honourable Shri Satyanarayan Sinha (Minister of State): Sir, I move:

"That the question be now put."

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That the question be now put."

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: I shall take a few minutes, referring simply to the points that have been made by the two previous speakers. As you yourself pointed out, Sir, much of what they said had been covered by the debates that had already taken place on the railway budget for 1949-50 and they raised questions of large policy which are not supposed to be proper matters for discussion on supplementary demands. All the same, as certain points have been raised I wish only to say one or two words about each point.

[Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar]

Taking the points in the reverse order, I will tell Mr. Sidhva at once that the Railway Board and the Railway Ministry are as keen about pushing electrification of railways as he is. The resolution of the Power Engineers Conference which will be duly communicated to us will be given all the consideration it deserves, and, wherever it is possible for us to expand electrification, we shall do our best to push it.

The question of fuel raises a large issue which I am afraid I cannot deal within the few minutes at my disposal. As the Honourable the previous speakers have already pointed out, the matter has been dealt with by the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee and the Government are giving their recommendation the best consideration possible. Whatever they have said on this question will be fully investigated and whatever economy can be secured on fuel by giving such effect to such recommendations as can be given effect to will be done.

A big point that was raised by Mr. Sidhva was the abolition of the Railway Board. As I have said, it does not arise on this supplementary demand. But he has appealed to me that, if I think the particular issue he raises is good in itself, I should give effect to it whether that issue was relevant to the present debate or not. I am quite prepared to consider the merits of whatever he has said, and I think I indicated in the speech I made in introducing the budget for next year that the question of what the set-up in the Centre should properly be is a matter which is receiving the consideration of the Railway Ministry consequent on the attention that the Indian Railway Enquiry Committee has already given to this question. That is a matter which requires very careful investigation, and we will give it the best consideration that is possible. I do not say that the Railway Board as it exists today is the last word in the matter of centralised administration of railways. There may be changes that are required. There may be proposed a modification in the set-up altogether which may be considered necessary. But all that will come in good time and it will require legislation of a comprehensive character. It cannot be done by a mere stroke of the pen today. If I did so I would simply upset the transport service of the country.

The other point was raised by Mr. Tirumala Rao about the high salaries that people in the Railway Board draw. I may tell him that as a result of the consideration of the recommendations made by the Central Pay Commission, Government did take this matter into their consideration and they have prescribed certain rates of salary for the Chief Commissioner and Members of the Railway Board, the Directors and Joint Directors, the Deputy Directors and Assistant Directors. They are well within limits which I think both Mr. Tirumala Rao and even Mr. Sidhva would appreciate. The Chief Commissioner's salary has been fixed at Rs. 3,250 instead of Rs. 5,000, and the salaries of other Members of the Board have been fixed at Rs. 3,000. Similar reductions have been made in the salaries of other Members of the Board's office. But all this can be given effect to only when the opportunity occurs for doing so. There are certain people who have come down to us from the old days with certain scales of pay guaranteed to them and, if they elect to retain those scales of pay, we cannot as a Government get out of our commitments in any cavalierly fashion. The main thing we have to take note of is that we should respect our commitments to our employees and officers, and to that extent we have to respect those commitments. For some years to come, certain people will be receiving higher salaries than we consider to be adequate for new officers occupying some positions.

As regards the particular matter in respect of which the cut is moved, let me tell the honourable Mr. Sidhva that, when he said he could understand the increase on account of dearness allowance, almost the overwhelming part of the increase we are asking for is covered by dearness allowance. If you look at page 2 of this document—Demands for Grants—you will find that against the supplementary demand of Rs. 2,62,000, Rs. 2,11,000 are accounted for by dearness allowance, and while we have created a few temporary posts of Directors, Joint Directors and Deputy Directors, we have kept vacant other posts already sanctioned in the cadre because we did not feel the need to fill them or men were not available to fill them. So this Rs. 2,11,000 as well as odds and ends in the adjustment of the various items constitute the Rs. 2,62,000, for which we have presented a supplementary demand.

Sir, I will not take up more time of the House

Shri R. K. Sidhva: What about the Hindustan Aircraft Factory?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: We have given you the fullest possible information during the Railway Budget debate as to our programme for building coaches.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: I would like to know whether the Silver Arrow type of carriage is going to be continued.

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: We have placed an order for 100 coaches of 10 ft.-8 in. Of the Silver Arrow also we have ordered 50. We are trying to substitute all-metal coaches wherever possible. I hope the House will be satisfied with this very brief statement of mine on the speeches that have been made and will vote the supplementary grants.

Shri M. Tirumala Rao: Sir, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my cut motion.

Mr. Chairman: Has the honourable Member the leave of the House to withdraw his cut motion?

The cut motion was by leave of the Assembly withdrawn.

Mr. Chairman: If it is the wish of the House I shall put together all the demands for supplementary grants.

The question is:

"That the respective supplementary sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the third column of the Order Paper, be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of the corresponding heads of Supplementary Demands entered in the second column thereof."

The motion was adopted.

[As directed by Mr. Chairman the motions for Demands for Supplementary Grants which were adopted by the Assembly are reproduced below.—Ed. of Deb.]

DEMAND NO. 1.—RAILWAY BOARD

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,62,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Railway Board'."

DEMAND NO. 2.—AUDIT

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 3,25,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Audit'."

DEMAND NO. 3.—MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 13,05,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Miscellaneous expenditure'."

DEMAND NO. 4.—WORKING EXPENSES—ADMINISTRATION

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 33,34,900 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Administration'."

DEMAND NO. 5.—WORKING EXPENSES—REPAIRS AND MAINTENANCE

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,12,96,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Repairs and Maintenance'."

DEMAND NO. 6.—WORKING EXPENSES—OPERATING STAFF

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 21,88,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Operating Staff'."

DEMAND NO. 7.—WORKING EXPENSES—OPERATION (FUEL)

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 3,25,33,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Operation (Fuel)'."

DEMAND NO. 9.—WORKING EXPENSES—MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 63,22,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Miscellaneous Expenses'."

DEMAND NO. 10.—PAYMENTS TO INDIAN STATES AND COMPANIES

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 9,28,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Payments to Indian States and Companies'."

DEMAND NO. 11.—WORKING EXPENSES—APPROPRIATION TO DEPRECIATION FUND

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 7,75,21,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Appropriation to Depreciation Fund'."

DEMAND NO. 14.—A—WITHDRAWAL FROM RESERVE

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 5,11,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Withdrawal from Reserve'."

DEMAND NO. 15.—CONSTRUCTION OF NEW LINES

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,99,78,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Construction of New Lines'."

DEMAND NO. 16.—OPEN LINE WORKS—ADDITIONS

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Open Line Works—Additions'."

The Assembly then adjourned till Five of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The Assembly re-assembled at Five of the Clock in the Afternoon, Mr. Chairman (Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava) in the Chair.

THE BUDGET FOR 1949-50

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai (Minister of Finance): Sir, I rise to present the Budget for 1949-50.

Review of Economic Conditions

2. Although this is the fourth year since the cessation of hostilities, the return of normal conditions, without which it is impossible to expand production and develop trade, seems still as far as ever. Over large parts of the world, conditions remain disturbed and the progress of recovery from the ravages of the war is painfully slow. In Europe the *impasse* in Berlin, the civil war in Greece and the emergence of two rival camps among the countries that fought the war as allies are symptomatic of the abnormal conditions which still prevail. The Palestine question, which is a serious threat to peace and stability in the Middle East, is still unsolved. Nearer home, the continuance of civil strife in China, the disturbances in Burma, which concern us deeply in view of our close economic ties with that country and the large interests our nationals have in it, and the unprovoked assault of the Dutch on the Indonesian Republic, all these retard the economic recovery not merely of this largely under-developed area of the globe but of the whole world. Prosperity, like peace, is indivisible and while these conflicts are going on in various parts of the world involving a tragic waste of men and material, the common man in all countries, particularly the less developed countries, continues to pay a heavy price in want and suffering.

3. In our own country, as in most other countries in the post-war period, the major problem has been that of keeping the inflationary trends under control. It is not necessary for me to dilate on the causes of the emergence of these trends since the end of the war. While as a result of the war the purchasing power in the hands of the community increased considerably, the available supply of commodities in the post-war period was not sufficient to meet the increasing demand for them. The shortage of essential commodities, particularly food and clothing, aggravated the situation owing to the rise in the money income of some sections of the community who in the past never competed for food and consumer goods on the same scale. Difficulties in transport and distribution accentuated the shortages while the partition last year and the economic dislocation caused over considerable parts of the country by the movement of population between the two Dominions made the position worse. A steady rise in prices occurred throughout 1947 the general index number of wholesale prices rising from 290.5 at the beginning of the year to 314.2 at the end of December. In the first seven months of 1948 there was a further steep rise in prices, the index number of wholesale prices rising by as much as 76 points to 390.1. Since then the prices have slightly dropped and as a result of the various measures taken by Government prices have remained more or less steady.

4. The answer to the problem of inflation and high prices is to increase the supply of commodities to meet the existing demand and until this position is reached to control the distribution of the available supply of the essential commodities. In the matter of food the supply position still continues to be difficult and last year owing to the poor crops in certain parts of the country we have had to import 2.8 million tons from overseas at a cost of Rs. 180 crores against an estimated import of 2 million tons at a cost of Rs. 110 crores. The position is expected to be still more difficult this year owing to the floods in Bihar and the United Provinces, the damage caused by the recent cyclone in Bombay and the outbreak of famine in parts of Gujerat, Saurashtra, Rajasthan and Cutch and imports may amount to 4 million tons. As the House is aware, it has already been decided to re-introduce food control and it is hoped that this will secure an equitable supply of food grains throughout the country at fair prices. In respect of other commodities the position in regard to internal

[Dr. John Matthai]

production has, I am glad to say, been encouraging in recent months although it has not been possible in many cases to reach the peak production of the war years or the target that has been set. Last year the production of coal at 29.73 million tons and of steel at 854,000 tons just fell short of the production in the previous year while the production of salt rose from 49.6 million maunds to 59.3 million maunds, of cotton yarn from 1,315 million lbs. to 1,442 million lbs., of cloth from 3,816 million yards to 4,338 million yards, of art silk fabrics from 85 million yards to 114 million yards, of plywood from 28.6 million sq. feet to 38.63 million sq. feet and of soap from 80,000 tons to 190,000 tons. The flow of raw materials to industry has also improved with the improvement in the transport position while with the relaxation of import controls there has been a larger flow of imported goods. Production has also been greatly assisted by the occurrence of fewer strikes and labour disputes. If the present favourable trends in production continue, I have no doubt that it will be possible not merely to arrest the rise in prices but to bring them down gradually.

5. The state of the capital market in the year under review has been a matter of concern to Government. While there is obviously a large amount of money in the country competing for the limited supply of goods, the investment market has been stagnant and there has been little flow of money into either Government loans or into industrial concerns. This stagnation is due in large measure to the prevailing uncertainty in regard to matters affecting industrial development and prospects. My own view is that with the huge potential demand in this country for both consumer and capital goods, there is bound to be for many years a wide field for private enterprise and that in this matter no one who invests money is taking a greater risk than in any other country in the world.

6. As I mentioned a while ago, the fight against inflation has been one of Government's main pre-occupations this year. As Honourable Members are aware, Government consulted various interests and sections of public opinion regarding the measures necessary to deal with this situation. In a matter of this kind, it is obviously not possible to expect complete unanimity of opinion as to either the causes of inflation or the remedies to be adopted. But it was clear that immediate action should be taken to prevent, as far as possible, the further creation of purchasing power in the hands of the community and to take all steps possible to stimulate production and instil a spirit of confidence in industry. With this end in view, in the field of taxation additional duties on certain articles of luxury such as liquor, tobacco, motor cars, silk and art silk fabrics were imposed and an excise duty on super fine cloth was levied. Power was taken to make provisional assessments of income-tax on the basis of returns submitted by the assesseees. A system of interest bearing deposits for income-tax introduced in 1943 was also revived and it was decided to postpone for a further period of three years the refund of deposits of Excess Profits Tax except for approved purposes. A temporary limit was also placed on the amount that may be distributed as dividend by public companies, by an Ordinance, the enactment of which into law is now under consideration by the House. Among measures taken to stimulate industrial production, I would mention the reduction in the import duty on machinery and certain industrial raw materials and the abolition of the import duty on cotton yarn. New industrial undertakings commencing production in the next three years have been given exemption from income-tax for the first five years up to a limit of six per cent. per annum on their capital. The rules regulating depreciation allowances have also been liberalised. In the field of Governmental expenditure a rapid review was conducted of all capital and development schemes

including the Provincial schemes. As a result the total provision for capital and development schemes and loans has been substantially reduced. It was also made clear to the Provinces that in the present financial situation they should not count on Central assistance for implementing their schemes of social or agrarian reform. The House will realise that it was not without regret that we decided to hold up even temporarily the various schemes of development the execution of which is necessary for the well being of the country. But the need for economy was imperative and we had to postpone all avoidable expenditure. But this has not led to the slowing down of any productive scheme or any scheme really essential for the national interest. I would like to take this opportunity to express my sense of gratitude to the Provincial Governments for their ready co-operation in this matter.

Balance of Payments

7. The main features in the external financial position of the country in the year under review have been the sharp decline in the sterling balances held by the Reserve Bank of India, the growing difficulty in the financing of imports from the hard currency areas and the emergence of Pakistan as a foreign country for currency purposes with the separation of its currency from that of India. The sterling balances which reached the peak figure of Rs. 1,733 crores at the end of 1945-56 declined by Rs. 121 crores to Rs. 1,612 crores during 1946-47. This reduction was due mainly to the large imports of food but there were also substantial imports of other goods in satisfaction of the pent up demand of the war years and also a certain amount of repatriation of British capital. During 1947-48 the reduction was somewhat smaller due to the restrictive import policy which was introduced towards the close of 1947 and the balances fell by only Rs. 67 crores to Rs. 1,545 crores. In the first ten months of the current year there has been a (further) drop of Rs. 556 crores in these balances. This heavy reduction is due to several causes. The first is the payment to the United Kingdom Government in accordance with the agreement reached with them last July, of Rs. 284 crores for the purchase of annuities for financing the payment of sterling pensions and for the acquisition of the Defence installations and stores left behind in India by the United Kingdom at the end of the war. The second is the payment to the State Bank of Pakistan of Pakistan's share of these balances following the separation of its currency from that of India. This payment is still continuing as the sterling and other assets of the Issue Department are handed over in instalments as Indian notes are withdrawn from circulation in Pakistan and handed over to the Reserve Bank. Sterling to the extent of Rs. 1.77 crores has so far been transferred to the Pakistan State Bank. The third factor responsible for the decline is India's adverse balance of payments on current and capital account.

8. Government's import policy is largely determined by the trend of the balance of payments. The aim of this policy is so to regulate trade that while it is kept at the highest possible level consistent with the needs and requirement of the country, India should not have an overall deficit in her balance of payments on current account during any particular period of time of more than the amount by which it has been agreed with the United Kingdom Government that India's sterling balances should be drawn upon. Under the present agreement signed last July it has been agreed that India's free sterling account which had a balance at the end of June, 1948 of £ 80 million will be credited with an equivalent sum during the period July, 1949 to June, 1951. In pursuance of this policy and also with the immediate object of reducing the inflationary pressure in the country, import controls were relaxed during the course of the year, and I am glad to say they have resulted in substantially increasing the available supply of goods in the country.

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9. While our overall balance of payment position is on the whole satisfactory, our balance of payments with the dollar and hard currency countries is causing us great concern. In the prewar years India had usually a surplus with the United States of America and during the war years owing to the drastic curtailment of imports to conserve dollars for the war effort, India continued to have increasing surpluses. After the war, the trend of trade rapidly reversed itself and, in common with the rest of the world, this country started having substantial deficits on hard currency account. The reason for this was that we had increasingly to turn to the hard currency countries for our requirements as the countries whose economies had been disrupted by the war could not meet them. This was particularly true of food which is today the largest single consumer of foreign exchange. Burma could not supply all the rice we needed because of the ravages of the war and its aftermath; Australia could not give us all the wheat we wanted because the United Kingdom had priority in supply.

10. India's dollar deficit in the past used to be financed by the central reserves of the sterling area. But beginning from January, 1948 the United Kingdom refused to carry this responsibility any further and insisted on limiting the convertibility of our sterling very rigidly. The limits imposed—£ 10 million (\$ 40 million) for the half year January—June, 1948 and £ 15 million (\$ 60 million) for the year July, 1948—June, 1949—these limits bear no relation whatever to our needs. Concurrently with the imposition of these limits on convertibility, there came the separation of the exchange resources of Pakistan from India which also took place in January, 1948. This has handicapped us severely as many commodities which before partition earned hard currency, such as raw jute, raw cotton and hides and skins, were largely exported from territories which are now included in Pakistan. In spite of the maximum possible limitation of imports from the hard currency areas and the maximum possible encouragement of exports thereto, India had a deficit in her balance of payments with the hard currency countries in the six months April to September, 1948 of \$ 45 million. The deficit for the next three months, for which now preliminary figures are available, is expected to be \$ 48 million. Of these deficits, the purchase of food grains was responsible for \$ 35 million and \$ 40 million respectively. These deficits which exceed by far the convertibility allowed to us by the United Kingdom have been met by loans from the International Monetary Fund from which since March, 1948 we have borrowed no less than \$ 92 million.

11. I confess that this chronic dollar deficit is causing Government no little anxiety. Honourable Members are aware that we intend to negotiate dollar loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. But these loans will be available only for financing the purchase of equipment for our developmental projects and not for current expenditure. We do not favour the idea of borrowing on the present scale from the International Monetary Fund but if the central reserves of the sterling area, to which at one time we were a source of strength, insist on continuing to limit our claims on them in the same way as at present, we shall have no alternative to continuing to borrow. One ray of hope in the situation lies, of course, in the fact that we hope, in future years, to import less food and to divert our food purchases to the soft currency areas. It is also possible that the international prices of food grains will not remain at the present high levels.

12. While we have exchange control with all countries in the world, we have none with Pakistan. This has been rendered possible by the fact that simultaneously with the separation of their currencies on the 1st July, 1948

India and Pakistan came to a monetary and payments agreement. The main terms of this agreement, which is in the first instance valid for a period of one year, are that each party will hold the currency of the other up to a limit of Rs. 15 crores, that thereafter up to a further limit of Rs. 10 crores accounts will be settled in free sterling and the balance in Account No. II. The reason for entering into an agreement of this kind was that the Governments of both Dominions were anxious to ensure that the obstacle to inter-dominion trade, which the imposition of exchange control would necessarily entail, should, if possible, be avoided. I am glad to say that this agreement has worked satisfactorily and that currency considerations have not stood in the way of inter-dominion commerce.

Financial Year, 1948-49

13. I shall now proceed to give a brief review of the financial position in the current and the ensuing years.

For the current year the deficit is now estimated at Rs. 1.55 crores against Rs. 2.14 crores provided in the budget.

Revenue

14. The revenue receipts are now estimated at Rs. 338.32 crores against the budget estimate of Rs. 255.24 crores, an increase of Rs. 83.08 crores. With the relaxation in the import controls during the course of the year there has been a considerable expansion of imports and the revenue from Customs is expected to be Rs. 36.49 crores more than the budget estimate. The yield from the excise duties on sugar, matches, tyres and tubes and vegetable products has also shown a substantial improvement and with the excise duty on cotton cloth imposed last December and estimated to yield Rs. 7 crores in a full year the revenue from Central excise duties is likely to be Rs. 4.28 crores more than the Budget estimate. Income-tax receipts are now placed at Rs. 20.62 crores more than the budget largely as a result of the intensive drive for the clearance of arrears and the recent ordinance authorising the provisional collection of tax on the basis of the statements of income of the assessee, but of this increase Rs. 5.38 crores will accrue to the Provinces as their share of revenue. The revenue from the two Government commercial departments also shows increases. The contribution from Posts and Telegraphs is likely to be Rs. 2.95 crores more than the Budget while from the Railways, as the House is already aware, the contribution will amount to Rs. 7.34 crores against Rs. 4.5 crores taken in the budget. The profits from currency also show an increase of Rs. 3.65 crores. There is also a carryover of Rs. 1.33 crores on account of Government's share of the profit on stocks of sugar frozen in December 1947 which was not realised during that year and also certain pre-partition receipts amounting to Rs. 13.4 crores.

Expenditure

15. The total expenditure this year is now estimated at Rs. 339.87 crores, an increase of Rs. 82.49 crores over the budget estimate which nearly wipes out the increase in revenue. Of this increase, Defence Services account for Rs. 34.35 crores and Civil estimates for the balance of Rs. 48.14 crores.

16. *Defence Services.*—The expenditure on Defence Services during the year has been affected by the continuance of the operations in Kashmir, the extent and duration of which could not be foreseen at the time the budget was prepared and for which, in consequence, no provision was included and also by the unforeseen deterioration in the situation in Hyderabad which led to the police action last September. In view of these developments the armed forces had to be maintained at a higher strength than was contemplated in the budget. New units had to be raised and some of the operational demands for stores,

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equipment and munitions had to be met by fresh procurement. In addition to our own forces we had to take in service larger forces from the Indian States and the Government of Nepal also loaned us some of their troops for purposes of internal defence. All these measures entailed additional expenditure for which there was no provision in the budget.

17. The increase of Rs. 48.14 crores in civil expenditure is mainly due to three causes. First, the revised estimates include a new provision of Rs. 20.75 crores for meeting pre-partition liabilities for which no provision was made in the budget. At the time the budget was framed, sufficient data regarding the outstanding liabilities were not available and the arrangement with Pakistan for meeting and adjusting these had not also been settled. It was hoped that these liabilities would be met and shared currently by the two Dominions but the Pakistan Government declined to meet these liabilities on the ground that they were initially those of India and that Pakistan would take its share only through the debt settlement. The Government of India do not accept this view as, in their opinion, after the division of the available cash balances between the two Governments, the outstanding liabilities should be paid and currently shared by the two Governments. But in order to avoid hardship to those who had made supplies or rendered services to the undivided Government, the Government of India have agreed to meet the liabilities in the first instance. Certain outstanding payments relating to the pre-partition period, such as the Provincial share of income-tax, are also due to the Provincial Governments now located in India which the Government of India propose to meet. Secondly, the expenditure on the relief and rehabilitation of refugees which has always been difficult to estimate and for which a provision of Rs. 10.04 crores was made in the budget is now expected to amount to Rs. 19.45 crores. This increase is partly due to the carryover of certain liabilities from the previous year, mainly payments to Provincial Governments, which could not be made before the close of the year; partly also to increased expenditure on relief which has to be regulated with reference to the constantly changing requirements of the situation. Thirdly, the expenditure on the subsidising of imported food grains and the payment of bonuses to Provincial Governments on internal procurement is now expected to exceed the original estimate by Rs. 12.05 crores. The House will remember that after a review of the food position last October it was decided that with effect from the 1st October 1948 the Central share of the loss on the supply of imported food grains to deficit areas should be raised from two thirds to three quarters and that a similar concession, limited to the Centre meeting half the loss, should be extended to the Indian States. Part of the increase is also due to the fact that while the budget provided for subsidies up to the end of the calendar year, provision has now been made for the full financial year.

I should also mention a further reason for the increase in civil expenditure. The House will remember that in the budget for the current year my predecessor made a lump cut of Rs. 2.5 crores for economies likely to result from the implementation of the recommendations of the Economy Committee. The work of this Committee has taken somewhat longer than was originally expected and its report on a number of Ministries is still under examination. No savings are therefore likely to be realised this year. For next year I am not making any provision at this stage as it is not possible, until firm decisions have been taken on their recommendations, to estimate the savings likely to be realised. But I may assure the House that this does not mean that I do not expect economies to result from the Committee's recommendations. On the contrary it is my intention to secure the utmost economy possible in public expenditure and the House may rest assured that the recommendations of the Committee will be most carefully and earnestly considered by Government and the resulting economies enforced during the course of the year.

18. Before I pass on to deal with the estimates for the coming year I should like to mention the progress made in the work of the Income-tax Investigation Commission. Honourable Members will remember that the Act constituting the Commission assigned two duties to it, first, to investigate and report on all matters relating to taxation on income, with particular reference to the extent to which the existing law relating to and procedure for the assessment and collection of such taxation is adequate to prevent evasion and secondly to investigate specific cases referred to the Commission by the Central Government. On a study of the working of the Income-tax law and its administration during recent years, the Commission came to the conclusion that on a long-term view the first task was no less important than the second, and as work on the second had for various reasons necessarily to be slow, the Commission devoted a great part of its time till recently to the first task. This involved the examination of voluminous evidence tendered in reply to a comprehensive questionnaire which was issued, and the Commission has recently submitted a long report in which it has made recommendations on many points of law and of administration. These recommendations are now being examined with a view to the necessary legislation being introduced, and it is hoped that it will be possible to place a Bill before the House at its next session. Copies of the Commission's report, I may say, will be distributed to Honourable Members along with the Budget papers before the House rises today.

19. As regards the investigation of specific cases referred to it by Government, the Commission has completed a few cases. Greater progress was not possible for a variety of reasons. Firstly, it was only in April 1948 that the necessary staff for investigation work could be placed at the disposal of the Commission. This was because it was not possible for the Income-tax Department to spare their more experienced officers for this work before April, 1948, in view of the shortage of officers in the Department and the large amount of arrears that had to be collected. However, this difficulty has now been overcome to some extent, and the officers authorised by the Commission are working in different cities carrying on investigation under instructions and directions given by the Commission. It is the material gathered by them that will form the basis of the Commission's further work.

Another factor which has delayed the disposal of specific cases taken up for enquiry is that it has been found that a good deal of general enquiry and collection of facts and figures is a necessary preliminary to the investigation of the specific cases. These general enquiries and the collation of the materials collected have taken a considerable time, but the work is proceeding apace. Once this is completed, it may be hoped that the disposal of specific cases will be expedited.

In this connection I may add that the possibility of disposing of the referred cases by agreed settlement is being explored, and a Bill will shortly be placed before the House for vesting the necessary powers for making such settlements in the hands of the Commission.

Financial Year, 1949-50

20. I now turn to the estimates for the next financial year. At the existing level of taxation, I place the total revenue at Rs. 307.74 crores and the expenditure charged to revenue at Rs. 322.53 crores leaving a deficit of Rs. 14.79 crores.

Revenue

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21. The total receipt from customs is estimated at Rs. 107.25 crores. This provides for a full year's effect of the changes in the tariff in the course of this year as part of the campaign against inflation. Central excises are expected to bring in Rs. 57.75 crores, including Rs. 7 crores from the recently imposed excise duty on superfine cloth. Receipts from income-tax, which include Rs. 11.22 crores on account of Excess Profits Tax and Rs. 12.01 crores on account of Business Profits Tax have been placed at Rs. 155 crores. Honourable members will remember that it was decided last year that advance payments of tax should be taken direct to revenue instead of being treated initially as a deposit and, as a first step in the process of changing the accounting procedure, advance payments of Corporation Tax were taken direct to revenue in the budget for the current year. Next year, as a further step in the process, I have taken credit in the revenue estimates for Rs. 12.5 crores for a part of these advance payments that will be received during the year. I hope that the change will be completed over the next three years. The divisible pool of income-tax is estimated at Rs. 90.7 crores, of which the Centre will retain, Rs. 46.85 crores leaving Rs. 43.85 crores as the Provincial share. The profits from Currency and Mint, after allowing for the share of Pakistan are estimated at Rs. 9.7 crores.

The revenue from the Posts and Telegraphs Department is expected to amount to Rs. 80.26 crores and working expenses and interest to Rs. 28.63 crores, leaving a surplus of Rs. 1.63 crores. As in the current year this surplus will be shared equally by general revenues and the department which will get a rebate of interest on its share of the accumulated profits, expected to amount to about Rs. 10 crores at the end of the budget year.

The contribution from the Railways for next year has been taken at Rs. 4.72 crores, the amount provided in the Railway Budget.

Expenditure

22. The total expenditure in the coming year is estimated at Rs. 322.53 crores of which Defence Services will account for Rs. 157.37 crores and civil expenditure for Rs. 165.16 crores.

23. *Defence Services.*—Following the customary procedure I shall first deal with the Defence estimates. The Defence Budget for the coming year shows an increase of Rs. 1.94 crores over the revised estimate for the current year, the excess in which I largely ascribed to the operations in Kashmir. The House may well ask why with the cease fire in Kashmir there is no decrease in the Defence Budget. The main reason for this is that the reduction in the strength of the armed forces cannot be made over-night and the process of demobilisation has necessarily to be spread over a period similar to the recruitment and training of the forces. The current year's revised estimates reflect the expenditure on the gradual building up of our strength while the budget for next year would reflect the gradual reduction in that strength. Since both the processes take time, the average strength of the troops during the budget year is unlikely to differ materially from that in the current year. In framing the budget for next year we have taken into account the improvement in the Kashmir situation following the cease fire and our hope that this cease fire will eventually lead to a peaceful solution of the problem. The House will naturally not expect me to go into greater detail in this matter but I must utter a warning that if for any unforeseen reason these hopes on which we have based our estimates are not realised, it may be necessary to exceed the provision now proposed. It has also to be remembered that the recent grant of an *ad hoc*

allowance to employees of the Central Government has added Rs. 4 crores to the Defence Budget next year. The budget for next year also includes additional provision for the expansion of the Navy and the Air Force. As the House is aware, our Navy till recently consisted of only a few sloops and frigates designed primarily for port defence but with the achievement of independence the Navy has been called upon to shoulder greater responsibilities than before, for which it is necessary to have a balanced force, complete with aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers and submarines. With this end in view, Government have recently approved the first phase of a 10-year plan for the Navy, confined mainly to the recruitment and training of the personnel in the various branches of the Navy. The last war proved conclusively the overwhelming importance of the fleet air arm and the House will be glad to know that a beginning has already been made in this respect and that the budget includes provision for the establishment of a fleet air arm. With regard to the Air Forces also, plans for their expansion and development are going forward. It is hoped to train sufficient technical man-power to make it a more balanced and effective force.

24. Before I pass on to civil estimates I would like to refer to a change in the preparation of the Defence Demands for next year. The provision for supplies and stores which was previously pooled together and included under one Demand for all the three Services, except for certain Naval and Air Force stores, has now been split among the three Services—Army, Navy and Air Force. This change will make the estimates for each Service self-contained to a greater extent than before and enable the Defence authorities to exercise a closer and more efficient control over the expenditure in their respective Services.

25. *Civil Estimates.*—I now come to the Civil Estimates. Details of the estimates under individual heads are, as usual, given in the Explanatory Memorandum circulated with the budget papers and it is unnecessary for me to deal with them at any considerable length here. I should like, however, to refer briefly to certain special items for which provision is included in these estimates. The budget next year includes Rs. 9.95 crores for the relief and rehabilitation of refugees. In addition, a provision of Rs. 23.27 crores has been made for the same purpose in the capital budget, Rs. 21.34 crores for loans for rehabilitation including loans to Provincial Governments and the Rehabilitation Finance Administration and Rs. 1.93 crores for buildings. The expenditure on food subsidies and the payment of bonus on procurement under the revised policy is estimated at Rs. 32.97 crores next year. The estimates also include Rs. 10 crores for the meeting of pre-partition claims and Rs. 12.83 crores under the various heads of expenditure for development schemes.

26. Of the total expenditure of Rs. 165.16 crores provided in the budget for next year, Rs. 52.82 crores are accounted for by the expenditure on refugees, the payment for food subsidies and pre-partition payments, leaving Rs. 112.34 crores for normal expenditure. This includes Rs. 10.06 crores for tax collection, Rs. 41.97 crores for obligatory expenditure on payment of interest and pensions and provision for debt redemption, Rs. 2.04 crores for planning and resettlement. Rs. 2.23 crores for expenditure on Currency and Mint, Rs. 2.95 crores for grants-in-aid to Provincial Governments and Rs. 24.20 crores for expenditure in the nation building spheres such as Education, Medical and Public Health, Broadcasting, Aviation and on Scientific Surveys and institutions in which the Central Government largely supplement the work of Provincial Governments. The balance of Rs. 28.89 crores represents the provision for administration, Civil Works, etc. and represents only 17.5 per cent. of the total civil

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expenditure. In addition to Rs. 24.20 crores in the nation building spheres mentioned above, provision has also been made for the grant of Rs. 26.81 crores to Provincial Governments for development and 49.25 crores for loans.

27. Honourable Members are aware that in recent months a large number of Indian States have been merged in the neighbouring Indian Provinces or taken over for administration direct by the Centre as part of the policy of unifying the country under the guidance of my distinguished colleague the Deputy Prime Minister. Ultimately the revenue and expenditure of these States have to merge in those of the Provinces or the Centre depending on the subject to which they pertain. But the process of integration is still incomplete and for the present the transactions of these States have been kept separate in a deposit account and not included in the revenue and expenditure of India. If, as may be hoped, the integration is completed in the course of the coming year, these transactions will be included in the revised estimates for the year.

28. On the basis of the estimates of revenue and expenditure that I have explained so far, the anticipated deficit for next year is Rs. 14.79 crores. I shall return to the question of how I propose to deal with this deficit in a later part of my speech.

Post-War Planning and Development

29. I mentioned earlier that as part of the campaign against inflation, Government had to review their whole programme of expenditure and reduce the outlay both in the capital and in the revenue budgets. Even so, substantial amounts have been included in the budget for grants to Provincial Governments and for Central schemes of development. So far as the Provinces are concerned it is not the intention that the scale of assistance promised to them by the Centre for their development schemes and on which they have formulated their plans should in any way be reduced. All that is happening is that the pace of this assistance is being temporarily slowed down in view of the urgent need for economy and in so doing special care has been taken to see that the progress of productive schemes and schemes of long range importance essential for national development is not held up. The House will remember that last year we laid down the policy that the grant each year from the Centre should be limited to half the amount spent on the approved schemes. Some of the smaller Provinces whose resources are limited asked for the waiver of this condition and in spite of our own difficulties we have agreed for this year and for next year to allow them grants up to the total amount they may spend on approved schemes. The budget for next year includes a provision of Rs. 26.81 crores for grants and Rs. 49.25 crores for loans to Provinces for development.

30. For Central schemes of development including resettlement a provision of Rs. 12.83 crores has been made in the revenue budget and Rs. 24.97 crores in the capital budget. Details of the provision are given in the Explanatory Memorandum and among the important schemes I would mention the expansion of the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, the development of the forest estate in the Andamans, the preliminary work on a number of river projects like the Kosi, the Assam Valley, the Narbada, Tapi and Sabar-mati schemes, investigations in Coorg, Central Provinces and Bastar, the re-organisation of the Central Waterways Navigation and Irrigation Research Station, the expansion of the Indian Agricultural Research Institute and the development of basic education. The budget also provides Rs. 2.19 crores for the Central Government's share of the expenditure on the Damodar Valley Scheme, Rs. 90 lakhs for buildings for development schemes, Rs. 4.93 crores for the Fertiliser Factory under construction at Sindri, Rs. 2.92 crores for the expansion of civil aviation and Rs. 96 lakhs for the expansion of Broadcasting.

In the sphere of industrial development a beginning is also being made in the starting of basic industries essential for national development. Among these I would mention the Government Telephone Factory for the manufacture of telephone equipment, the setting up of a Shipping Corporation in which a total sum of Rs. 6.98 crores is expected to be invested this year and next year, the setting up of new steel works and factories for the manufacture of wireless equipment, synthetic oil, machine tools, cables, Diesel engines and heavy electrical equipment. A beginning will be made in the establishment of these industries which will be developed in subsequent years.

Capital Expenditure

31. With regard to capital expenditure I have just mentioned the provision included in the budget for development schemes. The House will doubtless be interested in the provision made in the budget for normal capital expenditure. But before I describe this, I must mention certain special transactions which have been entered in the capital budget this year. The first is the payment to the U.K. Government for the purchase of annuities for meeting the sterling pensions which accounts for a net debit of Rs. 215.68 crores this year and a recovery of Rs. 7.42 crores next year for which credit has been taken. The second is the payment, again to the U.K. Government, as part of the Sterling Balances Agreement of Rs. 133.33 crores for the Defence stores and installations taken over from them against which Rs. 51.57 crores will be recovered this year and Rs. 11.8 crores next year from Pakistan and from the sale of surpluses. The third is the outlay of Rs. 5.93 crores on the acquisition of the shares of the Reserve Bank of India this year. Lastly, there is a provision of Rs. 5.08 crores this year and Rs. 92 lakhs next year for payment to Pakistan for setting up Ordnance factories and other unique institutions. As part of the partition arrangements it was agreed that as most Ordnance factories and institutions like the Security Printing Press and the Currency Note Press were located in India and it was not desirable to break up these institutions, a sum of Rs. 6 crores should be made available to Pakistan for setting up similar institutions in Pakistan. This payment will be added to Pakistan's partition debt to India. Excluding these special items and the provision for development schemes and grants to Provinces the provision for normal capital expenditure amounts to Rs. 44.09 crores this year and Rs. 62.42 crores next year. Of the provision this year, Railways account for Rs. 27.15 crores and the Posts and Telegraphs Department for Rs. 2.91 crores. Next year's budget provides Rs. 28.49 crores for the Railways, Rs. 3.82 crores for Posts and Telegraphs and Rs. 7.9 crores for schemes of State Trading, mainly for the purchase of foodgrains the cost of which will be recovered in the following year.

The House will remember that a provision of Rs. 14.99 crores was made in the budget for the current year for capital outlay on Defence. The actual expenditure is now estimated at Rs. 9.91 crores, the decrease being mainly due to the delay in the completion of certain plans for major works and the procurement of aircraft. For next year a provision of Rs. 15 crores has been included of which Rs. 7.24 crores will be spent on the Army, Rs. 2.79 crores on the Navy and Rs. 4.97 crores on the Air Force.

Ways and Means

32. I now turn to a brief consideration of the ways and means position. The current year's budget provided for a total borrowing of Rs. 150 crores from the market and to a net receipt of Rs. 31.25 crores from small savings. For a variety of reasons to which I have referred in another part of my speech the gilt edged market remained inactive throughout the year with very little investment demand. It was not therefore possible to borrow on the scale originally contemplated. For next year I have made a modest

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provision of Rs. 85 crores for market loans. But if, as I hope, conditions improve the scale of borrowing will be raised. Next year Government have the option, of repaying the 3 per cent. loan 1949-52 with an outstanding balance of Rs. 67 crores. I have assumed that this amount will be repaid and in my estimate of borrowing next year I have taken this return of money to the market also into account. In the present inflationary conditions, it is of the outmost importance for the economy of the country that the community should save as much as possible and lend its savings to the State. I trust that the recent measures taken by Government to meet the inflationary situation would help in restoring public confidence and that this time next year I shall be in a position to give a more heartening picture of public co-operation in the Government's borrowing operations. As regards small savings, there has been in recent months some improvement in the net receipts from Savings Banks and in the sale of National Savings Certificates. The House will remember that last April Government issued two new series of certificates with a currency of five and seven years to cater to the smaller investor and also raised the maximum limit of investment in both Postal Savings Bank and National Savings Certificates. It is too early to assess the result of these measures but Government are doing all in their power, in co-operation with the Provincial Governments, to stimulate and sustain the small savings movement. It is hoped that the budget anticipations in regard to receipts from this source will be exceeded this year by Rs. 1.6 crores. For next year I have allowed for some further improvement and taken credit for a net receipt of Rs. 37.56 crores.

33. I now pass on to my proposals for dealing with the deficit of Rs. 14.79 crores anticipated in the coming year.

34. The prospective deficit is substantial and I am sure that the House will agree with me that in the present inflationary conditions it should not be left uncovered.

35. The problem before me is not merely that of raising the additional revenue to cover this deficit. I have also to consider the adjustments in taxation necessary in the light of the experience of the working of the tax system in the period since the House passed the budget for the current year. Fiscal policy is not an end in itself but has to subserve the ends of national policy and in a transitional period like this it is essential to keep the working of the taxation system under constant review and readjust it in the light of changing circumstances.

Apart from inflation, to which I have referred in detail elsewhere, the most disconcerting element in the economic life of the country today is a deep, underlying fear of the future, of which the stagnation in the capital market is an index. In my view one of the most urgent tasks before a Finance Minister today is to concert measures designed to remove this fear and to secure a revival of confidence. It is clear from recent experience that the formation of capital in this country has been seriously affected, with the result that investments in both Government loans and industry have been falling off. Unless this stagnation is checked and conditions are created in which the incentive to save and to invest is revived, the industrial expansion of the country and the execution of the plans for raising the living standards of the people are bound to be delayed. In formulating the proposals which I shall place before the House, I have kept this requirement prominently in mind.

Reliefs in Taxation

36. I shall first deal with the various measures which I propose to give.

In the field of direct taxation, my first proposal is to abolish the Capital Gains Tax. At the time this tax was introduced it was expected to yield a large revenue, but it synchronised with a period of falling values and the yield from this tax has, in consequence, been small. Its psychological effect on investment has, however, been markedly adverse and it has had the effect of hampering the free movement of stocks and shares, without which it is hardly possible to maintain a high level of industrial development. In present circumstances, I consider the retention of this tax ill-advised. The loss of revenue is estimated at Rs. 1 crore.

My second proposal relates to income-tax. Here I propose to give some relief to income-tax payers in the lowest and medium income groups. The tax on incomes upto Rs. 10,000 a year will be reduced by a quarter of an anna from one anna to nine pies in the first slab and from two annas to one anna nine pies in the second slab. This class has been severely hit by the rise in prices and a certain degree of relief in their case is justified. The loss is estimated at Rs. 3 crores.

My third proposal relates to super-tax. Here I propose two reliefs designed to meet the criticism that the existing level of taxation leaves little incentive for saving and investment and that it is illogical to ignore the differentiation between earned and unearned income above Rs. 1½ lakhs. In respect of earned income I propose a reduction of an anna and a half in the rates charged on incomes above Rs. 1½ lakhs, leaving the maximum rate of tax for income-tax and super-tax together at 14 annas. For unearned income, I propose a reduction of 6 pies in the maximum rate of super-tax. The cost of the two concessions will be Rs. 2.1 crores.

Of the total loss of Rs. 6.1 crores involved in these concessions, Rs. 3 crores will fall on the Provinces by reducing the divisible pool of income-tax and the balance on the Centre.

37. Before I leave the subject of direct taxation I would like to mention two changes which I propose to make. The House will remember that in the budget for the current year my predecessor gave a concession to companies with an income of Rs. 25,000 and below by reducing their income-tax to half the usual rates. This concession was meant to encourage the growth of smaller companies but the reduction, which was allowed in income-tax, has given rise to considerable administrative difficulties, wholly out of proportion to the amount involved or the benefit accruing to the companies. I have carefully reviewed the position and come to the conclusion that while the concession should be continued it should take the form of a rebate of half the Corporation Tax, and should be limited further to public-controlled small companies which are not branches or subsidiaries of bigger companies. The result of this change will be that the entire cost of the concession will fall upon the Centre, and the Provinces will not have to share it. The amount involved is likely to be small and I have therefore made no specific provision on this account in the estimates for next year. The second change relates to the taxation of incomes of privately-controlled companies which do not declare their dividends in India. It may be recalled that there was a serious anomaly in the administration of income-tax law relating to the recovery of super-tax from shareholders, in respect of the dividends paid out of Indian profits, by companies incorporated outside this country. It was difficult to obtain from these companies information concerning the names of their shareholders and the amount of dividends paid out of Indian profits and consequently there was a considerable loss of revenue. The problem of plugging this leakage was consi-

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dered last year and my predecessor introduced a scheme whereby an extra tax of one anna was imposed on all such companies with a view partially to recouping this loss. As part of the scheme, an amendment was made to the Income-tax Act so as to confer personal immunity from further taxation upon the share-holders of such companies. The amendment, however, had the effect of conferring immunity from super-tax not merely upon the dividends actually received, but also upon the dividends which under the operation of section 23-A of the Income-tax Act could be deemed to have been received from privately-controlled companies. Therefore, if the matter had been left there, the profits of these companies would have escaped with an overall impost much lighter than that to which they were subject under the previous law. This point was met by applying to this category of companies the rates of income-tax and super-tax prescribed for individuals or associations and the definition of "company" was altered to permit of this being done by executive action. The arrangement, however, has not been satisfactory, and after a careful review of the matter I have decided that instead of attempting to tax each such privately-controlled company as an individual, the principle of applying an average rate should be adopted. I accordingly propose that all corporations, whether Indian or non-Indian, should continue to be treated as companies but a further super-tax of one anna should be paid by those privately-controlled companies that do not distribute their profits in India. I propose to apply this method commencing with the current year. It will not involve any change in the revenue estimates.

38. There is one aspect of the complaint about the high taxation in relation to industry to which I would like to make a passing reference. Owing to the steep rise in the level of prices of raw materials, wages and working costs, large amounts of working capital are needed to maintain production. Replacement costs are also higher, and there have been complaints that the calculation of depreciation allowance for purposes of taxation on the original cost of the asset involves great hardship. It has been suggested that industries should be allowed to revalue their existing fixed assets at the present day prices so that future depreciation allowance may be given on the basis of the revaluation. The Government of India considered this problem in all its aspects last October and came to the conclusion that while the difficulty complained of was real the solution proposed was not practicable. It would give no assistance to those who have immediately to replace their worn-out assets and there was no point in giving a concession to others who, at some future date, may not be required to pay the high prices now prevailing. It was, however, realised that some relief should be given to those who were prepared to renew and re-equip their capital assets immediately, in spite of the prevailing high costs. It was decided that for all new plant and machinery installed during the five years from the 1st April 1948, depreciation allowance at double the ordinary rate will be allowed. It has also been decided that if by 1st April 1953 there is a drop in the general level of prices, the difference between the written down value of the assets and the corresponding value at the reduced price will be allowed as an additional depreciation allowance. For existing plant and machinery, it has been decided to grant extra depreciation allowance for increased wear and tear if triple shifts are worked. I trust that these concessions will go a long way in meeting the complaints of industry in this matter. In addition, the concession given last year of a reduced rate of income-tax to companies which do not distribute a part of their profits as dividends, and the recent limitation, for a temporary period, of the amount that may be distributed as dividends will also enable industrial concerns to accumulate reserves for meeting the increased cost of replacement.

39. I now turn to the reliefs in indirect taxation.

The House will remember that in the budget for the current year an export duty was levied on oil seeds and vegetable oils. This was justified at the time by the wide disparity between the internal prices of these commodities and their export prices and it was then felt that the levy of this duty will not affect our export market. The effect of this duty has since been carefully reviewed and it is now clear that its continuance hampers the maintenance of our exports, particularly to the dollar countries, where we have to meet severe competition. In the interests of the export trade I propose to withdraw this duty altogether. The loss in revenue is estimated at Re. 1.5 crores.

As a measure of assistance to civil aviation and to foster the development of flying clubs and the training of Indian pilots, it is proposed to give a rebate of half the duty on aviation spirit used by air companies, flying clubs and others. This concession is estimated to cost Rs. 40 lakhs.

Honourable Members are aware that it has been the policy of Government to give relief in respect of customs duty on raw materials imported for industry. In pursuance of this policy it is proposed to give relief next year in the case of a number of imported articles, the total cost of such remissions being estimated at Rs. 35 lakhs.

40. The net effect of all the reliefs mentioned so far is a reduction in revenue of Rs. 5.35 crores, raising the prospective deficit to Rs. 20.14 crores.

New and Additional Taxes

41. Before I deal with proposals for new taxation I would mention certain changes proposed in the postal rates. With the rapid development of a net work of air services over the whole country, it has been decided to utilise this facility for accelerating the delivery of mails and transmit all first class mails, namely, letter and post cards as far as possible by air. The existing surcharge on air mails will accordingly be abolished and as all mails will hereafter be carried over as much of the distance as possible by air, it is proposed to revise the existing rates for letters and post cards. The rate for letters will be raised from 1½ annas to 2 annas for the first tola or fraction thereof the rate for each subsequent tola or fraction thereof remaining unchanged at 1 anna. For post cards the present charge of six pies will be raised to nine pies, the rate which was in force prior to the 1st July 1946. The net additional revenue from the revision of these rates and the abolition of the surcharge on air mails is estimated at Rs. 2.84 crores.

42. I now come to the problem of covering the remaining deficit of Rs. 17.3 crores. It is obvious that at the present level of taxation there is now no scope for raising additional revenue by an increase of direct taxes. As regards customs duties, the level of our import duties is, in my opinion, so high that no substantial increase in revenue is likely to result from enhancing them. The levy of export duties has to be carefully regulated with reference, not so much to our revenue needs as to be the need for maintaining and developing the country's export trade which earns the foreign exchange necessary for financing essential imports. While some adjustments may be found possible in respect of import duties and export duties could be utilised to some extent, we can no longer rely on customs duties for raising substantial additional revenue and we shall have to depend increasingly on developing excise duties.

43. I shall first deal with customs duties. I propose to retain on the tariff next year the changes made by ordinance in November last as part of the campaign against inflation and complete the process of raising the duties on

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luxury items, which was then begun, by a number of further changes in the tariff. To this effect I propose to levy a surcharge on liquor equivalent to the basic duty, to raise the surcharge from one-fifth to one-half on fabrics containing silk, artificial silk, woollens and their mixtures and cotton knitted apparel, to double the surcharge on artificial silk yarn and thread, earthenware and china, and to raise the duty on paper (other than newsprint), stationery articles, glass and glassware including sheet and plate glass, cutlery, metal furniture, flashlights, photographic appliances and clocks and watches. The additional revenue from all these changes is estimated at Rs. 2.4 crores.

I also propose to raise the import duty on motor spirit from 12 annas a gallon to 15 annas a gallon. The excise duty will also be similarly raised. This will bring the duty on motor spirit to the level of 1945-46, when consumption of this article was regulated by more severe austerity standards, and bring in an additional revenue of Rs. 2.55 crores, taking Customs and Central Excise together. I have considered the implications of this course on transport and am satisfied that it will not retard the development of transport or add materially to the cost of road transport.

My next proposal is to raise the import duty on betelnuts from 5 annas a lb. to 7½ annas a lb., with the present preference of 6 pies a lb. for imports from British colonies. This will bring in additional revenue and will also be in the interests of the indigenous grower. The yield is estimated at Rs. 1 crore.

In the sphere of export duties I propose a new duty of 15 per cent. *ad valorem* on exports of cigarettes, cigars and cheroots. I am satisfied that this will not affect the export market for these goods. The estimated yield is Rs. 60 lakhs.

44. I now turn to changes in Central Excise Duties. I have already referred to the increase in the excise duty on motor spirit as complementary to the increase in the import duty. I propose further changes in respect of sugar, tyres for motor vehicles and cotton cloth. I propose to increase the duty on sugar from Rs. 3 per cwt. to Rs. 3-12-0 per cwt. which will yield Rs. 1.5 crores. The duty on tyres used for motor vehicles will be raised from 15 per cent. *ad valorem* to 30 per cent. *ad valorem*, which will bring an additional revenue of Rs. 70 lakhs. As regards cotton cloth, as the House is aware, a duty of 25 per cent. *ad valorem* was levied on superfine cloth with effect from 1st January 1949, as one of the measures against inflation. This duty will be continued next year and in addition, it is proposed to levy a duty of 6½ per cent. *ad valorem* on fine cloth and a quarter anna per yard on coarse and medium cloth. The duty will be confined to mill-made cloth and will not be applicable to cloth woven on handlooms. The revenue from this additional duty on cotton cloth is estimated at Rs. 9 crores.

45. The excise duty on cloth has a long and bitter history behind it and I must explain to the House my reasons for introducing it. In the first place, the circumstances in which we are levying the duty today are different from those in which it was levied by a foreign Government in the interests of a foreign industry. In the second place, it is necessary to replace the heavy loss in revenue resulting from the abolition of the salt duty by developing some other equally stable source of revenue. Cloth, with a large internal production and as an article of universal consumption, offers itself as the most obvious choice for a tax on consumption. Thirdly, in the present conditions, as the price of imported cloth remains high and the import duties thereon

have been enhanced considerably, the proposed excise duty is not likely to affect the indigenous industry. I would also mention that this duty is likely to assist the handloom industry. During the war years when there was no control on handloom cloth and supplies for civilian use were restricted the handloom industry had an assured market for its products. With the Indian mills steadily expanding their production and imports from overseas also tending to increase, the advantages which the handloom industry had during the war years will gradually disappear. The excise duty now proposed, which adds slightly to the cost of the mill product, will, in some measure, help the handloom industry to retain its market. From the point of view of the consumer the incidence of this duty, particularly on the middle and lower middle classes using coarse and medium cloth, will be negligible and in view of the substantial revenue that is expected from it I trust the House will accord its approval to it.

46. While on the subject of Central excises, I may mention the question of rationalising the duty on matches, which I have had under consideration for some time. The ideal arrangement will be to have one standard size of matches but owing to practical difficulties in production it is not possible to achieve this. I have therefore decided that two sizes, namely, 40s and 60s should continue in production and I have made some slight readjustment in the rate of duty. Factories whose annual output is less than 5 lakhs gross boxes will now benefit by the levy of a somewhat lower rate of duty. Necessary amendments to the tariff will be made through the Finance Bill but this will not involve any change in the revenue estimates. With the provision of the two sizes I hope that the retail prices will not exceed 6 pies and 9 pies per box and that the consumer will get the benefit of the partial standardisation without any loss of revenue to the exchequer.

Net result of proposals

47. I may now summarise the net effect of all the proposals that I have placed before the House. The various measures of relief which I have suggested in direct taxes will result in a loss of revenue of Rs. 8.1 crores; the abolition of the export duty on oil seeds and vegetable oils will involve a loss of Rs. 1.5 crores; and the rebate of duty on aviation spirit and industrial raw materials will cost a further sum of Rs. 75 lakhs. As I have already stated, this will bring the total loss of revenue to Rs. 5.85 crores, raising the prospective deficit from Rs. 14.79 crores to Rs. 20.14 crores. The increases in customs duties and, the new export duty on cigarettes and cigars will yield Rs. 6.23 crores the net increase in Postal rates Rs. 2.84 crores, and the increases in Central Excise Duties Rs. 11.52 crores. The final effect of these proposals is to convert the prospective deficit into a small surplus of Rs. 45 lakhs.

Conclusion

48. Sir, I have come to the end of my story. It is not pleasant for a Finance Minister to appear before the House with a record of deficits and proposals for additional taxation but a Finance Minister is as much the creature of circumstances as any one else. Part of the heavy expenditure which Government have now to meet is due to extraordinary circumstances and but for these special demands, the budget would have shown a substantial surplus. As I have mentioned earlier, the present economic conditions in the country make it an imperative necessity to balance the budget. In laying fresh burdens of taxation the House will accept my assurance that I have done my best to secure that they are equitable, and that no section of the community is made to pay more than its fair share.

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49. On a survey of world conditions today, I feel that we have good reason for taking a hopeful view of our financial position. We are not alone in having to fight scarcities and inflation. These problems confront most countries in the post-war world. We can, however, take comfort from the fact that, unlike some other countries, our financial position is intrinsically sound. We have only a moderate public debt in relation to our national income and we have considerable external reserves with practically no external debt. We have weathered the storm and stress of the partition and its terrible aftermath. In spite of the heavy demands on our resources for the relief and rehabilitation of refugees, the import of food on an unprecedented scale from overseas and the defence of Kashmir against aggression, we are in a position to balance our budget, without sacrificing any of our essential schemes of development. We have made some headway in the fight against inflation. The curve of production is slowly rising and we have plans in hand for increasing the food production of the country. I do not wish in any way to minimise our difficulties or suggest that we can take a complacent view of the situation. A balanced national budget may, and often does, cover a multitude of ill-balanced family budgets. In this respect, we have still a formidable task ahead of us, the task of fighting want, sickness and poverty and raising the living standards of the millions to whom the emancipation of the country will be a mockery unless it is translated in terms of opportunities for a fuller, freer and better life. This task is not beyond our resources but it requires the co-operation of all classes and sections of the community in a spirit of partnership in a high adventure. I have no doubt that this co-operation will be forthcoming and I pray that my stewardship of the finances of the country may contribute in some degree to the accomplishment of this task.

SUMMARY OF FINAL ESTIMATES

Revenue	(In lakhs of Rs.)	
	Revised 1948-49	Budget 1949-50
Customs	117.25	107.25
Central Excise Duties	50.25	57.75
		+11.52*
Corporation Tax	57.25	41.81
Taxes on Income other than Corporation Tax	190.75	113.19
		-6.10*
Opium	1.08	1.18
Interest	1.42	1.19
Civil Administration	7.05	6.78
Currency and Mint	13.05	9.70
Civil Works	1.02	1.02
Pre-partition Receipts	13.40	...
Other Sources of Revenue	6.52	5.37
Posts and Telegraphs—		
Net Contribution	3.73	1.63
		+2.84*
Railways—		
Net Contribution	7.34	4.72
Deduct—Share of Income-Tax revenue payable to Provinces	-41.79	-43.85
		+3.00*
TOTAL REVENUE	338.32	322.98

*Budget Proposals.

INDIAN FINANCE BILL

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Expenditure	(In lakhs of Rs.)	
	Revised	Budget
Direct demands on revenue	9.88	10.06
Irrigation	8	12
Debt Services	39.91	39.29
Civil Administration	38.35	40.50
Currency and Mint	2.76	2.23
Civil Works	8.15	7.32
Pensions	2.68	2.68
Miscellaneous—		
Expenditure on refugees	19.45	9.85
Subsidy on foodgrains	31.96	32.97
Other expenditure	5.30	5.12
Grants to Provinces, etc.	2.96	2.96
Extraordinary items	2.21	2.06
Defence Services (net)	155.43	157.37
Pre-partition Payments	20.75	10.00
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	339.87	322.53
DEFICIT	-1.55	SURPLUS +45

Mr. Chairman: The Budget papers will now be distributed before the Honourable the Finance Minister moves the next motion standing in his name. One of the papers now distributed is the Report of the Income-Tax Investigation Commission. This has been marked confidential and not meant for publication. Any breach of the obligation by the members of the Press will be regarded as a breach of the privileges of the House.

INDIAN FINANCE BILL, 1949

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai (Minister of Finance): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the year beginning on the first day of April, 1949.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to give effect to the financial proposals of the Central Government for the year beginning on the first day of April, 1949."

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: I introduce the Bill.

The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday the 1st March, 1949.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)
DEBATES
(PART II—PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

Tuesday, 1st March, 1949.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Deputy Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

(See Part I).

11-50 A.M.

REPEALING AND AMENDING BILL.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Minister of Law): Sir, I beg for leave to introduce a Bill to repeal certain enactments and to amend certain other enactments.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to repeal certain enactments and to amend certain other enactments”

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

CANCELLATION OF MEETING FOR 2ND MARCH, 1949

Shri H. V. Kamath (C. P. and Berar: General): Before we proceed to other business, may I bring to your notice the fact that to-morrow's meeting of the Assembly has been cancelled, but we are meeting on Saturday. In view of this may I request you that the questions tabled for to-morrow may be taken up on Saturday.

Mr. B. Pocker (Madras: Muslim): May I know why the meeting for yesterday was cancelled?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I shall refer the honourable member to paragraph 19(a) regarding the allotment of question time during the Budget Session:

“When the question-hour is eliminated owing to the cancellation of a meeting of the Assembly or its adjournment without transacting any business, all the questions, both starred and unstarred, originally entered in the lists of questions for that day will be treated as unstarred questions for the next meeting, and will be printed along with their answers in the Official Report of the latter day. No fresh lists of such transferred questions will be printed but at the next meeting the original lists, marked as unstarred, will be placed in the House in the sets of agenda papers for that meeting.”

Shri H. V. Kamath: May I point out another rule: that the first hour of every day shall be devoted to the answering of questions?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: It is true. That is being complied with so far as Saturday is concerned, because we have no questions tabled for that day!

CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS BILL.

PRESENTATION OF REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy (Minister of Commerce): Sir, I beg to present the report of the Select Committee on the Bill to make provision for the regulation of the profession of accountants.

TEA COMMITTEE FOR INDIA BILL.

PRESENTATION OF REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy (Minister of Commerce): Sir, I beg to present the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to provide for the development of the tea industry under Central control, and for that purpose to establish a Tea Committee for India and levy a customs duty on tea produced in, and exported from, India.

INDIAN JUDICIAL PROCEDURE BILL.

EXTENSION OF TIME FOR PRESENTATION OF REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): I move:

"That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to clarify and modify the law in practice hitherto followed in Criminal applications for special leave to appeal to His Majesty in Council for Criminal cases decided by the Indian Courts, be extended up to the 25th March, 1949."

In the original motion before the House the date is 11th March. With your permission I want to amend this to 25th March.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The question is:

"That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to clarify and modify the law in practice hitherto followed in Criminal applications for special leave to appeal to His Majesty in Council for Criminal cases decided by the Indian Courts, be extended up to the 25th March, 1949."

The motion was adopted.

TIME FOR STUDY OF BUDGET PAPERS.

Begum Aizaz Rasul (U. P.: Muslim): Sir, I want to bring to your notice the fact that the two days that have been allowed to the Members of this House to study the Budget is a very short period and I should like to request you to allot more time for its study before the general discussion of the Budget takes place. In the provinces four days are given to the Members to study the Budget papers before the General Discussion takes place.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Two days have already been allowed—one is a holiday and the other is a working day; all the same honourable members will have two days technically. But I am sure such honourable members as have not been able to study the papers sufficiently will take part in the discussions in the end.

Shri Biswanath Das (Orissa: General): In this connection, may I make a submission, Sir? Even in provinces Members are given more time to study the budget than is given here. This is a very complex budget. We just have one working day and one holiday. Some of us will have to attend committee meetings even on the holiday. Under these circumstances, I would request you to consider the position and extend time.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I am afraid I am unable to do anything in this matter. This matter has already been decided by Mr. Speaker. However, I find that three days have been allotted for General Discussion—we are all accustomed to the General Discussion. So far as voting of Demands for Grants is concerned, more pointed attention may have to be paid to it and I find that nine days have been allotted for it. Therefore, I do not think that the present time table need be altered.

Shrimati G. Durgabai (Madras: General): It is with great pleasure that I rise to support the motion made by the Honourable Minister of Law. I also feel that I should express my deep debt of gratitude to Sir B. N. Rau and his colleagues on the Committee who have bestowed great labour on the report which forms the basis of this Bill.

The Bill to codify the Hindu law when it goes on the Statute Book will be a great landmark in the social history of this country. Before I go in greater detail into the main provisions of this Bill I would like to stress one point. Honourable Members are aware of the fact that the provisions of this Bill are of a permissive or enabling nature. They impose no sort of obligation or compulsion on the orthodox section of the Hindus. Their only effect is to give the growing and clamant body of Hindus, men and women, the freedom to live a life which they wish to live without in any way affecting or infringing their liberty to adhere to the old ways.

I wish to confine my remarks only to one or two main objections that have been raised against the Bill. The first objection is against the attempt at codification itself. It is urged that many of the principles of the Hindu Law are now well-settled, and as it would unsettle the settled law, a code is not called for at all. The other objection is that far from preserving the principles of Hindu Law which have been handed down from generation to generation, an attempt at codification would tend to introduce principles which are quite alien to Hindu society. It has been said that the Legislature has no right to alter the law of *smritis*, *shrutis* and sages of great repute. At 12 Noon another charge against the Hindu Code Bill is that it seeks to introduce changes of a revolutionary character and, therefore, it will destroy the law laid down by *smritis* and *Dharma*. My answer to all these objections is that it is just because many of the principles of the Hindu Law are now well-settled, that an attempt to set down all these principles into a systematised and easily understood code should be made.

Hindu Law as it exists today is rigid without being certain. Many judicial decision and precedents have outlived their usefulness. As an English writer puts it, the case law on the subject has become a luxuriant jungle where it is not possible to see the wood for the trees. There are frequently conflicting decisions of various High Courts given from time to time. Even the decisions of the Privy Council on some of the intricate questions of law are widely felt to be out of accord both with ancient authority and also modern spirit. A uniform and unified law will prove a boon to Hindu society, because it would save considerable time of law students and also practitioners who have otherwise to take a considerable number of years to get to acquire a full grasp of the law. Even the ordinary citizen will also be able to read the code and say to himself, "Within this cover is the whole basis of my rights, privileges and obligations." A code will also minimise the time and labour of Judges and it would also induce the speedy administration of justice. To be without a code is, in my opinion, to be without justice.

The objection that it has introduced changes of a revolutionary character is mainly voiced by vested interests. The subordination of some of the present interests to secure the future interests of the country is always a thing to be welcomed. As a matter of fact, this Code does not really go far enough in that direction and that is my opinion.

The bulk of the agricultural property is excluded from the operation of this Code. Therefore, it is urged that your object to have a uniform law is frustrated. Why attempt a Code at all if this object is defeated? My answer to that objection is this. What is aimed by this Code is to have a

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uniform law for all Hindus, but not a uniform law necessary for all kinds of property. In the interest of agriculture itself, if not for anything else, separate laws and special laws will be enacted by appropriate legislatures which may include a special law of succession which is quite different from the law of succession applying to other forms of property.

Now I come to what I consider as the main objection, that is, the giving of a share to the daughter. This was opposed on many grounds that it would lead to disintegration and fragmentation of property, besides introducing a foreign element in the shape of the son-in-law. And also it is objected to on the ground that the simultaneous heirship of a daughter with a son would simply shatter the Hindu society. Also it is said that if the daughter takes away a share the love of her brothers is lost. It is also said that sons in many families would simply be ruined under the double burden of marriage expenses and also a share to the daughter. May I ask what sort of affection it is of the brothers if only it would involve putting a little more strain on their own self-interest? May I also ask if no share is given to the daughter the sons' love will be greater?

With regard to fragmentation I fail to understand how this question can be raised, as it has already been said that agricultural property is excluded from the purview of this Bill. This point was raised by one of the honourable members of this House and we are all aware that the bulk of agricultural property is excluded from the operation of this code. It would only apply to urban and movable property. What they mean, I feel, by fragmentation is diminution of the share which they will get if the daughter is also given a share. The daughter being of the same flesh and blood should there be so much uproar, I ask, if a share is sought to be given to her?

With regard to the introduction of a stranger into the family my answer is that the property which the daughter takes from her father, if necessary, by legislation may be made to form as part of her separate property. The evil or the good resulting from the legal provision depends also on the particular individual i.e., son-in-law concerned. I do not want to say much about this.

It should be noted that the daughter, as do the sons, demands a share if need be only after the death of the father and there is absolutely no question of her demanding a partition when the father is alive. Therefore I do not see why some honourable members should object to this. As the Law Minister has already dealt with the matter the *smritis* themselves have recognised the share of the daughter to her father's property and therefore there is nothing revolutionary about this and the attempt to exclude the daughter on the ground that she does not contribute to the spiritual benefits of the father or her ancestors is I say unjust and unfair.

In this connection the argument is put forward, why not the daughter take a share in her husband's property and not come to ask for a share in her father's property? This appears to be a compromising formula. I may say straightaway that this compromise formula is not or will not be acceptable to women. We say that we should be recognised on a basis of equality. This code proposes to abolish the distinction that exists on the basis of sex and that should be removed. The daughter should be recognised as an heir and should enjoy her property in her full right as a daughter and as an heir to the father. As regards the question of disintegration I have already dealt with the matter. The evil could be met by different ways. Fragmentation can be stopped and consolidation could be secured by special laws. If the

property goes down to a certain extent that could be sold and the shares could be adjusted. There are different ways how this problem could be tackled and the argument on that score could not be advanced that the daughter should not get a share. Hence the Select Committee has recommended, based on this principle of equality that she should be given an equal share with the son. I appeal to the honourable members of the House to support the recommendation made practically unanimously by the Select Committee in this regard.....

Shri H. V. Kamath (C.P. and Berar: General): Dr. Ambedkar was not in sympathy with that.

Shrimati G. Durgabai: Therefore when it is said that the daughter takes a share both from the father and from the husband and the husband takes nothing, how about this? The Select Committee has recommended that the man also can inherit the wife's property in the same way as the wife inherits the husband's property and also the son will be given a share equal to that of the daughter's in the mother's property just as the daughter claims a share in her father's property. Therefore there should be no difficulty even in this regard. For those who oppose this Bill on these grounds there is one answer given. I do not want to quote because the time is limited and other members are anxious to speak (*Honourable Members*: 'Go on. Take your time'). Mr. V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar pointed out in this connection that those who oppose this legislation on religious grounds labour under a misunderstanding that Hindu law has remained static from the time of Manu. That is not the position.

This takes me on to another subject and that is about the status of women with reference to the holding of an estate absolutely and not in life. The Bill seeks to remove this disqualification attached to woman's estate and it gives her the right to hold property absolutely and not for life only. The main argument in favour of limiting the estate in the case of women is that they are incapable of managing it and also that they are likely to be duped or exploited. Also it is said that they are illiterate and they do not understand the principles of management and hence there will be a strong inducement to designing male relatives to take away her right. My answer to all this is this. The House is aware that the daughter has an absolute estate in Bombay today. Therefore on that ground I do not think they are exposed to any risk. The other argument is that we have scores of instances where women have proved better managers than men. Also there is one more argument. No doubt I agree that women are illiterate but may I ask you how many men are literate? Three out of four men continue to be illiterate today. (*An honourable Member*: 'Nine out of ten'.) Therefore the relative advantage enjoyed by men is confined only to one in four of the male population. (*An honourable Member*: 'They are the sons of their mothers'.) and it should also be remembered that the percentage of literacy among women is rising very much faster today than it is among men. (*Shri H. V. Kamath*: 'Question'.) With regard to the quantum of her share I have already stated the position of the Select Committee. We have recommended an equal share to the daughter. I appeal to you that you should be generous enough to endorse the recommendation made by the Select Committee without any hesitation on your part. I will now come to another subject, namely monogamy. However much I wish to speak on this subject, I do not do it because of the limited time at my disposal. Not only that, but this has been dealt with amply by the honourable the Law Minister and also by several other speakers. Many arguments have been put forward on economic and social and other grounds; even religion and spiritualism have been sought in

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aid to support their arguments. But feelings were expressed in a very light-hearted manner: if only a man is healthy and wealthy, why not he marry and marry again! Also, that if the rule of monogamy is enforced many Hindus will become Muslims in order to secure the benefits of polygamy! I need not answer this question because I have found one lady witness very ably and effectively answering this point. She said that if the rule of monogamy is not enforced, it may be that women will become Christians in order to secure the benefits of monogamy. But neither of them I think is serious.

Shri B. Das (Orissa: General): Do you think a Christian woman is happier than a Hindu woman?

Shrinati G. Durgabai: As the honourable the Law Minister has already stated, the force of world opinion and the practices prevailing in the whole world are there and they are in favour of monogamy. Therefore I need not deal with this matter any more.

Neither have I time nor is it desirable for me to take the other aspects of the Bill because there are other Members who will deal with the questions like marriage and divorce, but I only wish to say something on co-parcenary. The distinction between *mitakshara* and *Dayabhaga* came as a result of the different interpretations put by the commentators and other interpreters. Fundamentally, the basis of joint family is there common to both. The right by birth and the principle of survivorship is a distinctive feature of *Mitakshara*. The *Dayabhaga* system has in actual experience proved very satisfactory and the Bill therefore seeks to replace the *Mitakshara* system of inheritance by *Dayabhaga*. It is said the greater prosperity of the people in Bengal and their increasing commercial enterprise is due to a large extent to the *Dayabhaga* system. I am told that the commercial enterprise of Nattukottai Chettiyars in Madras is largely due to their ideas of legal relations of the members of their families which approximate more to those of partnership than is the case in Brahmin joint families.

Much has been said on this subject, therefore I do not want to labour this point. I feel that the opposition is more due to their love for this ancient institution, but those who oppose it I think oppose it because they forget the fact that Hindu Law and *Dharma* on these matters remain static and no changes have been made. Various judicial decisions have made changes from time to time into this system and the institution has been simply shorn of its characteristics. This point has been very ably answered by a very great lawyer like S. Srinivasa Ayyangar, who said that under the Hindu Law, as authoritatively interpreted by the Privy Council, the unity is broken by any member at any time by a unilateral declaration of his intention to separate from the family. This is quite sufficient to answer that charge against the breaking up of the co-parcenary or the replacement of the *Mitakshara* by *Dayabhaga*.

I do not want to take more time of the House. Many things have happened since the achievement of freedom and India has been participating in international conferences and pleading for human rights and also for equal treatment of Indians in foreign countries. It will be a great misfortune if at this juncture we fail to enact a Hindu Code within our own borders, in which there will be no discrimination and where there will be equality for men and women to move, to develop and to contribute to the re-building of our India. Our Constitution is in the making, we have already passed the Chapter on Fundamental Rights, and recognised the principle of equality of everyone before law. We have also passed the provision enabling ourselves to have a

uniform Civil Code. Therefore, I make this appeal to you. Let us not be wanting or halting in having a Code of Hindu Law for ourselves which will prove a great boon to our own society in the way in which I have already stated.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Ma tra (West Bengal: General): Sir, I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to put in a few words what I feel regarding the motion before the House, namely the consideration of the Hindu Code. I know I am in a position of great disadvantage inasmuch as I could not be present when the Motion was debated during the first two days, as I had to be away from this place. I had, in the few moments I could snatch in the midst of my preoccupations, noticed Press reports that my honourable friend the Law Minister, Dr. Ambedkar had made a magnificent speech in support of this motion. Also, that an equally powerful speech—I am not making any comparison, I rely on reports, though there is a divergence of opinion even among the reporters that an equally powerful speech was made on the other side by Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava.

I listened with considerable attention to the four speeches that have been made in favour of the motion and the one against it. As the debate was going on yesterday, I could see the mood of the House—sometimes hilarious, but when a Member sought to differ from the main provisions of the Bill all manner of gibes and ironical cheers greeted him all through. (Honourable Members: 'No, no.') I am glad it is not so. Well, I think it will give me some encouragement because most members know—I think every single member knows—which way I will speak. I do not know how I came to attain this sort of notoriety—I could not say, fame—that I do not support the provisions of this Bill. I will make no secret of it. (An Honourable Member: Why should you?) because I will speak out my convictions. I know what a delicate task it is for me to be addressing this House, constituted as it is and in the mood in which I find it. I know that I may have to rue the temerity which I have shown by taking courage in both hands to say what I feel. It is rather helpful that immediately before I address this House, I have had the opportunity of listening to my honourable sister, Shrinati Durgabai, who has made a closely reasoned speech in support of this Bill.

I must apologise to my sister for not being able to agree with her in the theories which she has so confidently assumed as being almost accepted by all. She finished her speech with a peroration, appealing to the House to give effect to the principle in the Draft Constitution providing for equality for all in the eye of the law. Yes, we have done that. She also reminded us that we have already passed, as one of the Directive Principles of the Constitution, that there should be a uniform Civil Code for the whole of this country. I am glad she gave me the starting point of my speech today. When this subject was debated a couple of months ago in another place and when it was thrashed out elsewhere informally, I registered a vehement protest against this provision, as I felt that it was nothing but an outcome of shibboleths and slogans—a uniform Civil Code for a country inhabited by 32 to 34 crores of people professing all manner of faiths: Hinduism, Sikhism, Jainism, Buddhism, Christianity; and last but not the least, Islam! I tabled amendments that the personal law should be secure and that this was an encroachment by the State on the personal law of a person which the State had no right to make.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani (U. P.: Muslim): Hear, hear.

Shrinati Renuka Ray (West Bengal: General): That is the reason why you should support this Hindu Code.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: The honourable sister in front of me says that it is the reason why I should support the Hindu Code. May I say that that is the very reason why I am going to oppose the Hindu Code—one of the main reasons. You must be logical. I can understand the feelings of my sisters. Do not think that I am a hater of women, that I am a misogynist, or that I have no feeling for women. (*An Honourable Member:* 'He is a married man'.) Yes I am a married man. I have a humble wife—married according to Hindu shastric rites,—a simple, unsophisticated lady, bred up and nurtured in the ideals of our Hindu homes. (*The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar:* 'What a pity') It is a pity! May be, but I have not much of love or liking for the lavender, lipstick and vanity bag—variety of that sex. I am happy, and I am sure out of every hundred Hindu homes, 98 have got these types of wives and are quite happy. (*An Honourable Member:* 'Why 98? 99.9 per cent; are so') I am glad, a friend says it is 99.9 per cent, recurring. That enforces my argument. So I can tell my honourable friend Dr. Ambedkar that I have not felt the necessity for the drastic changes that he has sought to introduce in this Bill. (*The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar:* 'Neither did I feel any'.) My honourable friend says he also did not feel the necessity. If he did not really feel any necessity for these sweeping changes, then do I take it that it was due to his megalomania that we have got this Hindu Code Bill? I have very great admiration for my honourable friend Dr. Ambedkar, with whom I had the privilege to work for a number of years before this Assembly. I respect him. I know the performance he has been daily putting in in connection with the Constitution Act, (*Honourable Members:* 'Hear, hear') I appreciate him. I admire him. But I will never appreciate what he has been doing in connection with this Social Legislation which is sure to disrupt the Hindu society by the revolutionary changes which very few of us can now realise. (*Honourable Members:* 'No revolution. No, no') Yes, I am glad it is "No, no." If this Bill is passed into law.....

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar: General): No.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: What no?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: It would not be passed into law.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I see. If this Bill is passed into law as it is I will then see who is a better prophet—myself or those who say "No, no."

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi (Madras: General): You wait and see.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Well, wait and see. Posterity will judge, and I do not think you will have to wait till posterity. You will have to wait only till the next General Election to see what the country has to say about you and your work.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani: Hear, hear. Well done.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Sir, the first point raised by my sister Shrimati Durgabai was that having passed that Directive Principle, you should not now object to the Hindu Code. When that Directive Principle was accepted by the House, I thought that the snake had been killed—the Hindu Code Bill,—but I now see that the snake was only scotched; it has reared its head again and will in time spread out its fangs of venom. If you are true to your Directive Principles, if you mean to act on them, then why bring the Hindu Code Bill. Bring a Universal Civil Code applicable to

Hindus, to Christians, (*Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi:* 'Will you support it?') to Parsis, to Sikhs, to Jains, to Buddhists, to Muslims. You dare not touch the Muslims but you know that Hindu society today is in such a bad way that you can venture to do anything with it. Only a few ultra-modern persons, who are vocal, but have no real support in the country, are interested in this Bill. (*Interruption.*)

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Let him proceed.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Millions of dumb people, ignorant but not the less intelligent or sensible simply because they do not have the collegiate education, or are not members of the legislatures, think that such a radical change in their personal law is not called for. They are not to be ignored.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: Then do not draw up the Constitution.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I therefore feel that there is no sincerity in the acceptance of the principle of one uniform Civil Code for the whole country; or else, how could you, within two months of it, come out with this Hindu Code Bill which seeks to govern only the Hindus, Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists?

Shrimati Renuka Ray: Hindu Code came much before.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: You have omitted Christians, Muslims, Parsis.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani: Muslims will never accept any interference in their personal law.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: You need not have reminded me. I know that. I perfectly appreciate the proposition of my honourable friend Maulana Hasrat Mohani. But all the same, I think this is a fundamental departure from the accepted principle in the Constitution.

When my honourable friend Shrimati Durgabai said that codification is justified. She tried to prove that an irresistible case had been made out for codification. With all respect to my sister Shrimati Durgabai I submit I stand unconvinced. I can understand the necessity for codification when the law is in a state of flux or that there is much diversity of opinion, or a good deal of vagueness or uncertainty about it. Codification should in such a case be undertaken by the best legal brains in the country sitting together to give shape to the various principles of law which are more or less in a confusing or uncertain state. Is that the case with regard to Hindu law in this country?

Shri Krishna Chandra Sharma (U. P.: General): It is.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I accept your statement, but I feel deep regret for the colossal ignorance you have exhibited. Hindu law, if my honourable friend is a lawyer and holds that view, he has not practised. He will please excuse this friendly retort. I can stand interruptions. If you interrupt me you will be only adding ginger to my speech. After the advent of the British to this country, the Hindu law got gradually crystallised. They did not dare to touch the personal law of the people of the country.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: They brought in limited estate for women.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I am coming to that straightaway. If I forget to reply to that point, kindly remind me. Hindu Law is such a vast subject that I can talk for hours on it, if the Chair permits me to do so. I assure you, Sir, I am not going to do that.

I protest in the first place against the manner in which this Bill has been sought to be smuggled into this House and through this House. It is an extraordinary procedure, Mr. Deputy-Speaker.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I object, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, to this insult to the House.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: It is not a point of order.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: This is a point of order, Sir. I object to the remarks made against the House.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: 'Smuggling' I have never understood to be an unparliamentary word. If the honourable member thinks that there is any stigma attaching to it, I would use another word in substitution thereof. I would say that the haste with which this Bill is sought to be passed in the House is extraordinary. Is that also an unparliamentary word? If so, give a parliamentary expression for that. You cannot find a substitute for it. (*An Honourable Member:* 'Commendable speed'). It is a most extraordinary procedure that has been adopted in this House. I have some little experience of parliamentary activity in this House. I have never known an occasion when a Bill of this importance and magnitude has been sought to be passed in the way it is done now.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad (Bihar: General): It will never be passed. (*Interruption*)

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I like interruptions but I could not catch what he said. If the honourable members think that by constantly interrupting me in this way the effectiveness of my speech will be marred they are mistaken.

The Bill was introduced on the last day of the last Budget session.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Last hour.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: You know very well how a Bill of this importance and magnitude, a Bill which seeks to regulate the life and conduct of Hindu society was introduced on the last day of the last session; how at the end of the day's work we sat beyond 5 o'clock for two hours and the honourable the Minister for Law was allowed to make a speech committing it to a Select Committee only three or four speakers, under a rigid time limit were allowed to speak and at 7 o'clock after a short session the motion was carried. Thereafter what happened? It went to the Select Committee. The Select Committee reported on it and on the motion for consideration of that report points of order were raised in this House. I am not going to enter into the merits of those vital points of order. They were disposed of. So great was the impatience that in the last session the honourable the Law Minister wanted to simply say that the Bill be taken into consideration and there was no speech. It was somehow got into the agenda. Very well it was done. Points of order were ruled out and it was found that it was within the competence of the House to go on with the measure as reported by the Select Committee. Now look at the way in which it is being dealt with now. In the short interlude between the Railway Budget and the General Budget this is sought to be pushed through. There is no seriousness about it. Nobody feels its importance. The country at large is bewildered by the way in which we are dealing with a piece of legislation of this far reaching importance. If you attach real importance to it, if you really mean business, if you want that something should be done by way of revising the Hindu law as it is

today, this is certainly not the way to do it. Keep the Bill for a special session. For small Banking Bills and the like you are devoting days and days. That being the case, do you mean to say that a Bill which seeks to regulate the life and conduct of the Hindu community should be dealt with in the haphazard way in which it is sought to be done? I enter my emphatic protest against the way in which this important legislation is being considered. You know how at 8 o'clock yesterday there was the Supplementary Demand for Railways and later in the day the General Budget came in. I wish to submit, Mr. Deputy Speaker that I have not been accustomed to this kind of procedure with regard to Bills of this nature. I ask the old Members of the Legislature to recall a single precedent for this.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: There is none.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Sir, the question is, is there any real necessity for codification. I see absolutely none, because, as my learned friend Shrimati Durgabai said, the Hindu law is well settled and it has held the field for about hundred years. The ancient Hindu law, when the Britishers came here, was interpreted with the help of Indian Pandits. They used to call them Judge Pandits who ransacked all the *Smritis* and *Dharma Shastras* and interpreted the law. This process continued till they succeeded in evolving from the vast mass of *Smritis* and *Nibhandhanas* and usages a system of judicial principles constituting the Hindu law which now hold the field.

Sir, it is well known that the Hindu Law has the oldest pedigree of all the known systems of jurisprudence in the world.

Dr. Mono Mohan Das (West Bengal: General): It is unjust.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Yes, the Hindu law is unjust! Hindu society is unjust! Hindus are unjust! It is not possible for anybody to reply to an interruption that the Hindu law is unjust. It took only three words to compose that interruption. I do not know if I have the capacity to reply to a sweeping charge like that made in three words 'It is unjust'. Whether a system is good or bad, it is for the society to judge; it is not for disappointed or disgruntled persons to judge. But I may say that the one surest proof of its soundness is that it has been able to stand the test of centuries. No system which is intrinsically bad, unsound or unjust can endure for a long time. Hindu law and the Hindu social system governed by it have been able to withstand the shocks and revolutions which have swept over the country during the ages past. Historic cataclysms have swept off the feet ancient civilisations of countries like Greece, Rome, Assyria, Babylonia—which have all crumbled down—whereas Hindu culture or community, which cannot date its origin, still continues to function with all the vigour and vitality, and I am sure, Providence will allow it to function, till we set about to undermine its very foundations, by legislating in these reckless and light-hearted ways. If there was anything essentially weak in the foundations of Hinduism it would not have been able to survive the upheavals that overwhelmed it throughout its long and chequered history. This country has been subjected to foreign rule for over a thousand years. History will tell you how she has shown her wonderful adaptability, reflection will reveal to you that the Hindu law has had in it the germs of flexibility and adaptability which have enabled it to adjust itself at all times to the changing needs and to meet the challenges of the times.

Shrimati G. Durgabai: Hear, hear.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: There is a change now. (*Interruptions*).

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I am glad that I get a spate of interruptions, which gives me breathing time. Please do that singly. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am not so big a fool as to hope that many will be convinced by what I say, but I do hope that someone of us at least, may give some little thought to what I say. I earnestly plead that Hinduism, the Hindu Law; the Hindu culture have got immemorial traditions, age-long moorings, which it would not perhaps be wise for us to sweep away by one stroke of the pen. I make this appeal to my friends to the right and to the left. Sir, I am apprehensive this is just what the present Hindu Code Bill is going to do for us. I do not find anything Hindu about it. It can be more properly called an 'un-Hindu' or 'Anti-Hindu' Code.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad (West Bengal: Muslim): Muslim Code.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Whatever else it may be, it is not a Hindu Code. It does not breathe the spirit of Hinduism; it reeks of un-Hindu ideas: a spirit of supreme contempt for anything Hindu permeates the whole Bill from the beginning to end.

Shri H. V. Kamath: What is the Hindu spirit?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Sir, do you call that Hinduism? You please think over your system of marriage and inheritance which form the corner-stones of Hindu system or Hindu society; are you going to undermine it in the way in which you are going to do? That is the question that you will have to answer not only to us here but to our countrymen outside and to the posterity.

Sir, I do feel that if we codify the law in the way it is sought to be done, as a simple intellectual pastime, codification for the sake of codification, I will plead with my honourable friends that it is unwise to do that. It is not necessary. No need for it has been felt by anybody. Look at the opinions of the judges of the different High Courts and the district courts. They are the people who have to administer the Hindu law. Has the Government got a vast volume of opinion embodying the demands from the judiciary that Hindu law requires codification and that also in the way in which it is sought to be done? No. Has there been such a general demand from the people who have to guide themselves, guide their lives and conduct by the provisions of this law? Have they demanded it? Has there been that kind of demand? My honourable friend to the right says: No. It is perfectly correct.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: He supports you.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: My honourable friend says: he supports me. He supports truth. The country will be taken by surprise at what we are doing. Let us not lay the flattering unction to our souls that we are doing a wise thing. I know I cannot deceive myself in the way in which you are doing. Even if it were wise, I would not have thought it necessary to attempt that codification, because of the reasons I have given. You cannot give any uniformity to it whatsoever; and if Hinduism is anything, it is because of its fundamental unity in the midst of diversity. That constitutes the essence of Hinduism, Hindu law and Hindu culture. In a vast country like this you cannot expect a uniformly standardized sort of life ignoring the natural variety. If you did it, it is no wonder that you would come to grief. You may not realize it just now, but realization would come when the time comes. After all even after this codification, is it going to serve your end? I say: no. The honourable member from Mysore yesterday made a speech. He said: Now the work has been made so simple that by buying a publication worth four annas

or six annas you could know exactly what the Hindu law stood for. So many friends shout 'quite right', 'quite right', but do these enthusiasts realize that even the sponsor of the Bill does not pretend that he is going to codify the whole law of the Hindus? In the preamble he makes a modest claim, not that kind of preposterous claim; He says:

"Whereas it is expedient to amend and codify certain branches of the Hindu law now in force in the Provinces of India,"

Therefore what is proposed to be done is to codify certain branches, such as the law of marriage, law of inheritance and law of adoption. Broadly speaking these are the main things.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: What is left?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: My honourable friend asks what is left in the Hindu Law. Does my honourable friend think that this is all that the Hindu Law stands for? These three branches cover the entire field of Hindu life and activity in this country? I can only sympathise with his ignorance. What about joint family property, partition, joint family business, religious and charitable trusts, gifts, transfer *inter vivos*, and other things? They constitute a much vaster field which is left uncovered.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: Wills is also referred to.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: A mere reference to Wills does not mean that it has received a full and comprehensive treatment. In any case, I am grateful to Dr. Ambedkar. He is modest; he never claims to have brought forward an exhaustive Code. If my honourable friends on my right think this is all the Hindu Code, they are out Ambedkaring Ambedkar. Sir, even if this Hindu Code is adopted in the form in which it has been brought before us, it will fail of its purpose for another reason also. My honourable sister Durgabai and my honourable friend from Mysore said yesterday, well, why do you worry about this: this will not lead to fragmentation of agricultural property. I do not know whether they realised that they were furnishing one of the strongest arguments for rejecting this Bill. Unconsciously, my sister and brother have furnished one of the strongest arguments for the rejection of the Bill outright. You are going to regulate the disposition of property. It is now generally accepted that 90 per cent. of the immovable property in this country is in the villages, in the provinces, leaving aside the Centrally administered areas. Therefore, they would be out of the purview of this Code. To house or other immovable property inside the Centrally administered areas, directly under the Government of India, this Code will apply. Then, how is this claim satisfied that this Code applies to all the Hindus in all provinces? This is a very strong argument for throwing out the Bill; throwing out on the ground that it fails in its objective. Besides the three categories I have mentioned, there are so many things which have yet to be covered. The argument would be that provincial agricultural land is purely a provincial subject according to the Constitution Act; so also are religious and charitable trust properties, so also joint family property, and partition, self acquisitions, etc. When this vast field would lie uncovered, I ask the House seriously whether they are really satisfied with the claim of those who think that this is going to be an exhaustive Code or an all embracing Code and that it provides the panacea for all the social and economic ills to which Hindu flesh is heir to. Do they really believe that the 139 sections will be the vitamin tablets which will go to vitalise the whole Hindu society? You may hold that view; the House may hold that view; I do not hold that view. On the other hand, I think this is premature, absolutely premature. Even if the Hindu Code be passed into law, it could not come into force until all the provincial Governments pass

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different category is put; the ambit of the prohibited degrees is narrowed down, so much so that the marriage in many cases becomes purely incestuous marriages. I do not understand, Sir, what necessity was there for this unless we by this measure, want to give direct encouragement to all manner of moral looseness and lawlessness, which unfortunately is invading the youth of this country. Are we here going to give this the *imprimatur* of our sanction? That is the question I would ask my honourable friend very seriously to consider and answer, not in a spirit of banter or levity but with all the seriousness that a difficult social problem demands.

I feel that the basic conception of Hindu marriage has suffered the rudest possible shock by introduction into it of the matter of divorce which is so repugnant to Hindu notions of marriage. Hindu marriage, as ought to be known to every one who professes himself to be a Hindu, who honestly takes pride in calling himself a Hindu, as I myself do, is a sacrament and not a civil contract and as such it will not be difficult for him to admit that divorce is absolutely foreign to its concept. Union by marriage, according to the Hindu Shastras is sacred and absolutely indissoluble (*Interruptions*). If you want me to cut short my speech you will kindly interrupt me only on important matters. I am not afraid of interruptions—I know how to answer them, I can answer them in my own way. But if you keep on interrupting me, my speech will be unduly long and you also may not feel happy over the replies I will give.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: It ought to be so.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: The institution of divorce in this country, or in any country for the matter of that, has not been found to promote the well-being of the community for whose benefit it exists. As an humble student of sociology, I have had occasions to read reports of matrimonial courts. An honourable Member referred to Judge Lindsay and I believe he also had in view the "Revolt of the Youth". I do not know whether my honourable friend realised that he unconsciously provided one of the stronger arguments for opposing this form of marriage when he referred to that great Judge. I want honourable members carefully to consider if within the family circle we should permit matrimonial alliances to spring up between a person and his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, as has been provided in this Hindu Code.

Shri H. V. Kamath: It is common.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: It may be common in South India, but South India is not the whole of India. My whole point is that if there is a particular form of practice in a particular part of the country, you should not go out of your way to see that it is provided for the whole country.

I come from a province which is not in the South. It is a backward province, educationally, culturally—call whatever you like that benighted backward province of Bengal. I know of the domestic conditions of the families inhabiting there. Go to any Hindu household in Bengal, you will find that besides the sons, daughters and other natural heirs, all manner of relations, sisters, sons, nephews, nieces, maternal uncles' sons, uncles' daughters all knit together and maintained in the joint family system. They are all regulated and restrained by moral and religious influences. You will find it in almost every household.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Minister of Law): What is the difficulty?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I shall tell you where the difficulty is. There is no difficulty for those who have no family of their own. The difficulty happens in this way. For dividing trouble here I shall illustrate with reference to myself. If in my family 'my sons, daughters, father's sisters' daughters and sons, mother's daughter's sons and daughters etc. sister's daughters were to live together, and if one of my sons contracts intimacy with his first cousin even when he is a minor or an adolescent, knowing human nature being what it is, do you eliminate the possibility of this attachment growing up and culminating in marriage? If you do, you are poor students of history, poor students of sociology and poor students of psychology. After all, the call of human flesh is there and no legislation, however omnipotent can root out this natural and powerful impulse in mankind. If you sanction matrimonial unions between blood relations,—between closest relations in the household, I shudder to think what would happen to society?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Nothing.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Nothing of course, if you do not care for society; nothing, of course, if you believe in a kind of society only where there are only social butterflies sucking honey here and there and making merry; but I am for a society which has attained or will attain for India the position which is her own, the position for which she is respected all the world over. If you throw away all these things, if you put up a sort of Vademecum, a Hindu Code, where you find all sorts of marriages, between first cousins and blood-relations sanctioned, if you legalise all these incestuous marriages the society will be a sink of moral degradation.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: We protest against the use of the word 'incestuous'. It is very wrong to condemn outright a system which is prevailing in large parts of the country. It is a reflection on a whole province.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Therefore, I cannot but raise my voice of protest against such a system, because I believe that marriage between first cousins is not conducive to the well being of society from the biological and eugenic points of view and is opposed to the notions of Hindu Law.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: No, no.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Thus, not only from the point of view of society, but also for the peace and purity of family life, I want that this should be condemned. It is immoral and outrageous.

Sir, my honourable sister, Durgabai, said quite rightly, that monogamy should not be opposed. I do not know of any honourable Member in this House who really does not want monogamy. Monogamy everyone of us want, not for our mere likes; circumstances have forced us to accept this monogamous marriage. It is a fact. Polygamy has passed away completely from the upper classes of this country not by legislation. That is my main contention. If you want to eradicate a social evil you should work up from within not from above. If my honourable friends look to the history of this country, they will find my position amply proved. We all know the miseries and sufferings of Hindu widows. There are so many cases of child and young widows which break our hearts or at any rate it ought to break our hearts. In fact, in the past generation, the late Pandit Vidyasagar of hallowed memory was so much moved by it that he got passed the Hindu Widow Remarriage Act. But the country was not prepared for it and what was the result? The Act virtually became a dead letter and has remained so till now. That is bound to be the fate of all social legislation which have not originated from a demand from within the society.

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I was telling the House that polygamy has virtually disappeared from the country for a variety of reasons such as a growing sense of responsibility in conjugal life, growing consciousness among womanhood and above all the interplay of all manner of forces, most important of which is economic, which makes it impossible to indulge in the luxury of having many wives at the same time. Therefore I say there is no necessity for any legislation for it. It has automatically died out: the custom has fallen into disuse. It may be argued that there are some strata of society where it prevails. There also I want to sound a note of warning. You cannot stop it by force or compulsion. You have got to create public opinion and when these unfortunate brethren of ours come to realise the evils of this system they will discard it. If, on the other hand, without bringing up their standard, without creating a consciousness in them by education and public opinion you try to thrust your legislation down their throats, I would request you to realise the effect that it will have on them. Just as my honourable sister was telling us they will say: This is our society; it is such a castiron mould and they would not allow us to have another wife. We will go to another form of society, embrace another religion where this is permissible. Any sociologist, any man interested in social reform will have to pay heed to that as well. The fear is not altogether an unfounded one. Anyway I feel that if you codified the Hindu law, all that should have been done was to prescribe the essentials of marriage,—the requirements on the part of the contracting parties, their ages, their mental and physical capacity, prohibited degrees of relationship and things like that. Those who believe in social ceremonies and functions, may go through the form of ceremonial marriage but the essentials of marriage should not be allowed to vary between civil marriage and sacramental marriage. If there is a demand in the country for inter-caste marriages I will not stand in its way. If people want to marry outside their castes let them by all means invoke the provisions of the Civil Marriage Act of 1874. There is nothing at present to stand in the way of people who are anxious to marry outside their castes. If there are *bona fide* attachments among intercaste boys and girls it is not that we want to stop or prevent them. They have got the facilities open to them even under the existing law, the law to which I referred earlier. You can change that law. You can repeal or modify certain provisions so that people marrying under that Act will have their children governed not by the Indian Succession Act as at present but by the Hindu Law. I have no objection to that but I fail to understand why in a Hindu Code side by side with the sacramental marriage you are allowing civil marriage. This must be completely taken out of the Code which should have nothing to do with it. There may be a separate civil marriage law for all.

Sir, I personally feel that if you insist on having the question of divorce in it, then you will have to face the music of it everywhere in the country and unless as public men you have your ears stuffed with cotton, as most public men among us have, you will have to pay very very dearly for it. In any case as a Hindu I emphatically protest against the introduction of this heterodox concept of divorce into the scheme of Hindu marriage.

Now let us come to the question of inheritance. There has also been an innovation in this regard though I do not want to go into very great details. But there also I would like to tell my honourable sister, Shrimati Durgabai, that we are firm believers in the judgment of the Hindu law-givers of old; we are firm believers in the equality of the sexes, though not in the sense in which she talks or her friends talk. Equality must be in the sense of equality of opportunity. You cannot make physically man and woman the same.

Equality must therefore have some other meaning. There is no feeling of inferiority attached to women, there is no discrimination with regard to the education of daughters or their marriage. Our shastras have provided:

“*Kanyapyevam Palaniya, Shikshaniyatigatnat Deya Boraya Vidusha, Dhana Ratna Samanvita.*”

It means that the daughter also should be educated in the same way as boys, and, in the fullness of time, given over in marriage to a proper groom with dowry including rich jewellery. And in my society, in the Hindu society it is enjoined:

“*Yatra Naryastu Pujyante, Ramante Tatra Devata.*”

It means that Gods bless the households where women are honoured.

Women folk has been accorded such a high and exalted place in Hindu society. I do not deny that there may be hard cases: there are hard cases, where women are not treated in the way they ought to be. But if you have fallen off the ideal of your sages, your saints, your law-givers or your leaders they are not to blame for they have not let you down. The blame attaches to us. If you cannot approximate to the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi in your conduct but preach them in season and out of season or take his name in everything but not follow in his footsteps, the fault is not Mahatmaji's; the fault is ours. Similarly you cannot impugn your Hindu Shastras or law-givers. They have set the standards quite high and it is for you to act up to them. Notwithstanding our best efforts it is not possible to eliminate every case of injustice or hardship. Human institutions are imperfect. No human ingenuity can devise any procedure, any machinery or any agency by which all possibilities of social injustice can be completely eliminated. Let us be frank about that and let us try to realise that.

My honourable friend said in connection with the management of property that she knows of women who are better managers of property.....

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil (Minister of Works, Mines and Power): Of men also!

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Exactly, of men also. I do not think there is any single married man in this House who will dispute that proposition. In the household she is the ruler; she is all in all. The tallest of us. The Law Minister or his honourable colleague will have to crouch before her; however much he may thunder here. There you are ruled not by the rod, but by a strange sort of a whip, a soft, sweet silken cord made up of filaments of love which takes off all harshness and roughness, and menfolk have cheerfully submitted to her rule. She is the queen of the household. Many married people, I think most married people, would frankly admit that.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: That is how we have cheated them.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: We are now going to cheat them by this Code. Do you think the greatest justice will be done to them if you simply give them right to property. Mr. Chairman, according to the Hindu notions, a girl has a distinct position, a role entirely different from that of a son. Any honourable member who has read Sanskrit literature or has any knowledge of it—I cannot make any presumption either way, whether most people know it or no one knows it.....

An Honourable Member: The Law Member knows it.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: He may know it, he is a scholar. Well, in *Sakuntala* of our immortal poet, after the marriage of *Sakuntala* and her departure to her husband's place, there occurs a *Shloka* which is classical and which gives you in a nutshell how the Hindu law-givers and the Hindu society

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look upon their girlhood. Immediately after Sakuntala left the hermitage for her husband's place, sage Kanwa said, "Today I feel relieved":

"*Artho Hi Kanya Parakiya Eva Tam Adya Sampreshya Pratigrahitu. Jati mamayang Bishadah Prakamam. Pratyarpit Nyasa Ivantaratma.*"

"This my heart, my inner self today has been relieved of a heavy burden and I get that inner pleasure of relief." What was that burden? A daughter in the family is like a trust deposit of somebody else's money and just as one feels relieved as soon as that trust or deposit is made over to his rightful owner. So do I feel today having made over Sakuntala to her husband (*Interruption*). Not in these days of law of limitation but I am talking of those days. "Nyasa", means a deposit, trust. If my honourable friend Dr. Kamath wants further interpretation, I am perfectly willing to give that outside the Chamber.

Shri H. V. Kamath: But I am not a doctor?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: More than a doctor; you are doctor, philosopher, lawyer, and legislator. I have great respect for you; you are a nice chap and above all a great patriot.

Sir, that is the conception of girls. So, if the Hindu law-givers did not give them a right of ownership equal to that of the son in the family, it was not because of any aversion, not because of any dislike but because of the simple reason that the girl is made for her husband's family; she is not to become a part and parcel of the family where she is born. That is the whole thing. And therefore no question of injustice or inequality arises. I do not know of any school of Hindu law prevalent in any part of the country where a daughter has been given a distinct share equal to that of the son in the property of her father.

Shri A. Karunakara Menon (Madras: General): It exists in Malabar.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I am glad that in the South they have got so many things.

Sreematty Annie Mascarene (Travancore State): In Travancore too, sons and daughters share equally.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I am grateful for this information but all such information emerges from the South; and if my friends from the South ...

Shrimati Hansa Mehta: (Bombay: General): Are they not Hindus in the South?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Yes but if they are proud of all that in the South, let them not deny us our legitimate right to feel proud of our manners and customs in the North and North-East. That is my humble submission to them. I do not like this type of argument. Because some order of succession, some order of inheritance prevalent in Bombay or some other part has been found suitable there, therefore it must be bodily transplanted into Bengal and elsewhere regardless of all considerations whether it is a plant which can grow and thrive in that particular soil. If a particular institution has been found to work very satisfactorily in the South, it must be allowed to work there; But if it is not found suitable for the soil of the North or the soil of the East or the soil of the West, I do not see any reason or justification for forcibly transplanting it there.

In fact my one very serious objection to the Hindu Code is this: for this craze for theoretical uniformity you ignore completely variety; you have got these things in this part and those things in that part; that itself shows that in this vast country of ours, peculiar social manners and customs have developed

according to the needs of particular places or areas. They must be left undisturbed. In clause 7, however, the Bill provides an overriding power by which all usages, immemorial customs which have the sanction of law should be scrapped. I think it is clause 7.

An Honourable Member: It is clause 4.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I will take it on my friend's authority. Sir, this in my opinion, is highly objectionable. Clear Proof of usage outweighs the written text of Law. This is a well established dictum.

There are diversities of customs and manners because of the diverse needs of the people that compose this vast continent. And therefore:

*Veda vibhinna Smritayah vibhinna,
Nasau munir Yasya matam Na Bhinnam.
Dharmasya Tattvam Nihitam Guhayam.
Mahjano yena Gatah Sa Pantha*

An Honourable Member: Let us all be mahajans.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Mahajan does not mean a moneylender.

That is the most unkindest cut of all. That indicates the depth to which society has fallen. We cannot think except in terms of rupee or dollar or shilling or pence. Mahajan has been variously interpreted: as great men; or majority of men. Take it in whatever sense you like:

*Veda khila Sadachar Swashya cha Priyamatmana,
Yasmin Deshe Yadachara.....*

I do not want to weary this House with a lot of other quotations but this is such a subject that I cannot altogether avoid it if I am to convince honourable Members of the justice of my Contention based on Hindu shastras. I have to make myself clear before the House. It may reject what I say; it does not matter; but I represent a constituency—not a purely territorial one—but the constituency of a vast body of men and women who believe in Hinduism and Hindu Society governed by the injunctions of Hindu sages of old. Sir, I represent for the time being the views of that constituency. It is true that I have been returned to this Constituent Assembly by indirect election—with four or five votes only, but I may assure the House that I have fought some of the most contested elections in the country from some of the most important constituencies. Immediately before coming to this Constituent Assembly I was representing the city of Calcutta in the Central Legislature. Before that, I was representing the Presidency Division composed of several districts with lakhs and lakhs of people, and the Presidency Division is admitted to be one of the most cultured divisions in India. I know the people. I know their pulse. My native town is a famous seat of ancient classical learning. It is my district Nadia, in Bengal, that gave the new schools of *smritis*, *Tantras*, *Naya*, *Baishnava* Philosophy etc. I am not digressing but I shall be failing in my duty to the inheritors of this great culture if I did not try to place before the House their views and ideas with regard to these matters of the Hindu Code. I owe it to myself and to my community to give my views so that judgement may not go against us by default. Anyway, Let me hurry on.

I have shown you the place, the honour, which our *Shastras* have given to our women. The famous queen Indumati was dead and King Ajah was bemoaning her death thus:

*Grihim Sachiva Mittah Sakhi Priya Shishya Lalita Kalavidhan,
Karuna Bimalkhena Mrityuna Harata vade King Na Ma Hritam*

"Oh ruthless God of Death! What have you not taken away from me? What mischief have you not done to me? By one blow, you have taken away one, who was my *Grihini*—you know what *Grihini* means, the queen of the

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house—who was my *Sachiva*—*Sachiva* means Minister. She was my minister. Not only was she the queen of my family but my minister, my bosom friend in privacy and my devoted playmate in love."

That, Sir, is the position which our womenfolk used to occupy in our society. Therefore, it cannot be said that out of sheer greed, grouse, animosity or jealousy or whatever you call it, the womenfolk has been relegated to a position of inferiority. If she has not been given a district status in respect of inheritance co-equal with the son, it is because she is meant for some other family than her father's and that the property is to be settled with the persons who will keep up the family, who will maintain the lineage and preserve the sanctity of the family traditions, manners and customs and who will continue the practices and the ceremonies of the family. As soon as a girl is married she becomes integrated into another family; and according to the Hindu conception the status of a wife in the husband's family is a most respectable status—far more respectable than the status of the girl in her own father's house. I will again quote Kalidas' *Shakuntala*. When Queen *Shakuntala* could not be recognised by King *Dushyanta*, who said: "I do not remember to have married you." Thereupon *Shakuntala* was exhorted by the Rishi to remain in her husband's House even as a maid as that was a more honourable position than to be in her father's place.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: That is how men behave!

Shri M. Tirumala Rao (Madras: General): He was suffering from loss of memory.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: No, he was not suffering from loss of memory. It was because King *Dushyanta* was under a curse by which he was to forget everything connected with his marriage; not that he was guilty of a deliberate moral lapse. Amazing ignorance!

Shri B. N. Munavalli (Bombay States): What an excuse!

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I am not the author of *Shakuntala*. Call it an excuse or whatever you like, I do not mind. But I quoted *Shakuntala* because its author Kalidas is a world Poet commanding respect all over the world; and notwithstanding all your disparagement of *Shakuntala*, it will remain the ideal literary master-piece of the world for all time. There ought to be some limit to which disparagement of our national institutions, culture and traditions can be tolerated. Mr. Chairman, I am reminded of a very famous passage in Plato—I cannot recall his words exactly now—but he said, in effect: "Anybody who is false to his nation's traditions, to his glorious heritage and culture is a traitor and is a person who should be given capital punishment". I do not understand the patriotism of those, the nationalism of those, who have nothing but contempt and jeer for anything that is their ancient culture and heritage.

Shri H. V. Kamath: You have misunderstood. Nobody is against our ancient culture.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: We might differ on many matters in connection with this Code, but nobody's purpose will be served—neither mine, nor yours—by trying to belittle our great ancient sages. They are not coming here for your applause. They do not care for your radio propaganda and newspaper flashes. They did what they considered to be in the best interests of the Community. If today you are going to make a daughter co-equal with the son in regard to inheritance, I am afraid a good deal of complications would arise. When the girl knows that she is getting a share in her father's property, when her brothers know that their sister is a cosharer and as such the property will pass off to some other family with her marriage, whose interest would it be to marry off the girl? I want to know.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Her own.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: My honourable friend says it will be the girl's own interest to marry as quickly as possible. I feel, Sir, that such a girl will find many a pitfall lying about her way.

Shrimati G. Durgabai: You distrust her?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Not a question of distrust. The Hindu sages have provided that marriages should be negotiated in the best interests of the pair by the guardians of the pair.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: What did *Shakuntala* do?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I know that *Shakuntala* did not marry that way, but my friend and sister's interruption reminds me of a story. A man had the *Mahabharatha* and the *Ramayana* recited in his house for six months. Thereafter, he asked his daughter: "You have heard the story. What is the lesson you derive?" "Well," replied the daughter, "from the *Mahabharatha* I learn that I can have five husbands as *Draupadi* had five husbands." From the whole of the *Mahabharatha* this is all that she learnt. Enquired about the lesson she derived from the *Ramayana*, the daughter in law replied, "It is very clear. As soon as my husband dies, I can be married to my husband's brother." "You know what happened after *Ravana* died, his widow *Manodari* married his brother *Bibhisana*." Sir, according to Hindu law there have been several systems of marriage. There was the *Gandharva* form of marriage for which we have not provided here, though we have the provisions in the Code for Civil Marriage to cover all manner of such cases. So, I say that in an ordinary Hindu house-hold, under this codified Hindu Law, you are going to bring about a change in the relationship between the various members. Is this going to make for the sweetness of relationship or peace in home life?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: By no means.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: There is not going to be that sweet relationship between brothers and sisters and sisters' husbands that now exists, because after a girl is married, she will have her husband or her son or somebody else in her father-in-law's house to control the property of her father's family and there is bound to be bitterness, bad blood and jealously litigation and all the rest of it. Ultimately the family will break up. Are we going to enact a Code which will facilitate the breaking up of our households? Will the *summum bonum* of Social life be reached when every single family is broken up and domestic peace driven away? It is for you to consider whether this should be done. I feel that these things are bound to happen.

Sir, a girl may be educated. But after her marriage when she goes to her father-in-law's house she is being guided and dictated in all matters either by her husband or by some relation of his and it will not be in her interest to endow her with a share in her father's property by legislation here. You will say you will pass another legislation to prevent her from being dictated in respect of the property she has got from her father. If you are going to endlessly legislate in that way, in order that you may have the intellectual satisfaction of having a Hindu Code, I would leave you alone. I therefore think that this is a revolutionary change and this should not be introduced. This does not mean that I am against making provision for girls. By all means make provision for them. Make any provision for unmarried girls. Make her marriage, and her education the first charge on her father's property. Make it absolute charge on that property so that on her marriage when she will be absorbed in the family of her husband she will be divested of her interest in her father's property. But that is not what you are doing. You talk of equality of sex

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justice and fairness but are allowing the girl the right to inherit not only her father's property equally with the son, but also to share her husband's property or father-in-law's property. This is equality with a vengeance. The girl should not get property from both sides. This will also lead to further fragmentation of property.

Shrimati G. Durgabai: The boy will get a share of his mother's property?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: A daughter whether married, unmarried or widowed will get her mother's property. Let my honourable friend read the Hindu Law. Even as it is, under the Hindu Law, all categories of daughters are entitled to *Streedhana* property.

Shrimati G. Durgabai: No, no, no, no.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I say, yes, yes, yes, yes. Thus the daughter is provided according to the present Hindu law. I cannot go on correcting the misapprehensions of others. The Hindu law is there. The members of the legal profession know it. I need not labour the point, I believe, that there is sure to be more fragmentation. This will inevitably lead to increased testamentary disposition and consequent litigation and ultimate ruination.

An Honourable Member: Already there is fragmentation.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Yes, but two wrongs do not make one right. Because there is fragmentation already, is no argument for making provision for further fragmentation in the shape of more shares to property.

Sir, in this field of inheritance, another innovation has been introduced and I think that is the most devastating of all changes.

Shri B. Das: That is not the principle of the Bill. You can drop it.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: What is the principle of the Bill?

Shri B. Das: I am referring to partition and that is not the main principle.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: The system of inheritance is the backbone of the Bill. Under this Bill you are going to scrap the *Mitakshara* law. Make no mistake about it. The right to property by birth and survivorship, which is the basic foundation of *Mitakshara* law, is going to be swept away. This *Mitakshara* system of law has been governing the country for hundreds of years till there was evolved in Bengal the *Dayabhaga* law founded on the principle of natural justice and affection. Many of my friends who are supporters of the Bill have told me that I should be the last person to oppose it inasmuch as it introduces the principle of inheritance enunciated in the *Dayabhaga* law of my province. My reply to them was that that was no satisfaction to me. I do not want, even if the well-meaning Social Reformers in India wants that that system should be adopted. Even if a superman or dictator comes and tells me: 'Look here, the law of inheritance in Bengal should be made applicable to all India'. I would be the first man to raise my voice of protest against it. The old system has stood the test of time. The change might suit my province, but not all India. I do not want that this *Mitakshara* law of inheritance should be scrapped in favour of one which is neither the *Mitakshara* law of inheritance nor the *Dayabhaga* law. It is a hybrid mixture of both which is conducive to the welfare of none, tending to bring about the disintegration and downfall of Hindu society as it will completely unsettle a well settled order of things.

I think I have exhausted the patience of the House and must bring my speech to a close. (Honourable Members: 'No, no') I have dealt with inheritance. I have dealt with marriage. I feel that these two branches of Hindu law which

are sought to be drastically amended should get fuller consideration. But it will be a tragedy for India, for the Hindu society, if in the name of reform you uproot the Hindus from their safe and ancient moorings which have protected them from the stress and storm of centuries. Let me again repeat that our *Shastras*, besides making elaborate provisions for all matters of social life, left a wide field to well-established local customs and usages. They have been very salutary in their effect, as stabilizing forces in society. If we ignore them and make a fetish of codification we will cast Hindu Law into a mould absolutely inflexible, rigid and cast iron; we will be importing into it unnecessarily a character which never belong to it. We will be transforming it into some thing, which will never be able to adjust itself to the needs of times, as it has been in the past.

Sir, before I conclude, I will touch on the argument which has been advanced here also, but which has been very lightly brushed aside by those who do not like it. It has been argued—and I believe perfectly rightly—that this Legislature is not competent to deal with it.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: Legally incompetent?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Yes. I feel that it is not competent. In any case, if you take shelter behind legal formation, I will tell you, morally you have absolutely no justification for passing this Code. I know this objection was raised not only from people like us, but by people very highly placed in the political life of this country, by people with high political stature; for instance, by a man of the eminence and standing of the Honourable Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Indian Constituent Assembly, the sovereign body by which in season and out of season, we are all swearing. I want to know whether or not his views deserve our best consideration. Personally, I have very great respect for him. He is not only the uncrowned monarch of Bihar, but he is one of the undisputed leaders of India. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has given the clearest possible indication. He knows not only the people of Bihar but Bengal as well and also other provinces. He set up his practice in Calcutta and up to the middle of his life he lived in Calcutta. It is not for nothing that he gave the warning that the Constituent Assembly, constituted as it is to-day, ought not to discuss a legislative measure of this nature. I can speak for myself. I cannot speak for others. I honestly feel that I have absolutely no right, legal or moral to be a party to any measure, any legislation, which is not absolutely necessary for the day to day administration. I was returned to the Constituent Assembly with four votes only. I can honestly declare here and now that when I sought all those four votes from the Members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. I never promised them that I would give them the right of divorce. Neither did they ask for it. I declare that I never promised them that I was going to scrap up the law of inheritance. I never told them that I was going to the Constituent Assembly to create a fresh Portfolio and a Ministry of Marriage, because I feel that such an institution will be necessary here in the Central Government, if this Bill goes through. Look at the formalities that have been provided here. So personally, speaking, I feel that I have no right to give my assent or dissent to this. I can only tell the House that I am not competent, because I had no specific mandate from my Constituency to do it. When I came in through the General Elections there were clear issues before the Country such as the attainment of the freedom of the country and all the rest of it; and the last time we came here, we were enjoined only to draw the Constitution of India. Therefore, it might gratify our vanity that we as members of the sovereign legislature of the land are competent to enact such a legislation but the claim is shorn of all moral content whatever. Nothing would have been lost if we had deferred the consideration of this Bill to some future date after the next General Elections. I emphatically maintain, Mr. Chairman, that the time chosen for its passage through this House has been

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most inopportune. After the attainment of independence, problems after problems have been confronting the National Government. Have we been able to solve them? we have not. Are we in the country very popular? By we I mean 'all' including that side. No. Frankly, because we raised expectations which we have not been able to fulfil. That may be due to a variety of causes over which we have had no control; that may be due to an interplay of forces, which took us unawares, absolutely unprepared. But throughout the country you find simmering discontent. As a matter of fact, I do not feel inclined to disclose my identity as a member of the Legislature, of the Constituent Assembly, when I travel in a railway compartment, because the moment they come to know that, they start vigorously criticising us.

Shri B. L. Sondh (East Punjab: General): Then go by air.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I have started going by air. Quite true. There also I fare no better. I am not joking. I really feel that the country has become sick of us, disappointed of us because of our failure to do anything real for the common man. Hitherto there had been the Kashmir question. There is the question of commodity prices. Yesterday we had a brilliant performance with the unfortunate—enhancement of post-card rate, and the price of cloth.

Mr. Chairman: The honourable Member may confine himself to the Bill.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I am only saying that the rise in prices of commodities, labour strikes, the Communist menace, refugee problem etc. have been too much for the Government. Is this the time for us to go on with this luxury of Social reform legislation, and a very highly controversial legislation at that? It is sure to give rise to the bitterest acrimony; and as a matter of fact, it has already brought about a lot of acrimonious controversy. I believe honourable members have been already flooded with literature (*Interruption*). Of course, from the Anti-Hindu Committee, and similar societies and associations from Calcutta and elsewhere. I have got protests from the Women's Association in Poona. I have got protests from Women's Association in Bengal, the members of which come from the highest aristocracy in the land. I have not known of any Bar Association in Bengal which has not protested against this. I have not known any Bar Associations which have supported this Bill. I have in my possession perhaps the whole literature that has been circulated so far in connection with this Bill. I have classified it and the dead weight of opinion is against it, qualitatively and quantitatively. I again say that the time is not opportune. At a time when, according to our Prime Minister's appeal we should close our ranks, put our heads together, devote all our time and energy and work in amity and concert so that we may solve the problems of the land, we should not give another cause for disruption, another cause for discord or grouse or discontent in the country. I do feel nothing is to be lost if we shelve this Bill for the time being. If that is not done, then, of course, I promise that I will have to oppose this Bill at every stage. I oppose this Bill, because I feel that it is a wholly unwarranted measure and that there has been no demand in the country for a legislation of this kind. I oppose it because I feel that in all social legislations we must go slow and that we cannot bring about large scale social reform by legislation alone. The reforms will have to come from within, by force of public opinion which has to be created inside the society. Thirdly, I oppose because of the most irregular manner in which this Bill is sought to be passed in this House. I oppose because I feel that I am not morally competent to discuss this Bill and pass it in the Legislature as it is constituted at present. I oppose this Bill because I feel that it has brought in radical changes in the concept of marriage, in the scheme of Hindu Law including the law of

inheritance and succession. I oppose it because I feel that it will create end-ness and needless complications including such things as Civil Marriage Register, Sacramental Marriage Register, Marriage Notice Book, Director General of Marriages, Registrar Generals of Marriages, Ministry of Marriages, and so on and so forth. I oppose it on the further ground that it would give rise to bitterness, disunion and discord in our families leading to the disintegration of society. I oppose it on the further ground that it is undemocratic inasmuch as a vast body of opinion in the country is against it. In view of all these, I feel I am morally called upon to oppose this Bill with all the force at my command.

With these few words, yes, these are few words in view of the enormity of the legislation, in view of the gravity of the issues involved; these are few words in view of the opposition it has roused and the repercussions it will have on the society. Anybody who really wants society to be protected against this menace coming from the legislature cannot but be articulate and discursive; he has to devote time to the full and dispassionate consideration of things; he must give his humble bit of advice of caution to the legislators so that they may not drive us along the wrong path and that the society may not slip down the declivity into ruin.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I have been somewhat provoked to participate in the discussion on a Bill which undoubtedly is revolutionary. I have heard with the greatest respect the speech of my honourable friend with whom I had the honour to work in this House for more than ten years. If there is anything which distinguishes him most, it is his earnestness which is only equalled by his great eloquence. I entirely agree with him that in matters of social reform one must go slow. On that point, I have not the slightest doubt. But this Bill has proceeded so slow that some of us have rightly complained that it has not been passed much earlier. As far as I know, this Bill or at least the main provisions of this Bill have been before the House or its predecessor and before the country including the members of the Bar for nearly eight years. It cannot be said by any stretch of imagination that this Bill has taken either this House or the country by surprise.

I well remember in 1945, at the time of the general elections, I was opposed by certain groups precisely because I stood for social reform, because I stood for the codification of the Hindu Law. The very fact that I was elected and I am still here is an indication that I carry the views of my constituency.

A point has been made by any honourable friend Pandit Maitra that this House is not competent to pass a legislation of this character. I think this objection I have heard so often in the course of the last fifteen years that every time when a social reform Bill was before the House, the same objection was raised. With what result, everybody knows. If this House is competent to pass the Constitution for free India, I fail to see how it is not competent to pass this legislation. As if to reinforce the argument with a personal appeal, my honourable friend Pandit Maitra referred to the views expressed by Honourable Dr. Rajendra Prasad. I have, and, in fact, every person in this House has, every respect for Honourable Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Yet, there is a duty which every member of this House owes to his conscience and to his constituency and to this great country in which he lives above everything, not merely as a legislator, but as a person who visualises the reconstruction of Hindu society and he would be failing in his duty if he were to take into consideration only the personal views of one eminent person or another eminent person. When I say this, I say it in no spirit of disrespect, but because I feel duty is higher than any respect for any individual.

The main point is, has the time not come for the codification of the Hindu Law; has the time not come for the introduction of certain reforms in the

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system of marriage, adoption, inheritance and all other things which go to constitute what is generally known as the Hindu Law. The sources of Hindu Law are so many. I do not want to dilate on this and I do not want to take much time of the House. But there is a clear case established that there must be some uniformity, some definiteness about the interpretation of the law. If the law is not clear, if the law is not uniform, the stability of society suffers. If we have different interpretations of a particular text by half a dozen High Courts, I think the time has come when all this must be put an end to.

Further, my honourable friend suggested that we are attempting to destroy Hindu Society. My own feeling is that here are about 290 persons who are in close contact with Hindu Society; here we can come together, ventilate our views and come to some agreement and adjustment and pass a legislation calculated to secure the further progress of Hindu Society. When Manu, Parashara and Yagnyavalkya wrote their *smritis*, they had not the benefit, I should say, of any legislature. They were undoubtedly great men; but I do not think that the race of great men died with them. On my left, I find a person so great in scholarship and character that it would not be wrong on my part to compare him with some of the old Rishis and law givers. If today in addition to his own deep wisdom and learning he requisitions the help and co-operation of all the 290 persons, I think his hands are strengthened and his views ought to appeal to us.

The main point, as I said was: Has the time come for certain reforms and has the time come for the codification of Hindu Law? If the time has come, it makes no difference whether one man promulgates a Code and the country accepts it, or whether it is accepted by the process of discussion in a democratic manner and the country accepts it. The main point is to judge it without passion, without prejudice and without entering into any extremist considerations. We have in this House to judge it purely on merits and not on sentimental grounds.

After all, what is it that is in this Code? Except for the question of inheritance, there is nothing to which we have not listened so often and to which we have not agreed substantially. My own view is that there are two important things on which the controversy is centred. One is marriage; the other is ending of the co-parcenary in Hindu law. So far as marriage is concerned, there is nothing revolutionary in this. In these days, when everything is pointing towards State control more and more, and when we are talking of nationalization, I think the only sphere for private enterprise is marriage.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: Let that also be nationalized!

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Now in this Bill a golden mean is struck. The entry and exit in this sphere is so regulated that a modern man coming from the west would certainly laugh at our backwardness. He would say if marriage is a matter which is calculated to secure the highest happiness for both, then one of the grounds for divorce must be incompatibility of temperament. Have you gone up to that? The grounds in the Bill are very narrow. In fact, I say that this is a very moderate measure. You do not expect a wife to carry on with a lunatic, a leper etc. and there is nothing in this

Bill which runs contrary to the provisions of the *Smritis* or which is inconsistent with the genius of Hindu society and culture. Most of us know the *Smriti*.

नष्टे मृते प्रव्रजिते, कलौ बिच पतिते पतो । पतिः अन्यत् तु नारीणाम् विधीयते ।

These are the grounds given in the ancient text and if something approximating to that is not available today in Hindu society, it is because we have become stagnant and all those dynamic urges for progress have ceased to operate. After all whom, and to what extent of Hindu society will this effect? Speaking for my own province, 95 per cent. have already some sort of divorce; not as a matter of law, but as a matter of custom. It is only the two or three per cent. of people of the upper classes who are opposed to it. But taking a fair view, the educated section is completely for it.

On the one hand I agree that divorce must not be made very cheap and that incompatibility of temperament should not be one of the grounds. But at the same time, marriage should not be considered a life sentence, if it virtually comes to that. After all, just as marriage has an individual aspect, it has also a social aspect. If the two spouses do not agree, then the bickering and the bitterness and the lack of harmony is not confined merely to the precincts of the family but it has wider application and effect, and society and the general atmosphere roundabout also suffer. If it is the desire of any law giver that whatever piece of legislation he wants to get through it must have the capacity of securing the results contemplated then we have to judge whether what has been all along with us has really given us the result we have asked for. It is a matter for introspection. If today we are providing some way out from wedlock in order to make people, who are really not happy to get out of it, we are only doing what I think is our social duty.

So far as marriage is concerned, I fail to see how we can object to marriages between persons belonging to different castes. In the year 1949, it would be a sad commentary on our progressive outlook if a single person should stand up here and say—well, marriages between persons belonging to different castes should not be legalised. In free India, I think there is only one caste, the caste of free men: and one religion and that religion of humanity. (Shri H. V. Kamath: 'And free women!') This reform has been before this country so long that those who feel that this means dissolution of Hindu society are enemies of progress; such a Hindu society in my opinion ought to be dissolved. What is this that a man should be called untouchable because he is born in a particular caste. I have never seen a boy born with a broom: I have never seen a boy born in a Brahmin family with a *Yagopavita*, nor a boy born in a Marwari family with a *yarajut*.

जन्मना जायते शूद्रः । संस्कारात् द्विजोच्चते विद्यया याति विप्रत्वं त्रोभिः श्रीत्योच्चतो चवे ।

All are born *Shudras* and after *Sanskara* a man attains higher status and when he has gone through the different stages of learning and accomplishment he becomes a *Shrotriya*. Here is the real spirit of Hinduism, not the spirit which is evinced by some of our old Sanatanic friends here and outside. If the object of this great country, as has been often given out to be is to make a classless society, then we must see to it that proper institutions, both social and political are evolved and enlarged. I therefore consider that whatever recommendations are made in this Code as regards marriage are not only absolutely necessary, but they do not go far enough. But as I agree with my honourable friend, Pandit Maitra, that in social matters we ought to go slow, I am willing to accept this position for the time being.

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The most controversial part of the whole thing is the elimination of the coparcenary from Hindu society. Something was said of public opinion. Something was said of the press and the bar. In my own province there is an association called the 'Dharma Nirnaya Mandal'. In this Mandal are to be found. महामहोपाध्याय तर्कतीर्थ विद्वाचस्पति—men of high learning and scholarship. Very recently they have passed a resolution and expressed views on the proposed Hindu Code:—

"The Dharma Nirnaya Mandal takes this opportunity, when the Hindu Code is on the anvil for consideration in the present session of the Assembly, to express its appreciation of the general liberalizing influence which is brought to bear in the frame-work of the present code. The Mandal sees this influence clearly in the removal of—

- (a) distinction regarding joint-ancestral and self-acquired property;
- (b) different treatment of sons and daughters;
- (c) technical difficulties in the interpretation of Woman's Estate; and
- (d) distinctions between *Mitakshara* and *Dayabhaga* rules of inheritance.

The Mandal believes that the above reforms will go a great deal to minimise court litigations and foster national spirit and engender a feeling of oneness by this one Hindu Code being made to apply to all Hindus in the whole of India. The Mandal notes this as the first attempt ever made in this direction within historical memory.

This is the reason, why in spite of several differences in minor details, the Mandal heartily supports the present measure as it is."

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: What people do they represent?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: They are most learned and orthodox men.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: But enlightened orthodox.

Now, I come to the question of joint Hindu family. The House will no doubt agree with me that a progressive society ought to change with the change in times and that it should evolve appropriate institutions both of property and of laws. The time has now come to assess dispassionately the merits of the joint family system, both as an institution to secure family happiness and as an institution of property. Even today if somebody gives me convincing arguments about the benefits of the joint Hindu family I am prepared to hear him, for I am not dogmatic—I feel that truth is the real thing, not prestige for one's own views.

Now, taking the first point, has the joint family system secured happiness for the individual members of the family? I am not speaking what the daughters-in-law feel when they have to live in a big family. What I have seen and heard definitely goes to show that so far as happiness and harmony are concerned, this institution has ceased to be of any use or value. After all there is nothing new in this. If out of 32 crores of Hindus nearly 5 crores are already governed by *Dayabhaga* and if that system has worked well at least one cannot say that it is absolutely bad and that we must not even think of it. (An honourable Member: 'It is absolutely new.'). That it is new there is no doubt. But what is the society that we are visualising for the future? Is it of a patriarchal type? What is exactly the nature of the society you want to reconstruct? As I understand, that society is going to be one in which there will be equality of status and equality of opportunity because those are the two phrases we have incorporated in the preamble of the Draft Constitution. I think with that Preamble the joint family property system is not consistent.

The real trouble seems to me to be—after having listened to the speeches of various members—what is being given to daughters. But as an institution of property the joint family system must go, because it concentrates wealth. People will ask me, "Well, has it or has it not done something good?" I at once agree that it has done some good. But so far as property aspect is concerned, so far as social credit aspect is concerned, other alternatives have already come into existence, such as co-operative societies and the joint stock companies. Therefore, there is no need of this institution so far as the creation of social credit is concerned. As a mechanism for business other alternatives have come into existence and by experience we have found that they give better results. Therefore, we are not destroying anything without putting something in its place; we are not leaving the whole society in a sort of vacuum as it were. What has outlived its usefulness is being liquidated so that new India will go ahead with greater speed and may attain greater progress.

Now, the real trouble as I said is about some share being given to the daughter: whether it should be half or whether it should be something less are details which can be discussed later on. But one point is certain and that is that the daughter must get some share. In free India if you are only going to say that—

यत्र नार्यस्तु पृज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवताः

and then say that she should either go to a court of law or ask for maintenance, I say it is not fair.

My own feeling is that some difficulties may arise at the beginning; when new institutions come, when new thoughts generate; society does take some time to adjust itself. The question is not whether these difficulties are great or small; the relevant question is whether the new arrangement proposed is good or bad. If you are convinced that it is good, naturally there will be some difficulty in adjustment. We must not mind the difficulty at all.

It has been suggested that as soon as the marriage is over the bridegroom will start trouble, by suing or otherwise, for the share which his wife has got from her parents. It would be welcome to lawyers. Well, when we are trying to nationalise as much as possible, what little will be left will not be of great consequence, that people would go to the court for a small share of it. In times to come there will be little left both for the boy and the girl. Even if it leads to litigation, does it mean that we should not do justice? Because a good thing may be abused by a few, does it mean that it should be denied to all? It is for the House to decide. It is high time that the general talk of equality of sex must be followed by equality of ownership of property. If we do not do that we will have to face the charge of hypocrisy.

My honourable friend Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra has prophesied all sorts of trouble for the great Hindu society. Such prophets have always been there in the past and they have always proved false. I have not the slightest doubt that Hindu society has got such a flexible nature that it has absorbed various cultures and if it has lived through the ages successfully it is because those who guide the affairs of the society had in time suggested changes suitable to the times. That is the reason why it has survived till now. It is an attempt to bring the law in line with public opinion. What the law does is that it consolidates the public opinion but public opinion being dynamic it is very nature it goes ahead every now and then. It is like a horizon which recedes the nearer one goes to it. Modern society by its very nature progresses very quickly. Therefore, we have to adjust public opinion and the law of the land. There are other means by which it can be done, like legal fiction or equity

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but the best and the honest way is to do it by a piece of legislation. I think here is an attempt in that direction. Although I agree that it is revolutionary it is a planned revolution and therefore it is going to be a success.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I have but a short time at my disposal, (Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: 'Why? You have your own time'.) I mean comparatively short time for the enormous subject which I have to deal with and I hope the House will give the subject that amount of thought and attention which I have given to it. (An honourable Member: 'What have you to do with it?') At the very outset I am asked what I have to do with it. I say I have every thing to do with it. Two very enormous changes have taken place in the country. One is that we have decided to shed our communal character and the other is that we have decided to impose upon ourselves the benefits of joint electorates. Can any honourable gentleman in this House deny the right of a Muslim to think in the same way as a large part of the Hindus think? After all we have to live with Hindus. In West Bengal they form 80 per cent. and we have to live with them and think with them. Come with me to West Bengal. Pandit Maitra put the case of the opposition in Bengal very mildly when he said that there is serious opposition to this Bill.....

Shrimati Renuka Ray: There is equally and more serious support.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: Come with me to West Bengal. I am not speaking on behalf of the orthodox section. With regard to that aspect of this legislation I have nothing to do. I have certain serious questions to raise before the House which have not been raised up till now. The objection in Bengal is so serious that if anybody undertakes a journey to ascertain public opinion—(Interruption) I mean intelligent and advanced public opinion,—if anyone will go there, if anyone will make a journey from town to town in West Bengal he will be faced with opposition to the Bill from the most intelligent section, the most enlightened section (An honourable Member: 'Which the Honourable Member has not done'). I believe the interruption is not based upon a thorough consideration of the subject. I submit that it will be agreed that the members of the bar are not very conservative people.....

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: Most of them are orthodox and conservative.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: They are not perhaps the orthodox section.....

Shrimati Renuka Ray: What about the opinion of Mr. Atul Gupta recognised as one of the most eminent lawyers and chosen by Congress for the Partition Committee?

Shri Krishna Chandra Sharma: Does the lawyer line on precedents?

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: In spite of these interruptions I submit they are not the orthodox section. You go to any bar library and you will find that this Bill is opposed tooth and nail.....

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharati: Because their occupation will be gone.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I do not agree that you eliminate the profession of the bar by this Bill. You are introducing complications which you can not think of. On the other hand I submit that the lawyers in a different capacity, in a professional capacity, will thank this House for introducing this controversial measure. Four judges of the Calcutta High Court, four advanced

Hindu judges of the Calcutta High Court—one of whom now adorns the Federal Court, Mr. B. K. Mookerji have said—that the law is already well settled. The law is well known. The law may be different here and there but that is due to various reasons into which I need not now go. The law is well known.

Shri A. Karunakara Menon: If the law is so settled why Law reports every week?

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: It is because I feel that my honourable friend does not realise the subtleties which underlie the law. In fact precedents are necessary. You cannot cover any possible case in anticipation by legislation. So precedents are necessary. They illuminate difficulties and they are helpful in deciding cases in future. The moment mankind gives up precedents, specially in the domain of law, they will cease to be intelligent animals. That is why I submit that lawyers who are not orthodox people are opposed to this piece of legislation, not because it will deprive them of their food.....

Shrimati Renuka Ray: What happens when limited estate for women goes out in regard to litigation in Bengal?

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I only hope that my honourable sister Shrimati Renuka Ray did represent the ladies of Bengal. (An Honourable Member: 'She does.') She is only one star in the whole of West Bengal. I will cite at least a dozen stars in opposition who are equally well known as Shrimati Renuka Ray. She is only one guiding star leading the case of the Hindus.....

Shri R. K. Sidhva (C.P. and Berar: General): The only star.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: There are hundreds of women who have gone to Noakhali and other places. There are many guiding stars in Bengal: these women social workers are all leading stars, but they all support the Hindu Code.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I submit that my honourable sister has not the experience of litigation. He has not lived in the law. If he had lived it he would have seen the enormous possibilities.....

Honourable Members: Say 'she'

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad:.....for a good thriving business. There is no difference between he and she. According to the latest standards 'he' includes 'she'.

I submit ladies should no longer be called "she"; but they should be called "he".

The lawyers are against this measure. Their family system will be seriously disturbed. They are very much averse to the Bill. (An honourable Member: 'Are they afraid about their profession?') No, they will get more cases. I assure the House on behalf of the lawyers to which profession I have the honour to belong, that for their personal interests they should all welcome it. (Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: 'You are mistaken.'). I am not mistaken, I have lived in the law much longer than my honourable friend has done. I have taken part in litigation. The divorce provisions will introduce endless litigation and will lead to endless complications and endless difficulties for many families and more misery for women than men.

Coming straight to a very important point, I have to submit before the House a very serious state of affairs in connection with this Bill. The Bill was hastily rushed through the Legislature on the 9th of April last. We were

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) [1ST MARCH 1949]

[Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad]

asked by our fair sisters not to oppose the Bill at that stage; it was considered to be so important that no detailed attention need be paid to it—it should be passed. So, at the last hour of the last day we agreed to allow it to be considered. I raise my feeble objection from the Hindu point of view. Am I raising any objection from the Muslim point of view? Certainly not. So, my declaration that the objection was from the Hindu point of view should not have elicited any surprise or any laughter. It is from the Hindu point of view that I am speaking. My learned sister the other day asked me, "Why is it that you are denying to your Hindu sisters rights which you are giving to your own sisters?" That is a very cardinal question. May I reply? My reply is this, that you cannot give the same kind of food to different kinds of persons. You have got to judge the position of a Hindu woman as the Hindu law conceives of it. You have got to consider the position of a Muslim woman as the Muslim law conceives it. We are not here to question the wisdom of one system or the other. I find there are two kinds of Members here: some vegetarians and some non-vegetarians. Would you give meat food to a vegetarian and if anybody gives vegetable food to a vegetarian would you accuse him of partiality? (An honourable Member: Is it logic? Very strange logic.) The argument is as logical as the question put to me by my sister Shrimati Renuka Ray—it was not logical. You cannot give the same kind of food to two different kinds of persons; they were indeed born and bred differently.

The Bill was rushed through the House on the 9th of April. The Honourable the Law Minister has given us a revealing passage in the Report of the Select Committee. He has made a plain admission that the Bill had not received any consideration on its merits before it was taken to the Select Committee. That was a very wonderful statement to make. Originally the Bill was supposed to be well-drafted—a good Bill—it passed through the Legislature on the 9th of April and was taken to the Select Committee and then comes the realisation that it had not received technical or departmental consideration. Why is it, may I ask, that although it had not received technical or serious departmental consideration at the hands of the Law Ministry, it was rushed through at that stage? (An honourable Member: We were very near 1st April.) That may be; it was very near the 1st of April and that probably has something to do with the rush. Probably no serious business was meant, some sentimental piece of literature had to be passed through in order to satisfy our fair sisters. The Bill is driven more by "lady sentiment" than by a consideration of the necessities of the case. The Department then undertook a most unprecedented task. They came to the conclusion that the Bill was not properly drafted, that it had some defects, that it had to be re-cast. The Bill was composed of several individual chapters with separate numbering and separate definitions, entirely separate from each other. The Legislative Department thought that this was a blemish and that the Bill should be re-cast with continuous numbering and the whole blended into one complete whole.

I submit that the moment the Legislative Department came to that conclusion, then was the time to withdraw the Bill and to frame a new Bill which the Ministry was able to accept; and present that as a new Bill. Instead of that, the Department went through a process of legislative drafting with which I was never familiar. The whole constitutional history of India and abroad will never offer an example of a departmental Bill being prepared after a Bill is presented and after sending it to the Select Committee. Shri Ramnarayan Singh yesterday asked as to what authority the Drafting Committee had to make a new Bill altogether. (An honourable Member: It is not a new Bill.) I shall be in the unfortunate position of being able to show that very substan-

tial changes have been made. Although the Honourable the Law Minister yesterday tried to avoid answering the question, still he had to admit in the end that he did not make any changes, that it was the Select Committee that made the changes. I am in a position to demonstrate before the House that the changes were very serious, very radical, and not unsubstantial changes.

Shri L. Kishnaswami Bharathi: Sir, on a point of order. If the honourable member wants to base his argument for re-committing the Bill to the Select Committee on the fact that it was some other Bill that was considered and not the Bill sent to it, that point has been covered by Mr. Speaker's ruling; he need not emphasise on that point. If he has other reasons, he is welcome to do so; he is speaking on his amendment for re-committing the Bill to the Select Committee. But if he stresses his argument, namely, that the Bill considered by the Select Committee was not the Bill sent to it by this House, then that has been covered by the ruling of the Chair which declared that it is the same Bill.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari (Madras: General): That might be an argument for rejecting consideration.

Shri L. Kishnaswami Bharathi: If that is so, then that point has been thrashed out so much that if he were to argue it again it will merely be taking the time of the House. That aspect has been so thrashed out and arguments have been advanced. He is merely repeating them. I would submit to you, Sir, that we can hear any new arguments but we are not prepared to hear the same arguments being repeated by him.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: May I put in a few words in connection with the point of order raised by my friend Mr. Bharathi? He said that the honourable member Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad in his amendment for re-committal to the Select Committee had been raising the grounds which had been covered by Mr. Speaker's ruling. I do emphatically maintain and the House would also agree that every honourable member is entitled, without disrespecting the ruling of the Chair to give the reasons which lead him to recommend the Bill for re-committal to the Select Committee. There is no point of order as such involved in it. It is a member's legitimate right to place all arguments which he can for making a motion for recommitment to Select Committee.

Mr. Chairman: I think there is no point of order in this, because he is speaking on his amendment that the Bill be re-circulated for purposes of obtaining further opinion thereon and he is just advancing arguments how the Bill has changed; how the original Bill has been altered in the Select Committee.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I submit the real difficulty of my honourable friend is not there. I believe that an intelligent man as he is, Mr. Bharathi of all persons is well aware of the real difficulties of the situation. That is why I submit he most intelligently wants to intercept me by Mr. Speaker's ruling. I must make a declaration at once here that of all persons in the House I have the greatest respect for the decision of the Chair.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Why do you go into that?

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I am merely saying that I accept the decision of the Chair. I am not going into that.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): You must go into that. Why not?

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: But what was the ruling? The ruling was that the consideration of the Bill was not out of order; in fact the ruling was that

[Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad]

the members of the Select Committee had the old Bill and the Departmental Bill and they must have taken the whole thing into consideration and on that basis the technical objection which I had raised that the Departmental Bill alone was taken into consideration and not the original Bill was not well-founded. That is the effect of the ruling, and that is the ruling. My present purpose would be now to show that although the members of the Select Committee had the original Bill before them, although they had the Departmental Bill before them, although they had both, although they had the opportunity of comparing the two and seeing what glaring interpolations were made in the Departmental Bill, they did not do so. They discharged their duties, I should say with respect in consideration of the importance of the subject, in a somewhat hasty manner and imperfectly and rather perfunctorily. This was the point of view that I was emphasizing.

An Honourable Member: You are inciting the Law Minister to violence!

The Honourable Dr. B. B. Ambedkar: I would not do any such thing, because I have plenty of arguments to meet Mr. Ahmad.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I submit the Honourable the Law Member is fully conscious of the situation, I have a little suspicion, that he knows by this time without any doubt what serious changes have been made in the Departmental Bill.

The Honourable Dr. B. B. Ambedkar: I do not know. I am waiting to hear, though.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: The Honourable the Law Member said, "There have been certain serious changes, but I did nothing. It is the Select Committee that did so. The Departmental Committee did not make any changes." In fact, yesterday I put a pointed question which he kindly answered, namely, whether the Departmental Committee that was set up was instructed not to make any substantial changes. That was due to the fact that I find in the report of the Select Committee a definite declaration by the majority of the Select Committee: "This revised draft does not make any substantial changes in the body of the original Bill." It was this declaration which I understand was also given to the Select Committee by him that no substantial changes have been made; it was on this basis that, although they had the original Bill with them, they did not look very carefully and compare them with a view to finding out whether any substantial changes have been made.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: On a point of order, Mr. Chairman. Are matters which happened in the Select Committee, are those details allowed to be brought up in this manner?

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: With regard to this point of order, I have already to submit that.....

Shrimati Renuka Ray: It is a point of order which I would like you, Sir, to decide.

Mr. Chairman: I think there is no point of order. It is only Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad's inference that the Select Committee did or did not do such and such a thing. I think the honourable member will not cast any aspersions on either the Select Committee or the members of the Select Committee. He may advance his arguments.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: The manner in which the Select Committee behaved is certainly open to the criticism of the House.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I submit.....

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: You are right, Mr. Chairman. Without casting aspersions he may advance arguments.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: But he is casting aspersions.

Mr. Chairman: They are at best inferences.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: Sir, my inference is that members of the Select Committee were definitely assured by the Honourable Minister.....

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I object to this Sir. This is casting aspersions. These inferences are casting aspersions.

Mr. Chairman: Every honourable member is at liberty to draw his own inference.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I submit, Sir, it can be contradicted at once by any member of the Select Committee.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: No, certainly we cannot contradict. But since you are inviting a contradiction, I as a member of the Select Committee, do contradict. I say that we went through the whole thing and we were satisfied that.....

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: You are making a statement.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: You wanted a contradiction. And I contradict.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: Mr. Chairman, I would like to say that because inferences are made and aspersions are cast, the members of the Select Committee are put in a very awkward position, because then we have to bring forward all that happened in the Select Committee, which we are not supposed to do here?

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. I would request the honourable member not to make any aspersions against the members of the Select Committee; he may address arguments as to how the Bill has been changed.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I would not willingly make or cast any aspersions on any honourable member unless it is involved in the very exposition of the point. If anything was badly done which affects the fate of 30 crores of people and if any mistake or slip has been done by members of the Select Committee, then I should respectfully but frankly criticise that. This amount of privilege should be given to a member of the House. I submit, Sir, this is a right which every one enjoys and everybody should enjoy. I should stand corrected if I am wrong. I should not cast any aspersions merely for casting aspersions, but I will confine myself to pointing out certain serious changes and errors of procedure affecting the merits of the Bill and the discussion of the same may necessarily involve me in a criticism of the members of the Select Committee. Why should the members of the Select Committee be afraid of a discussion.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: We are not afraid of discussion. Then we must be given the right of speaking on what happened in the Select Committee.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: The so-called sanctity of the Select Committee has been broken in this connection so many times.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi (U.P.: General): There is no sanctity about it. We can discuss it.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: We are prepared to discuss it.

Shri Mihir Lal Chattopadhyay (West Bengal: General): Should members be allowed to carry on conversation like this, Sir?

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. I have been seeing it happening. I hope honourable members will kindly allow the speaker to proceed with his argument.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: The Honourable Deputy Speaker the other day asked Dr. Ambedkar to explain why certain things took place. Dr. Ambedkar said that it was due to the influence of his enemies getting the better of his friends, they combined together and did it. Is it not giving out the so-called secrets of the Select Committee?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I did not want to interrupt the honourable member at all. But now I think it is my duty to draw your attention and also the attention of the speaker that his motion is that because certain changes have been made in the Bill, it ought to be recirculated. I think what is most germane to that motion is that he should straightaway without and kind of preliminary discussion proceed to point out what changes have been made. I was waiting to know that from him.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: That is what I was going to do when side-issues were raised.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: On a point of order; I beg to submit that this question affects the privileges of the Members of the House. The question at issue is: are the members of the House not entitled to criticise the wrong behaviour or the wrong conduct of the members of the Select Committee in regard to procedure? Supposing a Bill is placed before a Select Committee and that the Bill considered by the Select Committee was not the one referred to another Bill is substituted in its place. Are not the Members entitled to say them by the House? You may give a ruling on the point whether the members of the House cannot criticise this conduct of the Select Committee? Whatever has happened in the Select Committee may not be allowed to be divulged. But the manner in which the proceedings were conducted is open to criticism, otherwise it will mean that the members of the House have no sort of control on a Bill. If a Bill is introduced in the House it becomes the property of the House and every Member has a right to point out the irregularities in the Select Committee.

Mr. Chairman: This is not a point of order. The speaker will go on.

The Honourable Shri K. Santhanam (Minister of State for Railways and Transport): May I submit that while the House is entitled to criticise the Select Committee and even censure it, it is not entitled to say that the Bill before it is not the Bill that was referred to it. It is not open to the House to say that this is not the Bill referred to the Select Committee. The House may condemn the Select Committee if it thinks that the Select Committee has not done its duty. Whenever a Bill is presented to us and is under consideration it is not open to us to say that this is not the Bill that was presented to it.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I submit that I was only going to condemn the Select Committee and nothing more.

Mr. Chairman: The honourable member will be perfectly right if he criticises the Bill as it has emerged from the Select Committee and points out the changes made. He will confine his remarks to the changes that have been made in the Bill.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I am going to submit to the House that some changes have been made, some serious changes have been made.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: Point them out. I am awaiting to know the changes made. The honourable member may take his own time, but let him tell us what the changes are.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I will proceed in my own way.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: He cannot go on in this manner.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I submit that the original Bill was introduced by Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal. It bears the printing date 1st August 1946. This was the Bill which was sent to the Select Committee. A Bill printed on 16th August 1948 is the Bill that came out of the Select Committee with the report.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: What is the point on that?

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I am coming to that. There are serious discrepancies between these two Bills.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: That is what we are waiting to know.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: If this is accepted I will proceed to the vital points. There are serious discrepancies between the original Bill and the Bill that has been appended to the report of the Select Committee. (*Interruptions*) This is not the best way of quickening my pace. I submit that in between these two Bills, a very interesting document came in. It is a departmental draft which was printed on 17th July, 1948. It is this draft which came in between the two. All the points of order raised and argued were about this departmental draft. Even in the present discussions, if I understood the Honourable the Minister of Law rightly, he mentioned nothing about this departmental Bill, but said that all the changes were made by the Select Committee and not by him. I am referring to the Bill dated 17th July, 1948.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: That was before the date of the Select Committee meeting.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I am grateful to my friend Mr. Tyagi for pointing out that the date of printing, *viz.*, 17th July, 1948, was before the Select Committee was first called to meet. I submit that this Bill.....

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I would like to curtail this argument of my honourable friend by saying that it is bound to be so. The re-draft was sent one month before the meeting of the Select Committee.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: That is the point I was mentioning. I am grateful for the admission. This draft was complete before the Select Committee met. I should like to state at this stage that the House was not informed about it. The authority of the House was not taken to completely change the original Bill.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: Is the middle one exactly the same as is appended to the report?

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: There have been some changes. The changes made by the Select Committee were slight, but serious changes were made by the Department which the Select Committee never knew.

Shrimati G. Durgabai: It is the Select Committee that has introduced the changes and not the Department.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I submit that the most important thing is that they never made a detailed examination of the Departmental draft. In fact my contention is that—I would sit down if my honourable friend Shri Santhanam can quote a single example in the whole legislative history of India or in other countries for this—a Bill that has been sent to a Select Committee has been substituted by another completely re-casting the whole thing and put along with it.

The Honourable Shri K. Santhanam: I have been on many Select Committees and in many cases the original Bill has been completely re-drafted by the Select Committee.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: That is another matter.

Mr. Chairman: May I point out to the honourable member that Mr. Speaker has given a decision that it is the original Bill that was considered by the Select Committee along with the draft given to it by the Honourable the Law Minister? In view of that decision, the honourable member may confine his remarks to the point as to how the original Bill has undergone a change in the Select Committee. All the other remarks about what happened in the Select Committee are beyond the purview of the honourable member.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: My point is that, although the Select Committee must be deemed to have considered the original Bill and the departmental draft and to have come to this conclusion, that was done most perfunctorily and imperfectly. My point is this, that although the Select Committee considered or must be deemed to have considered the original Bill and the departmental draft and came to this conclusion and although that is so, my point is that it was necessarily done most perfunctorily and most imperfectly. They must have been, I submit, dominated by the serious changes introduced into the departmental Bill and they must have been completely under the hypnotic influence of a revised draft, a convenient ready made thing, which was placed in their hands. It must have made a tremendous psychological impression on the Members of the Select Committee, so that the Select Committee, although they had the right, largely depended upon the departmental draft and this affects the merits though not the legality of the final Bill.

My point is that any Select Committee has the right to make enormous changes, but it has never happened that a new Bill, completely changed, was placed at the hands of the Select Committee and then they would begin consideration on the new Bill. Although, technically, they had also the original Bill, still they proceeded clause by clause with the new Bill. That was a matter of merit. I submit, that the introduction of this departmental Bill has created considerable amount of prejudice to a fair and impartial consideration of the Bill. I submit that the clauses of the original Bill should have been begun one by one and changes should have been made gradually on the body of the original Bill. Instead of that it seems to have necessarily followed that the departmental Bill was taken up, although there was in them marginal references to the clauses of the original Bill. Still, I beg to submit without any disrespect to the members of the Select Committee, it was impossible for any member to really see readily what enormous changes had been effected in the departmental Bill and it is this, I submit which has affected the merits of the final Bill. I never suggest that the Members of the Select Committee had no right to make any changes or to adopt the departmental Bill or to proceed with the original Bill. I submit that the work was speaking again with respect, necessarily done perfunctorily and considerable responsibility in the work of the Select Committee must rest upon the departmental draft. On a consideration of the departmental draft, therefore, the merits of the present Bill should be considered.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: Let us see all the points of difference.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I submit that the entire legislation began with a blunder and it proceeds from blunder to blunder until we come to a capital blunder, namely, the present Bill. I submit that the mistake first arose in the year 1937. The mistake arose there and I shall show at once that one mistake led to another mistake and that mistake led to other mistakes and all these mistakes led the Select Committee and then ultimately (*Interruption*) I ask Shri Krishnaswami Bharathi in all seriousness, should I be disturbed like this?

Mr. Chairman: If the honourable member addresses the Chair, I think the disturbance will be much less.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: Sir, I submit, you will be pleased to consider that in the year 1937, a Bill was passed into law and that is the Hindu Married Women's Right to Property Act, 1937. That, I submit, was a hasty legislation. It contained within itself ill-digested, little understood law that has led to all this trouble. In fact the author of the Bill was Dr. Deshmukh. So, Dr. Deshmukh—I am happy to find it is not our present Dr. Deshmukh—unconsciously with the *bona fide* belief of doing good to Hindu society, introduced that Bill. The effect of the Bill was to introduce some change in the law of Succession in the Compact series. According to Hindu Law, as I have understood it, when a man dies his heirs are son, grandson and great-grandson. In the presence of the son the grandson by a pre-deceased son inherits—the grandson represents his deceased father and takes his father's share. So in this way the son, grandson and the great-grandson in three generations inherit the property. Dr. Deshmukh was enthused with the idea that the widow must be given a definite status and a definite right. So he made the widow of the propositus a share-holder, and not only the widow of the propositus, but the widow of a deceased son, the widow of the deceased grandson and the widow of a deceased great-grandson. They were also included within the ambit of the shareholders. That, I submit was most ill-considered, although the author was imbued with the highest sense of patriotism and welfare of the community. I submit, that this was then.....

The Honourable Shri K. Santhanam: Would my honourable friend like me to inform him that this Bill was actually accepted by the late Sir N.N. Sircar, who was the greatest authority on Hindu Law?

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I am in a position to show, although not only he, but there was a time when I also accepted it. (*Interruption*). I beg to submit that I am in possession of the House.

Mr. Chairman: The honourable member is going into the history of the amendments to Hindu Law.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I submit, that the Hindu Married Women's Right to Property Act was the first mistake and I shall show that this contained within it seeds of other blunders culminating in the present Bill.

Shrimati G. Durgabai: That was a serious reflection of the legislature then existing.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I submit that the mistake was admitted by that legislature itself and I can quote passages that that legislature admitted that that was a mistake. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I submit, I should show how the mistake came about. In fact in providing for the widow of the propositus of the deceased son, grandson and of the great-grandson, the position of the daughter became absolutely uncertain. Nobody knew what the position of the daughter was at that time, under this Act.

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: An undertaking was taken from my friend Dr. Deshmukh by Sir N. N. Sircar that the Government will support the measure only if he agreed to drop the word 'daughter' and he promised that he would drop the word 'daughter'.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: I am as much familiar with the history of that law as the Honourable Dr. Ambedkar.

Mr. Chairman: Is the honourable member going to take more time?

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: In that case, he may resume his speech later and we may now adjourn.

The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 3rd March, 1949.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) DEBATES

(PART—II PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

Thursday, 3rd March, 1949.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Deputy Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11-45 A. M. DEATH OF SHRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU.

The Honourable Shri Jawaharlal Nehru (Prime Minister and Leader of the House): It has become my painful duty, Sir, as Leader of this House, to refer from time to time to the passing away of the illustrious sons and daughters of India. Recently I referred to the passing away of a very eminent son of India, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Then the Governor of a Province suddenly died. He was a very distinguished servant of the State. When we refer to these distinguished sons or daughters of the country, we say often enough that it will be difficult to replace them, that they are irreplaceable, which may be true enough in a partial manner. But, today, I with your leave would like to refer to the passing away early yesterday morning of one about whom it can be said with absolute truth that it is impossible to replace her or to find her like. She was at pains for the last year and a half or a little more as the Governor of a great Province with many problems and she functioned as Governor with exceeding ability and exceeding success as can be judged from the fact that every one in that Province, from the Premier and his Ministers and Government to the various groups and classes and religious communities down to the workers and the peasant in the field, had been drawn to her and had found a welcome in her heart. She had succeeded very greatly as a Governor and as a great servant of the State in an exalted position. But it is not as a Governor that I should speak much of her; for she was a much greater person than Governors are normally supposed to be. What exactly she was, it is a little difficult for me to say, because she had become almost a part of us, a part of our National heritage of today and a part of us individuals who had the great privilege to be associated with her for a multitude of years in our struggle for freedom and in our work.

Sir, it is a little difficult to see persons with whom you have been so closely associated in proper perspective, and yet one can feel that to some extent. And thinking of her one sees a person to whom any number of epithets and adjectives might be applied. Here was a person of great brilliance. Here was a person vital and vivid. Here was a person with so many gifts, but above all with some gifts which made her perfectly unique. She began life as a poetess. In later years, when the compulsion of events drew her into the National Struggle and she threw herself into it with all the zest and fire that she possessed, she did not write much poetry with pen and paper, but her whole life became a poem and a song. And she did that amazing thing: she infused artistry and poetry to our National Struggle. Just as the Father of the Nation had infused moral grandeur and greatness to the Struggle, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu gave it artistry and poetry and that zest for life and indomitable spirit which not only faced disaster and catastrophe, but faced them with a light heart and with a song on her lips and smile on her face. Now I do not

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.]

think, being myself a politician which most of us are, that hardly any other gift was more valuable to our National life than this lifting it, out of the plane of pure politics, to a higher artistic sphere which she succeeded in doing in some measure.

Looking back upon her life, one sees an astonishing combination of gifts. One, here is a life full of vitality; one, here is 50 years of existence—not merely existence but a vital, dynamic existence—touching many aspects of our life, cultural and political. And whatever she touched, she infused with something of her fire. She was indeed a pillar of fire. And then again, she was like cooling running water, soothing and uplifting and bringing down the passion of our politics to the cooler levels of human beings. So it is difficult for one to speak about her except that one realises that here was a magnificence of spirit and it is gone.

We shall, no doubt, for generations to come, remember her, but perhaps those who come after us and those who have not been associated with her so closely will not realise fully the richness of that personality which could not easily be translated or transmuted into spoken words or records. So she worked for India. She knew how to work and she knew how to play. And that was a wonderful combination. She knew how to sacrifice herself for great causes. She knew also to do that so gracefully and so graciously that it appeared an easy thing to do and not anything entailing travail of spirit. If a sensitive person like her must suffer from tremendous travail of spirit, no doubt she did, but she did it so graciously that it appeared that that too was easy for her. So she lifted our struggle into a higher plane and gave it a certain touch which I cannot think anybody else can give or is likely to give in future.

Sir, I said she was a curious combination of so many things; she represented in herself a rich culture into which flowed various currents which have made Indian culture so great as it is. She herself was a composite both of various currents of culture in India as well as various currents of culture both in the East and the West. And so she was, while being a very great national figure, also truly an Internationalist, and wherever she might go in the wide world, she was recognised as such and as one of the great ones of the earth. It is well to remember that specially today, when through stress of circumstances we may occasionally drift into a narrow nationalism and forget the larger objectives that inspired the great ones who laid down the foundations of our National Movement. The Great Father of the Nation and this great woman who has also shaped our National Movement so powerfully, not so much on the direct political plane, although she functioned there and adequately functioned, but in those invisible planes, which are so very important, because they shape the nation's character, because they mould ultimately its mental and aesthetic and artistic outlook and without that mental, moral, aesthetic and artistic outlook, any success that we may gain may well be an empty success; because, after all, we seek freedom, to gain which, is good in itself, but we seek freedom to achieve something else. We seek freedom to achieve a good life for our people. What is the good life? Can you imagine any good life which does not have an artistic and an aesthetic element in it and a moral element in it? That will not be a good life; it will be some temporary phase of existence which is rather dry and harsh, and unfortunately, the world grows drier and harsher and more cruel. In our own experience of the last two years political life has become a little harsh, cruel intolerant and suspicious and in the world today, we see suspicion and fear all round, fear of each other. How are we to get over this? It is only through some experience of moral heights that we might overcome it, and that was the way

shown to us by the Father of the Nation, or else the other way is to approach it from the human point of view, from the artistic and aesthetic point of view, and the human point of view is the forgiving point of view, is the point of view full of compassion and understanding of humanity and its failings as well as its virtues. And so Sarojini brought that human point of view, full of understanding, full of compassion for all who are in India or outside.

The House knows that she stood more than any single human being in India for the unity of India in all its phases, for the unity of its cultural content, the unity of its geographical areas. It was a passion for her. It was the very texture, the warp and woof of her life. It is well to remember that when we sometimes fall into narrower grooves, because greatness has never come from narrowness of mind or again greatness for a nation as for an individual comes from a wide vision, a wide perspective, an inclusive outlook and a human approach to life. So, she became an interpreter in India of the various phases of our rich cultural inheritance. She became an interpreter in India of the many great things that the West has produced, and she became an interpreter in other parts of India of India's rich culture. She became the ideal ambassador and the ideal link between the East and the West, and between various parts and groups in India. I do not myself see how we are to find the like of her now or in the future. We shall have no doubt great men and women in the future, because India, even when she was low in the political scale, has never failed to produce greatness in her children. And now, that India is free, I have no doubt that India will produce great men and women in the future, as she has done in the past and in the present, before our very eyes, we have seen these great figures, and yet, that while India produces great men and women, whether she will or can produce just another like Sarojini. So we think of her as a brightness, as a certain vitality and vividness as a poetry infused into life and activity, as something tremendously important and rich, and yet something which in terms of the material world is rather insubstantial, difficult to grip and difficult to describe, as something which you can only feel, as you can feel beauty, as you can feel the other higher things of life. May be some memory of this may go to other generations who have not seen her and inspire them. I think it will, but I do not think we can ever feel that as we poor mortals who had the privilege of being associated with her have felt.

So, in making this reference to this House, I can only recount various ideas that come into my mind, and perhaps I recount them in a somewhat 12 Noon confused way, because my mind feels afflicted and confused as if an intimate part of it was cut off from it and because it is difficult to speak or to judge of people for whom one has a great deal of affection. It was the affection of unity. It was the affection of one who even in his younger days was tremendously inspired by her speech and action and who during the succeeding decades ever grew more and more to love her and to admire her and to think of her as a rich and rare being. That rich and precious being is no more and that is sorrow for us, inevitably, and yet, it is something more than sorrow. It is, if we view it in another light a joy and triumph for us, that India of our generation has produced such rare spirits which have inspired us and which will inspire us in the future.

Sir, it is customary when making such a reference to say that the sympathy and condolence of this House might be conveyed to the relatives of the person who has passed away. I say so and yet, really the bond that held Sarojini to all of us here and to thousands and tens of thousands in this country was

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[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.]

as close and great as the bond that held her to her own children or to her other relatives and so though we send this message of condolence on behalf of this House all of us really require that message to soothe our hearts.

Mr. Muhammad Ismail Khan (U. P. : Muslim): I associate myself with every word that has fallen from the lips of the Honourable the Prime Minister. Many of us who had the privilege and honour of the friendship of Shrimati Sarojini Naidu feel deep sorrow at the passing away of this great Lady of the land and the feeling is so deep that it is not capable of a verbal expression. She will be mourned not only in this country but in every part of the world where she had a host of admirers and friends. The Prime Minister put a question, as to what made her so great? I also have been wondering, and I feel it was the irresistible charm of her personality, her human qualities and her broad mindedness and catholicity of outlook. Even when the country was in the grip of bitter political controversies, there was no group in this country which did not admire and respect her. She took a leading part in the battle for the freedom of this country, and like her brothers, her distinguished brothers, she also cheerfully underwent all the sufferings and trials in freedom's struggle. The very people who put her in prison admired her and no sooner was she out, the ready people entertained. Surely a lady with such a personality is irreplaceable, as the Prime Minister has said. I call her incomparable in her qualities.

She was an orator of a very high order and she kept her audiences spell bound and bewitched them by her elegance of diction and sonorous phrases. Who is there in this House who has not been bewitched in a similar manner some time or other or who has not been inspired by her speeches? It is too early to form a true appreciation of the services which she has rendered. I know, coming as I do from the province of which she was the Governor, how great is our grief at her passing away, and how difficult it will be to replace her with a Governor with the same qualities. It is almost impossible. I do not think her memory can ever be effaced. I feel she will remain for ever an example to the womanhood of India, a source of inspiration to coming generations.

With these words, I associate myself with the sentiments already expressed, and join the Prime Minister in conveying our condolences to the bereaved family. I almost feel I am as much a member of her family as her own sons and daughters.

Mr. Homi Mody (Bombay : General) : Sir, I desire to join in the tribute which has been paid by the Prime Minister to the memory of Sarojini Devi. I can but feebly echo the feeling and eloquent terms in which he referred to the truly great and amazing personality which has just passed away. I had the privilege of knowing Sarojini Devi for over thirty years, and to know her was to love and admire her versatility and tremendous personality. She was, without doubt, one of the most remarkable women of the age, and it is not surprising that her death should have come with a sense of profound personal sorrow to millions of her countrymen.

Reference has been made to her many-sided gifts, and to her infectious charm. I would only add that she was equally at home in the hut of the peasant and the worker as in the palaces of the mighty, and wherever she went, she infused happiness and good-humour all round. Sir, she has left a fragrant memory behind, which will long be cherished by not only those who had the privilege of knowing her in person, but by the millions who had heard of her and admired her brilliance and personality.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I wholeheartedly associate myself with all that has fallen from the Leader of the House and the other members who have spoken. In Sarojini Devi Mother India has lost one of her greatest and noblest daughters. She lived a rich and glorious life. Whatever department of public life and activity she touched, there was none which she did not adorn. When she presided over the Asian Conference all of us felt that it was Mother India who was represented, and it was Mother India who spoke. She raised the level of the discussions to a height of which all of us were proud, and we felt that India had at last regained her lost glory and once more attained her position in the comity of nations. She was essentially human. She was the simplest of the simple, and she made no difference between the rich and the poor, or the high and the low.

I have heard many of her comrades and friends call her 'Akka'—elder sister. She was really an elder sister to all; and with her charming manners and affection to all, she enlivened our history over a period of thirty years and more. She was a poet, a patriot and also a stout fighter. These qualities are rare, in one and the same person. She was one of the truest followers of Mahatma Gandhi. We can never forget her. In the last generation, whenever a daughter was born in the house, ten to one, that daughter was called Sarojini. Though Sarojini Devi has left us, she has left her name almost in every house from one end to the other of this great continent. She has indeed, not left us at all. She has implanted herself in our hearts. May God bless her. I am quite sure she has acquired an abiding place in Heaven. May her soul rest in peace! I wish to convey the message of goodwill and condolence to the members of the bereaved family on your behalf and on my own.

As a mark of respect and reverence I request honourable members will kindly stand in their seats and observe silence.

THE GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION FIRST STAGE

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We shall now proceed to the discussion of the General Budget. But before doing so I have to announce to the House that under Rule 93, I fix the time limit for speeches as 15 minutes for each honourable member excepting the Honourable the Finance Minister for whom 45 minutes or more will be allowed, if necessary.

Though the time limit is fixed as 15 minutes, if it is desired by the House that a large number of honourable members should be allowed to participate in the debate, each honourable member wishing to speak, will strictly confine himself to relevant remarks and will avoid repetitions and try to close his remarks within ten minutes. Pandit Kunzru.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (U. P. : General): The wide departure of the revised estimates from the budget estimates of revenue and expenditure for the year that is coming to a close offers a tempting subject for criticism; but the budget for next year raises such important issues that I must resist this temptation and pass on to a consideration of these issues.

Our economic situation of which our financial position is only a part requires us to pay close and immediate attention to a number of problems, the most important of which seem to be four.

In the first place our food resources must be increased largely by more food being grown in the country. The root cause of many troubles that we suffer from today is the inadequate production of food and this must receive the first attention of everyone who takes an intelligent interest in the public affairs of this country.

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

The second question that seems to me to require our constant attention is the need for increasing our exports in order to be in a position to obtain all those things that we cannot get except from abroad. The Finance Minister has told us that our foreign exchange resources are extremely slender. It is necessary for us therefore to attend to this question as clearly as possible. But this can be done only if we consider the different parts of our economy as a balanced whole.

Apart from this, this question is intimately connected with two other questions, namely, those of greater production in general and of lower prices. The connection between increased exports and lower prices must be clear to everybody who notices the difference between the price levels in this country and the price levels, say, in the United Kingdom and the United States of America. There is a great disparity between the level of prices ruling in India on the one side and these countries on the other. Unless we can bring about a proper parity between our prices and foreign prices the outlook for us cannot be regarded as bright. I am sure that everyone expected that the Honourable the Finance Minister would place these matters in the forefront in his budget speech, but on the first two of the subjects that I have referred to the Honourable Minister is almost entirely silent. On the other two he has had something to say, but it is not of a very reassuring character.

Sir, before I deal with these matters I should like to refer very briefly to some smaller questions—questions that are big in themselves but appear somewhat insignificant in comparison with the issues to which I have ventured to draw the attention of the House. It is very disappointing to know that the economy expected from the labours of the Economy Committee has not so far been realised at all and that the position is so uncertain that the Minister of Finance has thought himself justified in omitting any provision for making a cut in the expenditure as a result of the reports already submitted by the Committee. Sir, the matter, as I have said, is in itself important and I hope that the inability of the Finance Minister to effect any economy so far, or the rather depressing outlook for the future, is not due to the refusal of the various Ministries to give effect substantially to the recommendations of the Committee. I know that the matter rests with the Government as a whole and not with the Finance Minister. But I trust that considering the inflationary forces that are in existence and the need for controlling even development expenditure at the present time, he will cast his influence firmly on the side economy.

Now a word about the taxation proposed by him. The specific measures to which I want to draw the attention of the House are the proposed increase in the rates for letters and postcard, the levy of a duty of a pice per yard on coarse cloth, and the increase in the sugar excise duty. The Honourable Minister has been perfectly frank with us and has told us that the position is such that he has to try and find out ways of making up for the loss of the salt revenue. But there is this difference between the salt tax and the increase in the postal rates for letters and postcards, that however undesirable a tax on the necessities of life may be, the salt tax was paid by those who purchased salt and who therefore benefited in some measure; but so far as letters and postcards are concerned, I do not think that the ordinary man is anxious that their delivery should be accelerated. The poorer people would be satisfied with the present arrangements for their delivery if they were more efficient. It seems to me that such arrangements as have been made for speeding up the delivery of letters have been made in the interests of more fortunate people. I therefore regret the proposed increase in the rates for letters and postcards.

The duty on coarse cloth will certainly be paid by those who purchase the cloth. I do not know what the yield from it is expected to be, but I wish that my honourable friend had thought of some other source of revenue and left the poor man's cloth un-taxed.

These matters would in normal times have required a fuller treatment than is possible today because I should like, after referring very briefly to our Defence expenditure and our Defence requirements, to pass on to the consideration of our capital budget which raises issues of far-reaching importance. Sir, though the Honourable the Finance Minister spoke in cautious terms about future Defence expenditure; it seemed to me, reading between the lines, that he hoped, like his predecessor, for a substantial reduction in it. I have been a strong critic of Defence expenditure for years, but considering the present international situation I do not think that the level of our Defence expenditure is very high. Whatever re-organisation may be made in future, in order to have a more balanced force, I doubt whether it would be possible to reduce this expenditure in any appreciable measure in the immediate future. The burden may seem to be heavy but it is the price that we pay for insuring the life of the nation against aggression from without.

Indeed, Sir, are certain elements that might tend somewhat to increase rather than reduce the Defence expenditure. The first question I should like to refer to in this connection is that of the future of the troops maintained by the Indian States at the present time. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has done a magnificent piece of work in integrating the States with India; it is a work for which he will be remembered for ever in Indian history; the vigour and speed with which he has dealt with matters relating to the future of the States deserve our admiration and gratitude in the fullest measure. I hope that he will complete his work by making the first class troops maintained by the Indian States an integral part of the Indian Army. And if this happens, as I hope it will before long, it is possible that the expenditure on the Army instead going down might go up a little.

The second question that I shall deal with in this connection is the dissatisfaction, deep and genuine, among Indian Commissioned Officers with the present rates of pay. The Government of India have fixed their scales of salary after a consideration of the whole matter including the relation between the salaries of Indian Commissioned Officers and the officers employed in the higher Civil Services. But the military officers are in a special position. To mention only one special factor, I would ask the House to bear in mind that the mess expenditure that they have to bear has no counterpart in the family budgets of the civil officers. Then, the life that they lead owing to frequent transfers makes it very difficult for them to educate their children properly or to bear the other household expenses that are apt at times to be heavy because of the need of maintaining two establishments. In view of these considerations, I plead for more sympathetic attention being paid to this question. I do not propose that the scales of salary should be raised, but I think that the military officers should be provided with certain amenities that would make a military career popular and produce contentment among the officers. The suggestions that I would make in this connection are that, say, half the expenditure on the education of the children of officers up to the rank of Lt.-Colonel should be borne by the State. Again some provision should be made in the Defence Budget for the reduction of the house rents and other incidental charges like payment for light and water that the military officers have to pay. I hope that these amenities will not lead to heavy expenditure but in my opinion their provision is necessary if we want to recruit young men of a proper stamp to our Defence Forces.

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

Lastly, Sir, I should like to refer to the Royal Indian Air Force. We have recently been informed of a plan for the development of the Royal Indian Navy. But we are not aware of any such plan for the development of the Indian Air Force. The Honourable the Minister of Finance has said that this matter is under the consideration of the Government. I do not know what Government intend to do, but I hope that the measures that they take now will be such as to enable a speedy expansion of the Force so that, it may at least be doubled very soon.

Now I wish to refer during the few minutes that remain to me, if my time is over, I shall not refer to it. Is my time over, Sir?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Two minutes left.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I do not think that in two minutes I can deal with the subject that I propose to discuss. Perhaps I shall choose some other occasion for discussing it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The honourable member may have five minutes.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Perhaps I could touch the fringe of the subject in five minutes.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad (West Bengal: Muslim): We have no objection to his speaking; we shall curtail our own speeches.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Sir, I do not want to give rise to any feeling in this House. If any honourable member thinks that having exceeded my time-limit, I should sit down, I am perfectly prepared to do so.

Honourable Members: No, no.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: They all seem to be anxious to hear the honourable member.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: During the war we saw the phenomenon of grossly unbalanced capital Budgets and it is these unbalanced Budgets that were responsible for the severe inflationary pressure that existed then in this country. Now, though the war is over, unbalanced capital Budgets continue. Take, for instance, the year that is drawing to a close. Eliminating the special transactions due to the arrangements made for the payment of sterling pensions and the acquisitions of Defence installations and surplus stores, the revised figures seem to show that the deficit was of the order of Rs. 158 crores. Now, in the coming year the deficit will be, according to the Budget figures, about Rs. 134 crores. These deficits have naturally affected our cash balances. They amounted to about Rs. 275 crores on 31st March 1948. On the 31st March, 1949, they are expected to be reduced, according to the Budget figures, to Rs. 163 crores. On the 31st March 1950 they are expected to stand only at Rs. 58 crores. I am as keen on the development of our moral and material resources as anybody in this House, but we can provide money for these much-needed development plans only to the extent that our economic situation at present allows. The inflationary forces that existed in the past have not ceased to exert their pressure. It is true that so far, the notes in circulation have not increased since July 1948, but if business activity grows as speedily as we all wish it to, it seems to me inevitable that private and public expenditure in the aggregate should have an inflationary effect and should tend to raise prices. The rise in prices of all things except, I believe, raw materials has been checked, but unless Government consider private and public expenditure on development at one and the same time, there is a great danger that the forces that have been to a certain extent brought under control may get out of hand and place us in an extraordinarily difficult situation.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai (Minister of Finance): If I may, interrupt for a minute, I should like to know on a point of information if the honourable member is suggesting that the reduction in capital expenditure which Government has proposed must be intensified?

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I did not hear what the honourable Minister said.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: I said, if we go in for heavy capital expenditure at this stage, there is likely to be a spending force created which might intensify the inflationary forces. On that ground we have reduced the capital expenditure. Is the honourable member suggesting that that capital expenditure should be reduced further?

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: The honourable Minister is right in saying that the revised estimates of development expenditure are lower than the Budget estimates, but taking, say, the grants and loans to the Provincial Governments in the coming year, the total seems to me to be higher than it will be in the current year and it is in that sense that I feel that a better control over capital expenditure is necessary. (Prof. N. G. Ranga: There is a depression now.) I may mention, in this connection, that the net deposits in the Reserve Bank during the calendar year 1948 increased by about Rs. 13 crores and that the outstanding loans and bills of the commercial banks have increased by about Rs. 38 crores. These facts have to be taken together in a complete survey of the situation. I do not want to be an alarmist; I do not want to be a carving critic of the Finance Minister or of the Government, but it seems to me, in view of the position in which we have been for years, that we ought to be more careful in regard to our capital expenditure.

The honourable Minister has tried to increase production in this country by several measures proposed by him—the abolition of the capital gains tax, the reduction of super-tax, specially on earned incomes and provision of higher depreciation allowance for machinery. Are the steps that he proposes to take in order to instil greater confidence in the business community going to bring about an increase in productive activity? I wish him well and I hope that the steps taken by him will prove effective. But I should be false to myself and be a false friend of the Finance Minister if I did not express my doubts on this subject. At the present time it is very difficult to judge how far these measures will produce the effect that they are intended to. But frankly speaking I think that a stage has been reached when we ought to decide whether we are to give enterprise a free hand or whether we are to go in for a socialistic economy. The contrast may seem unduly sharp to my honourable friend the Finance Minister, but I have to state the question in that way in order to compel the attention of those in authority to this matter. Unless the present uncertainty disappears and the question is handled with greater precision and firmness I frankly doubt whether the measures suggested by the Finance Minister will lead to the desired results. I do not want to dwell any more on this subject though it is a matter of cardinal importance. I shall only say that so far Government have met the increase in capital expenditure over capital receipts by drawing on their balances. It is a piece of good luck that they have been able to do so without increasing the note circulation. But, as I have already said, next year we shall have only Rs. 58 crores left in our cash balances. Unless we take steps to put our economy in order I am afraid that Government may have to ask the Reserve Bank to put more paper money in circulation.

I am conscious that I have not developed the subject as fully as I should, but it is not possible within the limited time allowed to us to do full justice to any subject. I hope, however, that what I have said will be sufficient

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru]

to indicate to the House and my honourable friend the Finance Minister the purpose of my remarks and the great need I feel for this matter being dealt with more comprehensively more precisely and with greater determination.

The economists consulted by Government last year recommended that the banks should be compelled to keep a portion of their deposits in the shape of government securities. The bankers consulted by them suggested that Government should resort to a system of selective lending. But Government so far have not given any indication of their mind on these subjects, but the time has come when they must take these matters more fully into consideration than they have done lest the worst should befall this country.

Shri B. Das (Orissa: General): Sir, I want your ruling on a certain matter. We thought that on the second year of our national Budget discussions the whole Cabinet will be present in the House to listen to the discussions. Although a few Ministers are present in the House now, the Minister for Development and the Minister for Defence are not present and the weighty observations of my honourable friend Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru went astray. Although my honourable friend the Finance Minister will reply to the points raised, I think, Sir, the House must be assured that the Cabinet listens to its criticism.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am sure, the majority of the Ministers are here and arrangements have been made for taking down notes relating to other Ministries. I am sure no honourable Minister would like to leave the House and it is only for unavoidable circumstances or reasons they may have left. They are bearing that in mind and we need not remind them about it.

Shri B. Das: What arrangement is being made in the House to take down those notes?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I believe there are arrangements. Unless I call upon any particular Minister.....

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: Sir, if I may say so, my honourable colleagues had not the slightest intention of being discourteous to the House on this matter, and it is really the exigencies of work that have forced some of them to leave the House. But I will have the suggestion made by my honourable friend conveyed to my colleagues and as far as possible see that their desire is fulfilled.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar (Madras: General): I must first congratulate the Honourable the Finance Minister on the approbation he has been able to secure from the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. That Chamber which has been grumbling about the Congress Government and the socialistic trend that was perceivable in their actions has chosen to extend to the Honourable the Finance Minister its support to all his proposals except one. That probably is a feather in his cap, but unfortunately many of us here are not able to take the same view as the Federated Chamber and we are more likely to look into the Budget that has been presented to us from a different angle than which the Federated Chamber has done. As regards the relief he has given to the industries by way of exemption from customs for raw materials, increase in the depreciation allowance to cover losses on account of falling prices of machinery, and also what was done some time back, namely, exemption from duty on machinery that is imported—they are all for the good and I can wholeheartedly support all of them. I can also support the repeal of the capital gains tax. That is a tax which has failed to achieve anything. It has only led to fraud, to corruption and things like

that. I can give a small instance from my own experience. A money lender purchased a house in a semi-urban area near Coimbatore for Rs. 2,000. I wanted it for a charitable object. I fixed the price at Rs. 5,200. I negotiated with his agent and the document was written. It was sent to the principal. The principal said that the consideration should be shown as Rs. 2,000, the price for which he took it in auction. The transaction fell through. That is how this tax is working. It only leads to fraud. It only leads to misrepresentation of the transactions and their value. So the sooner it is repealed the better it will be for everybody concerned. If, for instance, at the time it was passed, retrospective effect had been given to it for a couple of years, probably Government could have got a fairly good amount. But now, having enacted the law and making it applicable to future transactions, it only leads people, as I said, to fraud and makes people dishonest and also leads to corruption.

Having said that I will also say that the Honourable the Finance Minister has not touched the real reasons for capital not flowing into industries, want of enterprise in starting industries and things like that. He has made us believe—I hope he did not intend it—that it is simply because of the direct taxation or over-taxation as people put it that capital does not flow into industries and enterprise is not coming forward. In my humble opinion it has nothing to do with that. The real reason is that people are talking in all sorts of ways. They say there will be nationalisation, they say there will be acquisition of all the properties on a value to be fixed at random. A person who wants to invest money in an enterprise will not be prepared to part with the money if he is not sure that the enterprise is going to last for some time, that he is going to get some return for it and also that he will get back the capital he has invested when or if it is going to be taken over by the Government. Now what happens? In the first place there is all sorts of talk about nationalisation. My friend the Honourable Minister for Industries says he is going to nationalise a certain number of industries but with reference to others he is going to have control. Control in what matters? I cannot see very much difference between control proposed and nationalisation. The number of items in which he wants to have control practically amounts to taking over control of the whole field of industry. Pointed reference has also been made to the provision that has been proposed in the Constitution Bill, namely, that any commercial or industrial enterprise can be taken over at any price that may be fixed by the Provincial or the Central Legislature as the case may be. What has happened with reference to the zamindaris may or may not be justifiable. It is a matter in which much can be said on both sides. But so far as industrial and commercial concerns are concerned you cannot say the same thing. Money is going to be invested—not only is it already invested but you expect people to go in and invest money in the new enterprises and in the expansion of the present enterprises. Will anybody do it with his eyes wide open that at any moment these concerns may be taken over at any price that may be fixed? Just two or three days back I was looking at *The Hindu* of Madras. There the Honourable Minister for Finance is reported to have said in the local Legislature that he was going to take over the electricity concerns in the Province at a certain valuation which would not be the market value. He was asked what will be the price. He was not prepared to give it out. He said it is a matter which is under negotiation between him and the Central Government. If such is the state of affairs how can you really expect anybody to come and invest capital in enterprises. That is the main reason why capital is not prepared to come in. Not only that. There is the Dividend Limitation Bill which is pending before this Assembly.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The honourable member may continue after Lunch. *The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.*

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Deputy-Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar) in the Chair.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar: I was saying that the help which the industry wanted is not of the sort which the honourable Minister for Finance is proposing. I said that apart from the relief we want to give with reference to machinery, raw materials and depreciation, what is necessary is an assurance with reference to certain matters. I mentioned two of these matters, one is the question of nationalisation and control and the other is the question of compensation that has to be given in cases where the concerns are taken over. There is also a third matter about which some assurance will be necessary before private enterprise can be expected to function satisfactorily. This concerns the managing agency system. This system is needed for starting new enterprises. You want somebody to plan, make the necessary arrangements, get the capital necessary and start the new enterprises. Once the concern is started the necessity for the managing agent may not be apparent. There is therefore necessity for the system of managing agents. And yet there is a demand that this system should go. The Trade Unions have asked for ending the system. The shareholders or investors do not want the agency system. The Stock Exchange does not want the Managing agency system. In these circumstances the managing agents want to be certain of their position in the new set-up. If they are not assured of their future, you cannot expect them to start new enterprises. As somebody says, their future is very dark. Hence they want to be assured of their position in the future before they start new enterprises. I submit it is these things which stand in the way of the development of industries, the industrialisation of the country and proper economy being established between agriculture and industry in this country.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: On a point of information, may I ask if the honourable member is suggesting that we should give some indication of the lines on which we propose to deal with the managing agency provisions in the Companies Act or is he suggesting that the existing provisions are sufficient for managing agents?

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar: It is not that. Unless and until some sort of assurance for the future that they will be allowed to continue for some time or that some compensation will be given to them, they would not exert themselves. Everybody wants some reward for his services. If they are not going to have any reward for their services and if they are going to be sent away bag and baggage out of their business, you cannot expect them to undertake a complicated business like bringing into existence a commercial or industrial concern. That is the position, Sir. I am sorry I have spoken only for five minutes in the forenoon before we adjourned for lunch. Now after re-assembling I have spoken only for another five minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Honourable Member spoke for ten minutes before we adjourned for lunch.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar: A few more minutes, Sir.

Let us consider the relief which the honourable the Minister for Finance wants to give these people for the purpose of getting share capital for industries and other enterprises. The relief offered consists of two parts. Under the first part he wants to give relief of three pies in income-tax to people whose income is up to Rs. 10,000. How does it work? According to the figures supplied in the 'Explanatory Memorandum' itself, up to Rs. 3,500 there will be a saving of Rs. 20 a year. At Rs. 4,000 it comes to Rs. 26; at 5,000 it comes

to about Rs. 35 and at Rs. 10,000 it comes to about Rs. 120 or so. Does he seriously expect that by giving this relief from Rs. 20 to Rs. 150 he is going to make these people save a lot of money and put them in new enterprises? I consider this is merely a sort of eye-wash, or a token if you like. It is not a token we want now. We want actually something substantial by which we can attain what we want. On the other side, let us see what these people are put to. I may say these people who belong to the middle class go to the mills and buy fine cloth for their apparel. If you calculate the cloth which they purchase for their use paying the excise duty that is proposed, it will come to about half the relief that is given. In addition they will have to pay higher prices for sugar and betel-nut which are commonly used by many in our part of the country. Then they have to share in the higher duties on motor spirit and tyres. In these days when people have to live far away from their place of business, motor transport is very important. Travel in buses will become costlier and transport of goods by lorries will also become costlier. If we add up all these additional charges I do not think the relief the honourable Minister proposes to give will mean anything. As a matter of fact, the burden that is going to be thrown on these people will be more than the relief proposed.

But that is not all. These are people who are not very badly off. The relief that is sought to be given is to people who are getting Rs. 3,500 and upwards. In other words, these people have an income of Rs. 300 a month and upwards. But the burden which he proposes to impose falls not only on these classes, but also on those whose income is very much less. This is a proposal which in calmer moments we cannot accept. Not only that. If, as I said, the Federated Chamber of Commerce approves of the Budget, it is partly because of the relief they get and partly because of the trend that is shown or the token, as he himself puts it, about the future of the tax-set-up of our country. The choice has always been between direct taxation and the indirect taxation. If we mean anything by what we have agreed upon in the other Assembly that income ought to be fairly distributed and wealth should not concentrate in a few person's hands, it can only be done by direct taxation. If you are going to have indirect taxation, the burden will fall on every body, the rich as well as the poor. Everybody has got to contribute; there is no question of equalising income or wealth. Equalisation of wealth and income can only be done by direct taxation. To reduce direct taxation and replace it by indirect taxation is a method, which I do not think ought to be accepted, after we accepted what we did in the Constituent Assembly.

On other matter about Dividend Limitation Bill. I said the other day that I do not at all consider the limitation as unfair. Six per cent. for new companies and average of two years provided for the older companies is very fair indeed. But my objection is with the incidence who is suffering and who is affected by this limitation? Ninety per cent. of the people who have got shares in these companies are small men who have a few shares. I may in this connection state one experience of mine in a mill in which I happen to be connected. I found, there were five representatives of the Managing Agents and two outsiders including myself on the Board of Management. I said it was very unfair and there ought to be at least a majority of outsiders. After some arguments, they accepted. We went through the list. What did we find? Except us two, there was nobody else qualified to be a director. That shows the way in which the shares are distributed. The shares are distributed among a large number of small men, men with small incomes. If you are going only to touch them, what happens? It is only they who will suffer and you would not get on the other side, the managing agent in whose hands all the money will be free to play with and to expand the business or use the

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money in any way he likes. That will be the position to which we have come. (Interruption). Just one or two words about the controls and I will close. As I have said the proposals only lead to the substitution of indirect taxation to direct taxation. Also the other proposal with reference to the bigger income is also very objectionable, for these reasons. I find from a list that has been published by one of the Chambers of Commerce that incomes above a lakh and a half come to only 499 persons and the amount of two crores and odd is to be distributed among these people. As my honourable friend was saying, if those people with this huge income are a few, how are they going to invest their money; they will have to invest them somewhere; they cannot take it away. It seems to me.....

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi (Madras: General): Five hundred persons getting more than a lakh must be much more than five crores. You said two crores?

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar: I said the total relief is two crores. For those people who have got an income of 1½ lakh and upwards which come to only 499 persons according to the figures supplied to me by one of the Chambers of Commerce, two crores of rupees are going to be distributed among them. What I am asking is. Is it fair? Is it necessary? I am opposing it. It is quite unnecessary that relief should be given to these 499 people at probably the rate of about 1 or 2 lakhs each with the result of throwing the burden on the poorer people from whom in the shape of cloth excise and sugar excise and other things are taken. It is very unfair.

As regards the controls what has the control led to? Let us take these two cases of sugar and cloth with reference to which these proposals regarding excise duties are proposed. Well, within the last eight months of last year, I am told the mills in Ahmedabad alone have made something like 75 crores of rupees in profits and incidentally, they have put in about ten crores of rupees in the pockets of the managing agents. Speaking for Coimbatore about which I know better; about three or four crores of rupees have gone to the mills and about 75 lakhs of rupees have been earned as commission by the Managing Agents. This is what the controls have led to. What happens? The prices are put up. Even with regard to the sugar factories, we saw this morning an answer was given in which it was stated the profits which were eight lakhs last year have increased to 17 lakhs on account of this control this year. That was the answer given by the honourable Minister in charge. Well, these huge incomes have been accumulated at the expense of the consumers. I will say one more thing and that is if you are going to limit the dividends, in many cases it will happen that not only the small investors will be affected, but also the workmen, because according to the award given by many of the arbitrators, there is a link between the dividend that is given and the bonus that will be allowed to these workmen. So, if the dividend is restricted, automatically the bonus is also restricted. So, the sufferer is not only the small shareholder, but also the worker. That is how it is affecting them.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: May I remind the honourable member, it is very embarrassing to me. Already the honourable member has taken 27 minutes. From 2-30 to 2-47 it is 17 minutes and before lunch he had ten minutes and in all he had 27 minutes.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar: Just a minute or two, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker. I might myself be liable to this temptation possibly after I got down from this Chair. But it is rather inconvenient. I am thus preventing other members from having their due share. Honourable members will therefore bear this in mind. Personally I have the least objection to allow any length of time.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar: Only a minute or two, Sir.

Then the question may be asked how the gap is to be filled. For that, if only honourable members will look at the budget that is presented, in several matters, the revenue is under-estimated with reference to the revised estimates and in one or two other matters, expenditure is over-estimated. Not only that; as my honourable friend, Pandit Kunzru stated, no credit is taken for the economies that are bound to be effected as a result of the labours of the Retrenchment Committee and also the need there is for retrenchment in the expenditure of the Governments. If these things are taken together, they will probably cover the whole of it. If as I say, the income-tax relief of five lakhs and odd is not given and if on these three items the savings are effected, it will more than cover the deficit that is expected. There will be no need for any increase of these indirect taxes, and thus throwing the burden so much on the poor people.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Professor K. T. Shah.

I should like to enforce strictly the time-limit. I am giving sufficient information of this in advance, to every honourable member. Let me not be misunderstood.

Prof. K. T. Shah (Bihar: General): There is a custom of commencing such remarks as one has to offer on the budget with a volley of congratulations presented to the Honourable the Finance Minister on having submitted a brilliant budget. I am afraid I am no great believer in such a convention. Even so, if I were called upon to concentrate attention on his manner of delivery, on the comprehensive survey he has placed before us, and on the frankness with which he has admitted of having passed "sleepless nights and sleepy days". I must say I would have no hesitation, not only in congratulating him upon himself passing sleepless nights and sleepless days too, but on making me and others pay sleepless attention to what he might be saying on the proper day. Now that the day has come, now that he has put forward his long awaited expose of the country's financial position, and the economic situation, on the contents of that speech, on the detailed material and information presented to us, I am unable to follow that sacrosanct convention of presenting my compliments on a golden salver to the Honourable the Finance Minister. (An honourable Member: 'Gold is costly'.) Gold is made costly by inflation by themselves. If it is costly, I am all the more willing not to have gold or even silver for the matter of that, in this exchange of compliments.

Sir, the speech of the honourable Finance Minister is replete with assurances in a heavily pontifical style, and with remarks like, "I am satisfied" "I have convinced myself". In the remarkable passage in the peroration, for example, of his budget speech, he has said, that in laying these various burdens upon the various classes, he is satisfied, and the House must accept his assurance, that he has laid them on proper shoulders, and that he has made equitable demands upon all classes. I am not quoting the exact words of the honourable Minister, but I think he will not dispute that I have given here the sense of those remarks. But such assurances *ex cathedra*,—how much are they worth, speaking for myself, I find that the budget speech, like the Curate's egg, is good in part, not on the whole. (An honourable Member: 'Question: Not even in part?') If that is so, then it is not good at all. But I would be charitable and admit that it is good in parts.

It is a melancholy spectacle that, so many years after the war has ended, the excuse of the war is still trotted out to tell us why the situation is so depressing, and why deficit is inevitable, and has continued, to the extent that it has continued all these four years after the end of the war. I am aware, that democracy is a costly proposition; and democracy of the type that we are

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having is bound to be more of a luxury than elsewhere, because, perhaps, we are not experienced, because perhaps we have commitments suddenly thrown upon us, perhaps we are faced with problems which no forethought could have prevented. I am willing to make every one of these concessions. Also, in my great regard for the principle of democracy, in working political institutions, I agree certain expensiveness or extravagance is inevitable especially when all interests have to be satisfied. But when all claims have been met, and therefore, a steady growth of expenditure has become inevitable, are we simply to resign ourselves to the inevitable? India to-day has a great leeway to make up in a good many directions, in social reform and in economic re-building. The present Government has launched on a variety of schemes, which will, no doubt, yield results at a convenient moment.

For all that I am grateful, and I fully recognise the necessity for increased expenditure such as the Finance Minister and his predecessors have had inevitably to provide for. But even after making all these admissions, and even after giving the fullest recognition to the circumstances that be set them, and the problems that faced them, I am afraid that that close scrutiny to economy, that full attention that we should have expected from a seasoned economist of the ripe standing of Dr. Matthai is not visible in this presentation of the budget that he has placed before us.

On an earlier occasion Dr. Matthai was pleased to tell us that if he went back to his old profession, and had to put forward his old views and doctrines of economics, he would have hardly any conviction to present. I am sorry to note that at so early an age he should have been so utterly disillusioned, that he should have to say that he will not be able to teach doctrines that he once had at heart with any degree of belief or conviction. I do not know whether I should congratulate him, or condole with him. But I am myself unable to shed those convictions, however, impracticable they may sound. Ministers, and particularly Finance Ministers, are but the creatures of circumstances. That, Sir, is a fruitful excuse. But I should have thought that lesser man might trot out that as an explanation of his own lack of ability, but not men of the level of Dr. John Matthai. I should have thought that men of his stamp should have been able to mould circumstances to meet their requirements, rather than be victims of those circumstances, and hold that the circumstances have been stronger than themselves.

Sir, I have no desire to trespass upon the time of the House or its patience. But if you look at the various items and estimates presented to us; if you scrutinise the figures that have been given to us with regard to the various items of revenue and expenditure, you will find there is hardly any art of budgeting visible, any foresight noticeable in estimates that the Honourable Dr. Matthai has presented. Take the single item of Customs and Excise Revenue, or take Income-tax, or the Corporation tax. Take any item you like, on the revenue side. And I may add, it is the same position on the expenditure side also. In Customs Revenue, the budget estimate and revised estimates show a variation from 87 crores to about 117 crores. In a single year, in about ten months, you have the budget estimate thrown out of order by something like 47 per cent., or more. This you will find throughout, and we find again and again, on the expenditure side. And what is the explanation? "This thing was not foreseen," "that thing could not be attended to," "this was forced by circumstances". I tell you, if that be the prevailing tune, if that is the rule of conduct for Ministers in administering their departments, if that is the standard by which they are to be judged, they and their performances, I am afraid that the Ministers will not be doing their best by the country.

Circumstances are strong, no doubt. Circumstances are very powerful, and may make it impossible in spite of the best of efforts, to make the estimates correspond very nearly to facts. This may be an excellent excuse when the war was on. But with war gone West these four years, without any famine, without any sudden cataclysm, to upset their calculations, the present budget with such wide variations, does not, I am afraid, give any evidence of good budgeting. There seems to be lack of prevision, lack of close attention, lack of careful calculation in sufficient to tell you that there is at least a watchdog's attention to the finances of the country,—I mean no disrespect—which makes you feel that all is not for the best in this kingdom where Dr. Matthai reigns.

I could take up hours in pointing out the lack of any art of budgeting in preparing this budget, that one would have expected from an economist of Dr. Matthai's standing. I have personally not the slightest doubt about the close attention and careful study that Dr. Matthai is capable of giving to a task like this. I have known him in other connections. I have worked with him in other subjects, and over problems requiring no less attention to details. But I must say that the Matthai of those days who used to be so painstaking, so laborious and meticulous in regard to details, seems to have been changed in the "sleepless nights and sleepy days" that it has been his fate to undergo. (An honourable Member: "Age"): I do not think that I can call myself a younger man; and, therefore, it is not for me to say that he is old. Nor do I feel that Dr. Matthai is one who would submit to the ravages of 3 P. M. age to the extent of ignoring or neglecting his duty. I personally am quite sure that if, as I hope, he is spared for twenty more years, age will not tell itself on him. And whatever may be the substance of my remarks hereafter, I certainly and sincerely say here and now, that as far as his ability is concerned, I have not the slightest doubt in his capacity.

Let me now come to a few salient points in the actual Budget that is now before us. On the expenditure side, Sir, you find that it is steadily growing. There are several items in which the excuse has been put forward—this could not be foreseen, that could not be noticed, that there was a sudden calamity and we had to meet it, and so on. A good many of these may be quite true; a good few of these have some substance, but consider this, I think. On the Army side, an increase of 25 or 30 crores of rupees as between the Budget and the revised estimates on the Defence Stores side there is another increase of 21 crores. The explanation that the Honourable the Finance Minister has been pleased to give us is: the Kashmir operations. I could not find from the various papers, supplied to me what exactly is the actual cost of the Kashmir operations. I have not been able to discover that even by putting questions; for in answer it is said that it is a matter of high policy, and that it is not in the public interest to give this information to this House. It may be true!

But I do not think that the whole of this increase in the revised estimates—an increase of something like 46 crores—is ascribable to the Kashmir operations alone. The Honourable the Finance Minister may, of course, be "satisfied" about the assurances he has given us; but for my part, I remain somewhat sceptic about these explanations.

The Kashmir operations were, in fact, going on for four months before the Budget was presented. And if that is so, is it for the Honourable the Finance Minister to tell the House that no provision could be made because the "extent and duration" of this could not be foreseen. I do not think it is treating this House with sufficient respect; I do not think it is treating the country

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with sufficient respect, to come here and tell us that this could not be foreseen, even though the operations were going on for four months before the Budget was presented.

What is this budgeting, Sir, again I ask? In Stores and Supplies alone, in a total budget of Rs. 25 crores, there is a sudden increase of something like 80 per cent. or more, raising it to 46 crores. I am not sure that I will be voicing the sentiments of a majority in this House if I were to say that the whole Defence expenditure needs very close scrutiny. We were given to criticising the Defence item of the Budget year in year out when there was foreign rule. The presence of our own Ministers, the presence of our own Government, does not essentially change this fact, in my opinion, however, much I may be in a minority in thinking so.

I am a pasifist, and make no secret of it. I feel also that, situated as we are, if we desire to maintain our independence, it is necessary to have some Defence provision. But let our provision not be such, as to make it appear in the least degree to be a menace to other, or expose us to the hostility of others who may have aggressive intentions.

This is a very serious matter of policy into which I do not wish to go just now. But there is one characteristic of our Defence expenditure, in contrast with that in other countries, which I would like this House to think seriously about; and I would beg my honourable friend the Finance Minister and his colleagues in the Cabinet also to think over very seriously. In all countries of the world, the last war and the one preceding it—so called war to end war—have left an aftermath of increased unproductive expenditure on the maintenance of the defence forces. And we, perhaps, being in the situation in which we are, cannot be an exception to it.

I fully recognise that. But at the same time, in other countries, they have resources and equipment by which they can meet all their requirements by their own efforts. They are able to meet all their Defence expenditure by a mere transfer of money from one pocket to another within the country itself. On the other hand, we have to import a great deal of our requirements from other countries. The danger of it does not lie merely in borrowing, or getting the things by other means. The danger is much greater and lies deeply buried. In this age of standardised production, once you import a machine from a country, you will have to be dependent upon that country for all the parts and accessories of that machine. As honourable members know, present day Defence is a highly mechanised affair, and too complicated for me to deal with. But we stand on an entirely different footing from other industrially advanced countries like America which during the war used to put out a ship in two days. For us, therefore, the burden of the Defence expenditure lies not only in the budget figures, but in the insidious character of that expenditure in that we are dependent on foreign sources. It inevitably draws us into the vortex of world politics. It inevitably draws us—whether we like it or not—into alignments of two warring camps, one of which may be for the present sympathetic towards us. But who knows how long we may be friendly with them hereafter? Who knows at what time the call of blood may become stronger than all the other ties?

I will try to be as brief as possible in bringing out the facts. I will now pass on from the expenditure side to the revenue side, which is the really dictating factor for the revenue side has to meet the expenditure side. The various sources of taxation, or the various means to make up the gap which the Honourable the Finance Minister has suggested to us make me wonder if the honourable gentleman was speaking to us with his heart in the right place, or

in the wrong. He is actually admitting that, on the current estimates he would have a deficit of 15 crores. And yet he is giving further relief to the industrialists and to those people who have super-abundant income. And this in addition, to those who do not earn through the sweat of their labour. These are the people to whom he gives relief. And to counter-balance this large relief, he is laying a 50 per cent. increase on postcard and 33-1/3 per cent. increase on envelope. How can the Honourable the Finance Minister tell us that he is satisfied with these proposals, that he has done justice to the poor, that he has been equitable and fair to everybody? I for my part refuse to admit it. Without charging Dr. Matthai with any lack of intellectual honesty, I do believe that Dr. Matthai himself does not believe that this is an equitable budget which he has presented to us.

Consider these figures, Sir. He expects 15 crores of revenue from the postcards at three pice a postcard. At the present rate you will get 32 postcards for a rupee, and he expects that for 15 crores 480 crores of postcards will be sold, which means that for a population of something like 35 crores in this country each person will write about 15 postcards at most a year. This means a little over one a month or if you distribute this between letters and Postcards in proportion of 1 to 2, this would give perhaps one letter every two months. This increase has been made to be able to give relief of ten per cent. to people who can afford to pay super-tax on an income of 2-1/2 lakhs and more a year.

I have never been able to understand the justification for this, in a country which has been led by Mahatma Gandhi till now. It may be said that they have been forced by circumstances to do this, and that the circumstances have been stronger than they expected. Even circumstances cannot justify, in my opinion, the laying of a duty on cloth, the laying of a duty on food, the laying of a duty on tobacco, the laying of a duty on communications, the laying of a duty on any kind of instruction and education or whatever they can get hold of.

It is not only the Central Government which is responsible for laying such burdens or which is the only sinner in this regard. It is the provincial governments also, and the Municipalities or District Boards. The Central Government sets the model for the provincial government, so that, if you are tired at the end of the day and seek some relaxation or recreation in a cinema house, there you will have to pay the entertainment tax. If you want to turn on the electric light and have a little reading enlightenment or amusement you must pay the electricity tax. You have got in many provinces even a sales tax, so that if you buy two rupees worth of anything, there is a sales tax on it. So that where the Central Government gives up, the Provincial Government comes in, where the Provincial Government gives up, the Municipalities come in; and where the municipalities give up the District Boards come in. There is a whole series of taxation, and one does not know where one authority ends and another comes in.

One could have expected such a Budget from the hands of the Finance Minister whose great sympathy for the capitalist or industrialists class is known. But from a former Economist, this Budget is unacceptable. He has also increased the depreciation allowance which they never use; and on their super abundant income he is unwilling to charge the maximum supertax. It means a relief of two crores to the richest class consisting of a few hundred individuals, at the expense of the poorest class consisting of hundreds of millions. This is a kind of budget which I confess I cannot excuse in a Liberal of the standing of Dr. Matthai. This is a kind of budget, even in spite of expectations which the Government of the country, led by such large-hearted, warm-blooded, deep thinking nationalists and liberals, and other members more extreme than the Liberals, cannot ask us to accept, on the simple grounds that

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they have "satisfied" themselves, and that nothing could be more equitable, nothing could be more just than the proposals which they have placed before us.

I would rather have expected or welcomed that they should have left a certain portion of the deficit uncovered, than that it be covered by such burdens. There is no need for them to charge the postcard extra to get the two crores out of that, for it is getting blood out of stone, pennies out of the poor man. There are today only five crores of people in the country, who can lay claim to the barest literacy; and they do not write on an average more than ten or twelve letters a year. And yet the Honourable the Finance Minister asks them to pay 50 per cent. extra on their postcards, and 33 1/3 per cent. extra on their envelopes. And to add insult to injury, he tells us that they are going to be conveyed by air. As if there were aeroplanes enough, as if there were runways enough, as if there were personnel enough for every village to be connected by air. I ask Dr. Matthai to tell us whether in this country, where there is hardly 5,000 miles of air route, where there are 700,000 villages or is it now 500,000 and there are many thousands of towns,—I ask him whether he is prepared to say that, within 12 hours every letter posted anywhere in India will be delivered at its destination. The facts are quite to the contrary. If write to the Prime Minister by air, with an express delivery stamp, on a Friday from Bombay the Prime Minister does not get my letter till the following Monday, and that by air mail with an express delivery stamp. I am not concerned just now with the great efficiency or the lack of it of our postal, telegraph or telephone services. I dare say that these increased charges will make them more efficient. But that efficiency if it is going to be helpful, will help Big Business who have urgent communications to make by sending their letters by air-mail. They will also be helped by the removal of the surcharge on the air mail letters, whereas the poor man is made to pay an extra quarter anna on the postcard and an extra half anna on the letter. Our nationalist Finance Minister is not content with what Raisman did but he out-Matthai's himself when he restores war time post-card of 9 pies, even enough Raisman had introduced the six pies post-card. This increase to nine pies, even though he has no excuse for war-time needs is indefensible. Raisman had it in a war-time budget. My honourable friend the Finance Minister has no other excuse beyond saying "I could not foresee this. This is unexpected. It is circumstances which have forced me." If you are going to plead circumstances to that extent, I for one have no alternative but to say that, if your budget is to be judged by the contents with which you have presented it, and not by your personal knowledge, and integrity, I am afraid it will be condemned unreservedly.

Shri T. Prakasam (Madras: General): It is an unbalanced Budget at a very critical time. It is not called an unbalanced budget in plain terms but it is unbalanced. There are two topics which have to be dealt with as the burning topics of the time. One is the high prices and the other is what is called inflation. Each is dependent on the other. Inflation is known proverbially as making the rich richer and the poor poorer. This Budget instead of trying to get over inflation is also calculated to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. That is the position in which the budget stands.

I am anxious to place a few facts before you, before the honourable Minister and the honourable members of this House so that they might consider them having regard to the conditions under which this inflation has been brought about and into which the millions of this country have been plunged and whether there is any little chance of getting over it by the remedies provided by the Honourable the Finance Minister. I do not think the situation can be

saved by any mild measures. If you wish to save this country, if you wish to save the millions of all classes your policy must be a different one altogether. Let us go to the root cause of this inflation. Who is responsible for the higher prices, who is responsible for this inflation? I say it is the Government that is responsible for the high prices and it is the Government that is responsible for this inflation.

Inflation has come along with the war into our country. Inflation gave the opportunity to the English people who were in charge of this country to enhance the circulation of currency notes by printing them in a most unwarranted manner and under most unjustifiable circumstances. I shall just give figures of the currency notes printed before the war.

In 1937-38 the notes in circulation were 182.19 crores.

In 1938-39 the notes in circulation were 174.39 crores.

In 1939-40 the notes in circulation were 198.13 crores.

The general index number of prices was 125.6.

In 1940-41 the notes in circulation were 228.03 crores.

The index number was 114.8.

In 1941-42 the notes in circulation were 287.48 crores.

The price index number was 137.

In 1942-43 the notes in circulation were 513.44 crores.

The price index number was 173.

In 1943-44 the notes in circulation were 777.17 crores.

The index rose to 236.5.

In 1944-45 the notes in circulation were 968.69 crores.

The index number was 244.2.

In 1945-46 the notes in circulation were 1162.64 crores.

The index number was 244.9.

In 1946-47 the notes in circulation rose to 1212.52 crores.

The index number was 266.4.

In 1948 the notes in circulation were 1214.20 crores.

The index number rose to 390.1.

Thus it will be seen that from 174.39 crores in 1938-39 the notes in circulation have come up to 1214.20 crores. Year after year there was such an enhancement in the printing of these notes that from 174.39 crores in 1938-39, when the war broke out, by 1948 it has come to 1214.20 crores. I put the question to you and to the Honourable the Finance Minister when the circulation of notes has increased to such an extent, by over Rs. 1,000 crores, that is a liability that has been cast upon this country. How to discharge this debt? What is the good of simply talking of grow more food, this one and that one and similar things? (An honourable Member: "Growing more notes"). The other day one question was put to the Honourable Minister on the floor of this House whether he could not cut off this note circulation in one lump as it had been done in other countries, so that the root cause of this inflation would be first removed and the country would become free. The

[Shri T. Prakasam] reply came straightway "No". So lightly it was disposed of. When currency notes had been printed and put into circulation in the manner in which it had been done before 1948, seeing that the persons who did it were going to leave the country, it is a legitimate demand of the people of this country to ask as to who is responsible for this debt. And what is the value of these currency notes I am asking you.

In 1930-31 it was that the gold standard was declared off. Before that time the currency notes of India had the backing of the gold behind them and there was a guarantee. The English Government was very clever to get over the trouble that was impending upon them at that time. That was the time of the first world economic distress. With a view to meet their own troubles there they first wanted to get rid of this gold standard liability. The reason was well known. It was not only Britain that did it. Germany did it. Gold had disappeared from their vaults. They had to pay to America the debt which they had contracted for the first world war and so their treasury became empty. If the notes were presented before them they had no backing and the country would be declared insolvent. So Germany put up a notice at the Reich Bank gates "Don't present the Reich Marks which we have issued until now; we have no gold in our treasury; all that has been transferred to America; do not present them because they will be dishonoured". So the German Marks became useless. Hundreds and thousands of the German Mark notes were flying in the streets of India in those days.

With regard to Great Britain she was on the verge of ruin along with Germany. Germany became literally bankrupt. England was about to become bankrupt. At that time they had this weapon of forging anything at any time to save themselves as against the poor people of this country. It was Sir Samuel Hoare or some other person who introduced the Gold Ordinance. It was declared in that Ordinance "so far as India is concerned we would give not 20 shillings as usual but 28 to 30 shillings for a pound". That was a temptation thrown before the unfortunate millions of this land and the millions were thirsting to sell away the little gold they had. What was called distress gold with the labourer, the agriculturist, with the women was all collected by some of the magnates, by the rich men of the land, and exported to Britain so that it reached them in time. Otherwise England also would have put up the same notice board which Germany had put.

These currency notes were brought into existence by the British people who have left us. This liability is one which must be repudiated by the people of this country. I for one would repudiate it. I will call upon my people to repudiate this liability. I tabled a Resolution in this very House for the repudiation of the liability of the country with regard to these currency notes. But the Rules of this Government and the Prime Minister's convention that those Members who sit in the Provincial Legislatures should not come here shut me out. I do not know what happened to that Resolution until now.

Therefore, this is the way in which this inflation has been brought about in this country. In all fairness, the Honourable Dr. John Matthai and his Government headed by the Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should repudiate this debt. They should claim this amount from the English people who brought these notes here and foisted them upon our head.

The next point that is known to every one of us but to which we have become so blind and so inconsiderate to ourselves and our country's interests is that growing expenditure is primarily responsible for adding to this inflation. Instead of doing anything to remove this inflation, to reduce its course, they

have been adding to the expenditure. To military expenditure which was already top-heavy, over 34 crores and odd have been added and to civil expenditure 48 crores and odd. When can there be a chance, I ask the Finance Minister and every one of the Ministers on the Treasury Benches, when can we have a chance of getting rid of these liabilities, when can we have a chance of giving food and cloth to the unfortunate people who are suffering, whose name we mention here every time? What are the poor people left with? Not a ghost of a chance. I am talking as a friend. I am giving constructive proposals in order to meet the terrible situation in which the country is drifting.

There should be no mistake about this matter. What is being done now? We have some balances, what are called "sterling balances", in London. What are we doing with the sterling balances now? I have got a very serious complaint about the method that was adopted for dealing with the sterling balances. Sterling balances accumulated in our favour. We were debtors to Britain until the war was declared. After the war was declared it was that their imports into this country decreased; our exports increased; the balance came to our side. The whole of that account was treated as Sterling Balance to our credit. It was our hard earned money—468 crores or some such thing it comes to. It was our hard earned money that is mixed up with war debt, converted into sterling. This country was called upon to pay that war debt. We repudiated—you remember; you must have been one of those who walked into jails—uttering the words of that departed soul Mahatma Gandhi, "This war is not people's war; the cause they are fighting for is not people's cause; they are not liable to pay for any of these things". Uttering those words, after resigning the Ministership and coming into the streets, we walked into jails. Now, what is it that has happened that the war debt has come to us? We repudiated it and we went into jail; we suffered; we made sacrifices. Now that war debt is claimed by the English people as also partly our debt. Their claim is that we must pay half the debt and they will pay half the debt. They had our accounts in their hands. Two accounts were opened: No. 1 and No. 2. In number 2 account our own earnings were entered. We were fully entitled to those things—426 crores—the value of the goods supplied by us. Instead of that being paid to us, they mixed up all that and the whole thing was converted into what was called a "war debt" and a "sterling loan debt". This has been forgotten altogether by the two officials who had gone all the way from here to London to settle this sterling balances dispute. One was Narahari Rao and the other was Shanmukham Chetty. These two gentlemen went there and they would not refer to any of the points I have been stating to you and to the honourable members in this House. They went and entered into one agreement. That agreement was extended by three months first; six months later; now they stand adjourned till 1951. I am glad that has not been closed and that has not been accepted by us as a final binding. The whole of that has to be reopened and re-settled on the basis on which we are claiming. Until that is done, how will we become liable for anything at all here and what is this Budget which the Honourable John Matthai is preparing? I am requesting him; I am appealing to him to go into all these things closely, item by item, and examine whether the steps taken until now are correct ones and whether this Budget can be called a Budget of this country, a Budget of this Government, for the benefit of the people, on behalf of the people. It is not. I respectfully request the Honourable John Matthai and his Cabinet of Ministers and the Prime Minister to examine the whole situation and discover the truth at least now and then give relief to the unfortunate people in a different manner altogether. People are holding their breath, waiting for your Constitution, waiting for your elections, for justice to come some day or other. Those days are receding everytime, because we have been indulging in our own ways, taking our own time. That is the position so far as the Budget is concerned.

[Shri T. Prakasam]

I would not wish to ask for extension of time in this matter, but there is one point I must refer to. The Finance Minister was good enough to say that our Sterling Balances were declining. He pointed out how 121 crores decline came up first; he pointed out how over 17 million declined secondly; and thirdly he pointed out how in one stretch over 553 crores decline came up. The decline is coming. The decline is coming, with a vision which I can command I am telling you. Decline would be coming, perhaps in the same manner in which decline came upon Dalton, the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Great Britain. On August last year or the year before last, he said: "I declare suspension of the agreement between America and ourselves and suspend all our engagements." He said for one day they were losing 13 million dollars; he said for five working days it had gone to so many millions. So, I am telling you we cannot continue this. You will be facing that situation if you continue to go on in this manner.

With all the ignorance that all of us could command here, we have become helpless; we cannot reach you; we cannot convince you. You have got a contempt for those opposite to you. That is why I am trying to put it in the best manner possible, to enable you to understand, with these figures, constructively, so that you will save this country. A country's honour can be saved only by doing the right things in proper time and also by commanding the confidence of the country. The confidence of the country you cannot command unless your administration in the country, not only in Delhi but in the provinces also is properly carried on. If you allow mal-administration to be carried on in the provinces, knowing pretty well that things have gone wrong there, all that would affect upon you and you would be held responsible ultimately for the sufferings that the people have to undergo for years together.

In the Madras Presidency there has been a charge pending against the present Ministry for over a year now. Throughout the year no redress could be got for any of the charges. No reply could be got. Even the Provincial Congress Committees and the Working Committee passed resolutions demanding an enquiry into those charges, but no enquiry was forthcoming. But I may tell you that the one feature of this whole administration, the Prime Minister, he is there. In spite of all his troubles, in spite of all his burdens, he is so quick to understand; he understood the thing; he condemned both in Madras and here the administration in that particular place, but yet he has not been able to do anything.

Do you think that people will be dead for all time to come? You must not think so. You must make the administration pure; you must clear the atmosphere; you must command the confidence of the people in the country. Until you do so, you cannot ask them to confide in the budget.

Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava (Ajmer-Merwara): The Budget that has been presented by the Honourable the Finance Minister is the second Budget of free India. Its merit has, therefore to be judged from a common man's point of view, the point of view of the man in the street. It will not be an exaggeration to say, that the first reaction of any person studying the Budget is that the common man is being hard hit by it. It is a rich man's budget; it is the Budget of an industrialist, of a businessman. It is not the Budget of a poor man.

Now, in order to cover the deficit in the Budget certain taxation proposals have been incorporated and we have to see how these taxation proposals hit the poor man. By the imposition of a duty on coarse and medium cloth the poor and middle-class man is affected. It may be said that is a very small

amount, but you can imagine what one pice on every five annas means to a poor man. Again, the imposition of petrol duty will lead to retardation of movement of goods. If I have not misunderstood the custom and excise duty imposed is six annas a gallon which is very heavy. As you know, transport is one of the bottle-necks and today one of the factors which is responsible for the inflationary situation in the country is lack of adequate and suitable transport facilities. In fact, it is the motor transport that is serving the major portion of this country, both in the matter of conveyance of passengers and the transport of goods. The imposition of this levy on petrol is bound to tell on the poor man's pocket. Again take the case of betel-nut. It is not a luxury item. It is the necessity of the average man in the street. It is said that the imposition of the duty on betel-nut will not affect the grower. But there is somebody else besides the grower.

The raising of postal rates from one anna six pies on covers to two annas, and from six pies on post cards to nine pies, is a measure which is certainly bound to tell on the poor man. This enhancement of rates has been done, not to cover the deficit, but to give some relief to the industrialist and businessmen. Why? Because, as the Honourable the Finance Minister, said the business world, the capitalist the industrialist has got no confidence to invest in the undertakings. But what has been our experience for the past two years. This is not the first time that relief has been given to the industrialist. In fact, the policy that was inaugurated by Mr. Liaquat Ali was reversed by the first Chetty Budget and substantial relief was granted to the capitalists. But what is the response? Has the money market situation improved in any respect on account of these concessions? We find that the Government's calculation was that it would be able to get Rs. 150 crores on loan from the market. It found that it could not get more than Rs. 55 crores from the rich investors. On the other hand, look at the middle man's savings. Response to investment in the Postal Savings Banks and National Savings Certificates has been beyond the expectation of the Honourable the Finance Minister. The inevitable conclusion, therefore, is that the capitalist and the rich man will not help the cause of Government.

How, then, does this Budget help to fight the monster of inflation? Shri Prakasam just now gave us an approximate idea of the currency in circulation in the country. In 1939, the total quantity of currency in circulation was Rs. 174 crores. By 1948 it had expanded to over Rs. 1,200 crores. What does this expanded currency represent? In fact, it is the purchasing and the lending power of the community. By what method can you fight inflation. Either you must increase production or you must contract your currency. So far as increasing production is concerned, it can be done only on a long term plan. You know what food imports mean to this country. During 1947 we had budgeted for import of two million tons of food grains at a cost of Rs. 110 crores, but we were compelled to import 2.8 million tons, at a cost of Rs. 130 crores. What is the Budget provision for food grains in the present Budget? It is said to be four million tons. Calculating at the price at which imports were made in the last year, we will find that we will have to pay about Rs. 180 crores for food grains. How does that affect our international position? We are daily consuming more and more dollars and the dollar deficit has been of a very alarming character. We find that in 1948, in the six months April to September the dollar deficit was to the extent of 45 millions and out of these 35 million dollars we had to pay for food grains. In the last 3 months of the year 1948 our dollar deficit is expected to the tune of 48 million. Out of these, 40 million dollars are on account of food grains. The situation therefore is gloomy. How can you meet it? At home you can intensify the food

[Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava]

production campaign which will bring about a short-term improvement in our international position. But are we doing so? We have the spiral of rising prices here. In regard to this the Honourable the Finance Minister has stated that the rising tendency has been arrested by the anti-inflationary measures taken by the Government since October 1948. But are these measures sufficient? Is there any certainty that the inflationary tendency will not recur in a very alarming form in the near future?

Therefore, the question is how are you going to counteract it. Either you must contract your currency or you must produce more. So far as production is concerned, it is a long-term affair. So far as the contraction of currency is concerned it is for the Government to consider what steps it should take. In reply to my question on this subject the answer given was that the Government had no intention of resorting to such measures. We have to look far ahead. If the industrialists or the capitalists are reluctant to put the black-market money in circulation and are adamant, the question arises whether you will allow the present alarming position to drift or whether you will try to meet the situation by some approved methods? My respectful submission is that we have before us the experience of several countries which have successfully tided over an economic crisis of this character in a short time. Look at Belgium; look at Norway and look at England. What was the position of Belgium. In 1946 the deposits in her banks and the currency in circulation were three times what they were before the war, in 1939. The Belgian Finance Ministry took certain anti-inflationary measures which included an order that all currency notes of the face value of 100 francs and above should be surrendered and thus stabilised the prices and the wage-level commensurate with the purchasing power of the people. The Finance Minister also blocked 60 per cent of the deposits in banks and allowed the transfer of the remaining 40 per cent to the current account. The result was that in 1947, production shot up to the pre-war level and in 1948 the financial condition of Belgium improved to such an extent that she refused to accept Marshall Aid in favour of the countries who were worse hit. A similar situation existed in Norway and there also similar steps were taken by the Finance Minister. All currency notes over the value of one or two crowns were declared invalid and the Government froze 40 per cent of deposits allowing 60 per cent to be used for production. Some such step must be taken here in India if we are serious about counter-acting inflation. Otherwise, inflation will create big problems and it would be difficult for us to meet them.

There are so many labour disputes in the country. Why is it so? The wages of the labourers are not able to keep pace with the rising prices and that is the cause of the disputes:

[At this stage Mr. Deputy-Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Shrimati G. Durgabai (one of the Panel of Chairmen)]

If you stabilise the prices at a particular level, then it will be possible to meet the labour situation and if there are no strikes and no disturbances, production will increase under industrial peace. The position which exists in India today is identical with that which existed in Norway or Belgium. Here also the figures show that the bank deposits are swelling. The demand liability of Scheduled Banks which was nearabout 150 crores has risen to 664 crores in December 1948. Similarly the time liability has also risen from 103 crores to about 300 crores in December 1948. Similarly again currency which was in December 1939 standing at 241 crores has risen to 1188.20 crores in December 1948. The ratio of currency and deposits in the banks is thrice the pre-war level. Here also there is similarity to the conditions which prevailed in

Belgium and Norway. It is for the Government of India to consider whether the time has not come to take some steps in the direction of successfully meeting the inflationary conditions in India. Without such drastic steps I do not think it will be possible for India to fight this monster of inflation which has invaded the economic condition of the country. With these remarks I resume my seat.

Mr. Chairman: Before I call upon the next speaker, may I request honourable members to strictly confine to the time limit laid down?

Shri C. Subramaniam (Madras: General): We have heard the third Budget speech. The first was an interim budget and this is the second full fledged budget. In my view, merely looking at the Government finances alone would not give us a correct idea of the conditions in the country and therefore in order for the House to appreciate the real situation in the country, it is necessary to give us what I would call a 'National Budget' along with the Government Budget. Government is, after all only a means to an end. The entire Government system is only for the purpose of enforcing the national policy. If that be so, first we have to understand the national situation before we give our judgment regarding the instrument which is controlling these national resources. So I would request the honourable the Finance Minister and the Government to give to this House and to the country at an early date, a complete picture at what position do we stand regarding our national life, regarding our productions in the various industries and in the various sectors of national activity. Only then, we will be able to know what we have what would be our requirements and in what way we have got to improve. So, in that view, I feel that we will not be competent to pass judgment on the real situation in the country with only the figures given to us regarding the Governmental finances.

It has been stated that the fight against inflation is the main preoccupation of the Government. I agree, but I am sorry to say that we are not at all satisfied with the way in which inflation is being tackled. Experts in various fields were consulted for the purpose of eliciting their opinion in regard to the fight against inflation and one of the recommendations made was that there should be a drastic economy in the Governmental expenditure. All avoidable expenditure should be avoided. The Government accepted that recommendation, but have they implemented it? They did not look into their administrative expenditure and they did not care to find out what are the expenditures which could possibly be cut out. As a matter of fact, an Economy Committee has been appointed and it has submitted its report also. But as far as that is concerned, they have completely ignored it but the first thing the Government did was to find out which are the developmental schemes which could be postponed or dropped. I submit, they have started at the wrong end. It is not as if those developmental schemes are not necessary for the welfare of the country. On the other hand, the honourable the Finance Minister himself has stated. 'The House should realize that it was not without regret that we decided to hold up even temporarily the various schemes of development, the execution of which is necessary for the wellbeing of the country'.

If these schemes of development are necessary for the welfare of the country, did the Government take care to find out in what other matters and to what extent there could be economy in the administrative sphere? Without going into that matter at all, useful schemes of development have been held up, simply because they did not care or did not want to bring about economy in other fields. So I say the wrong end has been chosen and even now, no assurance has been given to us that economy will be effected in the administrative field in the near future during the next year. We have got to see that the Government tackles this problem of inflation properly.

[Shri C. Subramaniam]

One other factor, I wish to mention with regard to this fight against inflation. It is stated over and over again that it is a matter of surplus spending power in the hands of the people which is the cause of all this inflation and rise in prices. I have gone to the rural parts in my province and I can say that the surplus amount of money in the hands of the people is restricted only to a very few people, but the vast majority of the people in the rural areas and also the poor people in the urban areas, they are as before. It is not a question of their having any surplus money in their hands. Even now they are unable to purchase their daily rations, their weekly rations and they have to borrow even for that sometimes. They have even to forego the rations which they have to get every week. That being so, this question of surplus money power is only in the hands of a very few people. I would say, perhaps one or two per cent. of the population. With the rest of the 98 or 99 per cent. of the population, it is not a question of surplus money in their hands. This inflation is merely the result of paucity of goods. Therefore, if you want to tackle this problem of inflation, it is not a question of surplus money in the hands of the people, but one of scarcity of goods, one of production and there is not sufficient production in the country. The Government should tackle this problem of production before they think of withdrawing the surplus money in the hands of the people and in that way that problem could be tackled and that is the only way. If the Government is merely taking measures to withdraw the surplus money in the hands of the people, without tackling the problem of production I am afraid, they will not be solving the problem at all. For the purpose of increasing production, the Honourable the Finance Minister has given in this Budget various reliefs. Are not these reliefs enough to the capitalists, in whose hands the means of production are today. They are not content with these reliefs, but they want further assurances. It was said that assurances are wanted regarding the nationalization policy of the Government, regarding compensation which would be paid in case of nationalization and also control. Have not sufficient assurances already been given? The Deputy Prime Minister, speaking the other day in Madras, categorically stated that even if we wanted to nationalise it would not be possible to nationalize the industries in the near future. What further assurances the capitalists want, I do not know. Is it that we should take out the word "nationalization" altogether from our programme? Even if we give this assurance now to them still they should remember that we are committed to a democratic system of Government. Suppose we give this assurance, is it binding on our successors? Certainly not. As long as the capitalists live in a democratic India, they would be bound by the decisions of the majority in a democratic country with a democratic legislature. Even if we give an assurance that there will be no nationalization and that they will have not only just compensation, but something more than that even then, will it be binding on our successors in this legislature or in this House? It is further said that there is something in the new constitution which frightens the capitalists. This Constitution is not unalterable and with a certain majority it could be altered. Therefore, if the capitalists agree to live under a democratic Government, they will have to face the situation as it is. They have got a free hand in the industrial field now. It is not possible for the Government even if they want to, to nationalize the entire industry. Therefore, having regard to these existing circumstances, is it not the duty of every capitalist in this country to see that production is increased? Should they be insisting on further assurances, imaginary assurances, which may not help them at all and continue saying: "We are shy." We are facing a great crisis. We want strong men and therefore, I say, if they feel shy, we have to replace them, that is all. It is not as if because we have love for these capitalist or we have faith in the capitalistic system that we have allowed

these capitalists to operate in the industrial field; but it is because under the existing circumstances, it is not possible and desirable to displace them. That being so, it is necessary that they should fulfil our expectations and if they do not fulfil those expectations but go on saying: We are shy because you are talking of nationalization; we feel shy because nationalization is your ultimate ideal, then the only course for the Government is to see whether these shy creatures should continue to hold the field or it is time to get them replaced. After all an agency has got to be judged by the results. The private enterprise in this country is on its trial. If private enterprise does not fulfil the promises, does not fulfil the expectations, we would be justified in replacing that agency by some other agency which might give us what we want.

In this connection I would like to refer to the attitude of labour also. Labour, it is said, is discontented. But who is not discontented in this country now? Everybody is discontented. The capitalists think that their discontent should be attended to first. Labour think they are entitled to priority. And between these two, they want a monopoly. It looks like a husband and wife quarrelling when the creditor comes to collect his dues. We should not forget that every industry is for the good of the nation as a whole it is not merely for the capitalist, nor is it merely for the benefit of the labour. It is for the entire country. Therefore the Government should take up a policy which would be beneficial to the country, and not merely one of sharing of the profits between capital and labour. I do not mean to say that labour is not entitled to its rights. Most certainly it is entitled to its rights, and Government is granting labour its rights. But in spite of that, it is being formanted in certain labour circles that labour is not getting its dues and, so labour must fight for those rights, even go to the extent of paralysing the nation. That kind of thing is not desirable and should stop.

If we want to fight inflation, the only course to do is to increase production and for that you must have a firm policy and say that capital and labour must co-operate and work together. Till we pass the crisis, there should indeed be no question of dispute between capital and labour.

I have only one more point to mention, I will leave off the rest, since time is short. The next point I have to mention is about the controls that are in existence now. We should see if these controls increase production, and whether they are for the benefit of the country. Taking first, the food control, as far as its working in my part of the country is concerned, I can say that it is working to the detriment of the country, and against good production. In my own district, because the cost of production is so high and the controlled price so low many landlords find it uneconomical to grow food grains. I have heard many landlords saying that they will not grow any food grains as long as the controls last. It is quite a different thing when we have state-farming or co-operative farming. But as long as the present conditions continue, we must see that there is as much production as possible. There could not be as uniform policy for all India. We must have some system by which freedom is given to the provincial governments to adjust things as far as the provinces are concerned. When we approach the provincial Government they say that the Centre is very strict about it and that they must enforce the procurement as laid down by the Central Government. Under the present circumstances, food control and the total procurement system prevalent in various parts of the country stand in the way of greater production. It has to be looked into and adjusted so that there is more and more production by landlords, whether big or small. As the Deputy Prime Minister remarked, in Madras, corruption follows control. It may look all right on paper, but in actual working there is a

[Shri C. Subramaniam]

lot of difficulty and corruption. A certain degree of autonomy should be allowed to the provinces in working the procurement and rationing policy. Once the allotment of quota of food grains is made to them, the provinces should be able to work out distribution and procurement according to plans best suited to them.

Shri B. Shiva Rao (Madras: General): Before I proceed to offer a few observations on the budget, I would like to deal with a preliminary point. A few days before the presentation of the budget, we were led to believe that with the budget papers would be circulated reports from the different Ministries giving the salient features of the administration of each Ministry during the current year. These papers, I am sorry to say, have not yet reached the Members of the House, and I am bringing up this point in the hope that before we give notice of cut motions at any rate, these papers will reach us.

In the course of the speeches which have already been made, there has been reference to one striking point in the budget speech, and that is the striking variation between the original budget estimates presented last year, and the revised estimates contained in the budget presented now. Pandit Kunzru, somewhat briefly, and Prof. Shah more elaborately dealt with this point. And if I refer to it, it is only to remind the honourable the Finance Minister of a promise which was tentatively made by his predecessor last year, and that is, to set up, with as little delay as possible, a research and planning section in the Finance Ministry. That is I think of the utmost importance. I know that the Chancellor of the Exchequer in England is willing and indeed would be glad to provide facilities for training three or four promising young men from the Finance Ministry in this country, and I hope that Sir Stafford Cripps' offer will be accepted by the Finance Minister promptly and gratefully. I am referring to this variation between the original estimates and the revised estimates for another reason, and that is to indicate that there is nothing sacrosanct about the forecasts for the coming year, contained in the budget, more especially because my honourable friend has made no allowance at all for economies as a result of the working of the Economy Committee, nor for reduced expenditure under the heading "Defence". So far as the work of the Economy Committee is concerned, I think the proper costume which the Finance Minister should have worn is not a lounge suit, but sack cloth and ashes. If he had been candid to this House, he should have come forward and told us that this Committee has been a complete flop. Last year when his predecessor made a token cut of Rs. 2½ crores, Pandit Kunzru very properly took him to task for unduly under-rating the possibilities implicit in the work of the Economy Committee. This year, profiting perhaps by the experience of his predecessor, Dr. Matthai has been discreetly silent on that point. I am referring to this matter because I think it high time that he did something positive about it. I would suggest for his serious consideration that the various interim reports of the Economy Committee, referring to the several Ministries should be submitted to the respective Standing Committees of the Legislature, and a prompt decision taken, after the House has risen for the Budget session. If necessary, let these Standing Committees sit day to day until the task has been completed.

On the subject of Defence expenditure, I would remind Dr. Matthai of the promise, also made by his predecessor that as soon as normal conditions began to develop, with the cease-fire in Kashmir, he would have the defence expenditure scrutinised, possibly by a separate Committee; and I would like Dr. Matthai to consider whether the defence estimates could now be submitted to a sub-

committee of the Standing Finance Committee. I think that would be a very useful practice and would lead to the development of a full-fledged estimates committee of this House. I am laying stress on this point because while previous speakers have spoken on it only from the standpoint of economy, I am looking at it from the standpoint of the work that is being done in the Secretariat.

Anyone who goes round the different Ministries at the present moment would be struck with one fact that is the steady and serious deterioration both in the quality and the quantity of work done in the Secretariat. There are many reasons for this but I think the situation is much more serious than the House has realised. I know that several officers, senior officers, of ability, experience and integrity, are only looking forward to the time when they can retire from the Government of India. I am afraid it is true that there has been a tendency on the part of more than one Ministry to set at naught the established practices in regard to recruitment and promotion of people in the Secretariat. Men who have been thrown out for proved misdemeanour by the findings of the Public Service Commission have been brought back and given responsible positions. The effect of all this is devastating on the morale of the thousands of people who are working in the Secretariat. This is an aspect of the problem which I think members of the Cabinet would do well to ponder over.

Shri B. Das: They have no time.

An Honourable Member: Which are the Ministries?

Shri B. Shiva Rao: I could not give the details.

Let me now pass on from the work of the Economy Committee to the allied subject of which my honourable friend the Railway and Transport Minister is in charge and that is the reorganisation of the Secretariat from the standpoint of work, not excluding, I believe, even the Cabinet. Last year at this time several of us had suggested that there should be a redistribution of portfolios among the members of the Cabinet and that leading members of Cabinet and in particular the Prime Minister should release themselves as much as possible from the routine problems of administration in order that they may concentrate on the co-ordination of work inside the Government and on the expounding of policies outside. That, I think, is a point which deserves the urgent attention of my honourable friend Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar and since he has not completed his task I would venture to put before him and before the House one or two concrete suggestions.

It seems to me that the time has arrived for the separation of Works from Mines and Power. That was a recommendation of the Coalfields Committee two or three years ago of which my honourable friend the Commerce Minister was a distinguished Member. The report of the Coalfields Committee has argued in a convincing manner a case for the separation of Works from Mines and Power including in the latter category, viz. Mines and Power, (as has been done more appropriately in England where the Ministry is labelled Fuel and Power) Coal, Oil, Electricity and Hydro-electric Power. I think the Ministry of Works should be reduced in size and I feel I would be failing in my duty if I did not express the very general dissatisfaction felt by many members of this House with the present functioning of Works, in the W.M.P. Ministry. I think the time has come for infusing into it a new spirit of research, possibly through new personnel.

Attention has been drawn during the last few months, at question time particularly, to the scandalously slow disposal of surplus stores and on this matter

[Shri B. Shiva Rao]

I would like to say this: that although disposals is a part of the Ministry of Industries and Supplies the Minister himself in charge of that subject is not the only culprit. He is not even the principal accused; because on the one side there is the Defence Ministry which takes an unconscionably long time to declare such stores as surplus to their own requirements and on the other side is the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation. I took some pains to collect some figures in regard to the working of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation so far as disposals are concerned and the figures are astonishing enough. During the last twelve months the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation has imposed a ban on the sale of surplus stores covering goods, I am told estimated at anything between 50 and 80 crores. But what has been the actual purchase by this Ministry during the first three months of 1948-49? Their purchases amounted to Rs. 14,000 and I believe that during the rest of the year the total purchase does not aggregate even a lakh or two. Therefore I would suggest that the disposals, where there has been a criminal waste of most valuable capital goods worth crores and crores of rupees, should be taken out of the Ministry of Industry and supply and possibly amalgamated with the Board of Scientific Research. (*An Honourable Member*: "With the Board of Scientific Research?") That is a very small section at present administered by the Prime Minister. (*Prof. N. G. Ranga*: "So that at least the unopened parcels will be opened!") So far as food is concerned we have already had a debate in this House about three or four weeks ago and it is not necessary to cover the same ground again. But the only point I would like to make on this occasion is that since a policy has been laid down and it is hoped that it will be carried out firmly without any vacillation, Food may best be entrusted to a Board of senior and competent officers with much greater powers than the Ministry of Food has over the Provinces. I refuse to believe that the Food situation is quite so desperately serious as we are often made to believe. I have a shrewd suspicion that provincial governments in order to escape the embarrassment of procurement deliberately understate their production. Speaking for myself, I take the strongest exception to 33 crores being set apart in the coming year as subsidies for the importation of food and as bonus on procurement. I would like the Minister for Food and Agriculture to consider whether it is wise to embark on such large expenditure and hand over 33 crores to the provinces unconditionally. If a subsidy is to be given, I would link it up with the measure of co-operation that is really forthcoming from the provinces in rationing and in procurement.

So far as the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation is concerned I think it is psychologically wrong and financially ruinous to let the Ministry continue in its present state. I would rather combine it with the Resettlement Directorate of the Labour Ministry and call it by a different name—the Ministry of Social Welfare or some name of that kind—because I think it is wrong to perpetuate the term 'refugee' for all time. (*Shri R. K. Sidhu*: "They have substituted the word 'displaced' person.") That is as bad as the word refugee.

There is one last point which I would like to make before I sit down. I do not feel that the Finance Minister has taken a sufficiently serious view of the position ahead of us or it may be that he has considered it prudent to conceal his fears regarding the immediate future. I feel that financially and politically the situation is extremely serious at the present moment and we cannot afford to live indefinitely on our dwindling resources. We must do every thing possible to reduce and stop the import of food from outside and we should do all we can to build up our Dollar resources. During the Railway Budget I emphasised a point which I had made last year that every thing should be done to stimulate tourist traffic into this country and I feel the Ministry of Industry and Supply can also do a great deal by encouraging the

export of cottage industry products to countries like America. I mention this because unless you reverse present tendencies both in the financial and in the political fields, next year or the year after we shall feel we are dangerously near the precipice.

India at the present moment is undoubtedly the most important country in Asia and just for that reason we are at the present moment inviting to ourselves the attention of subversive forces from outside which would like to make administration as difficult as possible. The present Government, both at the Centre and in the Provinces, came into power after an era of preaching disaffection against the established order. On the other hand our present leaders have held out great hopes of a speedy betterment of the social and economic conditions of the people on the achievement of independence. If we are frank with ourselves we must admit that while on the one hand the mentality of criticism of the government persists, there is also widespread discontent and disappointment that the higher standards of life which have been promised do not seem to be round the corner. I feel that these subversive influences of which I have just spoken are doing everything possible to exploit discontent for their own ends. And the point to remember at the present moment above all other points is that we cannot think of any better set of men to take charge of the administration of this country, whether at the Centre or in the Provinces. If the confidence of the masses in the present administrations is rudely shaken, the alternative is not another set of men to take their places because, as I have said, there can be no better set of men, but the alternative I am afraid is complete loss of faith, not only in this Government, but in all constituted governments. That, I suggest, is not the mood to encourage in the people on the eve of the introduction of a permanent Constitution.

Sardar Hukam Singh (East Punjab: Sikh): Several eminent economists have spoken on the subject and I must confess I have no pretensions for that status. I will speak as a layman and tell the House the reactions that an ordinary man must have got about this Budget. The first reactions of a layman to this Budget are as have been stated by one or two honourable Members here, that it does not give any relief to the poor though it extends certain concessions to the rich. But we have to understand the difficulties that our Finance Minister has described and view the whole thing in the circumstances that exist at present. In our own country, as has been observed by our Finance Minister, as in most other countries in the post-war period the major problem has been that of keeping the inflationary trends under control. These trends, we have been told, were due to the surplus purchasing power in the hands of the community. My friend, Dr. Subrahmanyam, has doubted that and he has told us that it is not so so far as villages and other places are concerned. But I believe that it is one of the greatest factors that is causing this inflation. As a result of the war, purchasing power increased considerably while the available supply of commodities in the post-war period was not enough to meet all those demands. This Budget, so far as I can understand, has been framed with that object, that is, to fight those tendencies. We have been told that during the year 1947 there was a steady rise in prices and during 1948 there was a steep rise of about 100 per cent. It is agreed that the only solution to this inflation is to encourage production, to bring in more commodities that are required and to reduce expenditure. We will just see from this Budget whether we are really proceeding towards the desired goal.

During the last war we were told that a substantial increase in production was not possible in the near future, and from the present Budget as well we do not think the prospects are so bright. At such a moment those who are

[Sardar Hukam Singh]

experts and economists tell us that we should try to increase our revenues and curtail our expenditure and that spending power should be decreased. Several methods have been suggested in this connection by so many speakers. One of them is the contraction of currency. The gentleman suggesting it also gave the answer of the Government that it was not possible to do it just at present. The other two methods, that is, encouraging production and reducing expenditure, are being tried for the last two years. This is the third Budget which is being presented here with this end in view. The first one of 1947-48, it is advocated by certain gentlemen, had an adverse effect on our production. That has also been doubted by some gentlemen, but I believe that that Budget was presented with a proper motive, and that hit the business community most. The level of taxation in that Budget was so high that it retarded the growth of industries and stunted our development altogether. This was realised when the Budget of 1948-49 was being presented and certain reliefs were extended to the industrialists and to other concerns. Some of these reliefs were that the abatement level was raised from one lakh to two lakhs, the tax rate was reduced in the case of the Business Profits Tax, and certain other concessions were also given. But the desired effect could not be achieved in spite of that.

As has been said, we wanted money and Government floated a loan but that was not subscribed to. The capitalists and those who had money did not come up voluntarily and part with the surplus money they had. I believe this has also been affected by the partition of the country. I can say with confidence that the part that has been taken away from India was very rich, very flourishing. We had great businessmen there, large concerns and factories, though so far as Sind and West Punjab are concerned numerically *Pakistanis* were in a majority, but so far as business was concerned it was entirely in the hands of non-Muslims, who have now left those homes and come over to this side. Now, you can very well imagine what a refugee's Budget would be like. It would be a zero Budget. So you cannot expect such a man to contribute anything towards any loan. The other citizens also have very little to spare, because the ordinary man's economy is such that he has to spend most of his income on buying, I should not say food, because that would include ghee, vegetables, pulses and other things, but cereals alone. Ninety per cent. of his income is consumed in buying wheat or rice. Very little is left with him to spend on other things. If I may say, ghee is a luxury now for an ordinary man. So you cannot expect such a man also to contribute anything towards loans or savings schemes. The concessions, as I said, that were given during the last Budget did not produce the desired result and I am afraid the temptations now offered may also fail so far as our object is concerned.

How then could the Finance Minister make up his revenues—by taxation, direct or indirect? He has given certain reliefs and those have been criticised by honourable members that this is rather giving more concessions to those persons who do not deserve at all and it is on the other side and the Budget does nothing for the poor man at all.

As my time is up, I shall come to taxation directly. The first encroachment made is in postal rates. It is certainly very offensive and directly hits the poor. It is no consolation to the poor man that his postcards and covers would be carried by air. In the first place, very few places are connected by air and there would be no significant reduction in the time taken. Secondly, the ordinary villager is not so much concerned with the time taken as with the cost incurred. So this change cannot be welcomed by anybody. If salt duty can be abolished on sentimental grounds, the postal rates should not have

been increased on psychological grounds. The surcharge on liquor is quite welcome and even increase of surcharge of fabrics containing silk or other luxuries may not be grudged, but the raising of duty on furniture, clocks and watches may affect the middle class people. The increase in import duty on motor spirit from 12 annas to 15 a gallon and the raising of the excise duty as well would adversely affect the poor man, because the combined effect of the duty on tyres would be to make travelling more costly. Not only that. The duty on sugar is increased. Additional duty on cloth is imposed and even coarse cloth is not spared. What is the result for the poor man? He is already groaning under heavy prices of food. We have not given him any relief, nor is there even a ray of hope of our doing so in the near future. We have to offer him apologies and excuses, but this cannot save him.

Shri Krishna Chandra Sharma (U. P.: General): I have great pleasure in congratulating the honourable the Finance Minister for presenting a surplus Budget, because it was an unavoidable necessity in the time of inflation to avoid a deficit Budget, but this is only the equilibrium of expenditure and revenue. The story does not end here.

There are some definite features of modern society and any activity—political or otherwise—has to be judged in relation to them. I am not an experienced man in life like my learned friend Pandit Kunzru, nor have I a profound knowledge of the theories of economics like Prof. K. T. Shah. My task is one of taking the facts, marshalling them, adjusting them to the accepted principles and judging how far they are in consonance with them; how far they do not fulfil the essentials of conforming to accepted rules and therefore defective.

Two constructive forces are working in the modern world. Firstly, there is immense production of articles of consumption. Secondly, humanitarianism, namely, the cry of the common man, the care, the feeling, the concern to uplift him. Any activity—political, social, economic or otherwise—has to be judged from the standpoint of these two outstanding features of modern society.

Taking the production side, the Finance Minister has done well to help industrialists in so far as capital goods, starting of new machinery, new factories and new productive methods are concerned. It will help to produce articles of consumption of which we are greatly in need and we might be able to meet inflation much sooner than expected.

So far as humanitarian aspects are concerned, I am sorry to say that the Budget is defective in that respect. In other progressive countries the tendency of late has been to impose more of direct taxes than indirect, because money is centred in the hands of a few. They are not its rightful owners. It is the very large number of people who work in the field, who work in the factory and who work in other capacity, who are the legitimate owners of this money. But on account of maladjustment of economic forces, one tenth of one per cent of the population have with them the major portion of the wealth of the country. The tragedy of the situation is that those who have got the smaller share of the wealth contribute the utmost for its production. The tendency, therefore, in the progressive countries of the west has been to impose direct taxation on the monied classes with a view to rectify the maladjustment of distribution of wealth. The money realised by such taxation is spent in subsidising articles of consumption of the poor, such as food, and in affording them free education, medical relief and such other things. It is also utilised for giving gratuities to those whose income fall below a certain level and with which it is not possible to live with a minimum standard of life. Of

[Shri Krishna Chandra Sharma]

course, we cannot expect the Finance Minister to work miracles. But what is wanted and what should be aimed at is a slow and steady progress in the direction I have indicated. In that way alone you can win the confidence of the common man. One has to remember that gradual progress does not mean standing still.

The greatest need of the hour is the winning of the confidence of the peasant on the field and the worker in the factory, because they are the people who are to build the future of this great country, not the millionaire on whom these concessions are bestowed. Nor is it the intellectuals like my respected and learned friend Professor K. T. Shah. What he can do is to draw up a plan; but the man who can contribute to give shape to it is the worker. Unfortunately, the confidence of the common man, I respectfully submit, has been rudely shaken. It is not the imposition of a small duty on cloth on the enhancement of the import duty on fine cloth that really matters. I for one do not share the view of people who say that the peasant has been hard hit and that he is starving; nor do I agree with them when they say that the worker is under-clothed and under-fed. Nothing of the sort. The peasant is the happiest man in India today. What was the state of affairs before the war? Hardly 60 per cent. of the working classes could secure employment on rupee one per day. Now, a worker earns Rs. 2/8 per day. While he was finding it difficult to get employment for himself, all the four members of his family are employed now. That means, as against his pre-war family income of Rs. 2½ per day he is now earning rupees ten per day. Even taking it for granted that the cost of living index number has gone up by 400 per cent, the manual labourer is now definitely better off. So, neither the peasant nor the worker has suffered in any way by inflation.

Nor am I worried about inflation as such. On account of expansion of currency, prices have gone up. This would not have happened had there been a corresponding increase in production. At any rate the inflation has not in the least affected the peasant or the worker, and they are not in any way worse off to what they were in 1939. By raising the duty on cotton, on post-cards and envelopes you laid an extra burden on the common man and to that

5 P.M. extend your budget is defective, because in the present day we want a dynamic economy, not merely an equilibrium of expenditure and revenue. This could easily be adjusted by any clerk in an office. The need of the hour is a dynamic economics of social purposes. But the Budget is not designed in that direction and the common man will feel bitter against you, because you have broken his confidence, the confidence with which he looked to a Free India. The greatest danger is that the Budget has given a handle in the hands of those whose intention and determination it is to break your organisation, your present structure of the State.

Taking the question of inflation it is not so nerve-racking a matter as it has been shown to be. I shall cite the instance of France after world war I. In the beginning money was increased and the Franc lost 4/5 of its value. But the testing point is not whether the prices have gone up but it is whether the people are hoarding the commodities as against the money. So though the Franc went down 4/5 in value the French Finance Minister held out and France passed through the currency crisis easily. So this crisis in our country will pass on. The country is not going to be ruined and the only thing to be done is to rally the people round you, so that they can work in the fields more honestly and consciously and in the factories with greater vigour and make your social programme the success that you desire it to be.

The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 4th March, 1949.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) DEBATES

(PART II.—PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

Friday, 4th March, 1949

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Deputy Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11-45 A.M.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

REPORTS OF PRINTING AND STATIONERY DEPARTMENT, PETROLEUM DIVISION, GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, INDIAN SCHOOL OF MINES AND APPLIED GEOLOGY AND CENTRAL ELECTRICITY COMMISSION

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil (Minister of Works, Mines and Power): Sir, I beg to lay on the table a copy of each of the following Reports,* namely:

- (1) Administration Report of the Printing and Stationery Department, 1941—47,
- (2) Administration Report of the Petroleum Division, 1942 to March 1948,
- (3) General Report of the Geological Survey of India for the year 1947,
- (4) Annual Report of the Indian School of Mines and Applied Geology for 1947-48, and
- (5) Annual Report of the Central Electricity Commission for the year 1941—47,

Shri B. Das (Orissa: General): Sir, the honourable Minister in charge of Works, Mines and Power has laid on the table five thick volumes of over 500 pages. That means that it will have to be published in the daily Proceedings. It is the practice of this House that whenever any papers are laid on the table by any Minister of the Government, they are published in the day's Proceedings and if a Minister lays all his departmental annual Reports on the table that means considerable expenditure to the Government in printing the Proceedings. Of course they can lay their Ministry's Reports. This is a point of view which I would like you to consider.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I shall consider that question later.

ESTATE DUTY BILL

EXTENSION OF TIME FOR PRESENTATION OF REPORT OF SELECT COMMITTEE

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai (Minister of Finance): Sir, I beg to move.

"That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to provide for the levy and collection of an estate duty in the provinces of India, be further extended upto the 31st March, 1949".

*Not printed in the day's debates. Copies placed in the Library of the House.—Ed. of Deb.

(1067)

[Dr. John Matthai]

A few days ago, I asked the House for permission to submit this Report by the 4th of March, but since then we have had two more meetings and we found there are still certain important matters that require further consultation and further examination. I hope, therefore, that the House will agree to the Motion that I have made.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The question is:

"That the time appointed for the presentation of the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to provide for the levy and collection of an estate duty in the provinces of India, be further extended upto the 31st March, 1949".

The motion was adopted.

THE GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—con'd.

FIRST STAGE—contd.

Shri M. Tirumala Rao (Madras: General): The Budget presented by the Finance Minister has received a mixed reception in the country. Though he is a creature of certain circumstances over which he has no control, being a leader of a Government charged with the duty of stewarding its finances, he is expected to control the circumstances instead of becoming a creature of it. He has to canalise the difficult influences that assail a Finance Minister in enabling him to balance a Budget. One cannot but come to the conclusion that he is too much influenced by the orthodox way of balancing his Budget.

With all the assistance which the Finance Department has got of expert advice, which is a very costly advice seeing from the salary bill, the Revised Estimates for the current year show such an amazing disparity between the budgeted amount and the estimated amount. With an occult capacity to somehow find the expenditure for any windfall that may have fallen to them, the Department have very wisely shown the expenditure to the tune of Rs. 80 crores for which they had not originally budgeted at all. I will not imagine that their estimate has gone off the other way about; instead of having a surplus of Rs. 80 crores, the Budget has gone down by Rs. 80 crores of deficit. What would have happened to the Government of India and how would they have faced the deficit? Therefore, I want to say that in these estimates, which seem to be empirical by the results, one should not be carried away by the feeling that a small deficit of Rs. 20 crores should be somehow or other filled by taxing the poor.

The Finance Minister has been very kind towards the industrial and capitalist class who have struck work since 1946. In the year 1946, when Sir Archibald Rowlands presented his Budget, he presented a lump sum, a decent amount of Rs. 80 crores, of the excess profits tax to these industrialists with a view that they will plough back that amount in industry and improve the standard of life of the masses. But it was a disappointment. The figures have shown that hardly Rs. 20 crores have gone into new investment. They have not come into new investment but the financiers and industrialists tell us the reason why they have not been able to re-invest their money into the industry. They throw the blame on the statement of the Ministers, on the disturbed conditions of the country in the year 1947-48, and say that there is no clear policy for the Government of India, that some members speak of nationalization, some others speak of socialization of all the key industries of the country, and that therefore the investor has not got a sense of security in ploughing back the present, made by Sir Archibald Rowlands of the Rs. 80

crores, into industry. Even with that amount you can see how far the production has fallen. I would quote from the figures that have been recently supplied by the President of the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce which is holding its session since yesterday. He says:

"Production of cotton textiles which had reached a figure of 4800 million yards in the peak year declined to 3600 million yards. The production of steel from 1.2 million tons came down to .9 million tons and in 1948 it has further gone down to .85 million tons. The production of cement has come down from two million tons to 1.5 million tons in 1948."

How far the industrialist have co-operated and have made good the opportunity that has been given by a previous Finance Minister, these figures amply prove. The tax reductions which the honourable Member has promised in the coming year to these industrial magnates have to be properly availed of and the goodwill shown should be cashed properly by these industrialists. The Resolutions passed by the Federation of the Chambers of Commerce yesterday have accepted the offer in the spirit in which it has been made but they have not got one word to say about the tax burdens which have been imposed upon the poor in this country. I want to say that it is not necessary for you to increase all the small duties on the poor people. The excise duty on cloth, on sugar, on motor spirit, and the import duty on betel nuts, are not necessary because cloth is a commodity which is used universally, especially medium and coarse cloth—but it has not escaped the notice of the Finance Minister.

With regard to sugar, it is considered an article of diet which is absolutely essential for the caloric heat content of the body. You say you want to improve the standard of living of the toiling masses. A larger number of the people of the lower grade incomes are coming to use sugar. The very fact that your railway grainshops give a compulsory ration of a certain quantity of sugar per head for every member of the railway staff argues that the Government have realised that sugar is being considered as an important article of diet among the lower income groups.

With regard to motor spirit, the tax was lowered in the year 1946 by three annas; now you have restored that tax. I want you to realise how it affects the poor man. The majority of the people in the country use motor transport in the villages and now they will be hard hit. Every gallon of petrol is expected to carry over about 15 to 20 miles by bus and for every journey made by a passenger of 15 to 20 miles he has to pay an extra duty of three annas for his travel. Not only that; a large quantity of goods are carried by motor trucks over long distances, distances covering 400 to 500 miles at a time. All these commodities will now have to pay a higher price in proportion to the duty that has been imposed on motor spirit. Therefore you are hitting the ordinary consumer who has to depend for his travel on the motor lorry and for his consumer goods on motor transport.

With regard to postal rates, that is a psychological thing that will tell very badly upon the Government. You might have created an advantage of quick delivery of mails for only a very limited number of people belonging to the business community, who will again transfer that surcharge to the consumer direct in their expenses. But the poor village people who depend on a postcard will at once say that this is not a Government which is being carried on in the interests of the people. Every little item of tax that has been newly imposed hits the poor man in such a way that it will give a handle (*Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava*: "They will think Government lives in the air!") it will give a handle to every discontented political agitator in the country to go about and proclaim that this is not the Congress Government, that this is not the Government intended to help the people, but this is the Government of the rich people, by the rich people and for the rich people. Therefore, I want you to consider this aspect.

[Shri M. Tirumala Rao]

No doubt, you have given a subsidy by way of reducing the tax on aviation petrol. Development of aviation is absolutely necessary for strategic and defence purposes of this country, but you cannot tax the poor man and transfer that tax to the relief of the rich who are the main users of the air-lines, both as passengers as well as for transit of their freight.

I suggest one concrete measure. Apart from the sentimental attachment which you have for the abolition of salt duty, I want you to consider the point whether you cannot revive the salt duty. We are consuming 500 lakhs of maunds of salt and even if you put a tax of Rs. 2 per maund you will get nearly Rs. 10 crores. There is no use of protesting always by the revered name of Mahatma Gandhi. We have modified our plans, we have changed our principles even, when we thought that it is in the best interests of the country. Was it not Mahatma Gandhi who insisted on all this control being lifted? He argued with the Government of India and saw that the controls were lifted early last year. But now, in the light of experience gained, in the light of the universal effort of black-marketeers and greedy merchants to defeat the controls, the Government of India and the Provincial Governments have come to the conclusion that they cannot act by the advice of Mahatma Gandhi. Therefore, you are now re-imposing all the controls in the best interests of the country. So also on 500 lakhs of maunds of salt consumed by 35 crores of people, if a tax at the rate of Rs. 2 per maund is levied for the whole year, the incidence of the tax will be so light, so invisible that it will not be felt at all by the people.

Shri B. Das (Orissa: General): Thank you for your courage to say that; and I agree with you.

Shri M. Tirumala Rao: Yes, Sir.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi (Madras: General): It is post card psychology.

Shri M. Tirumala Rao: My friend Mr. Bharathi says it is post-card psychology. He and I are neither rich nor poor; we are hanging in mid-air, but our lot is more with the poor who are in the majority than with the rich who are in the minority. Therefore, I say that the salt duty can be revived without any violence to Mahatma Gandhi's tenets or feelings or ideologies.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: Question. He said when he became insane he will revive it.

Shri M. Tirumala Rao: Then there is no coordination between the provincial taxation and the central taxation. Provincial Governments are going in their own way. For instance, Madras which has taken an unduly enthusiastic interest and adherence and attachment to prohibition has adopted prohibition at one stroke, losing a revenue of Rs. 17 crores! They want to benefit the poor man by abolishing drink, but in a direct way they are now putting their hands into the pockets of every poor man by taxing his pepper, by taxing his chillies, by taxing his coconut. Coconut is an article of food in the extreme south, where people use coconut oil in place of til oil. They eat coconut in their food and now coconut is being sought to be taxed. In Bombay electricity is being sought to be taxed. They are going to tax the primary article of cloth again by way of sales-tax. Cloth produced in Bombay will have to pay sales-tax in Bombay. When it is exported to Madras it has to pay another item of sales-tax in Madras. Again, when it goes into another province, sales-tax is collected for third time. It is taxed thrice and the ultimate burden is borne by the poor man who wears the coarse and the medium cloth.

Therefore, provinces, in order to balance their Budgets are having recourse to these injurious ways by taxing the poor people. The Central Government has also done the same thing. Are you not indirectly helping the augmentation of inflation which you are trying to control today? The Government of India has not taken any concrete steps so far to control inflation. On the other hand, you can rest assured that your policy is going to add to the inflation. In our Constitution we have provided for a Centralised Government for purposes of safety, for purposes of defence. Now for purposes of economic safety and even distribution of the tax burden on the whole population, you should immediately bring into existence a Taxation Enquiry Committee which was envisaged as early as 1946 and was not acted upon by successive Finance Ministers. I want you to see that the provinces are not going in their own way with regard to taxation, but should have a coordinated plan, so that the incidence of taxation is not felt by the poor, especially now, when in the formative stages of our country's Constitution, in the early stages of our freedom, Governments cannot easily estrange the poor people, nor can they allow a sort of glaring misunderstanding to be created in their minds that these Governments do not care for their welfare. (Prof. N. G. Ranga: "Hear, hear") With regard to Defence expenditure which is a huge item of 150 crores, the books that are given are a maze of figures which it is not possible to understand for anybody. We have developed the system of Standing Committees. The Standing Committee for Finance is capable and competent to look into the general expenditure on Budget, but the Budget figures are so vast and complicated that we should not be burdened with the task of going into the Defence expenditure also. The Standing Finance Committee for Railways is quite competent and it has developed a sort of tradition behind it that looks to the Railway Budget and scrutinises all the items of expenditure year by year. Why not have a similar Standing Finance Committee—I want to make a concrete suggestion—for Defence composed of members of this House, which will look into the Budget of 157 crores or so and scrutinise what is happening? I may honestly tell you that one Defence Minister cannot bear the burden of this huge Department. This is an important Department, as important as the Ministry of Home Affairs or the States Ministry or Ministry of External Affairs. Therefore, leaders of front rank, people with following in the country, leaders of big political parties with a past and a high political status in the country, must handle this portfolio with the assistance of a Standing Finance Committee to which the Defence estimates and Budget of every year should be submitted for scrutiny and examination.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable Member's time is up.

Shri M. Tirumala Rao: I am coming to a close. One more minute, Sir.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I have given sufficient time. The honourable Member must conclude.

Shri M. Tirumala Rao: I am coming to a close, Sir.

One more suggestion I want to make. The history of the Food Department is not quite happy. On the food debate many of the honourable Members have spoken out their minds. I do not know what is in the mind of the Cabinet, but I do think that they are seriously considering the giving of a new orientation to the Departments of Food and Agriculture and see that the huge drain of our resources by way of subsidy to the tune of Rs. 40 crores is stopped by producing more food.

Shri Ramnath Goenka (Madras: General): The honourable the Finance Minister has rightly enjoyed a reputation for honesty, integrity and sincerity and for being a friend of the common man. So far as his reputation for honesty,

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integrity and sincerity goes; it is fully justified by this Budget, but so far as its reputation for being a friend of the common man is concerned, it has been belied by this Budget. The budget, I regret to have to say, lacks inspiration and it does not give a definite lead to the country. It does not indicate either the present economic or financial plans, or the future plans in relation thereto.

The budget has been said to be a surplus budget; but when I go to the capital budget, I find that there is a deficit of 134.10 crores in the capital budget. This 134.10 crores has been arrived at after allowing for all the loans which the Government of India can raise. They have allowed for new loans to the tune of 85 crores; they have allowed for Post office Savings Bank Deposits to the tune of 24.71 crores; they have allowed for National Savings Certificates to the tune of 18.40 crores. Allowing for all these, there is still a deficit of 134.10 crores. The intrinsic position of the finances of the Government of India is absolutely sound; because our total debt is only 2408 crores and our interest yielding assets are 1527 crores and only 800 crores are the non-productive obligations on the Government of India. This sum of 800 crores is very nearly a year's income of the provinces and the Centre put together. Even with this position, how is it that we are not able to raise any loans? How is it that we are not able to raise the capital that is necessary? The reason according to me is that we have not tried to get money from the quarters where the money is. According to me, the money has gone to the rural areas, for the time being. (An Honourable Member: "No, no."). There may be difference of opinion on that matter. I make a suggestion to the honourable the Finance Minister in this respect. What has happened to the Reserve Bank? You have nationalised the Reserve Bank. What has the Reserve Bank done? The Reserve Bank has been a good authority for policing purposes; but it has not been an authority for the expansion of Banking in this country. I would suggest to the honourable the Finance Minister to ask the Reserve Bank to open 1,000 branches in the rural areas, and also ask four or five big banks to open branches in various rural areas so that the money which is there in the rural areas will come to the Banks and then could be put in circulation. (Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: "There is no money in the rural areas"). There may or may not be money in the rural areas. But, you have got sooner or later to find out ways and means of bringing that frozen capital into circulation, and the only way in which you can do that is by opening banks, because, in banks you can put your money and take it back the next day if you require it, whereas in the case of the National Savings Certificates, you have to wait for five or seven years and the rural people cannot afford to wait.

If our deficit is 134.10 crores, and if we are not going to raise that money, what should we do? We should effect economies. I find in the whole of the Government of India extravagance instead of economy. I have gone through the whole of the explanatory memorandum for the budget; I see hardly any item in which the expenditure has been reduced. All the Economic Advisers of the Government of India, all the economic Advisers whom the Government of India called from the various parts of the country unanimously suggested that there should be compulsory saving. Has the Government of India attempted compulsory saving at all, in any department? There is, Sir, one figure which is very peculiar. It is on page 27: Anjuman-e-Tarake-e-Urdu 40 lakhs.

Shri B. L. Sondhi (East Punjab: General): No; it is 40,000.

Shri Ramnath Goenka: No; it is 40,000 for Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and 40 lakhs for this.

Shri B. L. Sondhi: I enquired from the Department concerned; they said it is 40,000. It is wrongly printed here.

Shri L. Krishnaswami Bharathi: Is it not possible for the Finance Minister to say whether it is 40 lakhs or 40,000?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai (Minister of Finance): 40,000.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: It is said to be Rs. 40,000 for each.

Shri Ramnath Goenka: I am glad to hear this, Sir. There are so many other figures which I can quote in which no economy has been introduced; in fact, there is extra expenditure in all the departments. It was the unanimous advice of all the Economic Advisers that there should be a scheme for compulsory saving; that scheme has not been resorted to at all. It was also said that they should try to see that economy was introduced in the various departments of the Government of India. It was also suggested that the provinces should be given the bare minimum of their requirements. But, the result is that we are giving by way of loans and by way of grants to the provinces more than what we did last year. In no department of the Government of India do I find any economy. If there is no economy, if there is no compulsory saving, what do we find? We find 500 lucky people being left out of taxation to the tune of 2.1 crores. It was only 437 people last year; this year it may be 500 people. (Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar: "499"). In the case of these 500 people whose income has been more than a lakh and a half, Government have lifted taxes to the tune of 2.1 crores. Is it economy? You do not want to economise or tighten your belt; but you want everybody else in India to tighten up their belt and also to pay more. Because, the incidence of all this taxation falls on the poor man. The provinces go on taxing the poor man; the Centre goes on taxing the poor man; but you do not do anything to economise. This is part I of my proposition.

The second point which I want to take up is the abolition of Capital Gains Tax. According to me this is a most dangerous abolition, which the honourable the Finance Minister has done. Now let me go back to the history of the case in 1920-21 when there was no Capital Gains Tax. The cost of the plant and machinery of all the Bombay Cotton mills was 18 crores. They reconverted it into 42 crores for the purpose of getting a higher depreciation. The result was, that in 1929-30, the state of affairs of the Cotton Mills was such that they could not maintain themselves and many of them had to close down. What happened after the war? Immediately after the war, the big firms began to reconvert them and over capitalise themselves to get more profit into their pockets without paying any tax upon them. At that time, the then Finance Minister decided to levy the Capital Gains Tax so that the amount of money which was going into the coffers of these big industrialists at the cost of the industry could be checked. The process was immediately checked after the Capital Gains Tax was introduced. It is not a question here whether you get a crore or whether you get five crores out of this tax. The question is whether you should mortgage your industry for all time to come. Take the case of an industry whose plant and machinery were got before the war for, say, one crore of Rupees. By the process of depreciation, the plant and machinery has been written down to ten lakhs. To-day if you value the plant and machinery, they will be worth a couple of crores more because the prices have inflated. If the Capital Gains Tax is abolished, I am warning the Finance Minister to take note that, in the next few months, you will find hundreds of big companies being over-capitalised without paying any tax at all. What is the other ground except psychological ground by which you are justifying the abolition of this tax? This tax is being abolished without assigning any reason. What is the

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advantage of this abolition? The disadvantages are that immediately the Capital Gains Tax goes the companies will be overcapitalised and the plant and machinery will be sold to somebody else. You will have to take depreciation at that price. The Finance Minister has decided that he would double the depreciation. I welcome that but what will be the result? In the next 5 years all the capital which has been invested after the 1st April 1948 on these plant and machinery will be written off and the Finance Department will not get any income out of these companies because they will be writing off large sums for depreciation. After five years when it is written off, one fine morning the company is sold to somebody else and the price again is inflated and depreciation claimed thereon. Do you think that it is in the interest of this country, it is in the interest of the industry and in the interest of anybody to allow this tax to be abolished?

Then again there is a proposition that labour should participate in the profits. If you allow them to over-capitalize and if you allow large depreciation on it, there will be nothing for labour to participate in. The participation, of labour will come in only if there is a profit. By this process there is no profit left and no participation of the labour in the profits of the companies arises. This is a very big question and I would request the Finance Minister to look at it from the angle I have given him just now and see whether there is any justification for the abolition of this tax. Then all the other taxes which have been laid down, as Mr. Tirumala Rao has pointed out, the incidence of those taxations was on the poor men and the rich men getting all benefit out of it at the same time. I don't know how far the honourable the Finance Minister who, as I said, is reputed to be the friend of the poor and the common man, justifies all this in the budget which he has now presented.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi (U. P.: General): This is an occasion when the voice of the people as it is—it may be sometimes even in a crude form—must be expressed so that the Ministers, those who have the power of administration in their hands, may know how the people of the country are reacting to their Governmental activities. Therefore, I have chosen not to go deep into the figures and not to repeat the arguments which have already been put forward by my honourable friends on either side. I have to submit only one thing with regard to the budget figures and it is that, the honourable Minister for Finance himself has confessed that he got a revenue of 84 crores more than the expenditure we sanctioned for the current year. The whole of this amount ought to have been shown as surplus. This was more than the incidence we had sanctioned. In fact by chance or by whatever means not by unfair ones—there were more exports or imports. And he got more money which meant that the country was taxed to the extent of 84 crores more than we sanctioned last year. This money should have gone towards savings because we never sanctioned the expenditure of that extra money; and this money has been spent and some more has been spent over and above. But there are reasons for that extra expenditure. There were so many problems—we had to fight our wars in Kashmir and then again rehabilitation and famine—all this expenditure had to be incurred; but we don't want to make this expenditure recurring for good. If this 84 crores were extraordinarily spent this year, we don't want this to form part of our usual budget. So this extraordinary expenditure should not have gone into the scheduled expenditure. Most of the money spent last year even for items which were only of a temporary nature goes into the permanent budget just like the practice in the Secretariat to appoint a man temporarily in the first year and to confirm him the next year. What I wanted to warn the honourable Minister about is that once the budget gets inflated, it goes on at the same rate for ever. All the taxes—whether they be by excise, income-tax or customs or postcard all come from the poor.

The country is already being badly taxed. The reaction of the people is not quite like what my friend Mr. Goenka has said. Money has not gone into the villages. In fact the villagers themselves are dissatisfied. The country has got frustrated and the basic complaint is scarcity of foodstuffs. There are so many other things conspiring together. I leave it at that. Indirect taxes hit everybody equally. For instance Tax on salt hit all equally. Cloth, you sanction everyone say 10 yards, it hits all equally, rich and the poor. If you reduce the income-tax, you give benefit to the rich and supplement the loss by indirect taxes, which means that poor are equally taxed with the rich which is not fair. Same is the case with regard to the excise duty on sugar. It is very good for honourable Mr. Kidwai to say that it will fly the post cards, but the card reaches the villager once in eight or nine days. It is no use telling the villager that his card will be flown in the air. In selecting the items of taxation we must also take note as to how it will react on the psychology of the people at large. It is not only that we are required to tax people, but we are also required to tax them in a manner so that the people may not mind the taxes. If you have come out with a proposal that cards which Mr. Kurshed Lal or his boss Mr. Kidwai will fly in the air shall bear more postage, I would not mind. Why tax me. I want to write only to a village a long way off from your aerodromes and I do not mind how it reaches. I don't want to dilate on this.

The Congress party, the biggest party in the country has contributed its best to the Government. The country has given its best to the administration, but still it looks as if there is not necessary appreciation of the achievements of the government. We have our two big leaders sitting to-day on the treasury benches, and they have done a great deal to raise the prestige of our country. It is only due to them that we have come up so far and that we have won the war—our battle for freedom. But the Congress organisation has to that extent become poorer. The towering personalities having come to the Government, the Congress party—I mean the party outside the legislatures has become much less effective. We have lost Gandhiji too. And unfortunately we have no healthy opposition in the country now. Suppose there is something wrong in Pandit Jawaharlalji's administration, where are the people to go to? There is now no equally balanced important party in the country to which they can go. Opposition is the privilege of the people. If the voters were at any time dissatisfied with, say, the Nehru Government they could challenge the Government and say "either agree to our demands or we would join the opposition and throw out your Government." There is no Mahatma Gandhi to whom they could take their complaints. We, as juniors cannot sit on judgement over our seniors. The people, therefore, feel frustrated. People at large are without any vocal capacity. They cannot express themselves. The success of the Government does not really depend on the Budget alone. The real success lies in the street. The index of their success is 'public opinion'. If we are truly democratic, we should see that the people are rallying round us. Let us now see if we have the people rallying round us. According to my judgement, I am afraid, we have failed, judged by this standard. This is so, not because we have not done enough, but because of other reasons. Indeed, we have done too much. In fact, the gains which Pandit Jawaharlal has got for us in foreign lands are exceptional. In such a short time we have become a real nation and have found a place on the map of the world. Sardar Patel, our Deputy Prime Minister has really achieved too much. There is no parallel to it in history. These two leaders are, if I may say so, earning too much for the nation and it seems, as if, the nation is not in a position to keep pace with them and consume their earnings from year to year. But may I inform both these leaders that your public relations department has absolutely failed you. This department has not made the people realise and to appreciate your achievements, how great and important these achievements are. The publicity department has been a failure because the public at large do not really appreciate what you have achieved for them. And

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therefore they are full of criticism. The public is very critical. May be, it is because of scarcity all round. May be because people do not get enough to eat, and so they are critical. It is for you to find out the reasons.

Now that the Congress has come into power, the people want to have access to the Ministers, at least through the proper channels. But this is not found easy because of red-tapism and also because of the 'steel-frame.' The steel-frame, instead of remaining a frame, has now become a steel ceiling. Therefore freedom is not able to filter through down to the common people the old red-tapism is still there, and it has not been controlled at all. We have the same old structure of Governmental machine and the same old speed with which it moves. The Secretariat people are very clever people. They are experienced persons and get very big salaries too. They come before you and talk nice things and they really want to behave as the courtiers did to King Canute. They tell you what is necessary for respectability, what is urgent for dignity, and this and that. They do not really do the work that is expected of them. First of all, they get too much pay, Government of India Secretaries get about Rs. 1,000 more than their contractual pay which they would have got in provincial Government. One Minister told me that they are on contractual pay and so their pay cannot be reduced. But I cannot understand the position. If in the Province, an officer who would at least be only a Commissioner on Rs. 3,000, here in the Secretariat, he gets Rs. 4,000 Rs. 1,000 more as extra. In the olden times when the Britishers were here, they organised a sort of committee in the Secretariat, to control the staff and establishment, and it was with a view to see that the posts of vantage and importance all went to Europeans. The same thing is going on even to-day, I am told. Whether that is true or not, it is for the Minister to say. When Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar was without any portfolio, he was deputed or requested by the Prime Minister to look into the whole organisation and see if he could effect any retrenchments or reorganisation. I understand Mr. Ayyangar made a number of proposals. And I am also told that when the Honourable Minister made his report, he said that there are two or three die-hard Secretaries of the Secretariat, and unless they are turned out, the Secretariat cannot improve.

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar (Minister of Railways and Transport): May I intervene? I am afraid what the honourable Member has been telling the House is absolutely without any foundation. I have made no report yet.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: I see. Somehow or other things have so filtered out like that.

The Honourable Shri Jawaharlal Nehru (Prime Minister and Leader of the House): The remark just made by the speaker that somehow things filtered out, I think, deserves some notice in this House. Many times things are said here which have no foundation at all; and such statements which have no basis or foundation are not in keeping with the dignity of the House. Honourable Members should not make suggestions or insinuations which have no foundation whatever.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: This has often been stated on the floor of the House. As the Prime Minister said, such remarks do not add to the dignity of the House. Therefore, before making any observations, honourable Members will kindly verify if they have any basis or foundation for their observations. If it is only a small margin of difference, there is no harm, but if it is wholly without foundation, it does not add to the dignity of the House.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: Sir, my request was only to make an enquiry, whether such things are true or not. If they are all baseless, it is all the better, because hereafter nobody need talk about them. I have, indeed helped the Prime Minister in giving him a chance to contradict these rumours. So he must be thankful to me rather than be angry with me.

Then there was an Economy Committee set up. It made certain recommendations, but the Secretaries would not agree to accept them. The Secretaries are too big. I hope the Ministers concerned will agree to look into the matter, and see if the whole Secretariat does not require a regular and drastic overhauling. I understand there is a Committee in the Secretariat consisting of some Secretaries, called Establishment Committee, and without the sanction of this committee no transfers can be effected. Previously a Secretary after spending some three years or more here, used to go back to his Province. But at present they are kept on here. And as I said, this Establishment Committee controls all transfers and postings. I do not commit my previous mistake of mentioning the name of the Minister, but I understand that one Minister made a request that such and such man should be given to him, and this Committee refused to do so. Sir, it is this Committee which really holds the key of the whole organisation. It is just like the old days when the British were here. I therefore say that this should be changed and in the Staff or Establishment Committee there must be one or two Ministers to see to it that positions of vantage do not go to undesirable persons.

And then, there is a lot of nepotism in the Secretariat, and I wish the Ministers would make enquiries from every one of their officers as to how many of their relations are employed there. I am informed by men in the Secretariat that there are three sisters married to three different husbands and all these three are Secretaries of Government. And there are a many other relations of one or the other Secretary.

Therefore, Sir, firstly, we must look into the organisation of the Secretariat. I have a lot more to say, but the time is up and I shall do so during the cut-motions. I am sorry I could not have my full say.

Kazi Syed Karimuddin (C.P. and Berar: Muslim): I congratulate the Minister in charge of Finance for his admirable speech. He is one of the ablest of men in the country but the Budget that he has presented to the House does not contain those proposals which were greatly needed. Because of his administrative experience, many of the theories he has advocated have been given up now.

The most important problems facing the country are food, industry, taxation, sterling balances, borrowings and defence. The honourable Minister of Finance while speaking at the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, said:

"The present slump in the investment market is due to high rate of taxation, diminished margin of savings and shattered confidence of investors and uncertainty of Government policy".

As a result of that speech, and as a result of the conclusions to which he has arrived, he has abolished the capital gains tax, given a reduction of tax for incomes up to Rs. 10,000 and in super-tax on earned and unearned income. In 1947 the honourable Finance Minister was the Minister for Railways. While advocating these very taxes he had said that a lower rate of profit had to be considered sufficient under present conditions of the proposals providing incentive to investment. If those who are in charge of great concerns are looking for a rate of return higher than that, then we are going to be faced with a problem which involves serious issues of national policy. The question arises whether the kind of economies you expect from competitive initiative and those pledges associated with private enterprise will not be wasted by increase in capital charges which private investment would employ. If that issue is to be raised in connection with the Budget, the country will have to face the serious question whether it is worth while to continue private enterprise and whether capitalism should have a longer lease of life.

[Kazi Syed Karimuddin]

While these taxes were imposed in 1947, the honourable the Finance Minister was of the opinion that if the capitalists demanded more reduction, then the question before this country will be whether to nationalize the industries or to stop the capitalist system in the country. The conclusion I come to is that he finds that after 1947 the investment was not forthcoming; that the investors did not take advantage of the proposals made even last year and instead of adopting a national economy in this country he has reduced taxation to such a great extent that the poor man is hit by new taxation on sugar, cloth and postage.

Sir, even last year taxes were reduced. We have seen that mere reduction of taxes does not serve the purpose. This may be an incentive to capital but not to labour. The present unsatisfactory position is only due to the theory of mixed economy that has been advocated for the last two years. On the one hand the Government want to tell labour that they will have a share in the profit-sharing. The capitalists either do not agree to this or are reluctant to accept it. On the other hand, the Government puts the capitalist and says that he should go on with private enterprise. This creates an uncertainty in Government's policy and everything is uncertain. The only test is whether by the theory of mixed economy we have been able to solve the conflict between labour and capital. Between capital and labour, the gulf is being widened every day, and unless labour is satisfied, in my opinion it is very difficult to have stabilized industry in the country. Now we are seeing the developments in China and other countries: whereas labour in our country is making growing demands and making slogans of surplus value, unearned increment and profit-sharing. What is the remedy against this? The question is that unless the essential industries are nationalized, labour cannot be satisfied, and if industries are nationalized and if labour is still not satisfied, the entire country will be on the side of the Government. Railways being a national industry, we have seen that in spite of the demands of the railway workers, the country was entirely on the side of the Government. So, in my opinion, the only solution to this problem is that the industries which are essential, should be nationalised, otherwise this problem cannot be solved. Though all taxes are being withdrawn, even then the capital would not flow.

The next question is the agricultural policy of the Government of India and whether any measures have been adopted in this Budget for the improvement of the food position. Sir, I have heard many debates, many discussions and many speeches regarding the improvement of the food situation in India. But I find that while we discuss, and the more we discuss this problem, the more we find ourselves in a whirlpool of confusion and perplexities. Every year there is a shortage of food. Every year all our schemes for the production of more food are failing miserably. In my opinion the only remedy that could have been adopted in the Budget was that this subject should have been made partially a Central subject, and agricultural banks ought to have been opened in every corner of the country, and Government farms and co-operative farming should have been introduced on a very huge scale. It is futile to give a paddy aid to the agriculturist unless you introduce agricultural banks: and unless there is co-operative and collective farming, it is impossible to satisfy the food demands of the country. Therefore I do not find any concrete proposals in the Budget to satisfy the people that there is some chance of improvement in the food situation. In the event of an international war, if this shortage of food continues, it is inevitable that the country will starve.

Another point which I would like to touch is Defence. There can be no two opinions that we want an impregnable military might. As has been remarked by another honourable Member on this side 157 crores out of a total budget of 322 crores in abnormal times may be reasonable but in normal times an expenditure on defence of 157 crores is exceptional and it seems to me that there is a race for armaments, because I read in today's paper that even in

Pakistan out of a total of 111 crores budget they have provided for a defence expenditure of 47 crores. Therefore in my opinion if there is a non-aggression pact between the two countries it will be to the betterment of both the countries. The proposal for joint defence on the east and west will be much more advantageous; the expenditure on defence will be reduced and the internal problems with which we are faced will be tackled much better.

I want to say a word about the sterling balances and our borrowings. On the basis of the figures given in the Budget I find that the sterling balances are being exhausted on account of capital repatriation and on account of pensions and commutation of pensions and also on account of import of consumer goods. We are also short of dollars. I submit that in case the Finance Minister incurs a loan from the International Bank of America for reconstruction and development an assurance to this House should be given that no consumer goods will be purchased from America. Otherwise America's present policy is to capture the commercial markets of the world and to advance loans with the ulterior motive of commercial gains. If India were to be benefited by loans taken from America an assurance ought to be given to this House that the money will be spent on the purchase of capital goods. Therefore my appeal to the Finance Minister is that in view of the speech he made in March 1947 the economy of this country should be changed. Sir, I have done.

Shrimati Renuka Ray (West Bengal: General): I would yield to none in my high regard for the outstanding ability and integrity of the honourable the Finance Minister and it is perhaps for this reason that I am all the more disappointed with the budget that he has presented to this House.

A reference has already been made by previous speakers to the capital expenditure which runs into a huge figure and that has been left uncovered. Perhaps the honourable the Finance Minister has the hope that he will be able to cover this by borrowings during the year but I do think that it would have been better for him not to have said that he has presented a balanced budget under the circumstances. I do not think that there is any particular sanctity or merit in a balanced budget, particularly in a country which has so much leeway to make up in nation-building services and in development plans. It is impossible for us to break through the vicious circle which now confronts us unless we make at least a first attempt in this direction and, there is little or no indication at all in this Budget of any kind of provision for these basic and fundamental needs. I fully realise the difficulties and the anxieties of the honourable the Finance Minister when he is faced with this inflationary situation in the country; but the problem of inflation in this country is mainly a problem of shortage of goods and commodities as against effective demand and therefore the rising prices are the consequent result. Hence it is at this end that this problem must first be tackled. Production and development in its many phases is the way out.

Now there are two very fundamental factors that we have to cope with. The first is the immediate need for capital formation, to meet the requirements of development expenditure. Large scale borrowing is not possible also, unless there is some capital formation and the prospects in that respect are better but new steps have to be taken. It is no use for the Government to follow the beaten track when we are faced with a national emergency. It is no use for the Government to wait on the sweet pleasure of the capitalists for the formation of capital in this country. Last year the previous Finance Minister made many concessions to the capitalists. He reduced the business profits tax and also gave relief to the higher incomes. This year the Honourable Dr. Matthai has done the same. He has abolished the capital gains tax. I won't dwell upon it but I think it was quite unjustifiable. But even so I do not think

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that the hope which the honourable Dr. John Matthai has, *viz.*, that it will bring capital in the market will be realised, for the simple reason that the more the concessions made, the more is the bargaining to be expected. I think that the speech of the President of the Indian Federation of Commerce and Industries yesterday is a very good indication of this. The kind of feeling amongst them is that the Government is being forced to its knees and so why not we hold on until it is absolutely at our feet. That is the kind of feeling among the capitalists. I do not say that there are no notable exceptions amongst them but this is the brand of capitalists that we have in India today and Government has to cope with that situation. Therefore it seems to me that other ways of capital formation can be brought about. If it does not come voluntarily there may be compulsory savings on deferred payment basis for higher incomes. That is the first essential.

I think the yield from the sale of national savings certificates has remained pretty steady. It is something about 34 crores. I think that if a drive is made throughout the country through Congress organisations in the districts and even in the villages, using their services for the sale of national savings certificates, at least 50 crores could be raised by that step alone. Also compulsory savings for agriculturists and others over a certain income level should be introduced. This proposal I think has been recommended to Government and it was the scheme of my honourable friend Mr. Khandubhai Desai and I do not understand why none of these schemes have been given any effect to as yet. I think that if some of these measures are introduced then capital which is very shy just now will be forthcoming. Particularly when it is found that there is no likelihood of very high profits I am quite sure that this capital which will come forward will be satisfied with a little less profit.

Turning to the other fundamental factor, I have already said that the nation-building and development services are the very basis of our economy. I am not speaking from the point of view of social justice or the need for equality of opportunity but from the material point of view alone how can you increase the level of your efficiency and thereby the output in this country unless those on whom rest the basic services are able to cope with them. If you do not have health, if you do not have education, if you do not have food, if you do not have housing, then how can we increase the level of efficiency in this country or of output? It is from that angle that I would ask the honourable the Finance Minister to look at this picture. It is indeed a shame that no beginnings on this seem to have been made in the Budget for this year.

The Finance Minister is waiting for the Report of this Economy Committee. So far as we can understand, it has been rather disappointing for the Finance Minister himself. Development grants in the Centre and the Provinces for the much needed services have been held up for these schemes that have already been sanctioned. Such is the state of affairs in what I consider the most important and the most basic of all services. I am not speaking at all about social justice but speaking only from the point of view of raising efficiency in the country so that our output can be increased.

I will not dwell on the subject of food because we have already had much discussion on this subject before, but I would like to make one suggestion. I think that if the Central Food Ministry is not to remain for ever in the clutches of the Provincial Governments in regard to food subsidies, the first step that they might take is to have a statistical survey—a sample random survey would do—which may not be absolutely correct but which will give the picture of what kind of procurement can be made in the Provinces. It must be the

Centre which lays down the terms of that procurement and if the Province refuses or cannot procure as much, then the food subsidies must be refused to them. I think that would be a very effective method of dealing with this matter.

I will not go very much into the taxation side, many people have already spoken on it. I have given my opinion of the Capital Gains Tax. It is very reminiscent of the budgetary devices of the earlier days, of the old regime, such as that of Sir Jeremy Raisman when we hear of the enhancing of these postal rates and perhaps one or two other items. I feel sure that the honourable the Finance Minister will make these concessions to the views of the House as was done last year in the case of tea and sugar.

Shri B. Das: Please be ready to announce it.

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Madras: General): It is for the Select Committee to consider.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I will now turn to the expenditure side and dwell only on two important items. Defence has already been spoken about. It is almost half of our expenditure, about 47 and 48 per cent. The U.S.A. spends 25 per cent. of its budget on defence, the U.S.S.R. 17 per cent. and the United Kingdom 13 per cent. We spend 48 per cent. That is one side of it. The other point is that even supposing you do not want to bring down your expenditure on defence, why has no move been made to re-adjust it? I can understand a huge army of occupation in a country under occupation, to subjugate the people, but what right or justice is there in keeping a huge land army in a country which is free? Is it so in any other country? Should we not have instead voluntary or auxiliary forces and National Cadet Corps and such things—You do not keep huge standing land armies in countries which are not under subjugation.

Shri R. K. Sidhva (C.P. and Berar: General): What about our borders?

Shrimati Renuka Ray: Whatever be the problem of our borders, when the people of the country can be armed—and it is not the question as in the old days when the people of this country could not be armed—it can be solved by voluntary or auxiliary forces.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Wait until they are raised. We ourselves passed Rs. 6 crores in the Standing Finance Committee the other day.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: Sir, 20 per cent. of the money could have been cut on land forces and could have been spent perhaps on the Air Force and the Navy, or it could have been used for re-settling the demobilised soldiers and agriculturists on reclaimed land.

I had something to say about general education but as others have spoken on it I will not reiterate this point at all as there is no time.

Before I conclude, there are two points which I want to make. One is with regard to the general corruption in the country as a whole, in all walks of life. I think it is the clear duty of the Government to make some really exemplary examples of people who are highly stationed in life and to go in all out against corruption and blackmarketing so that it becomes an effective deterrent for the country. If no other way will bring us to honesty at least let us try that way.

Then, we are facing a very grave national crisis, and in such a crisis there is need for the closing up of all the ranks who are opposed to the communists who want to disrupt the State and bring India under a new type of imperialist domination. Therefore, there must be a close-up, first of all, in Congress ranks, and group politics should not be allowed. Secondly, there is an

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absolute necessity for consolidation in the leftist ranks who are all opposed to the communists. I would appeal to my honourable friend Mr. Harihar Nath Shastri and Mr. Khandubhai Desai that it is time that the Socialists and the I.N. T.U.C. came together in this matter. The recent speech of Shri Jai Prakash Narayan on the Railwaymen's Federation and many of his subsequent statements show that so clearly—if a proof were needed—that the Socialists do not want disruption, that they are as much opposed to the Communists as anybody in this House. Therefore, in this national emergency it is necessary that there should be consolidation in the labour front and in the Government. (An Honourable Member: "But it is the Socialists who have deserted us.") It has been said that it is they who have gone out. I am quite willing to concede that the Socialists have shown a very unrealistic approach. Many a time they have done many things that they should not have done and left many things undone that they should have done, but the Congress is the older Party. They were your comrades during the days when you were fighting for freedom; these were the men and women who stood shoulder to shoulder with you in the struggle of 1942. Surely, when the Congress has shown so much generosity towards those who were clearly outside its ranks before and who today are on the Ministerial Benches, to these people who may have made many mistakes, it is for the Congress to show again that generosity.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: They have gone away on their own account.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: They have gone away, but it is surely for those who are older with more experience, those who are wiser, to ask them to come back today and help in this national emergency. It is only responsibility that can teach a realistic approach to anyone and I feel certain that if today men of the calibre of Shri Jai Prakash Narayan and Acharya Narendra Deo and women like Kamla Devi Chattopadhyaya were associated in helping the country in this emergency, it would be all to the good.

Sir, I am sorry I have taken up so much time. I would merely like to say to the honourable the Finance Minister again that we all have great faith in him, but we are extremely sorry that his Budget this year is not up to the mark.

The Assembly then adjourned for lunch, till Half Past Two of the Clock.

(The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock; Mr. Deputy Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar) in the Chair.)

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Mr. Wilson.

Mr. T. J. M. Wilson (Madras: General): Sir, I do not wish to speak now.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Honourable members who have given their names, but are not prepared to speak, will lose their turn.

Shri Mihir Lal Chattopadhyay (West Bengal: General): Sir, after hearing the speeches of so many honourable members who have spoken so ably it is but natural, to expect that the honourable the Finance Minister will sympathetically consider the various proposals that have been made. I do realise that it is really a difficult task for the honourable the Finance Minister to shape his Budget as he would like, with a heavy load of about Rs. 158 crores on defence expenditure. The defence expenditure is a constant headache for a country like India which is so poor and has got so many problems to be solved. But looking at the mounting tendency of the defence expenditure, I feel

the time has now come for us to think very furiously as to how it might be possible to reduce that expenditure. It is really a matter for great concern to a poor country like ours that even in peace time defence expenditure should be as high as Rs. 158 crores.

The honourable the Finance Minister has presented a Budget which has no characteristic, no speciality, of its own. It runs in the same old humdrum fashion and really there is nothing in it to encourage the common man. Whatever praise the mercantile community and commercial interests of this country might shower on the Finance Minister for the consideration that he has shown them in the matter of abolition of capital gains tax and reduction of supertax, the common man has not felt enthusiastic over this Budget; and if consideration is not shown to the extent the common man deserves, I am afraid the day is not far off when it will be difficult to keep him happy and contented.

The revenue is estimated at Rs. 307 crores. I can quite understand that leaving aside the defence expenditure the honourable the Finance Minister has to cut his coat according to his cloth, and that he has hardly Rs. 149 crores to cover the Civil expenditure. Now let us see how this amount is distributed among the various nation building departments, because the common man does not bother so much about defence as he bothers about matters which directly concern him most. Looking to the expenditure side, we find that under heads like Medical, Education and Agriculture, the Finance Minister has not been able to place much money. So far as Education is concerned in the revised estimate of 1948-49 there is an expenditure of Rs. 162 lakhs. In this year there is provision of only Rs. 194 lakhs. For a country where only ten per cent. of the people are educated, for a country which has taken up the responsibility of making one hundred per cent of the population literate at least in 10 years, which is a stupendous task, this amount of Rs. 194 lakhs is very meagre.

Shri C. Subramaniam (Madras: General): Is it not a provincial subject?

Shri Mihir Lal Chattopadhyay: Does not matter—even the Centre has got a responsibility in the matter. Looking into the Budget we find that in 1948-49 there was provision for Rs. 146 lakhs under Medical, but unfortunately this year it has been reduced to Rs. 112 lakhs. For a country which is so much in need of medical aid, where people die in lakhs for want of proper medicine and treatment, in parts of which there are no hospitals even within a distance of ten or twelve miles, there the most essential need is to reach medical aid to the rural areas. But, unfortunately, we find that the provision under this head has been reduced. This, in my opinion, is an extremely regrettable step. Recently I had the opportunity of visiting some rural parts in West Bengal and I found the extreme eagerness on the part of the people to have dispensaries in the rural areas. The Government there was, however, insisting on contribution from the people for starting dispensaries in the Unions and thanas. In one district it was brought to my notice by the District Magistrate himself that nearly a lakh of rupees had been deposited by the people, and in some cases people had made gifts by registered deed of as much as six bighas or two acres of land. Some of these things have been done as late as November and December 1947. There has been no hospital in 1947, there has been no hospital in 1948 and during the time that I was there there was no hospital, even though the people had co-operated in such large measure for the establishment of hospitals in those areas. (Interruption) That is the most unfortunate part of it. We have a doctor Minister and a doctor Secretary in West Bengal.

Coming to agriculture I find in the budget estimate of 1948-49 there was provision for 192 lakhs. I do not know the reason why this amount has been reduced to 112 lakhs in this budget of 1949-50. While we are always under

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the expectation that the Government will be devoting more and more attention to the improvement of agriculture in this country to tide over the food shortage it is most unfortunate that there has been a reduction in the budget under this head as compared with the budget estimate for 1948-49. On the contrary I find from the figures available here that whereas in 1948-49 there was a provision under the head External Affairs for an amount of 208 lakhs, in this Budget which is under consideration the amount has been increased by 50 lakhs. This shows how the administration has been moving. For most essential needs in the country money in adequate quantity is not being spent but more money is being spent on External Affairs, Embassies and other matters. This is a thing which is not understandable by the common man. The common man wants food, the common man wants medical aid and he wants education. If we have to effect hundred per cent. literacy in this country within a period of ten years I do not know how it would be possible if there is only an increased provision of only 32 lakhs under the head Education as compared to last year.

The Finance Minister has been well appreciated by the commercial community, the reason being that he has been to some extent partial to them or it might be that he wants to placate them to a certain extent in order to get them produce more in the interest of the country.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: He has gone back to his old love.

Shri Mihir Lal Chattopadhyay: I have not much quarrel with him on that matter. If really by showing some amount of indulgence to them he is able to show better results, the future will judge it but the amount of indifference, callousness and to some extent cruelty—I should say—that he has exhibited towards the common man in the country was not expected of a Finance Minister under the present regime. I am really shocked at his proposal to put an additional tax on paper. Ours is a poor country, where only about ten per cent of the people know how to read and write and if it is contemplated by the Finance Minister that paper also should be made more costly it means nothing but a taxation on knowledge, a taxation on learning and education. I think it will adversely affect the spread of education in this country. People in the rural areas who demand free compulsory education will be shocked. They have not got the money to bear the cost of education of their children and if paper is also made more costly by further imposition of duty then the common man who sends his children to the school will find their education even more costly than now. Of all the taxes that he has proposed this is possibly one of the worst.

So many other speakers have spoken about the enhancement of rates on postcards and envelopes. I need not labour that point. If speaking in this Assembly has any value, if expression of opinions by the members of the Assembly have any respect, I earnestly hope that the Finance Minister will consider this matter very seriously. Things are said here not in fun or just or merely for the sake of speaking. Each and every member has spoken very violently on this measure and I feel that the method by which the Finance Minister has attempted to enhance the rate on postcards and letters is not certainly a very straightforward one. He knows in his heart of hearts, he knows absolutely without any doubt in himself that letters in rural areas are not going to be carried by air. He knows that letters are written from one village to another, from one district of a province to another district in the same province and what is the necessity for the honourable Minister to take cover under the false pretext that all letters will be carried by air transport. (*Babu Ramnarayan Singh:* "Cheating!") It is, I should say, not befitting a man of the type of Dr. Matthai. He ought to have spoken quite plainly

that it is for the convenience of those people who write their letters by air mail that he is doing it. It may be that some losses are being borne on that account and that is to be made good by taxing the people who live in the rural areas and whose letters are never likely to be carried by air mail.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): The surcharge also has been removed.

Shri Mihir Lal Chattopadhyay: Yes. Finally I would like to say that I am very much distressed at the budget. If the amount of money that we are getting as revenue is not sufficient to cover the expenditure—let the ministers think hard as to how to balance the budget without drawing upon the reserves very much.

There is another regrettable feature which I would like to touch upon. So much has been said about sugar. But I am astonished to see under the head D.—Statement on the capital disbursement by the Central Government—there is an item Reserve Fund for the protection of the sugar industry. About 77,000 were spent last year from this account and again 151 lakhs are likely to be spent this year and this has been provided for. I do not know why this amount is necessary after the industry has made huge profit.

I would request the Finance Minister to devote some attention to the financial condition of the provinces and the States as well and do something to help them in any manner that is possible.

Shri Khandubhai K. Desai (Bombay: General): Sir, while speaking on this budget, there is a mental conflict. As everybody in this House knows, Dr. John Matthai is straightforward, honest and sincere. It is also admitted on all sides that his intellectual attainments are also of no mean order. But, when I scrutinised the budget, there was in store for me disappointment and despondency. I do not know how to describe the budget. The budget has not got in it anything which will strike the imagination of the common man. Neither has the budget got any foresight in it.

There has been a wide disparity between the estimates which were placed before us last year and the revised estimates. Of course, Dr. John Matthai is not responsible for it, as far as the estimates were concerned; but, Sir, he has been responsible certainly for the last six months for the expenditure side of it. The revised estimates as they have been placed before us both for income and expenditure are wide off the mark only to the extent of 33 per cent. I think it is not a budget. And, as everybody knows, if the income continues pouring in, extravagance increases. While scanning through the figures, I found that in one item 'Miscellaneous' the amount for this year has gone up from 35 crores to 59 crores. I do not know what this item 'Miscellaneous' means.

After all, he has not given us any hope for the future economy in the administration. The Economy Committee presided over by a businessman of the calibre of Kasturbai Lalbai is hanging fire, so to say for the last year and a quarter. The last Finance Minister, as a token of his earnestness and sincerity to effect economy, put in a token economy of two and a half crores. But what do we find? Instead of that we have got expenditure mounting up to 33 per cent more. Where is the question of economy? Even today, no hope is being held out that there will be any economy in the administration. This much as far as the estimates are concerned.

Sir, relief has been given. To whom? To persons who never deserved any relief. In the hope that capital will be flowing in industry, that there will be development, that there will be more production, the last Finance Minister gave relief to the tune of six crores. Now, he has given relief to the

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extent of additional six crores: altogether about twelve crores and this money is being taken out from the common man. What have we seen? During this year again, there is the cry from the rich that they are ruined, they are ruined, they are ruined and the Finance Minister is affected by this slogan. The same cry persists till Doomsday. You will never get them to invest anything in this way. There has been increase in production. But, that is due mainly to the industrial peace that has been there in the year 1948. Even with the increase in production, the prices have not come down. There is something wrong somewhere in the monetary mechanism of the State, of which the Finance Minister himself is the custodian. We are suffering from high prices, inflation. Have we seen anything in the budget which is going to fight this inflation? Nothing, in any shape or form. But, on the contrary, my fear is that the cost of living during the next month or two might go up by at least 15 points. There has been indirect taxation in the shape of excise. Sugar has been taxed; even the coarse and medium count cloth has not been spared; betel nut has been taxed. That is not all. A slogan has gone round, rightly, from the honourable the Finance Minister to the Provincial Finance Ministers—you balance your budgets, do not have any deficits. Let us see how they have balanced their budgets. Most of the provincial budgets are out. They have also gone to the extent of imposing a sales tax on chillies, spices, tamarind and what not.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: One has put a tax on food also.

Shri Khandubhai K. Desai: Tamarind itself is food, I think.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: No; there is some grain also.

Shri Khandubhai K. Desai: All these things are going to come out of the poor consumer and raise the cost of living. I would like to know when are we going to get a reduction in the prices. I am afraid we are in for difficulties during the next year. I certainly expected something better from Dr. John Matthai; but we are disappointed. Inflation has not been fought as he ought to have done with a brave heart and a firm mind. He has not done this as is apparent from the budget.

There is one other point to which I would like to make a reference and that is the abolition of the Capital Gains Tax. If the honourable the Finance Minister thinks that it is quite good after I have placed before this House and before him the implications thereof, he is welcome to have his own views. The Capital Gains Tax is a sound tax on all economic grounds. It is a tax on unearned increments. It is not in the nature of getting money as much as a deterrent and a preventive tax. Immediately this tax is abolished, I am afraid the old companies will go in for recapitalisation. The present paid up capital will go up and you and I would have to pay through our very nose for the next generation the return on that inflated capital. Our future Income-tax return will, in my opinion, be depleted, because depreciation on that inflated amount would have been charged and exempted from taxation. Then all this talk of profit-sharing and fair wages also will go into scrap. If the present companies are permitted to recapitalize and they are bound to do it otherwise why should they insist on the abolition of this tax, then there will be nothing left after giving them even 3 or 4 per cent. on the new paid-up capital and the depreciation on the new capital. Then I would like the honourable the Finance Minister to enlighten us in his reply one point which I could not understand. He has given depreciation at double the rate on all machinery that has been erected after 1948. Naturally the machinery erected upto 1948 would have paid 4 times the normal prices and if the rate of

5 per cent. is made 10 per cent. and if those plant will work 3 shifts then they would have paid 30 per cent. It will mean within 3 years they would have written off the whole of the account and what will happen then. If that is the implication, it is very dangerous and risky and it is a great burden on the community. Because to that extent the income-tax returns will be depleted.

There was a full-fledged food debate and I did not want to say anything much about it but now that the figures have come before us, there is a loss of about 32 crores of rupees in food. In rationed areas the food is sold to consumer at the same price as imported price. Same amount is also being spent out from the Provincial Budgets and therefore if 32 crores in addition to the amount that is spent out by provinces is altogether the food subsidy, then I am afraid there is something wrong somewhere and it does call for a very close scrutiny and investigation.

The principle of going in for excise duty increasingly is a very serious proposition in a capitalistic society. If the society is based on profitless motive, excise duty may be probably the only source of income but in a society where there is profit, where there are higher incomes, excise duty certainly is a very bad principle and one should think hundred times before advancing this sort of economy.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: What about handloom weavers? Should they not be protected from your textile mills?

Shri Khandubhai K. Desai: That is a different proposition. If I have time I will discuss it in much detail.

The honourable the Finance Minister will perhaps ask me "you said there should be no taxes imposed, then how I am going to balance the budget." My suggestion is that the relief which he has given to the vested interests has not satisfied them and so let him withdraw that. Six crores are saved and the additional taxes of 14 crores he need not impose, and he must ask the various Departments to economise to that extent and it will not be more than 4½ per cent. Then I think the budget will be balanced and there will be time enough for the honourable Minister to think what to do during the next six months to fight inflation to bring down the prices. With these words, I commend my suggestions to honourable the Finance Minister.

Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan (Madras: General): I hope the Finance Minister will forgive me if I also start by saying that with the great faith that we in this House and people outside had in him, we were looking forward with great hopes to the budget he was going to present. But after his Budget speech and after reading all the details in it, we find it is a very disappointing one as far as the common man is concerned. I feel the budget of Dr. Matthai will appeal more to the businessmen and to those who are of a higher income level. What has he done for the poor man, who is already burdened with very heavy prices which is prevailing in the country. Every essential commodity has gone up in price and now they will go up still more because of certain indirect taxations. It is true that the lower income man does not pay an income-tax but that is no relief to him at all. I would first like to take up the question of cloth. Every man in this country or in any other country needs cloth and it is an absolutely essential commodity. I have no quarrel with the Minister when he puts up the excise duty on fine and superfine cloth but I would say that he was wrong in putting up the duty on coarse cloth which is what the poor man wears. I wish he could have balanced the budget by raising the duty still more on the fine and super-fine cloth and left the poor man's wearing apparel alone.

[Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan]

I know many members have already spoken about the second point I want to raise *viz.*, the case of postage charges. I feel very strongly about this and I don't mind repetition of this point and though it has already been mentioned by most of the members I feel that we must really protest against the raising of the postal rates on post cards. The Finance Minister and perhaps members of this Assembly including myself may not feel any hardship because to begin with we hardly ever write on a post card. By all means make the postal rate on air mail letters higher and those who write by air mail do not mind paying a little more for airmail letters. But why make it compulsory for everyone to send letters by airmail. Surely those who write post cards are people of the category of teachers, clerks, villagers, domestic servants and even though the additional cost is only three pias which sounds very small to us when we talk in terms of crores, to a poor domestic servant getting a very small pay three pias is a great deal. So I do feel that if it was a question of increasing the finances and getting more duty on the different commodities, surely more charges could have been put on airmail letters. I entirely agree with Professor Shah when he said that the man in the village does not care whether his letter goes by train or by air and in any case all villages are not touched by airways.

Regarding other commodities, the poor man is already paying very high prices for essential commodities and today when the Central Government does not tax the poor man, the Provincial Government steps in and the prices of such things as chillies, cocoanuts, oil and lots of other necessary food commodities have also gone up very high due to enhanced taxation on these articles. So while you are having indirect taxation and while the provinces are taxing the lower income man, is it right for the Finance Minister in order to balance the budget to put more burden on the poor man. If you want more taxation, what about the Estate Duty that we have been hearing of for such a long time. Is not the Finance Minister going to introduce Estate Duty and get more money from the rich? This duty will touch only the rich and not the poor man. I find in looking through the estimates for the coming year that there is a great deal of increase in every Ministry. Apart from the Health Ministry and Education Ministry where I don't think any economy should be introduced, I think every other Ministry could have had certain economy introduced.

But instead I find there is a great deal of increase proposed in every Ministry, and I do not think this is the right thing to do. Why have we had this Economy Committee? Why do we have their proposals? As it is, one does not see any economy introduced anywhere. It is always enhancement of taxes or decrease of taxes with regard to business people that we find. Sir, other honourable Members have already spoken about other taxes which could have been imposed and which would have touched only the rich man. But all those taxes have been left out and again and again the poor man has been burdened with more and more indirect taxation.

Sir, though we have had a food debate, I would like to say a few words now about the food policy of the Government. We seem to be spending enormous sums of money in getting food from other countries. How long are we going to do this? At this rate, will there be any currency left in the foreign countries, to our credit? Will there be anything left with which to buy the machinery so badly needed in our country? We cannot afford to go on at this rate. We must get the Government to do propaganda to the effect that each province should become self-sufficient. Each Province should be told that the food subsidy given to them would be very much more limited. We are not living in war-time. It may be that we are not living in normal times either, but if we allow this policy of getting food from abroad to continue, I am afraid it will never come to an end. It is also making the provinces feel that when-

ever there is shortage, they may appeal to the Centre and get more grain. I do not think that is a right attitude to develop. We should not encourage such attitude. I think, the provinces should be a little more severely dealt with and told that they must make their own areas self-sufficient in the matter of food.

In this connection I would also add that though the people may be used to mono-diet, the Government must do propaganda and make them go in for different diets. Coming from the South as I do, I may say that I am used only to rice and dal or certain other grains, but it is time that the Government did sufficient propaganda and made the people understand that in the interest of economy of the country it is absolutely necessary for us to take to other varieties of food. We must also encourage the establishment of dairies all over the land so that people may have more nourishing food, like milk and milk-products.

I do not think it is necessary for me to go into all the detailed proposals in the budget. I do hope that the honourable the Finance Minister when he finally considers his financial proposals he will take into consideration the views expressed by us all here, which I am sure is for the benefit of the common man of our country who forms the greatest part of the population. While I congratulate him for certain reliefs that he has given, I feel they have not been given to the men who really deserve them. Once more I would tell him that in spite of having great faith in him, and great faith in the budget which he was going to present, I am sorry we have been disappointed to some extent, and I hope this disappointment will be rectified to a great extent before we finish with the Budget.

Shri O. V. Alagesan (Madras: General): The criticism against this budget is not confined to this House, and the main critics are not represented in this House; they are outside. That is all the more the reason why that opposition should have been taken into account while framing the budget. But I am sorry to say that that aspect of the matter was not looked into. There is misrepresentation in the country that this is a capitalistic Government. Of course, all of us know that that is not true. But I am forced to admit that this Budget gives a handle to that argument. I am sure the leadership and the rank and file of the Congress are quite sound and they will scotch all harmful influences that may be at work for the time being. This is a famine budget and the provision for the importing of as much as 4 million tons of food grain from other countries and of more than Rs. 32 crores for subsidising distribution bears this out. We are going through a famine and critical period. In a famine period we usually take from those that have and give it to those that have not. But the honourable the Finance Minister has perhaps chosen to follow the Biblical precept, namely that to those that have, more will be given and from those that have not, even the little they have will be taken away.

Sir, I do not want to join the chorus of condemnation that has been going on in this House from yesterday, but I may tell the honourable the Finance Minister that if this budget had come from his predecessor it would not have occasioned any surprise or disappointment. He was careful—I mean the other gentleman—and because he suspected that his Budget would be branded a capitalistic budget on the slightest pretext, he was anxious to take into account the other side. Hear, in the present year, the opposite has happened. Our Finance Minister, being a socialist by conviction, has gone out of his way to appease the capitalists of the country. I do not think he was justified in that, and as one of the previous speakers pointed out, he has helped those that did not deserve help. I would like to know whether they have played the game so

[Shri O. V. Alagesan]

far. They have not. The honourable Finance Minister has acknowledged in his speech that labour has played its part. There has been fewer strikes and there has been greater production. But what did the capitalists do? The Governor-General advised them; the Prime Minister appealed to them, the Deputy Prime Minister assured them, and the honourable the Finance Minister has been coaxing and cajoling them. But with what result? Our loans, the loans floated by our National Government were not subscribed. The response has been next to nil. When a loan of Rs. 150 crores was floated, Government got only Rs. 55 crores. What was the position when an alien Government was ruling this country? Their loans were over-subscribed within a very short time. Does this not show that that section which is being appeased is perhaps the most unpatriotic section in the country today? So, this policy of appeasement, I fear, may not bear fruit; it may on the other hand lead to greater demands. After all, they have had everything they wanted from the honourable the Finance Minister. Having practised successful non-co-operation against the Government they have had their pound of flesh, true to their Shylockean tradition.

Sir, all this has been done in the name of greater production. We want more and more investment and so we have to appease this section. That is the argument running through the speech of the honourable the Finance Minister. Since there exists a national emergency today we are going to have a Bill tomorrow asking labour not to strike. We are going to say to labour, "if you strike you will be punished," but what has capital been doing? Was it not tantamount to strike—I should like to ask the honourable the Finance Minister. They have been all the while striking. Will there be a Bill to say to them that they will be punished if they don't co-operate? If they don't invest up to a certain limit and if they don't subscribe to our loans, will this Government say to them that they will be punished? I am sure the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister is capable of doing it—perhaps he is the only force today who is capable of doing that. Many people misrepresent him as being lenient towards capital. I don't think it is true because he is the one person who has seen the last of the feudal relies in this country. It is not too much to expect from him to deal with these capitalists in his own way.

I leave it at that and pass on to the other object of this Budget, namely bringing down the high prices prevailing in the country today. It may seem paradoxical for the Government to speak of high prices when they themselves are regulating the prices. They regulate prices to a very great extent. My excuse for bringing in the question of food prices now is that I was unfortunately not present here when food was debated in this House for two days. Going through the food prices index you will find that when control was there last, that is in the month of December 1947, the index price for cereals alone, which were being controlled by the Government, was 329. Then control was removed and again re-imposed. Now, in the month of January 1949 it is 478. The increase is 149 points. But, pulses which are not controlled have registered a fall in prices. Their index price has come down by 138 points; it stood at 583 in December 1947 and has come down to 445 in January 1949. So also in the case of other food articles. When the combined index of food articles shows only a rise of 64 points, the prices of cereals which are being controlled by Government show a rise of 149 points, that is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the general index. I may tell you, Sir, how this is caused. Many people may be under the wrong impression that all this goes into the pockets of the producer, the tiller of the soil or the man who owns the land; it is not so. I shall give you some figures which will explain the position. Paddy is procured in the

District of my friend Mr. Wilson sitting next to me—Krishna District of Andhra Desh—at about Rs. 127 per cart load. It is sold in my District (Chingliput district), of course after converting it into rice, at Rs. 189. The difference is about Rs. 62 and, that is a difference of 48 per cent. This wide disparity between the procurement price and the retail price is the main reason and the breeding ground for blackmarketing. I will rather go to the extent of saying that the Government does blackmarketing in its ration shops because the present disparity in prices enables both the consumer and the producer to make the transaction between themselves which will be profitable to both the parties. That is the position. But where does this difference of 48 or 50 per cent go? It goes mostly to the pockets of the middlemen, the whole sale dealer; whether he is a single individual or a co-operative society it does not make any difference. My friend Prof. Ranga may take exception to it but if he goes into details of the accounts of these producer-cum-consumer co-operative societies, he will find that they get not less than twenty-five per cent.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: But they have not mulcted it.

Shri O. V. Alagesan: Not only that, I shall tell you another fact which is startling. A maund of rice should be equivalent to $2\frac{1}{4}$ measures and so a bag which contains generally 2 maunds of rice should contain $48\frac{1}{2}$ measures. The Civil Supplies Department of Madras says that it would be enough if the wholesale dealer gave 46 measures for 2 maunds. They allow him to take $2\frac{1}{4}$ measures of rice every bag. What does it mean? They say it is due to the Railwaymen—perhaps they accuse Mr. Santhanam for it—they say the railway men pilfer and so we have to make this margin. Sir, this is what a high-placed official told me and I cannot hide it here because I feel that this is a very serious question and a drastic remedy should be found for it in the very near future by the honourable the Food Minister and by the Government as a whole. It comes to this. You procure 4 measures of paddy from the producer. You should give at least $1\frac{7}{8}$ th measures of rice to the consumer whereas you give only $1\frac{3}{8}$ th measures to him; that is, one seer of rice is taken away from every man who purchases rice for one rupee and he has to pay a tax of $5\frac{1}{2}$ annas in the rupee for this luxury of rationing being run by the Government. That shows the highest limit of inefficiency of the control organisation and of the distribution organisation of the Government and it requires thorough overhauling. The maximum margin that can be allowed need not be more than 15 per cent. That way you can bring down the prices of cereals by 25 per cent and the food price index will show an automatic fall by more than 40 or 50 points. When the government controls the prices, what is the use of the Finance Minister saying that we are fighting prices? You need not fight them, you can bring them down. Food is the biggest item of expenditure for the majority of our countrymen.

I believe this point will be borne in mind by the Food Minister and will be attended to at once because the other day while answering a supplementary question of mine, he said that the Central Government are responsible both for the wholesale and retail prices. I think the responsibility stops with just approving the prices put up by the Provincial Governments. The Central Government should do a little more scrutiny and see that the over all margin between the procurement price and the retail price at the other end never exceeds 15 per cent. That way you can bring down the prices. I should like to press this concrete suggestion for the attention of the Government.

Sir, I have a few more points which I shall make if you will permit me.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I am afraid the honourable Member has had his time.

[Mr. Deputy Speaker]

I have got a list of nearly 32 speakers. I find that some of them when I want to call them are not in their seats and others when I call them are not ready. That is what I find. To avoid any inconvenience to honourable Members I propose to call speakers in the following order so that they need not be taken by surprise: Mr. Barman, Shrimati Dakshyanami Velayudhan, Mr. Kesava Rao, Shri Deshbandhu Gupta, Mr. Vijayavargiya, Mr. Siddhaveerappa, and if time permits Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad, for today.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta (Delhi): Sir, I would like to take my chance tomorrow.

The Honourable Shri K. Santhanam (Minister of State for Railways and Transport): The convention is that no one who is called upon by the Speaker or Chairman may decline—if he does so it is a sort of disrespect to the House and the Speaker or the Chairman. I think this convention may be followed by all the Members.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: That is very important. There may be so many other Members who are really anxious to speak but wish to sit down for the convenience of other speakers. I think everyone of us must keep himself ready any moment the Speaker calls upon him to speak. The House is not supposed to be aware of any list.

Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava (Ajmer-Merwara): Does the convention referred to by my honourable friend apply before the Speaker has actually called an honourable Member to speak?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I am afraid honourable Members have misunderstood the position. I receive chits after chits and for my own convenience I have prepared a list of all the gentlemen who stand from time to time so that I may not lose sight of them. Therefore they need not be standing up and down every time. It is only for that purpose I have prepared a list. But when I begin to call the speakers, some of them are not in their seats. At other times I am calling they are not ready. It is not entirely their fault. They cannot be on the tip-toe expectation of being called all the hours of the day. Therefore they may say 'I may be called next'. It is not that they decline. Therefore for the convenience of the House, I do not want to spring a surprise on honourable Members who are really anxious to speak. Therefore, without taking any more time, I have prescribed this order for today. I will call other Members tomorrow. If it is the desire of the House that they must stand up as often as necessary until they catch my eye—I shall follow the other procedure. But until it is found inconvenient the procedure I have already suggested will be followed today. I call upon Mr. Barman.

Shri Upendranath Barman (West Bengal: General): Sir, previous speakers have spoken about the Budget and have criticised it in all possible ways. They have not left out even the slightest defect on the part of the Government that they have detected. But I suppose that the honourable the Finance Minister is not the only person responsible for all the ills that we find in our body politic today. If there is corruption in our system are we not responsible for it directly and indirectly? Is it not our responsibility to co-operate with the Government and also to devise constructive means and offer suggestions to the Government? And if after that Government fails to do that, then we who are part and parcel of the Government in an indirect way may legitimately accuse the Government.

I fully endorse one thing in that criticism, namely, about the proposal to raise the post-card and letter rates. It is a valid criticism why those whose letters and cards won't be carried by air should be asked to pay those rates. That is the unanimous opinion of this House and I hope the honourable the Finance Minister will consider it and reconsider the policy of raising the rates as proposed in the Budget.

When we criticise our Government for their shortcomings here and there we should at the same time remember that only before this Budget session we were praising our Government that have done so many things. There were so many distresses and calamities heaped one upon another, and it is to the credit of our Government for having handled them successfully which any other Government might well imitate and might be proud of. They have averted all those calamities. Not only that. They have piloted the affairs of the State in a most praiseworthy manner. Therefore, when every day practically we were praising our leaders it is not fair to condemn the Budget in the way that we have done. We expect of course that with the advent of independence in this country, not only our leaders but we ourselves also should be conscious of the fact that the down-trodden masses who had been suffering so long from all sorts of tyranny and want should now get relief. We hope that after our calamities have passed away our leaders, assisted by us, would be able to divert their attention and pay full attention to the question as to how relief in all possible ways can be given to the masses. During the British rule all sorts of defects entered into our body politic. Our masses are illiterate, ill-clad, half-fed and they have no medical relief. These are the crying needs of the country today. Now that most of our ills and calamities are overpowered, our Government, assisted by us, should divert their attention to these matters.

[At this stage Mr. Deputy Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Shrimati G. Durgabai (one of the panel of Chairmen).]

Within the few minutes allotted to me I shall mention only two facts. But before doing so I shall make one general observation regarding the food policy and the running of the Agriculture Department of the Government of India. Whenever any question about the amelioration of the masses is raised, it is said that it is the Provincial Government that are responsible. It is really so. And if our Provinces, or we ourselves, do desire to maintain provincial autonomy it is high time for us to be alive to our responsibilities. But this food problem is entirely a different matter—at least for the time being. It may be that it shall be the entire responsibility of the Provinces some years after when you have solved the food crisis. But during this critical time I think the Government of India should assume all the responsibility and all the authority over the whole of the country so that they can tackle this problem in the way they think fit.

In our New Constitution, so far as industries are concerned, we have adopted, or propose to adopt a provision that where the Central Government considers necessary, it should have the power to assume responsibility for the industries, irrespective of the power or responsibility of the provinces or states. My own view is that in Agriculture also this is a very essential provision at a time when the country is passing through a grave crisis, when we are actually begging for our daily bread from other countries and when we are wasting our foreign exchange resources on the import of vast quantities of food-supplies from foreign countries. All of us know that in the rural areas there are places where people cannot get even a square meal a day, even though they have the money to purchase it. This being the state of affairs, the Centre cannot absolve itself of its responsibilities by saying that Agriculture is a provincial subject. Whatever might be the future structure of our Constitution, the

[Shri Upendranath Barman]

Centre must immediately assume responsibility for Agriculture. Take for instance, the case of the United States of America. It is, perhaps, the most highly industrialised country in the world; but the Agricultural Budget of the U. S. A. is only next in importance to the Defence Budget, because food is the first and foremost necessity of any country. I am not for a moment trying to compare the Budget figures of the two countries. What I am aiming at is that adequate importance should be given for the development of Agriculture and that the Centre must take responsibility for it.

There is one aspect of agriculture for which the Centre has assumed responsibility—I mean scientific research. There are several agriculture research institutes. But, unfortunately, the fruits of the research are not carried to the peasant, with the result that these institutes serve no useful purpose. The agriculturist is now completely ignorant of what is happening in these institutes; consequently the 'Grow More Food' and similar campaigns have come to nought. Every year, every day, every second, the best part of our soil is being washed away. Our agriculturist does not know what is meant by soil conservation. Instead of preserving the available soil, we are trying to solve the problem, by importing more and more of ammonium sulphate, and starting fertiliser factories. My humble submission, therefore, is that in every divisional town arrangement should be made for demonstration of soil survey and soil conservation. The agriculturist will then naturally be interested in growing more, thereby benefiting himself as well as the whole country. At present the Government of India have certain land reclamation schemes, but according to the confession of the honourable the Food Minister himself, hardly 5 per cent. of the agricultural land has been touched.

Another important reason why I feel that the Centre should take upon itself the responsibility for agriculture is that the provinces with their limited resources and multifarious problems that face them with the advent of freedom, are not able to look after agricultural problems properly.

As regards relief measures so far as West Bengal is concerned, my humble submission is that we are not satisfied with what has been done for the rehabilitation of refugees from East Bengal and the Centre should make more provision than it has done at present. We feel that the way in which the income-tax divisible pool has been distributed has not been fair to West Bengal.

Shrimati Dakshayani Velayudhan (Madras: General): Madam the Budget presented to the House by our able Finance Minister gives us the various aspects of our national economy in terms of the administration of the State. A new feature of this year's Budget is that it is free India's second Budget, for which we can naturally take some pride. I was a critic of last year's Budget in the sense that it showed a trend to pamper the rich at the expense of the poor. Looking from that angle this year's Budget is not in any way better. I must frankly express my feeling that I see no item of the Budget to improve the lot of the common man. The fault does not wholly lie either with the Finance Minister or even in the Government as constituted today. But the fault lies in the whole system which was transferred to us with the Transfer of Power. We have changed the bottle, but not the wine. It is the same old wine in a new bottle and it is for us to see whether there is any change in the wine as well.

India is in a state of transition and without the guidance of the Father of the Nation we are left to shoulder more responsibilities. If we do not bring out a new order on the basis of Mahatma Gandhi's precepts and practices India will have to face a violent revolution. This is my candid reading of

the atmosphere in which we are living today. There is every sign of a revolution from Assam to Amritsar and from Cape Comorin to Himachal Pradesh. We cannot ignore the facts and if we ignore the facts, we will be only following a negative attitude. How are we going to canalise the tempo of the people? I wish that the state should proclaim openly that India will organise a state on the basis of truth and non-violence. We have a psychological advantage in forging ahead in this line because we were following it in one way or the other in the past. I have no doubt that India will have to accept Gandhiji's creed not as a philosophy of life but as a philosophy of the state in the end. If we have foresight we can avoid the conflicts, the signs of which are seen in our neighbouring countries. Our ministers are proclaiming the ideal of Mahatma Gandhi in their day to day utterances. I want to see it practised not only by the Ministers but by the whole Government. The love that the people of the country show to the Father of the nation is spontaneous and this spontaneous outburst is due to their desire to have a peaceful and happy life. The common man does not exploit the name of Gandhiji either for position or for any personal interests.

The real achievements of the Government in the last year can be measured only in terms of the satisfaction gained by the common man. Many schemes, including the one on insurance, were passed in the legislature and they are lying in the files of the secretariat and no actual work has been commenced. Lakhs of villages in India have not been affected in any way by the achievement of our freedom. They know more about Gandhiji than our Government or the working of it. They have more admiration and attraction for the personality of our Prime Minister than for his Government. They are all on the wake up and alertness is seen everywhere.

The high cost of living for which the common man is not responsible has given him a shake up in his attitude. He is ill clad, he is ill-fed and nothing more is done for his education or health. We cannot call any government a good government if it is not going to improve the conditions of the common man and in this direction nothing has been done. Our ministers are going here and there for ceremonial functions and speeches. They speak many things, more irrelevant than relevant. This has become the common talk of the intelligentsia of this country. A minister goes to Bombay and speaks about the budget for 1949-50. This gives to a lot of writing and counter-writing in the papers. Another minister goes to a meeting sponsored by the R. S. S. and thereafter goes to a Congress meeting and addresses them on nonviolence. Yet another minister says that in ten years he will introduce socialism in the country, whereas the Government has said that they are not going to do anything of that kind. The Government has declared their policy that they are not going to nationalise any of the industries in the near future. The same Minister has said that labour should be loyal and humble as he is. Even in small things the ministers interfere and the working of the secretariat has been made a bungling affair. To get a reserved seat in a train from Wardha to Delhi one will have to put through a trunk call to the Premier of the province. Is it not fun if ministers are going to issue chits for reservation like booking clerks issuing tickets for the passengers? A minister had the audacity to speak at a public meeting that ministers are open to corruption and bribery because the people give it.

There is noticed in circles that support the Government a spirit of violence. It is spreading into the vitals of our national life and if the situation goes on I fear of great danger to the future. Newspapers and the press try to make the people believe that the R. S. S. movement has fizzled out, but those who know the truth will say that it is still a strong fascist organisation which has got support in influential quarters both inside and outside the Government.

[Shrimati Dakshayani Velayudhan]

Government should set an example to develop the national character which we have inherited from the Father of the nation. When there is discipline and national character at the top the people will follow it. The intelligentsia in the country have taken to think that dishonesty has taken the place of honesty.

Coming to the budget proper the *status quo* of the Imperial bureaucratic government is continued. Look at the manner in which the Finance Minister has tried to balance the budget. He has done it by taxing the poor and coaxing the rich industrialists and businessmen. Who are the greatest enemies of this country. Who are the enemies of this country? Are they the Communists or the much dreaded socialists or the workers who strike? Who are the enemies of this country, if not the industrialists or the businessmen who hoard all the money that they have without doing any benefit to the country? In my opinion they are the greatest enemies of the country and the Government, because they are not extending a helping hand to the Government and in my opinion the industrialists and the capitalists have succeeded in bringing the Government kneeling at their feet. Did not the first Finance Minister make many concessions to the capitalists in his first budget? In his speech he said that these measure would bring confidence into the capitalists and industrialists which were shattered by the Liaquat Ali Budget by its taxation proposals. Still they did not try to help the Government. They did not shed their fear complex and come forward to help the Government in their production drive. Why should they still insist on getting more and more help from the Government? They are today trying to get the same amount of profit which they were making during the war time. Madam, they are not the type of people who have got the interest of the country at heart. They are all hoarding money and that by sucking the life-blood of the nation and leaving the Government and the people half dead. They are not at all satisfied and they will never be satisfied whatever concessions Government may give them. They had amassed wealth like anything during the war time and if it is taxed it is only to build up the economy of a new infant state. To leave the progress of the country into the hands of the industrialists will be the greatest blunder that the Government is doing today. To hope to raise the standard of life of the people with the help of the industrialists and the capitalists will be like entrusting the lamb to the wolf. I shall just cite one instance to show how the industrialist is giving too much trouble to the people. Take the case of sugar. That industry is a protected industry and people are left at the mercy of the industry by the Government and now the industry has begun to say that it is not the industrialist that needs protection but the Minister for Agriculture who needs protection. That is how they have brought their demand. The introduction of the duty on sugar will aggravate matters. Sugar is not a thing of luxury: it is an essential commodity and it is most essential for children. Some economists say that money has passed from the hands of the industrialists and capitalists to the people in the rural parts, *viz*, the agriculturists. It is a fact that money has gone to the hands of the agriculturists but it is wrong to identify the agriculturists with the poor workers in the field. The economists blame that the poor people are not in the habit of putting money in the bank. They have got their own indigenous method of saving money. If they are not going to the bank to deposit money it is because they have nothing to deposit in the bank. If you want to see the truth of this statement, go to the villages. We can see there people who even sell their ration to get a meal for the day.

I am glad that the honourable the Finance Minister has made provision in the Budget for opening a new radio station in Malabar and also that he has imposed a duty on liquor which I advocated last year.

श्री शान्तनु कुमार दास : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे अर्थ मंत्री ने जो बजट पेश किया है, उसको देखने से ही यह मालूम पड़ता है कि यह बजट भारतीय जनता का बजट नहीं है। साधारण जनता का बजट नहीं वह बजट पूंजीपतियों और उद्योगपतियों का है। इस बजट की कीमत जनता नहीं समझती है। जनता को यह एतराज होता है कि चीजें महंगी न पहुँचें। वह चाहती है कि किसी तरह चीजें सस्ती उन तक पहुँचें। बजट घाटे का है या बचत का है जनता इस बात में फिक्र नहीं करती।

चीजों में कर बढ़ रहा है, करों की वृद्धि होती रहेगी। लेकिन मैं इसके बारे में कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता। क्योंकि कल से आज तक सदस्यों ने इसके बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा है। पोस्टकार्ड, लिफाफा और शक्कर आदि चीजों पर कर की वृद्धि होती है। मैं पोस्टकार्ड के बारे में एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि पोस्टकार्ड की कीमत बहुत आन्दोलन के बाद दो पैसे का हुआ था। हमारी सरकार के समय में जो सुविधा दी गई थी उसको छीन लिया गया, और हमारे अर्थमंत्री ने पूंजीपतियों और उद्योगपतियों को तीन करोड़ की राहत दी है। कपिटल टैक्स पूरा माफ कर दिया। सुपर टैक्स में उल्लेखनीय कमी की है। पिछले बजट में पूंजीपति बढ़े हुए करों की शिकायत करते थे। उनका यह कहना था कि सरकार जब मदद नहीं देती तो पूंजीपति तिजोरी से रुपया नहीं निकालेंगे, और नये पुराने जो धन्य हैं उनका विकास नहीं हो सकेगा। हालांकि सरकार ने पिछले बजट में इस किस्म की राहत दी है, लेकिन इसका खास नतीजा क्या हुआ, कुछ नहीं। हमारे अर्थ मंत्री ने इस विषय को जानते हुए भी कैसे यह राहत दी है। मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारे देश में खाद्य की परिस्थिति संकटापन्न है। खाद्यमंत्री की आवाज कोने कोने में गूँज रही है, लेकिन इसका नतीजा कुछ नहीं हुआ है। गलती कहाँ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि 'ग्रो मोर फूड डिपार्टमेंट' में जो अफसर लोग रहते हैं वह कृषि के बारे में कुछ नहीं जानते हैं। कालेजों से पढ़ कर जो युवक आते हैं और युद्ध से फिर कर जो युवक आते हैं वह इस डिपार्टमेंट में घुस जाते हैं। कृषि के बारे में वे कुछ जानते ही नहीं। मैं यह अदब से अर्ज करता हूँ कि जो भी लोग इस डिपार्टमेंट में आते हैं वह कृषि के बारे में जानकारी रखें तो आप देखेंगे कि फिर से पैदावार ज्यादा हो जायगी। और सब के मुँह में हंसी की लहर दौड़ जायगी।

मैं एक और बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि अर्थमंत्री ने प्राकृतिक दुर्घटनाओं का जिक्र करते हुए कहा कि प्राकृतिक दुर्घटनायें हमारे देश में बढ़ती जाती हैं। पिछले वर्ष में बिहार में बाढ़ हुई, गुजरात में अकाल, बम्बई, मैं

[श्री शान्तनु कुमार दास]

साइक्लोन और मदरास और बंगाल में आंशिक अकाल हुआ है। यह दुर्घटनायें तो जरूर होती रहीं और होती ही रहेंगी। इस लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि प्राकृतिक दुर्घटनायें के सिवा और भी कुछ अप्राकृतिक दुर्घटनायें होती रहती हैं। यह होता है कि रेल्वे हड़ताल, मिलों में हड़ताल, और डाक तार की हड़ताल तो रोज की चोखें हो गई हैं। यह हड़तालें जब सरकार के कब्जे में आजायगी तो सरकार को सुख मिल सकेगा। मैं इसी लिये कहता हूँ कि चीन और वरमा का सबक हमारे सामने है। जब हम लोग गांव गांव में काटेज इन्डस्ट्री का विकास करेंगे तभी हम अभाव को कम कर सकेंगे। आज प्रान्त में जहां ज्यादा मिलें नहीं ज्यादा कारखाने नहीं वहां काटेज इन्डस्ट्री बढ़ाने के लिये हमारी सरकार कोशिश करे। मैं जानता हूँ कि उड़ीसा में बहुत शरीरी है। काटेज इन्डस्ट्री के बारे में उड़ीसा के लोग काफी अच्छी तरह जानते हैं। काम जानते हैं। जब उड़ीसा में काटेज इन्डस्ट्री शुरू करने के लिये हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार मदद देगी तभी अच्छा होगा। उड़ीसा में चिलीका नामक एक, (Lake) है। हंटर साहब ने एक रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि यहां पुराने जमाने में ज्यादा साल्ट होता था। यू० पी० और बिहार में उड़ीसा साल्ट सप्लाइ करता था। अगर अब यह आमदनी बन्द होती है तो कैसे काम चलेगा। इस लिये मैं बड़े अदब से अर्ज करता हूँ कि यह साल्ट इन्डस्ट्री उड़ीसा में किसी तरह बढ़ाई जाय। उड़ीसा समुद्र के किनारे है उड़ीसा में दो बन्दरगाह हैं। गोपालपुर और चांदवाली। पुराने जमाने में वाणिज्य अच्छी तरह चलता था उड़ीसा की बदकिस्मती से वह वाणिज्य बन्द हो गया है। मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार से बड़े अदब से यह अर्ज करता हूँ कि कैसे इसका जल्दी इन्तजाम किया जाय।

मुझे यह खेद है कि हमारी सरकार का खर्च अर्थमंत्री ने नहीं कमी कर दी है क्योंकि इसके लिये उन्होंने यत्न नहीं किया। और मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार में जो बड़े आफिस होल्डर हैं उनको तीन हजार से ज्यादा तनखाह नहीं लेनी चाहिए। जो तीन हजार से ज्यादा तनखाह पाते हैं उनके हाउस को मैनटेन करने पर ज्यादा खर्च हो जाता है। मैं कहता हूँ कि राजाजी ने एक दफा कहा था कि मैं गवर्नमेंट हाउस में रहता हूँ तो जब मेरे मेहमान आ जाते हैं तो बाहर निकलने के लिए राह नहीं पाते हैं। उनकी यह इच्छा है कि जैसे हमारे पंडित जी और सरदार साहब रहते हैं उसी तरह उनके रहने का प्रबन्ध हो जाय। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उनको उसी तरह रहने के लिए हमारी सरकार प्रबन्ध करे तो अच्छा होगा। कुछ खर्च की भी कमी हो जायेगी।

म यह कहकर अपने वक्तव्य को खत्म करता हूँ और उसके साथ साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं इस बजट को पसन्द करता हूँ, पर हार्दिक समर्थन नहीं देता क्योंकि जनता उसका स्वागत नहीं करती है।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri Santanu Kumar Das (Orissa: General): By merely looking at the Budget presented by our Finance Minister one finds that this is not a budget of the Indian people. It is not the budget of the common people. It is the Budget of capitalists and industrialists. The value of this Budget is not appraised by the people. The people raise the plea that commodities should not come dear to them. They want that somehow commodities should become available to them at cheap prices. The people do not worry about the fact whether the Budget shows a deficit or a surplus.

Tax on commodities is increasing; taxes will go on increasing. But, I do not want to say anything about it because yesterday and today the members have said a great deal. The prices of post cards and envelopes are raised and tax is increased on commodities like sugar. I want to say something with regard to the post-card. The price of the post-card was brought down to two pice after a good deal of agitation. The relief that had been granted has been withdrawn during the rule of our Government, and our Finance Minister has provided a relief of three crores to our capitalists and industrialists. The capital tax has been wholly remitted. Considerable reduction has been made in the super-tax. In regard to the last Budget the capitalists complained about the increased taxes. It was said by them that, when the Government was not prepared to help, the capitalists would not loosen their purse strings, with the result that the new and old industries would not be developed. Although relief of that kind was granted by the Government under the previous Budget, what special results were achieved thereby? Nothing. How has our Finance Minister granted this relief even when he was aware of this position? I wish to say one thing. The food situation in our country is distressing. The voice of the Food Minister is ringing in every part of the country but this has not yielded any results. Where does the fault lie? I feel that the officers of the Grow More Food Department do not know anything about agriculture. Youngmen fresh from colleges and others returned from war service forge their way into this Department. They simply know nothing about agriculture. I respectfully submit that if the people who enter this Department possess knowledge of agriculture you will see that production would increase once again and there would be smiles on every face.

I want to say something else. While talking of natural calamities the Finance Minister said that natural calamities were on the increase in our country. During the last year there occurred floods in Bihar, a famine in Gujrat, a cyclone in Bombay and partial famine in Madras and Bengal. These calamities have no doubt been occurring and will keep occurring. What I want to say is this that besides natural calamities there are also some unnatural calamities which keep occurring. A strike in the railways, a strike in the mills and a strike in the posts and telegraphs have become things of daily occurrence. The Government will be able to find some respite when they will have acquired some control over these strikes. Hence, I say that the lessons of China and Burma are before us. We would be able to remove scarcity only when we start cottage industries in every village. Our Government should make efforts to develop cottage industries in that province which does not at present possess enough mills and factories. I know what great poverty there is in Orissa.

[Shri Santanu Kumar Das]

The people of Orissa know a great deal about cottage industry. They know how to work. It will be good only when our Central Government renders help in starting cottage industry in Orissa. There is a lake in Orissa called Chilka. It is mentioned in a report by Mr. Hunter that more salt was produced there in the old times and that Orissa used to supply salt to U. P. and Bihar. How will it be possible to carry on now if this income stops? Hence, I submit very respectfully that this salt industry in Orissa should be developed somehow. Orissa is situated on seashore. It has two ports, Gopalpur and Chandwali. Commerce flourished here in the old days. To the misfortune of Orissa that commerce has ceased. I very respectfully appeal to the Central Government that something should be done in this behalf at an early date.

It grieves me that the Finance Minister has effected no reduction in the expenditure of our Government—he has not endeavoured to do so. I wish to say that the holders of high office in our Government should not receive a salary exceeding three thousand. It costs even more to maintain the houses of those who are in receipt of more than three thousand as salary. Rajaji once remarked, “I live in the Government House, but the guests who visit my house are unable to find the way out. It is his desire that similar arrangements might be made for his residence as exist for the residence of our Panditji and Sardar Sahib. I think that it would be good if our Government could make similar arrangements for his residence. This would also effect some reduction in expenditure.

With this I close my speech. I wish to say incidentally that I like this budget but I do not give it a hearty support because the people have not hailed it well.

Shri V. C. Kesava Rao (Madras: General): This is the second budget after India got independence. All these years, the common man has been thinking that he will be happy when we get full Swaraj; but I am surprised to find that the budget aims at giving relief to the richer man but not to the poor man. I don't know why the super tax on the capitalist has been reduced. It is a wonder to me why the Finance Minister is going to help those tax payers who have made crores of rupees profits during the war, about whom, even the Finance Minister cannot say that they have paid their taxes. Even the expenditure incurred on the Income-tax Investigation Commission has not been realised. I am sorry to find that there is not even a single scheme which would help the common man. The common man wants a house to live in, cloth to wear and food to eat. We, Congress people, have been telling them for more than half a century that they will be happy when independence is attained; but we have now framed a budget for the rich man, and not for the common man.

Speaking about the defence expenditure I am sorry to say that before the war, the defence expenditure was 47 crores whereas now it has gone up to 157 crores. I do not know whether we are aiming at any war. Naturally, last year there was expenditure due to the Kashmir operations. This year, I do not think that there is anything which we can expect. Such being the case, I do not know why we are spending such a large amount as 157 crores for our defence forces. Even during the war, we Congress people have been criticising the British Ministers for spending a lot of money for defence. Another point, I would like to point out in this connection, is that our military is not so efficient as it ought to be. Now, promotions in the military are so rapid. A man who is not even thirty years old has become a Colonel and a Brigadier. I do not think in a country there is a Colonel or a Brigadier who is less than forty-five years of age.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Should we get the Britishers again here?

Shri R. K. Sidhva: We have got an efficient army.

Shri V. C. Kesava Rao: Comparing any country, the United States of America or the United Kingdom, there is no country where people have attained this rank before forty-five years of age.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: That is not a good thing.

Shri V. C. Kesava Rao: Especially in the military, I think, experience is more necessary than anything else.

Another point I would like to point out is that there is no provision in the budget for observing economy. The Central Pay Commission had suggested not to give any dearness allowance to people getting more than Rs. 1,000. But, the Central Government is not prepared to reduce the dearness allowances for its highly paid officers. Even officers getting Rs. 3,000 are allowed to draw dearness allowances. In this connection, I would like to state that one-third of the postal officers have gone to Pakistan. Even though we ought to have only three fourths of the prepartition number, the number of the officers have increased considerably well beyond this mark and the expenditure has automatically gone up. I want to point out that we are going to establish many Embassies in many foreign countries. As a measure of economy, I say that we should not establish any more Embassies and we should even go to the extent of reducing the staff in the present Embassies.

Then every Ministry has got lump sum grants for miscellaneous expenditure. In every Ministry there is provision for all kinds of expenditure and this miscellaneous expenditure is at the discretion of the Officers to spend in whatever way they liked. If we cut down this miscellaneous expenditure, we will be able to save some money.

The Retrenchment Committee's work has become a farce. They have recommended for retrenchment of officers who were recruited during the war. Till now no Ministry is prepared to retrench even one officer. I understand in the C.P.W.D. one clerk getting 60/- was retrenched. Had they have only one to retrench from the staff? If the proposals of the Economy Committee and the Retrenchment Committee are put into practice, I think we can save a lot of money and by that the inflation may be curtailed.

We have been spending lot of money for imports of foodgrains and last year we spent 130 crores and this year we are going to spend more and I think if we spend a few crores or even a few lakhs for improving our fertilizers or our natural manure like cow dung etc. I think we will be able to produce more. A farmer who wants to produce more is not able to get fertilizers or manure. I wish the honourable Food Minister will spend some money in providing these manures to the farmers. To curtail this expenditure on food some money should be spent on developing the fish industry. We have vast coastlines. If we develop the industry, we can supplement food with fish to a larger extent. I wish that a portion of this money spent for purchasing grains from other countries may be diverted to the development of this industry.

Shri H. Siddaveerappa (Mysore State): Madam, the measuring rod by which we have to see whether this Budget is a Budget for the good of the common man is to see the amount of good it does to the common man. I don't wish to enter into the details as to how far the Budget will help to improve the economic good of the common man. I wish to touch only the general lines regarding that. If you bear in mind that in this country 70 per cent of the people live in villages and most of them—if not all—are agriculturists, you will have to see how far this Budget helps to improve the common man. In the first instance I would like to thank the Government for having helped the agriculturists by increasing the import duty on betelnut and I find that this is the only redeeming feature so far as the indigenous grower is concerned in this Budget. Regarding other points as to how it has become the burden on the common man we will have to say, taken as a whole, this budget is not so bad as is depicted to be and I would like to touch upon one or two points regarding agriculture. We have been seeing that ever since the war there is a chronic disease of food shortage. If we take the period in which we had an economic depression, I think in the years 1930 to 1935 we found that agricultural economy was the worst affected. Nobody ever cared to see whether the crop the farmer produced was sufficient to meet his cost of production. Many stuck to agriculture because they had no other vocation. It is only during the war that this question of food loomed so large with the result that even to-day we are still in the same circle. It baffles the Government. Every year we find that at a time when we want our dollar resources for purchasing capital goods, we are spending enormous amounts for importing our food products. How is it in an agricultural country we are reduced to the pitiable position? You will have to say at least here is a time when we will have to consider our economy in a different way and find out whether in a given time it is not possible for us to see that we are made self-sufficient within a minimum period regarding food. Taken from that standard, in a budget wherein we see that the expenditure estimated is to the tune of about 322 crores and odd, what do we find so far as agriculture is concerned? For the Ministry of Agriculture and Food we see that barely a sum of 80 lakhs has been allotted in this budget. Is it sufficient I would ask. The other day when we had a full-dress debate on Food, the honourable Minister for Food was pleased to tell us that in other countries agriculture is given a proper yard and we find that in America a good deal of money is spent. What are we doing in this country? Have the Government in view any reorientation of policy to see that agriculture is taken as a paying industry and agriculture is encouraged by all means possible by importing machinery, necessary agricultural manure and other goods? The present subsidy does not reach all the cent percent of population. In this country at no time cent percent of the population were on the ration basis. I think only about 5 per cent—mostly townsmen—were under the ration and we should consider that agriculturist, in spite of all his difficulties, was the man who fed the entire population. Most of the people could not be fed on the rationed article. What is it that the Government have done with a view to improve his lot or with a view to importing foreign machinery. We find Governments of other countries have been encouraging starting of several industries for the manufacture of agricultural implements. But here we don't seem to be doing anything to increase the output of fertilizers. It is but natural that we will have to think of this problem and reorientate our policy with a view to seeing that in the minimum period we get the food crops produced in our own country alone and that we are made self-sufficient in food. An honourable member said that surplus money has flown into the rural Parts. I do not believe that the surplus money has ever entered the villages. If the Government want to convince themselves of it, let them start an enquiry and find out what was the agricultural indebtedness before the war and what is the present agricultural

indebtedness. Unfortunately in our country there are no banks who would advance money to the agriculturists. Recently we had to go through a banking Bill which was mostly a bankers' Bill, for about eight or ten days. These banks never lend any money to the agriculturists. Under these circumstances I do believe that if at all there is any class in this country—and they form a majority—who were the most hard hit during the war, it is the agriculturists class. They never had any opportunity to make money by easy methods like permits or any other method. They had to till the soil and raise their crops by the sweat of their brow. They are the persons who were most hard hit, and it is high time that the Government formulated a proper policy with regard to food crops, for the next three or five years. Let them not be left in the lurch, as they were left during the days of depression, when the agriculturists were reduced to such hopeless straits that many of them had even to sell their cattle in order to meet the bare necessities of life.

The next point I want to touch upon is about reduction in governmental expenditure. Before we think of imposing indirect taxes to the extent of about Rs. 14 crores, we must consider the question of rigid economy in all our governmental expenditures. I have with me the figures from 1938 to 1947—for undivided India. In 1938-39, the total figure for governmental expenditure was about Rs. 10,90,00,000. In 1946-47, the figure was Rs. 35,00,00,000, and coming to the present year, 1948-49, it is as much as Rs. 48.14 crores per year. I would request the honourable the Finance Minister to find out whether this poor country is capable of bearing this burden, this unduly heavy burden. In this whole budget of three hundred and odd crores of rupees, the encouragement given to agriculturists amounts to only about eighty lakhs. Of course, I may be told that agriculture is a provincial concern. But the Government of India has undertaken to see that this country is self-sufficient in the matter of food. Therefore, it is absolutely essential that before the financial year runs out, some drastic economies are visibly shown in the budget, with a view to increase the confidence of the country.

With regard to food prices, I would like to say just a few words. We find whenever we ask the Provinces or States about this subject, we are told that it is a Central subject. But we find that in the different places there is not even uniformity with regard to food prices. Between Bombay and the Mysore border, for instance, within about a distance of five miles there is great disparity in the price. Food is sold at a higher price in Bombay and at a lower rate in Mysore border. The result is that smuggling is encouraged. Therefore I would request the Government to see that some sort of uniformity in prices, at least in the border areas is brought about.

Sreematty Annie Mascarene (Travancore State): Madam, it is my peculiar privilege to speak when a lady is presiding. Hitherto, we have been hearing discussion on the Budget, and the Finance Minister there, bearing the brunt of the blows was a pitiable sight to see. I wish to paint another picture. The Finance Minister's speech is an economic survey of public finance and expenditure of free India which is just a year and a half old. The aftermath of the war, the unsettled political and economic conditions having their repercussions in the East and the Middle-East, have culminated in the presentation of a deficit budget, the deficit being to the extent of Rs. 14 crores. Some people state, feeling perhaps the pulse of the nation, that millions have waited with throbbing hearts for the promises of the Finance Minister for the future, and fell back in despair when they were told that they had to pay more for sugar, postage and more for cloth. Other state that this is a capitalist budget, and industrialists beamed with a smile when they were told that there is a reduction of super-tax and income-tax, and the capital gains tax is abolished altogether. But I, as a student of history and politics, take an altogether

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different view. I take this opportunity to congratulate the honourable the Finance Minister for the consummate skill with which he has steered the economic destiny of this young nation, through perilous times. If such a budget had been presented in normal times it would have been scandalous, and scandalous to a professor of economics, and to a nation with such resources and reputation. But we are living under very different conditions. We are living under peculiar circumstances, in a transitional stage, when the last drama—the peroration of the Imperial drama dropped its curtain, and the preamble of the national government entered the arena with a flourish of communal conflicts, when the last stroke of British diplomacy dealt a fatal blow to *Bharat Mata* resulting in a vivisection and the disastrous consequences resulting from it, in death, dishonour, and damnation, driving us to the deepest depths of degradation, and defiling the fair name of the nation. It is under such circumstances the national leaders of the Congress have undertaken the reins of Government to shape the destiny of this young nation—nay, to sway the rod of an Empire. At this juncture the country stood just on the verge of economic crisis. The capitalists who stood by the agitators expected the agitators to become administrators; the labour which organised itself ever since the national government took up the reins of administration also expected very many things to happen and organised itself as a challenge to the capitalists. Placed between the devil and the deep sea, the leaders of the nation had to shape the destiny of this State with great difficulty. They had to deal with distempered Kashmir, disorganized Hyderabad and to provide for food, clothing and shelter to lakhs and lakhs of refugees rendered homeless by the vivisection of India. Under these circumstances I ask, Madam, whether any administrator however great his genius may be could have devised a Budget much better than this. The present need of the nation is to establish democracy on a sound basis. The present need of the nation is to feed the people, to clothe them and to produce as much of consumer goods as are required just now. Who are the agents of production in India today? Has the nation, I ask, the capacity to nationalise all its industries at one stroke? In that case this Budget is not suitable. As we have had only eighteen months before us we had time only to muster our strength together and lay the foundations of future democracy. Under these circumstances it is but natural to look to the capitalist to give as much of production as is required by the nation. But the capitalist, fearing the several 'isms' facing him and fearing the prospects of his capital, had gone underground. The only magic which could bring him out is the magic of abolishing the Capital Gains Tax and reducing the Income-tax and the Super-tax. We need not think that this is going to be for ever the condition in India. No, the present demand must be satisfied; the life of the nation should be maintained and nurtured so that a better life and a better democracy can be shaped hereafter. If the Budget is a desperate one I wish to invite the attention of the House to the desperate character of democracy. Democracy as a form of government never thrived for long in any country in the world. Democracy has been a difficult political form of government. It could not transcend the walls of the city of Greece without half slavery; it could not remain in Rome for long without converting itself into Imperial autocracy. For 1800 years democracy disappeared from the world till it appeared in the Magna Charta, nurtured by Edward I, Rym. Hampden and culminated in 1688 under the Glorious Revolution, reformed itself in 1832 and perfected itself in 1917 with the women's suffrage. That was the history of democracy in England. The history of democracy in America took 150 years and Lincoln 4 years and a million lives to give it the present shape. The history of democracy in other countries was just the same. After the lurid display of revolution in France it disappeared for a time and came back only in 1878. In China in 1911 there was democracy established,

but where is China today? We have to take the lessons and the experience of democracy in other countries before we can establish democracy in our own State which is three times as big as the United States of America and half the size of Europe. Today the administrators, the leaders of the people at the helm of the government, are trying to shape the democracy of India for the time to come, in this transitional period. At this juncture no amount of imagination or political philosophy can help them than to make the best of what the time can afford and build on it the later perfection of democracy. Therefore, if the Budget at the present time looks a bit desperate you cannot help it. The nation has paid heavily for the freedom of India. The nation has to pay still more for the establishment of democracy. Every citizen has to pay for establishing that form of government which has been found from political experience to be the best form of government—the government of the people by the people for the people. Hence I think that the Budget as framed by the Finance Minister is a Budget that was forced upon him by the force of circumstances. If this nation has to be led hereafter, if the administration is to be run on a sounder basis hereafter, this timely budget, this Budget for this year, is necessary and I take this opportunity to congratulate the Finance Minister again.

The destiny of the future is not in our hands. It is true that the proposals in the Budget in respect of postage rates and the sugar tax etc. are the most unkind cuts of all. But we have to remember that every citizen has to pay for his privileges. And who knows what the future is? We are faced with so many difficulties. Time will prove where we are. Many a secret lie hidden in the womb of time like many a gem in the caverns of the sea.

Shri Harihar Nath Shastri (U. P.: General): Madam, the honourable lady member who has just preceded me has paid eloquent tributes to the honourable the Finance Minister. I do not propose to criticise the various points made out by her. I wish that the honourable Minister should have this much satisfaction that he has got at least one member, and that too of the fair sex, who has supported him. There was another honourable member who unfortunately is not present in the House just now who sits by my side—I mean Shri Ramalingam Chettiyar—who remarked yesterday that the honourable the Finance Minister had earned the applause and congratulations of the various Chambers of Commerce in this country. That may be a matter of jubilation for the honourable Minister but let me frankly state that I cannot congratulate him, nor can he expect congratulations from the class of people whom I represent. It has been stated in the course of the various speeches delivered yesterday as well as today that there is no departure in this Budget from that of the previous year's budget. I must say that it was a profound shock and disappointment to me inasmuch as Dr. Matthai has had the reputation of being an economist of progressive, or shall I say, socialistic ideas in spite of his close and long association with the Tatas. I think he said in the course of his Budget speech that the principal motive behind his budget proposals was that he wanted to check or arrest inflation by giving numerous reliefs to the Industrialist. If it were possible, I would have congratulated him, but I must express my grave doubts over his hopes. Today I feel that the profit motive is ruling supreme in the minds of the capitalists of this country and as long as this profit motive lasts there is no likelihood of inflation being checked. I regret that the Budget that has been presented before this House is calculated to accentuate the profit motive and my humble submission is that it is a wrong policy to try to step up production by appealing to the narrow selfish instincts of the capitalist class. And if you persist in doing so there is no justification on your part to appeal to the patriotism of the masses and their high sense of duty. The common man of this country has made great sacrifices in the cause, of the community and it is because of him that you are here and we of course are also here. But let it be clearly understood that

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the common man of this country will resolutely refuse to make sacrifices in the interests of a handful of men who have thrived on the exploitation of the masses. Even today he is capable of making sacrifices and to put up with hardships if those sacrifices and hardships are meant to advance the interests of the community as a whole and the sufferings are shared by every class of the people.

The honourable the Finance Minister has consoled himself by the assertion that even in other parts of the world conditions are disturbed and progress towards recovery from the ravages of war is slow. Yes, Madam, it is true. It was only about six or seven months back that I had an opportunity of visiting the European countries, in the course of which I was in England for about ten days. The people in England even today are living on austerity diet; they are passing through very hard times. But there is one factor that must not be lost sight of. The sufferings are common to every section of the community. The same quantity of restricted sugar, the same number of cigarettes, the same restricted number of one egg per week are available to a worker in a factory as well as to a mill magnate and that too at a price which is within his easy reach.

Shri B. Das: But black-marketing exists even in England and Russia.

Shri Harihar Nath Shastri: In England black marketing is not even one-tenth as rampant as it is in this country. Today the prices in England are hardly twenty-five per cent above the pre-war level and wages have gone up by about fifty per cent. On the contrary, what is the position today in our country? You introduced rationing, nay, your predecessors, the Britishers, introduced rationing. Swayed by sentiments on the one hand and influenced by vigorous propaganda by interested capitalist classes on the other you gave up the control policy, with the result that prices have shot up in the course of the last six or seven months by about 80 points. The mistake was realised when it was too late to mend it and even now I regret to say that no planned policy is being pursued. In fact, planning is lacking in the whole of our economic policy.

Now, let me submit for your consideration and that of the House two or three salient points that still remain to be dealt with. The one question which of course has been dealt with in great detail is the food problem and various honourable Members have explained the gravity of the situation in this country as a result of food scarcity. It is really a matter of grave anxiety that at the present moment about Rs. 30 to 32 crores are spent on subsidies. A few days back, when unfortunately I was not present in the House, there was the debate on the food problem and the honourable the Food Minister was subjected to a lot of criticism. May I make my own observations on that question? I personally feel that if you put in this office a Food Minister who is a hundred times more qualified person (I know there is none more qualified than the present Minister), if you put in a person who in your estimation is a hundred times more qualified, you cannot solve the food problems of this country by a mere Grow More Food Campaign or some such devices. In my opinion the root cause of the food scarcity and the root cause as to why the food problem in this country is not being solved is that planning is needed in regard to agriculture. What I mean by planning is that it is necessary that you rationalise the production of food and its distribution and that rationalisation in production and distribution is possible only if you tackle the basic problem of the abolition of landlordism in this country. It was

about two or three years ago when the Congress came into power in various provinces that the question was taken up and in some of the provinces legislation was also passed and in others it is on the verge of being passed, but that is not yet put on the statute book. I understand that there are certain difficulties and hindrances which I need not go into. But I must submit that unless you tackle and that too speedily the question of the abolition of landlordism, you cannot satisfactorily and on a lasting basis solve the food problem of this country. If you do that, you will pave the way for cooperative farming, a system in which the peasants shall have full right on the soil and at the same time there will be more produce and the produce can be pooled together and utilised without any chance of hoarding or profiteering for the good of the entire community.

The other point which I would like to finish in the five minutes which you, Madam, has kindly allowed me is in regard to industrial expansion of this country. The other day our great leader, the Deputy Prime Minister in the course of his speech in Madras deprecated loose talks about nationalisation. I am in complete agreement with him and I need not go into the reasons why nationalisation is not feasible much though one may like it at the present moment. But I do make a difference between nationalisation and control. The other day my friend Mr. Ramalingam Chettiar said that there was no difference between control of capitalism and nationalisation. I should like to observe that control is the method through which on the one hand capitalism can have a lease of life in this country and on the other hand the interests of the community also can be guaranteed. So it is necessary that controls should be introduced and that too in a rational manner. The wartime drama must not be repeated now. During that period, as the House is aware, the community made tremendous sacrifices and at its cost the capitalists made enormous profits. There is no time to cite instances, though I have many but I would just in one minute cite the instance of the iron and steel industry, with which my honourable friend the Finance Minister has been connected for a number of years. When iron and steel were controlled during the war this industry was selling defective materials and cuttings of iron and steel at three or four times the price of first class material and was making huge profits on that account. On the other hand articles manufactured from such materials which were of daily use to the common man were sold as they are being sold now at exorbitant prices. This state of affairs must be put an end to. Production, management and profits and distribution must be regulated by the state in the larger interests of the community. Only such commodities should be allowed to be produced that will primarily fulfil the necessities of life of the common man. As for management the time has come when I say, in spite of what was observed the other day by Mr. Ramalingam Chettiar, that the Government should revise its attitude and take a definite decision in regard to the much abused and highly condemned system of managing agency. I need hardly say anything in regard to distribution. The flagrant abuse of the latitude given to industry through the abolition of control has by now convinced the Government that control must be reimposed. Here I should like to make a passing reference to the proposed legislation in regard to the control of industries that is engaging the attention of the Department of Industry. I do hope that when the proposed Bill is put on the statute book it will go a long way in putting the industrial development of our country on a sound basis.

The Assembly then adjourned till Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, the 5th March, 1949.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)
DEBATES.

(PART II—PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS).

Saturday, 5th March, 1949

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Deputy Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

(No questions: Part I not published.)

COFFEE MARKET EXPANSION (AMENDMENT) BILL

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee (Minister of Industry and Supply): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Coffee Market Expansion Act, 1942.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Coffee Market Expansion Act, 1942".

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—concl'd.

FIRST STAGE—concl'd.

Shri K. Hanumanthaiya (Mysore State): The Budget presented to this House has been called by different names. I for one would call it the "incentive-to-industrialists" Budget; I would give it another name, "agriculturists-nowhere-in-the-picture" Budget. The most serious question that is facing the country and agitating the mind of this House is the problem of food. That problem has in no way been tackled in this Budget. There is not a single proposal, there is not even a word of sympathy for agriculturists. Every proposal made, every sentiment expressed, is for the industrialists. Not that I grudge the concessions made to them, nor do I grudge the incentive given to them—I want this country to prosper industrially. At the same time I want the most serious of the problems that India faces today, namely agricultural production, to be tackled with as much seriousness and with as much earnestness as has been displayed in the case of industrial production. No doubt the learned Professor who happens to be the Finance Minister for the time being dwelt upon food production and its problems indirectly. He says the problem is serious, "We are importing food grains worth Rs. 130 crores every year, that our sterling balances are being depleted, and that our balance of trade is upset. He looks at it from the wrong point of view; he does not look at the problem from the point of view of its inherent merit. Sir, this reminds me of a story where a wife began to cry on the deathbed of the husband. She was crying, "Who will hereafter give me jewels, who will hereafter provide me house and comforts and car and cosmetics?" That were the arguments used over the deathbed and profusely was she crying too. So also, here agriculture is sympathised

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with and wept over by the Finance Minister because it has upset the balance of trade, depleted the sterling balances and caused an expenditure of Rs. 130 crores a year.

But what has he done really to see that this agricultural production is stepped up? What is the amount he has allotted for the purpose? What is the incentive he has presented towards that end? He weeps over agriculture in the fashion of the wife in that story. Here he weeps over agriculture for his own reasons, not with a view to give it the incentive it deserves, it needs, and it demands.

Why has agriculture been neglected in this fashion? The primary reason I attribute to the very psychology, the very composition of this Cabinet. This Cabinet consists of people who never had occasion to go to a village and see things for themselves—at least the majority of them—I concede there may be very honourable exceptions, but the majority of them know nothing of the rural areas, their conditions and difficulties. They sponsor Bills to fix minimum wages for industrial labour. Have they ever thought of fixing the minimum wages or the minimum price that we have to pay to the producer of foodstuffs? The honourable Minister for Industry and Supply fixes the margin of profit for the various merchants who deal in controls; take for example cloth, he wants the procurer to have about two per cent. profit, the wholesaler about three per cent. and the retailer about nine per cent. Has any Minister in this Cabinet, including the honourable the Leader, ever thought that the agriculturist also requires an incentive and margin of profit? It is a sad thing to recollect that the father of the nation who led us to freedom had always two things in view, the village and the villager and it is a sad commentary upon the formation of the Cabinet and the policy pursued by our Leader, the Prime Minister, that these two things have gone completely out of the mind and consideration of the Cabinet. I have not seen during these two years of the working of this Cabinet system of government, a single measure introduced in this House for the benefit of agriculturists and for stepping up agricultural production. We no doubt make fiery speeches saying that if we do not produce more food we will perish. All the grievances of the rural population are met with by the speeches, by lip-sympathy, and not by solid concrete action. What is it that impedes agricultural production? The figures show that our deficit is only about 10 per cent, and we were importing that 10 per cent. But now we are importing to the tune of Rs. 130 crores worth of foodstuffs. When Rs. 60 crores worth of cloth was being imported, Mahatma Gandhi saw what a drain it was and he invented *khadi*. He preached the spirit of *swadeshi*. We had to buy the coarse *khadi* cloth at higher prices in order to stop this drain and in order to see that this spirit of *swadeshi* took root in the country. Now the travesty of things are that we are paying a higher price to an agriculturist in America or Argentina and not the same price to the agriculturist in our own country. This is a sad state of affairs and nobody, no Minister including the Prime Minister has paid attention to this aspect of the matter. We have to do three things in order to step up agricultural production, and I shall make three concrete suggestions. Let us consider, who is to produce? After all, the villager has to produce. (Babu Ramnarayan Singh: 'Why not these people?') These people will get by way of ration whatever they want, leaving the agriculturist halfstarved. They know how to manage for themselves.

So after all, the villager has to produce. Now, every man who gets educated in a village drifts to the town. Every able-bodied man goes to a factory. The educated and the able bodied go into the town, into the urban area, where the incentive to earn and the means to earn are far greater than what are available in the rural areas. A man who cannot earn Rs. 20 a month in the village

if the same man goes to the town, and if he works as a cooli in the railway station, he will earn Rs. 20 a day almost. That is the state of things. In order to see that agriculturists get incentive, we must first fix the price, not what is called the "fair" price, which is fixed by the whims and fancies of Government officials or Ministers as the case may be. But we must go about it in a methodical manner; we must appoint a Committee composed of consumers, purchasers and impartial people to fix up what is required to produce a given quantity of grain and allow a margin of profit such as you allow to the retail cloth dealer—nine per cent. or so. I would even go to the extent of requesting Government to allow not even nine per cent. but to allow six per cent. net profit to the agriculturist. You have fixed the dividends at six per cent. show the same consideration to the agriculturist. I do not want more consideration than that, fix the margin of profit at six per cent. and then fix the price. You use arguments, what are called the "spiral of inflation" and are arguments of theory which you have learnt from books. But these arguments won't help us in the matter of production of food or in stopping this drain of Rs. 130 crores on food imports.

It is good that Government is making a determined effort in order to solve the agricultural problem. They want more agricultural machinery to be imported and manures to be purchased. For that purpose, they have applied to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Very good. I hope they will be able to get what they want. I am told that the International Bank has got only about 400 million dollars of money and I do not suppose we will be able to get much out of it. We will have to depend upon our own growers than upon external help. Now this Bank and this International Monetary Fund deserve some attention. The International Monetary Fund was constituted in 1945 and the then representatives who went on behalf of the Government of India were not representatives of Free India or of this responsible Government. Sir Jeremy Raisman led the Delegation and he fixed the quota for us. The other day I ask the Finance Minister whether, after the advent of our freedom, he has made any efforts to revise the quota already allotted to us, and he was pleased to say, whether we got independence or not, it did not matter from this point of view. This is the psychology which is holding up the present Government. If we have not been able to satisfy the people, if Congress ideology and psychology have not been implemented in this country, it is because the Ministers entertain such notions about our hard-won independence—"it does not matter" to them—yes, because many of them were careerists in the previous regime and they are careerists now. I am sorry if it hurts the feelings of people. It has become the fashion of the Leader of the Party and the Deputy Leader of the Party to woo people who were either silent or active collaborators of the British imperialism. They think all the first-rate brain is concentrated in the heads of those people. Congressmen are feeling as if they are strangers in their own house. Unless the people who fought for freedom, who know the Congress ideology and who know what Mahatma Gandhi stood for, unless they come into the picture and implement the ideology of the Congress, this Government will continue to be what it is. It will become more and more unpopular, with the result that some of us, poor people, innocent people who have nothing to do with the working of this Government, will ultimately find that we lose our deposits in the elections.

Again, Sir, I was referring to the International Monetary Fund. Even the Raisman delegation has agreed to the present quota with the reservation that they will be able to press their claims later. The International Monetary Fund, which is a very important international organisation is dominated by America. There are three well known principles in fixing the quota—population, national income and volume of trade. None of these

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principles have been taken into consideration. It is the power politics that has counted in the matter of composition and the fixation of quota of the I.M.F. Has Government of India ever paid one moment's attention to this aspect of the matter? They go on as merrily as the previous Governments were doing. They think that what has already been fixed by a previous regime is sacrosanct for ever. This is the psychology which they have to change in the interests of the country and in the interests of the Congress and in order to give a good name to the leaders who have chosen these men. That is my humble opinion.

Mr. Homi Mody (Bombay: General): I hope my honourable friend the Finance Minister is not unduly depressed (*The Honourable Dr. John Matthai*: 'No, no.') over the criticisms which have been lavished on his Budget. If he will look up the Budget debates of the last twenty or thirty years, he will find much the same things have been said without doing any damage to anybody. (*Prof. N. G. Ranga*: 'August 15 is the only change.') There never was a perfect Budget, and there never will be. May be that in some age when men have learnt to live without the Army, the Police, the Secretariat, and above all, Cabinet Ministers (*The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil*: 'Hear, hear; and members of the House!') then a Budget may be produced which may be carried with universal acclamation, but till that time.....(*An honourable Member*: 'Then there will be no Budget!') But till that time the Finance Minister must make up his mind that he is there to be criticised and condemned and that no consideration will be shown to him.

Speaking generally, the Budget speech is characterised by vigour and lucidity the sort of statement which one would expect from a person of my honourable friend's ability and knowledge of economics. But there are several gaps which I think I ought to point out. The thing that stands out is that in the course of the whole Budget statement, there is no exposition of the monetary policy of Government and that is a defect in an otherwise admirable performance. What sort of policy Government are going to pursue in the matter of regulation of currency and credit is a matter which is of fundamental importance, and I hope, at any rate in the course of his reply to the Budget debate, my honourable friend will say a few things about the way in which he looks at the whole question of monetary policy. Then, again, I wish that my honourable friend had referred in a little more detail to the failure of the borrowing programme of Government in the last year or two. There is a huge deficit in capital account which has duly found mention in the Statement and the Explanatory Memorandum. I would like my honourable friend to dilate a little on that and tell us exactly how he proposes to finance the capital programme of Government.

One other criticism, which is not a criticism so much of my honourable friend as of his predecessors, is that some attempt ought to be made to provide more accurate budgeting. A budget which on the expenditure and income side is out by 60, 70 or 80 crores is not a budget. These are abnormal times and I recognise that what was possible in the happier days of old may not be practicable these days. Both the expenditure and revenue side may show considerable differences from the budget estimates; but, by and large, I think it is necessary that the Estimates should be more accurately framed.

Taken as a whole, I regard the budget proposals as sound. Despite the criticisms which have been made and the criticisms which will continue to pour in for the rest of the month, looking at the present position and the economic malaise from which the country is suffering, the need for restoring confidence, the need for balancing the budget and the need for taking off taxation which proved to be detrimental to progress and production, I say the budget as a whole is sound. My friends say, it is all very well for you to say this

for the simple reason that there are several features which are of help to you. (*An honourable Member*: 'That is true.') That may be true; but there are quite a few which are not of help. So far as I am personally concerned, I do not stand to benefit by the reduction of taxation on the top incomes, whereas I may have to pay a lot more for my cigars, wines and the other little things with which I solace myself in a world in which everybody is so harassed and unhappy. Whatever budget my honourable friend may produce, he must make-up his mind that there will be plenty of critics who will say that he was friendly to the rich, callous to the poor and indifferent to the middle classes. These criticisms have to be taken with a grain of salt. Incidentally, salt, in spite of the fact that the duty has been taken off, has not been made any cheaper.

There are various types of critics in this House. There are economists; there are lay critics. The only difference between an economist and a lay critic is this: an economist is right on his facts and wrong in his conclusions, while a lay critic is wrong on both. There again, my honourable friend has much reason for comfort when he feels particularly depressed by some virulent criticism of his economics.

My friends are in the habit of thinking, at least they have said so,—what they think is a different matter,—that this is a rich man's budget. What do they want? Do they want direct taxation to go up to 100 per cent? Do they realise that in 1938-39, just before the war, direct taxation bore to the revenues, a proportion of 23 per cent. and that has gone up today to 51 per cent. even with the reductions proposed by my honourable friend? Fifty one per cent by way of direct taxation of income, I should say, was good enough for anybody. It will interest my honourable friends to know that this ratio of direct taxation to general taxation is higher in this country than in the United Kingdom and in the Dominions. Take also the incidence on incomes above Rs. 25,000. It is glibly said that the rich man escapes. First of all, I do not know who is exactly rich, barring a few blackmarketeers and profiteers, a very exclusive class to which I do not belong. In fact, I belong to the very happy class of people who are generally not affected by the budget; I live on over-drafts, and if there is a capital levy in the country, they can attach them for all I care. I was saying that if a man is rich who enjoys an income of Rs. 25,000 and over, the rate of taxation is higher actually than in the United States and Canada, two of the leading industrial countries of the world.

The general reactions to the budget, as the Government may have seen, are favourable. But, I must confess that I am disappointed at the reaction of the Stock Exchanges. The prices have actually receded since the budget was announced; but that is not the fault of the budget. I think there is a general malaise which lies too deep for most people to comprehend. I think one reason why this has happened is that a great many people, after the reassuring speeches made by my honourable friend the Finance Minister and other members of Government about the economic position of the country, expected miracles to happen. Some of us did what we could to sound a note of caution. While I do not hold with the pessimism of the stock exchanges and also to a certain extent of the business community, the capital position of today must be fairly assessed. First of all, the great change that has taken place in the last few years is the shift of income from the richer classes to the lower income groups. Unfortunately, Government have not found it possible to tap these sources for contribution to their loans. I think a concerted attempt made for a savings drive or an attractive issue placed on the market for the particular benefit of the smaller man, would bring out considerable sums of money. There is also the fact that there is a considerable amount of money in the black markets, which

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naturally will not come out unless you devise some method of protection. That is a thing which we have to face up to. There are these two reservoirs into which a lot of capital has flown in the last few years, which are not being tapped and cannot be tapped for one reason or another.

Having said this, I would urge, as I have urged over and over again in the last twelve months, the business and the industrial community to shed its fear, and relying upon the growing realism of the Government and their new approach towards the problems of the day, to go ahead and give to the country what the country has a right to demand from it. I repeat the industrial community has a duty towards the country which has too be fulfilled. After all, we are not fair-weather sailors; we have to take the lean with the fat. This is precisely the time when the country wants the industrialist to shed his doubts and come forward boldly to make his contribution to the country. In spite of what has been very recently said about the business and industrial community, it has a proud record behind it. At a time when every conceivable kind of discouragement was given to capital and enterprise in this country, a few people came forward and established an industrial structure which, in spite of its deficiencies, still ranks as the eighth largest in the whole world. That has been achieved in spite of Government discouragement and in spite of discouragement from the capital market as it is ordinarily understood. I hope, Sir, that the business and industrial community may have an even prouder role to play.

Now, the key-note of the budget is subdued optimism. I am an optimist and I would like to look at the rosy side of things even in spite of what I hear from these benches off and on. But optimism must be in its place, and I think the time has arrived for jolting the country into a realisation of the situation with which it is confronted. The country must be made to face facts and I would suggest to my honourable friend that, as a preliminary to that an Economic Survey such as is issued every year in the United Kingdom be issued by this Government setting out all the salient features of the Nation's economy, so that economists and laymen would equally understand what the position is. So, Sir, I hope that, before the next budget is out, the country will be prepared for what is coming by a proper knowledge and appreciation of the true economy of the country. So much is glibly said about what is right and what is wrong, with the country altogether, the mass of the people including people in this House—if I may say so without any offence—are not sufficiently instructed in the true facts of the situation.

There are certain salient features of the country's economy which I would like to briefly touch upon before I go on to one or two points which I wish to make about the trend of Provincial and Central taxation. In the forefront stands inflation, and I should say in spite of all that has been done in the last few months that it is still far from controlled. It is true that prices have stabilized themselves. So far so good, but that is not the end of it all; the time has come when they must start receding. I find from the figures that the wholesale prices which have steadied since June last year are still very high, and so far as the cost of living is concerned, which means really the retail price, there has been a longer time lag between it and the wholesale price than is ordinarily the case. Retail prices must start receding and it is only when that happens that we can say that we have seen the end of the peak of inflation. (Shri B. Das: 'What do you suggest?') Increased production.

It has been recognised, and it is a truism, that increased production is the only remedy and when we met in the Central Advisory Council so ably presided over by my honourable friend Dr. Syamaprasad Mookherjee, figures were given which tended to draw a somewhat optimistic picture. Figures can be made to

say anything almost, but looking at them in the right way, I should say that while it may be true that there has been an improvement in production, progress has been disappointing. The real favourable factors are an improvement in the relations between capital and labour resulting in the reduction of strikes and lock-outs and also an improvement to a certain extent in the transport situation. I don't want to give a glowing certificate either to the Labour or Transport Ministry, but it must be acknowledged that there has been some improvement in the situation. So far as the measure which was intended to combat inflation viz., dividend limitation is concerned, it is really ineffective, and as a matter of fact I think it is recognized by the Finance Minister himself that its value is only psychological and as a matter of fact whatever value Dividend Limitation had, has been more than offset by the wage-increases which have been subsequently given.

Then I come to another aspect of our economy—the food situation. Regarding production I do not know whether there are any reliable statistics; I don't think there are, and so, whatever I may say is subject to that qualification. So, also, what the Food Minister has to say in that connection should be subject to that qualification. So far as I can judge, the production of foodgrains in 1948-49 was actually less than in the preceding year. I don't know which of us is right, but the fact remains that more and more foodgrains have to be imported; as the Prime Minister observed yesterday it is the very ease with which we are able to import foodgrains from abroad that is coming in the way of our taking drastic steps in the restoration of our own foodgrain economy. We are apt to think that the mere dumping of tractors and enormous quantities of fertilizers is going to do the trick. It certainly is not going to do that. Unless we have trained the agriculturist in the proper use of tractors and fertilisers, they are going to be an expensive luxury and are not going to result in any substantial increases. The truth is that while there has been a great deal of propaganda for growing more food, it has not penetrated to the countryside, and what we need is, some agency set up in the villages whereby the cultivator can be induced to grow more and better varieties of food. In a volume recently issued by one who can speak with some authority—Dr. Burns—he estimates that by improved seeds and improved manure, certain foodgrains can be increased 10 per cent. and others 20 per cent. Let us not therefore think exclusively in terms of tractors and chemical fertilizers. Let us try and see what the agriculturist even with his primitive ways can do and for that I say propaganda has to seek down to countryside.

Then there is the refugee problem which is sadly affecting our economy. The other day, in the course of a Supplementary question, I asked whether any effort was going to be made to come to some understanding with Pakistan over this problem because otherwise I see it is going to be insoluble. There is neither housing nor employment nor food for all the millions of refugees who have been uprooted from their homes. The Prime Minister's reply was an emphatic 'No' there was going to be no approach; later on the Prime Minister qualified this reply. I would say without fear of contradiction that Government will come to a stage very soon when they will have to make some arrangement about repatriation at least of those people who may be said not to have been permanently displaced.

There are one or two other points. We have been fighting inflation, but I hope the honourable the Finance Minister realises that the trends of both Provincial and Central taxation are inflationary—excise on cloth of the Centre, and excises in the provinces on articles of necessity like chillies, turmeric etc. How is the cost of living to come down? Such taxation of necessities arises purely from the reformist zeal of provincial governments, which makes them throw

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away large sources of revenue, and tax the necessities of the poor. And I wonder whether my honourable friend realises also that there is a conflict between the policies pursued by the Centre and those pursued by the Provinces. The Centre gives subsidies for food, but items of daily consumption are being taxed by the Provinces. There are also encroachments on the sphere of central taxation by some of the Provinces. In one province, there has been a capital gains tax imposed on immovable property. Is that in consonance with the general policy of Government? This is a matter which my honourable friend might look into.

I shall now refer to the question of external trade. I would say that the value of barter arrangements has not been sufficiently realised. It is true that most of our trade has to be by bi-lateral or multi-lateral exchanges, but I think in order to make sure that this country receives in actual quantities what it needs most, namely, foodgrains, it is essential to have some barter arrangements. I believe there was some such barter arrangement in the case of Russia only very recently. We are importing enormous quantities of foodgrains from the Middle-East and South East Asia, in exchange for consumer goods which are just as essential to them as their foodgrains are to us. I hope my honourable friend in the Commerce Ministry will consider the necessity of diverting some of the ordinary channels of trade to barter arrangements with specific countries in respect of specific commodities.

Finally, if I take a peep into the future, I will say I am full of hope and confidence. This country has vast resources in materials. Its human material is rich and in abundance. It may be that the mass of the people are illiterate and superstitious. But considering the mass of people in other countries, there is a considerable degree of intelligence in our masses, which with a proper system of education would produce first-class citizens, citizens who can compare with those of any other country. Then, our credit is high, and our debt position is sound. And above all—and I say this because I have often criticised the Central Government and I hope to keep on criticising them till the end of time—above all, I say Sir, the Central Government has got an inestimable asset in its possession to-day namely, the general confidence of the people of every section. And speaking for an important section of the people, though not numerically, I would say that our Government is more and more pursuing policies which command our confidence and which entitle them to our fullest support. I say that this asset is of inestimable value, and I hope that under the leadership of the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, and under the able men whom they have gathered round them, this country will go ahead, in spite of the fact that to-day there are a great many rocks and shoals ahead. I am however, quite certain that when the present economic storms have been weathered—and we are by no means alone in encountering economic storms—our country will have forged ahead and placed itself amongst the leading powers of the world.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya (Madras: General): I had observed scrupulous silence all these days, and coming at the fag end of the debate, I really find myself in an unenviable position. Because I have great regard for Dr. Matthai, therefore my commiseration for him is quite in proportion to that regard. Like most of us in this House, we are unable to locate ourselves between our convictions and our affections. We are democrats to the core; but sometimes aristocrats, at least intellectual aristocrats, or plutocrats or even capitalists. In my home, though by annual income does not average over Rs. 3,000, I am supposed to be a capitalist. My wife is a socialist. My one son is fast becoming a communist. And thus we are representing the tendencies of the times, and perhaps stand to profit which ever party comes into power. This process of transition is inevitable, whether it be in the family or in society or in the legislature. Whom do we represent

in this country? We are the representatives of three and a half crores of population, out of thirtynine crores; and therefore do not represent even one-tenth of the total population. Naturally our tastes and tendencies have been moulded by what we learnt of economics and politics in the last generation, and Dr. Matthai is the brightest representative of that generation. At the same time, he has culture enough to see what is coming ahead. His difficulty, like our difficulty is, to reconcile the past with the future, thus making the present a mere void. In fact, there is no such thing as present, because the present, at which I began to speak has already receded into the immeasurable past, and we are facing the future. Apparently Dr. Matthai's colour is coming and going, between a tendency to help the capitalists and draw the fugitive capital into the markets of India, and at the same time to play the part of a democrat. He is playing the parts of a political Hyde and Jekyll. Dr. Jekyll tells the capitalists, "I am doing you a favour" and Mr. Hyde tells the democrats, "I have not been very partial to these people: after all 14 as. as against 15½ as. is not much of a reduction in regard to income-tax." Neither would believe him, and they both have assailed him. It is no wonder, because he who tries to please all, pleases none. This is the position that I see now. Accordingly we have got a budget in which the very members of the party to which the honourable the Finance Minister belongs have assailed him, and assailed him as if they were members of the opposition. This is a most incongruous situation that I see, and I am afraid I may have to take note of it in some other capacity, because either there is party government or there is no party government. If there is no party government, let it be said that there is none, and nobody would be more pleased than myself. But if there is party government, there must be discipline also along with party government. Responsible government is always based upon party principles. This means, unfortunately, that there must be lot of secrecy about the preparation of the budget. The Minister preparing the budget does not break it even to his colleagues till eleven o'clock the day on which it is being presented. Therefore the Ministers themselves are not able to advise him, and even if they do advice, it is perhaps too late, for he has already prepared his speech and it cannot be mended. So this position requires to be looked into and it does not present a very edifying spectacle that members of the Party should descend upon him like a wolf on the fold. But at the same time it requires also that this Budget, to the extent to which secrets can be shared with colleagues, should be prepared in consultation with a certain number of people who can be trusted to keep confidence: in which case all this criticism would not be present. I am only concerned to know that anyone who has watched the proceedings of this House would be over borne by the fact that this House has been cent per cent. arrayed against the Finance Minister. Even those who have given compliments have given left-handed compliments. Our honourable friend, Mr. Das of Orissa has said that he cannot give hearty (हार्दिक) congratulations and the honourable Miss Annie Mascarene, with true Christian sympathy for the Finance Minister, has showered ample encomiums on the Finance Minister.

Now I do not wish to speak on many matters but I would confine myself to a point which has not been stressed by other friends, and that relates to Accounts and Audit. I have been rather proud of making myself unpopular by looking into accounts in every situation, particularly with fellow-Congress men who are not very advanced in the matter of keeping accounts. I am rather meticulous about these matters. I bring the same mind to bear on the events relating to this House and I regret to say that the Appropriation Accounts have not been presented to this House and the Public Accounts Committee has not met for three years. This is a sad story to relate before you all. Mr. Deputy Speaker, whatever be the institutions that one may manage in this world, it is ultimately the cash book that tells. Now I am only proceeding from the cash of the budget to the cash book of Government and from

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a general criticism of the Budget to the ledger side of the accounts. Be it an insurance company, a bank or any concern whatever, ultimately the accounts must be correct and the audit must be there in time. So long as these things are not taking place correctly, you may be absolutely certain that something is going wrong, a rot has set into that Government and you cannot avoid it. Supposing a bank has not produced a balance sheet for three years and it is always taking the sanction of the Board of Directors with regard to the Budget and the items of expenditure which should be incurred but it does not produce the vouchers and when it exceeds the limits of expenditure it does not present a supplementary budget. If, what my honourable friend, Mr. Tyagi has said is correct—that Rs. 83 crores have been over-spent the mere fact of a surplus having unexpectedly accrued, does not justify the Government spending it unauthorisedly, and this would not have taken place if the system of audit and accountancy had been as perfect as it ought to be. It is the duty of the Public Accounts Committee to inspect the audit notes and the Appropriation Accounts, and then having made an examination to make its notes which ought to be presented to this House for careful re-examination: otherwise, this presentation of the Budget, these sanctions, these voluminous figures—which no one understands nor has he the time to study—all these are but a semblance of democracy which must be looked into more carefully. This House is naturally jealous of this right which is the ultimate safeguard of all democracy and without which democracy itself would become a zero.

This brings me naturally to what the British used to do till 1938-39. The British Government had an unassailable reputation for correctness in accountancy and in preparing the manuals in regard to every department of administration. They had a Manual of Accountancy, a Manual of Forests, a Manual of Jails, a Manual of Revenue, a Manual of Local Self-Government, a Manual of Police, a Manual of Civil Disobedience and a Manual of Lathi charges. Thus they made the administration foolproof and their audit and accountancy was perfect till the year 1939 when the war began. With the commencement of the war, their morals as well as their meticulousness in accountancy declined. There was a laxity of morals. The British Government were not only the abettors of bribery but also accessories to the affair. All they wanted was participation in the war and counteracting the efforts of the Congress in regard to the resistance to war effort. Therefore although they knew that high-placed men were taking bribes they supported and patronised them and they have left a legacy of moral laxity which we now find it difficult to combat. If, in addition, there is a laxity of accountancy and audit, then I say things are worse. You all know, and we all know that public expenditure has increased to well nigh a thousand crores during these years. While the expenditure has increased so many times, the Audit Department was considerably weakened during the time when the best officers were depleted and taken over to the War Department. I do not know whether they have been replaced. All that I know is that there are volumes and roomfuls of paper waiting to be sorted out in the Accountant-General's offices where there is neither the accommodation nor office furniture to sort all this out. Whatever that may be, one high placed gentleman has been complaining that his provident fund account has not been settled. Well, if Bismarck said that the pulse of the British nation must be felt in the stock market, I say the pulse and the correctness of accountancy must be assured by the celerity with which provident funds are settled either on transfer or retirement of officers. For months together these accounts are not settled and what is the reason of this laxity in regard to this accountancy? That is a point which we have to look into.

Hitherto, we have had a European Auditor-General. For the first time our Finance Secretary has been transferred as the Auditor-General. He is a gentleman of established reputation, who has done yeomen service in London as Assistant to the Finance Minister in the settling of the sterling balances and various accounts with England, and also in paving the way for such settlement by earlier visits. I hope his position will be strengthened by the new Constitution. He must be above all criticism. He is a supreme authority in himself. He is the financial guarantor of all correctness of accounts and he must be looked up to and assisted. His needs of establishment must be met. If this is possible then you will have an Auditor-General of unexceptional ability, who will also be able to have excellent opportunities of overhauling—and not merely overhauling—this Government, but also clearing the Augean Stables in accountancy which I dare say have begun to form.

In the end I will say that the Auditor-General will have to audit the accounts not only of India but also foreign accounts. Our Embassies and our foreign expenditure has grown up to some crores. One does not know what is taking place. One hears fantastic stories. Our delegations go abroad and on more than one occasion the expenditure incurred has become the subject of adverse comment in this House and it is up to the Auditor-General to extend the scope of his investigation to, and to look into, these matters and bring his eagle eye to bear upon the examination of these things. We really want an Indian Exchequer and Audit Act here as in England.

Lastly, Sir, I wonder why the Auditor-General's headquarters is still Simla. When all other people are able to bear the heat in Delhi, I do not see why he alone should be ensconced in Simla and left there to be out of touch with all the progressive departments of the day. If it is possible, his office must be brought down to this city.

Sir, I wanted particularly to confine myself to this one point, because it is a point which seldom appeals to the emotional temperament of members of the legislature. It is a thing which is not popular with any of us and I thought I had better incur the odium of referring to this one aspect.

श्री मोहन लाल गौतम : इस बजट पर जब मैं मोदी साहब को उसकी तारीफ करते देखता हूँ और बहुत से मेम्बरों को इसको क्लिटिसाइज करते देखता हूँ तो फिर मेरे दिल में सवाल यह पैदा होता है कि आखिर यह बजट किसके लिये बना है और किसके खिलाफ है। किन लोगों पर इसका बुरा असर पड़ेगा। बजट जो इस वक्त पेश हो रहा है वह मामूली अकाउन्टेंसी का, इन्कम और एक्सपेंडीचर का हिसाब नहीं है। उसमें बहुत बड़े बड़े उसूल पिन्हां हैं। इस वक्त जब कि स्वराज्य हासिल करने के बाद वह गवर्नमेंट उन लोगों के हाथ में आई, इस गवर्नमेंट के वह लीडर बनें जो हमेशा सोशलिज्म का प्रचार करते रहे थे। जब ऐसे लोगों के हाथ में यह गवर्नमेंट आई तो कुदरती था कि जो लोग अब तक अंगरेजों के साथ यहां पर मुनाफा कमाते रहे थे, ब्लैकमार्केट करते रहे थे, टैक्स जे इवैड (evade),

[श्री मोहन लाल गोतन]

करते रहे थे उसको यह डर लगा कि यह पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू की हुकूमत आखिर हम को कहां ले जायगी। यह सवाल बड़ा भारी उन लोगों के सामने था जो कि इस वक्त इस मुल्क में अपने को एक नई फिजा में पाते थे।

दूसरी तरफ वह लोग थे जो पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के साथ कन्धे से कन्धा मिला कर आजादी की लड़ाई लड़े थे और वह वादे करते रहे थे जो पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू के मुंह से और कांग्रेस के रैजोल्यूशनों से निकलते थे। मैं इस वक्त पहले वादे और पहले कांग्रेस के फ़ैसले दोहराना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन जो हाल में ही, जो पिछले तीन महीने पहले जैपुर में, दिसम्बर महीने में कांग्रेस हुई थी उसने भी यह ऐलान किया था कि कांग्रेस का यह सन्देश है, यह मेसेज है जिसे कांग्रेसवालों को गांव गांव में ले जाना है कि यहां क्लासलेस सोसाइटी बनेगी। यह हम से खास तौर से कहा गया था और हम जो यहां पर आये हैं तो इसीलिये आये हैं कि इस चीज को पूरा करें जो इस रैजोल्यूशन में कांग्रेस ने पास किया है।

अब देखना यह है कि यह जो क्रिटिसिज्म हो रहा है, जो कांग्रेस मेम्बर इस तरह के क्रिटिसिज्म कर रहे हैं उसकी क्या वजह है। वजह यह है कि उनको रास्ता साफ़ नजर नहीं आता। उनको यह नजर नहीं आता कि जो यह बजट बना है वह हमें क्लासलेस सोसाइटी की तरफ ले जाता है या नहीं। अगर नहीं तो कांग्रेस वालों को कदरतन परेशानी होनी चलेगी अगर नहीं होती तो वह अपना फ़र्ज पूरा नहीं कर रहे हैं। दूसरी तरफ जो प्रोपोज़ल्स आये हैं वह इस तरह के हैं, मैं एतराज नहीं करता अगर इस मुल्क को आप इन्डस्ट्रियलाइज करने की तरफ ले जाते हैं। मुझे एतराज नहीं अगर आप एक प्लैन बनायें और उसमें उन जरूरी चीजों को इस मुल्क में पैदा करें जो कि हमें मजबूत बनाने के लिये जरूरी है। लेकिन आज कैपिटलिस्ट्स ने, इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स ने इस मुल्क में एक कान्स्पिरेसी करके, एक प्रोपेगन्डा करके एक एंटेमास्फियर पैदा कर दिया है जिससे जाहिर होता है कि यह मुल्क तबाह होने वाला है, जिससे जाहिर होता है कि इस मुल्क में कोई अमन नहीं है। वह चाहते हैं कि यहां अमन हो जिससे यहां इन्डस्ट्रीज बन सकें। मैं पूछता हूं कि जब लड़ाई चल रही थी, यह पता भी नहीं था कि अंगरेज हारेगा या जीतेगा, उस वक्त इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट को ज्यादा उम्मेद थी अपने सिक्योरिटी की कि आज है। उस वक्त क्यों इन्डस्ट्रीज बढ़ रही थीं। जिस वक्त हिन्दुस्तान में अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ़ लड़ाई थी उस वक्त ज्यादा खतरा था इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स को या आज है। जब जापान से हवाई जहाज आते थे उस वक्त खतरा नहीं था और आज जब स्व-राज्य हो गया, अमन हो गया है तो आज हमसे कहा जाता है कि सिक्योरिटी नहीं है। इन्डस्ट्रियल पीस हो गई है, लेबर को कांग्रेसवालों ने कोशिश करके स्ट्राइक से

रोका। झगड़े कम हो गये हैं यह बात भी मानते हैं फिर भी इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स को इसमें तसल्ली नहीं है। उनका फिर भी यही कहना है कि यह बात काफी नहीं है, इससे भी ज्यादा होना चाहिये। मैं तो आपसे कहूंगा, फ़ाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर से आपकी मारफ़त यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस तरह की छोटी छोटी बातें उनको खुश नहीं कर सकतीं। वह जो चाहते हैं वह बहुत ही मुश्किल चीज है, जो बात चेम्बर के प्रेजिडेंट ने कहा वह यह था कि जब तक आर्टिकल २४ के तमाम एमेन्डमेन्ट्स को विदड्रा (withdraw) नहीं किया जाता, जब तक आप प्रापर्टी को अक्वायर करने के लिये पूरा कम्पेन्सेशन देने की कोशिश नहीं करते तब तक वह खुश नहीं हो सकते। असलचीज यह है। इस तरह की छोटी छोटी चीजें देने से इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स को तसल्ली नहीं होगी। और यही वजह है कि इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स इससे मुतमयन नहीं हैं। फिर भी वह क्रिटिसाइज करते रहते हैं, इसलिये मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि यह बजट जब हम पढ़ते हैं तो हमें इसमें कोई प्लान नजर नहीं आता, कोई पालिसी नजर नहीं आती, कोई स्कीम नजर नहीं आती जो हमको उस जगह ले जाय जहां हम वादा करके आये हैं, अपने चुनने वालों से, कि हम आपको वहां ले जायेंगे। हमने बहुत दिनों से प्रचार किया कि हम जमींदारों को अक्वालिश करेंगे। तमाम प्राविन्शल गवर्नमेन्ट्स से इतने हद तक चली गई, बहुत से कानून बन गये और आज वह कानून रुके हुये पड़े हैं। लेकिन इस तमाम बजट को देखने से भी यह मालूम नहीं होता कि जमींदारी को अक्वालि करने के लिये आपने कोई प्राविजन किया हो, या आप उस तरफ जाना चाहते हैं। कोई चीज इस तरह की मुझे इसमें नजर नहीं आई। आपने इस तमाम बजट में यह कहीं नहीं बताया कि आखिर यह जो हमारी स्कीम है वह इस तरफ आपको आगे ले जायेगी। पहिले भी मिनिस्टर साहब ने जो जवान इस्तेमाल की है वह यह है कि : "No man, who is investing money, is taking greater risk than in any other country in the world."

मैं आपसे पूछता हूं कि क्या बरमा से भी ज्यादा खतरा आपको यहां नजर आता है। क्या चाइना से भी ज्यादा इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स के लिये खतरा यहां नजर आता है। योरप तमाम कम्युनिज्म की तरफ जा रहा है वहां से भी ज्यादा खतरा आपको यहां नजर आता है।

तो फिर क्यों यह साइकालाजी क्रिएट (psychology create) की जाती है कि इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स (industrialists) के लिए बहुत बड़ा खतरा है। मैं आपसे कहता हूं कि अगर हमको इस खतरे से बचना है, अगर हमें अपने मुल्क को कम्युनिज्म के मिनेस (menace) से बचाना है, तो उसका यह तरीका नहीं है कि हम इन्डस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स को खुश करें और गरीबों की फिक्र न करें। इस

[श्री मोहन लाल गौतम]

बजट में जितने टैक्सेज लगे हैं सब गरीबों पर हैं। आप कहते हैं कि प्राइसेज स्टेडी (steady) हैं, प्राइसेज स्टेबिलाइज (stabilize) हो गई हैं। लेकिन मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि चाहे कैपिटल गुड्स (capital goods) की प्राइसेज कम हों, लेकिन जिन चीजों से गरीब आदमी को ताल्लुक पड़ता है, जैसे कलाथ (cloth) और फुड (food), इनकी प्राइसेज काफी ऊँची हैं और ऊँची होती जा रही हैं। फिर आपका इंडेक्स (index) क्या जाहिर करता है? वह शहर के थोड़े से खान्दानों की हालत जाहिर करता है। गावों की प्राइसेज का डाटा (data) आपके पास नहीं है। इसलिए यह कहना कि प्राइसेज को हम कंट्रोल कर पा रहे हैं यह काफी नहीं है। और अगर यह सही भी हो तो भी आप ने जो टैक्सेज लगाये हैं उनसे कास्ट अफ लिविंग (cost of living) का इंडेक्स (index) बढ़ जायगा, और अगर वह इंडेक्स बढ़ा तो फिर वही चक्कर चलेगा। फिर मजदूरों की यही मांग होगी कि उनको ज्यादा भत्ता दिया जाय और फिर वही चक्कर चलने लगेगा। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह तरीका कम्युनिज्म को या उसके मिनेस (menace) को रोकने का नहीं है। अस्ल में जो तरीका होना चाहिए था वह यह है जो कि हमारी कांग्रेस के रिजोल्यूशनों में है और जिसका ऐलान कांग्रेस कती रहती है और जिसका थोड़ा सा इशारा कल पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने अपनी स्पीच में किया था, कि आप यह कोशिश करें कि गरीबों की तकलीफ दूर हो। लेकिन उस तरफ आप नहीं जा रहे हैं। मैं आपसे अर्ज करूँ कि जो चीजें आपने यहां रखी हैं उनसे दिमाग पर क्या असर पड़ता है। आपने नये टैक्सेज क्यों लगाये? क्यों आपको ज्यादा खर्च की जरूरत पड़ी? पिछले साल जो आपने बजट पास किया और उसमें जो रकम रखी उससे आपको ८२ करोड़ रुपया और ज्यादा मिल गया। कुछ रुपया आपने फौज पर खर्च कर दिया इसलिए कि काश्मीर में लड़ाई चल रही थी। उस पर मैं इस वक्त बहस नहीं करना चाहता। लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या जरूरत थी ४८ करोड़ रुपया सिविल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन (Civil Administration) पर ज्यादा खर्च करने की। क्योंकि आपको ८२ करोड़ रुपया ज्यादा मिल गया इसलिए आपने सिविल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन पर ४८ करोड़ रुपया ज्यादा खर्च कर दिया। अगर वह रुपया आपको न मिलता तो आप क्या करते? क्या आप उतने ही रुपये में अपना काम न चलाते? और अगर उस रुपये में आपका काम नहीं चल सकता था तो आपने बताया क्यों नहीं? जो रुपया आपके पास आता है वह खर्च कर दिया जाता है और आप इकानामी (economy) की तरफ नहीं जाते हैं। मैं इस में नहीं पड़ना चाहता

कि आप दो करोड़ कम करते या तीन करोड़ कम करते, मगर आप कुछ तो कम करते चाहे दस पैसा ही कम करते, और फिर आप कहते कि इतने में हमारा काम नहीं चलता। पर आप उस तरफ तो जरा भी नहीं बढ़ते। अगर आप उस तरफ बढ़ते तो यह कहा जा सकता था कि आपने जितनी इकानामी हो सकती थी वह की और उसके बाद आपने टैक्सेज लगाये। लेकिन यह नहीं हुआ। एक कमेटी बनी। लेकिन कमेटी अपना काम कैसे कर पाये। हर मिनिस्टर चाहते हैं कि जितने आदमी हैं उससे और ज्यादा बढ़ जाय स्टाफ बढ़ता चला जा रहा है। यह आखिर कौनसा स्टाफ है। यह कितना गुना बढ़ा हुआ स्टाफ है। आप मुलाहिजा फरमायें कि लड़ाई में पहले जो स्टाफ था उससे कितने गुना बढ़ा हुआ यह स्टाफ है। लड़ाई के वक्त यह समझ में आ सकता था और इसके अलावा अंग्रेजों को लड़ाई लड़नी थी, उसे इस बात से बहस नहीं थी कि इस मुक्त का कितना रुपया खर्च होता है, उसने इतना स्टाफ बढ़ा दिया। लेकिन क्या जो लड़ाई का स्टाफ था उससे ज्यादा स्टाफ की अब जरूरत हो गई। स्टाफ अब भी बढ़ता चला जाता है। दूसरी बात यह है कि लड़ाई के वक्त जो स्टाफ रखा गया था वह छोट कर नहीं रखा गया था, इसलिए कि उस वक्त मौका नहीं था। उस वक्त कम्पिटिटिव (competitive) इम्तहान नहीं लिया जाता था। जो आया उसको ले लिया गया। लेकिन आज आपने उसमें कमी करने की जरूरत क्यों महसूस नहीं की। कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट सात आठ मिनिस्ट्रियों के बारे में दी है लेकिन आपने एक पैसा भी कम नहीं किया है। मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि करोड़ दो करोड़ रुपये की बात नहीं है। इस मुक्त का बजट ३२२ करोड़ का है, उसमें करोड़ दो करोड़ कम करने से कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता। लेकिन आप गरीबों पर टैक्स क्यों लगा रहे हैं? क्या आपको टैक्स लगाने की ताकत हासिल है इसलिए आप यह टैक्स लगा रहे हैं। एक तरफ आप फिजूल खर्ची भी किये जाते हैं और दूसरी तरफ आप टैक्स भी लगाते जाते हैं। इसलिए मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इसका साइकालाजीकली बहुत बुरा असर पड़ता है। आपने पिछले दफा ढाई करोड़ इकानामी के लिए रखा था, पर इस दफा आपने एक पैसा भी नहीं रखा, इसका बहुत बुरा असर पड़ा है। इसका मतलब यह है कि आप इकानामी की तरफ नहीं गए हालांकि जो बजट आपने पास किया था उसमें आपने इसकी कोशिश की थी। कमेटी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट पेश की है लेकिन फिर भी हम इकानामी की तरफ नहीं जा रहे हैं। मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब आप यह साइकालाजी पैदा करेंगे तो उसका क्या नतीजा होगा। नतीजा यह होगा कि लोग समझेंगे कि आप गरीबों का ख्याल नहीं करते हैं आपने गरीबों की जरूरत की चीजों पर टैक्स

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लगा कर यही असर पैदा कर दिया है। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि कांग्रेस वाले जो सबसे बड़ा बाम्बशेल (bombshell) इस असेम्बली में फेंका करते थे वह पोस्टकार्ड और लिफाफे का होता था। उस पर बहुत ज्यादा शोर मचा करता था और मुल्क में जितना तहलका इस चीज से फैलता था उतना और किसी चीज से नहीं फैलता था। ११४ और ११६ के एक्स्चेंज को कोई नहीं समझता था और पोस्टकार्ड की बात सब समझते थे। आज आप यह कहते हैं कि एक गांव वाला जो कि दूसरे जिले में अपना खत भेजता है उसका खत चूँकि अब हवाई जहाज से जायगा इसलिए उसे ३ पैसा पोस्टकार्ड का देना चाहिये। आम तौर से, पोस्टकार्ड की कीमत से लिफाफे की कीमत दूनी हुआ करती है। जब पोस्टकार्ड की कीमत एक पैसा थी तो लिफाफे की कीमत दो पैसा थी। लेकिन अब लिफाफा दो आने का होगा और वह इसलिए कि वह हवाई जहाज से ले जाया जायगा। कितने सालों में एक जिले से दूसरे जिले को हवाई जहाज जाया करेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि इसमें तो कम से कम पचासों साल लग जायेंगे। आज आपने लिफाफे का दाम दो आना करके उन लोगों को कनसेशन (concession) दिया है जो कि बड़े शहरों में रहते हैं जिनकी डाक शाम को कलकत्ता, बम्बई, मद्रास और दिल्ली से जाती है। वह डाक रात को १२ बजे नागपुर में एक्स्चेंज होकर सुबह सूरज निकलने से पहले चारों शहरों में पहुँच जाती है। उनके लिए आपने डाई आने से लिफाफा दो आने कर दिया और पोस्टकार्ड की कीमत भी घटा दी। आप क्यों नहीं कहते कि हमने इन बड़े शहरों में रहने वालों को कनसेशन दिया है और उसमें जो घाटा होगा वह गरीब किसानों को पूरा करना होगा? अगर आप यह कहें तो उसका जो असर होगा उसे आप समझ लीजिये। आपने जितने टैक्स लगाये हैं वह जरूरत की चीजों पर हैं। इसलिए मैं आपसे अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जो कनसेशन आपने अमीरों को दिये हैं वह गरीबों से पूरे किये हैं।

मुझे कोई ऐतराज नहीं कि इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन हो। मैं समझता हूँ कि मुल्क में इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन करने की जरूरत है। मैं यह भी समझता हूँ कि अभी इंडस्ट्रीज को प्राइवेट हैंड्स (private hands) में रहना पड़ेगा। लेकिन मैं आपसे एक सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है वह लोग जिन्होंने बड़े बड़े मुनाफे उठाये, जिन्होंने ४०० और ५०० परसेंट प्रॉफिट (profit) किये, जिन्होंने ब्लैक मार्केटिंग किया, उन्होंने न सिर्फ अपने आपको वदनाम किया बल्कि उन्होंने कांग्रेस को और गवर्नमेंट को वदनाम कर दिया, जिन्होंने टैक्स को इवैड (evade) किया, जिसके लिए आपको एक कमेटी बिठानी पड़ी, वह इन्क्वाइरी कमेटी भी

इन्क्वाइरी इवैड कर रही है। मैं इस बहस में नहीं पड़ना चाहता, लेकिन जिन लोगों ने हमारे साथ इस तरह का बरताव किया क्या आपने उनसे कोई गारंटी ले ली है कि आगे मुल्क को इंडस्ट्रियलाइज करने में वह तीन या चार परसेंट से ज्यादा मुनाफा नहीं लेंगे, वह ब्लैक मार्केटिंग नहीं करेंगे और वह चीजें पैदा करेंगे जिनसे मुल्क मजबूत हो, यह नहीं कि कॉस्मेटिक्स (cosmetics) वगैरह पैदा करें। अगर आपने ऐसा प्रावधान नहीं किया है तो इंडस्ट्रियलाइज करने के गलत मानी भी लगाये जा सकते हैं। इस के लिए आप का कोई प्लान (plan) होना चाहिए और हमारा उस पर इतना कंट्रोल होना चाहिए कि वह प्लान हमारे मुल्क को मजबूत बनाने की तरफ ले जावे। अगर यह चीज नहीं है तो मैं आपसे अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह बजट वह कमी पूरी नहीं करता जोकि इसे करनी चाहिए। तो जब इस तरह की चीज है तो मैं आपसे यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आपने उनको क्यों कनसेशन दिया है। एक छोटी सी चीज है, कैपिटल गेन्स टैक्स (Capital Gains Tax)। इस टैक्स को जो मैं समझा वह यह है कि आप इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट्स से यह कहना चाहते हैं कि नेशलाइजेशन नहीं होगा। क्योंकि आज जिस कारखाने की कीमत ५ लाख है, एक दूसरी कम्पनी फ्लोट (float) करके एक बोगस ट्रांजेक्शन (bogus transaction) करके उसको २० लाख में कनवर्ट (convert) किया जा सकता है।

और जब २० लाख का सवाल पैदा होगा, तो कल सवाल पैदा होगा कि ५ परसेंट मुनाफा दीजिये। ५ परसेंट मुनाफा ५ लाख पर तो एक चीज होती है और वह २० लाख पर कुछ परसेंट देना पड़ेगा। जब मुनाफा देने की बात आयेगी तो वह मजदूरों के प्रॉफिट शियर के साथ आयेगा। तो आपने उनको चौगुना मुनाफा दे दिया तो वह कहाँ से आयेगा। वह मजदूरों के उस हिस्से से कटेगा जो उसको प्रॉफिट शेयर से मिला है और जो पिछले साल इंडस्ट्रियल ट्रस के वक्त आपने फैसला किया था। और सब से बड़ा सवाल यह है कि कुछ दिनों बाद जो आप Nationalise करेंगे, उस इंडस्ट्री को खरीदने लगेंगे तो उसकी कीमत ५ लाख नहीं देनी पड़ेगी बल्कि २० लाख देनी पड़ेगी ऐसा मुल्क के लिए ना-मुमकिन होगा। इसलिए आप फरमा रहे हैं कि बहुत स्कीम इन्डस्ट्राइजेशन की नहीं होंगी।

मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की चीजें आपके सामने है और यही वजह है कि आज कांग्रेस का लोग इतना क्रिटिस्म करते हैं। क्योंकि उनकी समझ में यह बात इस बजट से नहीं आती कि आम जनता की भलाई इस बजट से क्या होगी। जयपुर कांग्रेस में जो प्रस्ताव पास किया गया था उसको कांग्रेस वाले किसी तरह से पूरा करेंगे। हमने जनता को जो वादे किये

[श्री मोहन लाल गौतम]

हैं उनको किस तरह से पूरा करेंगे वह इस बजट में नहीं दिखाई देता है। हम जनता की ओर से इस असेम्बली में आये हैं। जब हम यहां से बजट पास करके अप्रैल के महीने में गांवों में जायेंगे तो हम वहां गांव वालों को किस तरह से कहेंगे कि हमने जो वायदे किये थे उनको पूरा कर दिया है। जनता के जो कष्ट हैं उनको दूर कर दिया है। इस बात को जरूर फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब को बतलाना चाहिये। जब हम लोग गांव वालों को बतलाने से कासिर रहेंगे तो हम लोग कांग्रेस वालों को यहां रहने का अधिकार भी नहीं है। हम यहां जनता के दुःखों को दूर करने के लिए आये हैं। इसके लिए गवर्नमेंट को जरूर कुछ न कुछ करना चाहिये ताकि हम उन लोगों को बतला सकें कि हमने तुम्हारे दुःख को दूर करने के लिये यह २ काम किये हैं।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri Mohan Lal Gautam (U. P.: General): When I find Modi Sahib speaking in praise of this Budget and a number of members criticizing it the question arises to my mind for whom at last is this Budget meant, whom does it go against and whom it is going to affect adversely. The Budget that is being considered at present is not just an account of income and expenditure involving simple accountancy. It involves very great underlying principles. Now, when, after the attainment of *swarajya*, the reins of Government fell into the hands of those people who had always been preaching socialism and they came at the helm of affairs it was natural that those people who had up till now been making profit here in collusion with the English, who had been carrying on blackmarketing and who had been evading the taxes began to feel frightened and wondered whether this Government of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru might take them. This was a great problem facing those people who now found themselves in a new atmosphere in this country. On the other hand there were those people who had been fighting the battle of freedom shoulder to shoulder with Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and who had been holding out promises which emanated from the mouth of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and from the resolutions of the Congress. I do not, at this time, want to repeat the old promises and the old decisions of the Congress. But even at the Congress session that was held just recently—three months back, in the month of December—at Jaipur it was declared that it was a message of the Congress which the Congress people had to convey to every village, *viz.*, that a class-less society was going to be formed. This was something conveyed to us in particular and we, who have come here, have come for just this purpose that we might fulfil the mission behind the resolution passed by the Congress.

Now, what is to be seen is this, what is the reason behind this criticism that is being made—the criticisms of this kind that are being brought forward by members of the Congress. The reason is this that they cannot see the way clearly. They are unable to see whether or not this Budget that has been prepared takes us towards a class-less society. If not, the Congress people must naturally feel perturbed and if they do not they are not doing their duty. On the other hand, the proposals that have been received are of this kind. I have no objection if you want to take this country towards industrialization. I have no objection if you prepare a plan and thereby produce in this country

those essential articles which are necessary for making us strong. But, today, capitalism and industrialism have, by forging a conspiracy, by raising a propaganda, created an atmosphere which shows that this country is going to be ruined, which shows that there is no peace in this country. They want that peace should prevail here so that industries might flourish. I ask, did the industrialist have a better expectation of security at the time when the War was going on and it was not known whether the British were going to lose or win or has he got it now? Why were the industries going ahead then? Were the industrialists in greater risk at that time when there was a War going on against the British in India or is it now? There was no risk at the time when there were air raids from Japan, but now that *Swarajya* has come and peace prevails we are told there is no security. Industrial peace has been brought about. The Congress people have, by their efforts, checked the labour from resorting to strike. Disputes have lessened. This too they admit. In spite of this the industrialists do not feel satisfied. They still persist in saying that this is not enough and that still more is required to be done. I would say to you—I would say to the Finance Minister through you—that such small things cannot please them. What they want is something very difficult. What the President of the Chamber said was this that they could not be satisfied until all the amendments to Article 21 were withdrawn, until you made endeavours to award full compensation for property to be acquired. That is the real thing. The industrialists will not be satisfied by getting these small concessions. And, this is the reason why the industrialists are not satisfied with this. Still they keep criticising. Hence, I say that when we study this Budget we see no plan in it. we see no policy, we see no scheme which might lead us to that goal which we have promised our electors. For long we preached that we would abolish the *Zamindari*. All provincial governments have gone so far that a number of enactments have been passed, but those enactments are held up today. But even a study of the whole of this Budget does not reveal that you have made any provision for the abolition of the *Zamindari* or that you intend making a move in that direction. I have not seen anything of that kind in it. You have not mentioned anywhere in the whole of this Budget whether this scheme of ours would take us forward in that direction. The language used previously by the honourable Minister is this: "No man, who is investing money, is taking greater risk than in any other country in the world."

I ask you if you perceive an even greater risk here than there is in Burma. Do you see an even greater risk here for the industrialists than there is in China? The whole of Europe is marching towards Communism. Do you see an even greater risk here than there? Then why is this psychology being created that there is a very great risk for the industrialists? I say to you that if we have to avoid this risk, if we have to save our country from the menace of Communism the way to do that is not that we should conciliate the industrialists and have no care for the poor. Whatever taxes are proposed to be levied under this Budget all apply to the poor. You say the prices are steady, the prices have been stabilized. I wish to submit, however, that even though the prices of capital goods might be low the commodities that a poor man has to do with, as, for instance, cloth and food, are priced fairly high and are soaring still higher. Now, what does your index show? It indicates the condition of a few families in the city only. You do not have the data of prices prevailing in villages. Hence, it is not enough to say that prices are being controlled. And, even if that be correct the taxes that you are levying would lead up to a rise in the cost of living index and if that index rises the same circle would start. Again the labourers would clamour that they should be given increased allowances and again the same circle would be set going. Hence, I want to say that this is not the way to check Communism or its menace. The proper way should have been that which is shown in the resolutions of our Congress, which the Con-

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gress keeps declaring and a slight hint whereof was given yesterday by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru in his speech—that we should make an endeavour to resolve the difficulties of the poor people. You are not going that way. Let me tell you what impression is created on the mind by the things that you have provided herein. Why have you imposed new taxes? Why should you have come to feel the necessity for extra expenditure? The Budget that you passed last year and the amount that you provided therein brought you an extra sum of 82 crores of rupees. Some of it you spent on the army because there was a war going on in Kashmir. I do not wish to argue about it at this time. But I want to ask where was the necessity to spend 48 crores of rupees extra on civil administration. Since you happened to get an extra amount of rupees 82 crores hence you incurred an extra expenditure of 48 crores. What would you have done if you had not got that amount? Would you not have met your requirements with that much money you had? And, if you could not pull on with that much money why did you not say so? You spend whatever money comes to you and you do not turn towards economy. I do not wish to enter into a discussion as to whether you should have made a reduction of two crores or three crores but you should at least have effected some reduction even if it was just ten pice, and then you could have said that you could not carry on with that much. But you do not make the slightest move in that direction. Had you made a move in that direction it could have been said that you effected whatever economy you could effect and thereafter you resorted to taxation. But this was not done. A committee was constituted. But how could the committee function? Every minister wants that there should be an increase in the number of men already working. The staff goes on increasing. Which staff is this after all? How many times is this staff increased already? Just consider how many times is this staff increased as against the staff that existed prior to the War. It was understandable at the time of the War, and, moreover the British had to fight out the War and he did not feel concerned what expenditure that involved to this country. So he made this increase in the staff. But, has a necessity arisen now for an even greater staff than there was at the time of the War? The staff is still on the increase. The other thing is that the staff that was employed at the time of the war was not appointed by selection because there was no opportunity then for doing so. No competitive examination was held at that time. Whosoever came up was taken. But why have you not felt the need, today, of effecting a reduction in it? The committee has made its report in regard to seven or eight ministries but you have not reduced a single penny. I wish to submit that it is not a matter of one or two crores of rupees. This country's Budget amounts to 322 crores; not much difference would be made by the reduction therein of one or two crores. But why are you imposing taxes on the poor? Are you imposing these taxes because you have the power to levy taxation? On the one hand you go on spending extravagantly while on the other you go on levying taxes. I wish to submit that this has a very bad effect psychologically. Last time you reserved two and a half crores for economy's sake but this time you have not reserved a penny. This has had a very bad effect. This means that you did not proceed towards economy although you did make an effort in that direction in the Budget which you had passed. The committee has submitted its report but in spite of that we are not moving towards economy. I wish to ask you that when you create that psychology what would be the result? The result would be that people would think that you have no regard for the poor. You have created just this impression by levying taxes on commodities which form the necessities for the poor. I wish to say to you that the biggest bomb-shell which the Congress people used to throw into this Assembly was that of the post-card and the envelope. Considerable agitation used to be created thereby.

Nothing else could create the kind of stir that used to be created in the country on that score. Nobody understood the controversy over the exchange ratio being 1/4/- or 1/6/- but everybody understood the matter relating to the post-card. Today you say that since now the letter which a villager sends to another district would go by air he should pay three pice for a post-card. Ordinarily the price of an envelope is double that of a post-card. When the price of a post-card was one pice the price of an envelope was two pice. But, now the envelope has come to be priced at two annas and this for the reason that it will now be carried by air. How many years will it take for aeroplanes to go from one district to another? I feel that this would take at least fifty years. Today, by fixing the price of the envelope at two annas you have made a concession to those people who live in big towns, whose mail goes out in the evening from Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi. This mail is 12 Noon exchanged at Nagpur at 12 o'clock in the night and arrives in all the four towns in the morning before sunrise. For their sake you have reduced the price of the envelope from two and a half annas to two annas and also reduced the price of the post-card. Why don't you say that you have given a concession to the inhabitants of these big towns and that the loss thereby would have to be borne by the poor peasants. If you say that you can understand what would be the effect caused thereby. Whatever taxes you have imposed apply to articles of necessity. Hence, I want to submit that the concessions which you have allowed to the rich you have made good from the poor. I have no objection to your pursuing industrialisation. I feel that there is need for industrialisation in the country. I also feel that industries would, for the present have to remain in private hands. But I want to put you a question which is this: have you taken any guarantee from those people, who made large profits, who got profits up to 400 and 500 per cent., who practised black-marketing and thereby not only disgraced themselves but also brought a bad name to the Congress and the Government, who evaded the taxes, for which you had to appoint a Committee,—which Enquiry Committee is also evading the enquiry, but I do not wish to enter into that discussion—from people who treated us in that manner, that in future they would not charge a profit exceeding three or four per cent in industrialising the country, that they would not practise black-marketing and that they would produce those commodities which might go towards making the country strong, not that they would engage in the production of cosmetics etc. If you fail to make some such provision a wrong interpretation might also be given to industrialisation. For this you should have some plan and we should have such a control over that plan that it might lead our country to strength. If this thing is not there then I want to submit to you that this Budget does not make up the deficiency which it should make up. When this is the position I want to ask why you have given concessions to them. Take the capital gains tax—a small thing. From what I understand about this tax is that you want to say to the industrialists that there shall be no nationalisation because a factory which is at present valued at five lakhs could be converted into one valued at 20 lakhs by means of floating another company and by going through a bogus transaction. And, when the question of 20 lakhs arises, a demand would arise tomorrow, 'Give us five per cent. profit'. Five per cent profit on 5 lakhs is one thing but on 20 lakhs it will be a different story. When the question of giving the profit arises the question of profit share for the labourers would also come up. If you give them four times the profit where will the other thing come from? It would be deducted from the share of the labourers which falls due to them out of the profit-share which you decided last year at the time of the industrial truce. And, the biggest problem is this that when after sometime you are going to nationalise and are going to acquire that industry you will not have to pay five lakhs as its price but 20 lakhs. This it will be impossible for the country to do. Hence, you say that there will not be many schemes for industrialisation.

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I wish to submit that this is the kind of things you have before you. This is the reason why today people criticize the Congress so much. They are at a loss to understand what good would result from this Budget to the common people. How will the Congress people fulfil the object of the resolution that was passed at the Jaipur Congress Session. How we shall fulfil the promises which we have made to the people is not indicated by the Budget. We have come to this Assembly on behalf of the people. When, after passing this Budget, we return from here to our villages in the month of April how shall we be able to say to the villagers there that we have fulfilled the promises that we made to them and that we have removed the grievances of the people. This the honourable the Finance Minister must tell us. When we people fail to bring this home to the villagers we, of the Congress, should also have no right to continue here. We have come here to have the grievances of the people redressed. The Government must do something to that end so that we might be in a position to tell those people that these are the things we have done with a view to the amelioration of their lot.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani (U.P.: General): Sir, I have remained silent in this House but friends have told me that I am neglecting my duty as a Member of this House and that I must speak. I had thought that they also serve who sit in silence and listen to the wisdom of others. (*An honourable Member: 'Partly'.*) And I have always thought that there were many veteran legislators here who can put things better than myself, and when I see that people can do things better than myself I do not bring myself forward.

I have very little, Sir, to say upon the Budget because I realise that Dr. Matthai has to act under certain circumstances. What are these circumstances? We threw out the foreign yoke, but while we did that we pledged ourselves to continuity and we have often said that this revolution is not to break the continuity that has been going on. It is useless then to blame Dr. Matthai for having presented a usual Budget which is in continuation of the old Budgets. That is not his fault; this is our policy and he could not possibly deviate from that policy. Another thing which we have to take into consideration is this, that recently through our best spokesmen we have assured capital that their interests would be safe. You will say that we gave assurances to the poor man also. But they were 19 years old; I think they were given in the Karachi Congress and I think they are time-barred. First we must fulfil the pledges that we have given now and Dr. Matthai has done it and I think I should congratulate him.

I also am inclined to congratulate the Government as a whole. Our independence coupled with partition made us face many critical and delicate problems and the Government has tackled them well and efficiently. We have been able to consolidate the innumerable States in which the country was divided; we have further produced a few more Provinces which are more likely to increase in number when the question of linguistic Provinces is decided. Our reputation in the international world is very high; it would appear that we have achieved more of *swaraj* in foreign lands than in our own country. Our representatives are everywhere and if they are able to spend a little more than this poor country can afford, it is also very necessary because only by these means can we become the bulwark of international peace and security. If we are isolated and look only to our country, we will not be as philanthropic as we would be if we spent a little more and sent our representatives to every possible country, from China to Peru and from the North Pole to Timbuctoo.

Then, we have also made the United Nations Organisation respectable. Not only international but even national questions are referred to it. I thought that action in Kashmir was only a 'police action' because the Ruler as also the

people had consented to join the Union. Yet, in order to enhance the respectability of the U.N.O. we referred this purely domestic matter to that body. So, I think we have done very well and I would have congratulated the Government upon all these achievements were it not for the fact that the Ministers themselves do it more copiously and more eloquently. We are always told that they have delicate problems to face and they have done better than could have been possible in any other country. So, you will agree with me that when they and their publicity departments—and I hear each Ministry has a publicity department, whose production is so great and so fine that the ordinary Press may as well disappear—pay such high compliments to the Government, I should not waste my feeble words upon that. But one thing I want you seriously to consider. Whether you are a capitalist or a socialist of the western brand or of the Gandhian complexion, how are you going to build this country? Our foreign masters told us that they were carrying on the Government of this country by means of the "steel frame". We have it on high authority that we need this steel frame. I have absolutely no doubt that the steel frame is needed. But what we have unfortunately today is the frame and not the steel. The steel has got corroded. It was corroded during the war. The foreign government was interested at the time in winning the war. It did not matter how much money was spent. It did not matter how the administration went corrupt. This corroding of the steel frame, as we want to have continuity, has been continuing. We could have brushed up this steel frame if we had so desired—and in many countries it has been possible—but as we were pledged to continuity, so we were obliged to carry on this corrosion also. Everybody knew that the services were infected by corruption; they were also lax and inefficient. We kept them as they were and have been carrying on with them. Everywhere we go, in the bazar or in the club or in the market place, we hear of the corruption and inefficiency of the administration. Of course, the Ministers may not be hearing all this. It is quite possible, because they have no time to move in the public. They had time before, because they had not the responsibility of Government, but today they are hard worked individuals. Some of them I know actually work up to 2 A.M. and even beyond. You can understand what the person who works beyond 2 A.M. can produce. So we have continuity, and things going on as they were going on. I cannot see how things in India can improve unless what we hear in the bazar, in the market place, is listened to and due credence given to it. We hear it often said that you need not go to high officials and the lower ones can get things done for you for a consideration. An American friend who came to see me told me that he wanted a First Class reservation from Calcutta to Delhi, and the reservation clerk told him that there was no accommodation. But when he threw a ten rupee note at him the clerk said, "Wait a while. There is some little accommodation" and he got his reservation. When he went into the compartment, the compartment was empty but for himself. All this is from hearsay. I have no personal knowledge for I have no occasion to offer bribes to any official. He will be a bold official who would come to me to be bribed. He knows that for long years I have been a *satyagrahi* and I have fought with powers that he and I have suffered for it. For him to ask a bribe from me would be difficult. Nor have I the necessity to go to the black market. I generally accept very few invitations and issue even fewer. So all that I can say would be from hearsay, Sir. I read in the papers that we should not base our talk here on hearsay and rumours; but there are certain rumours which you cannot ignore, which come so repeatedly to your ears, which come so often and which come from such honourable quarters that you have got to listen to them. If I were to wait to give a bribe to an official, I think I will never discover the truth, because there will be no such occasion for me. If I have to discover that there is black market only through personal experience I would be never aware of its existence. So I have to rely upon rumours and if rumours are persistent, I must give some credence to them. In politics it is not sufficient

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that you are right but it is also necessary that people must know that you are right, and I say that this administration of ours is considered by the general public to be not right, to be not efficient, to be corrupt. It is also supposed by the public to be top heavy and is becoming heavier and more expensive. I say, this is the instrument with which we have to work, this is the only instrument by which we can bring about reform, and 'if the salt loses its savour where with shall it be salted'. I say, if the present state continues there cannot be even a prosperous capitalism in this country. I would not mind if there was capitalism here like that in America and if there were prospects for the poor man to increase his standard of living. Nor would I have any objection to socialism; nor even to Communism. But what are these 'isms' to be based upon? How are we to succeed? We can only succeed if we have an honest and efficient administration which, I am told, we have not. Not only has it to be honest and efficient, it has also to be economical, because Government has to set the standard. If the Government is extravagant or if it is supposed to be extravagant, if the common man believes it is extravagant, then it cannot be effective. Many of my socialist friends say that we are pledged to socialism. I have no quarrel with that, but on what is socialism to be built? The administration which even in the narrow field of political administration is inefficient and corrupt, how can it be entrusted with the whole economic life of the country! When there is nepotism, when, as I hear, even the recommendations of the Public Services Commission are sometimes set aside on some technical ground or other, when there is chit system, how do you expect that there can be nationalisation in this country? It is impossible; it is not scientific; it is not mathematical. Those who cannot do their particular narrow job efficiently, honestly, how can they undertake the whole economic life of the country, I cannot understand. We must make up our minds that as long as we are not able to clear the stables of administration, nothing will be possible. We have spent millions of rupees upon the refugees and yet, I can say with knowledge that we have not been able to rehabilitate even five per cent of the refugees, and I say, the fault is with the administration. The funds that have been spent, have been spent without any plan. We could have accomplished much more even by voluntary agency if we had encouraged that agency. The whole crux of the problem is that we must purify our administration. It pains me to refer to another matter, which however, I must: The Father of the Nation was shot dead. The Judge, on undisputable evidence, has told us that the administration failed, that this life could have been saved. We would have been saved the dishonour, and humiliation of having killed our great man. May I know what has been done in order to bring to book those people who were responsible for this culpable negligence? (An honourable Member: 'The matter is *sub judice*'.) You cannot say it is *sub judice*, because the Government has not preferred an appeal about this portion of the judgment. It is *sub judice* in other matters; It is not *sub judice* in this matter. We must take the judge's findings based as they are on evidence, as conclusive. Any way, there should have been an enquiry. Even if there was the least bit of suspicion, there should have been some enquiry and the people should have been taken into confidence. There were rumours that the administration had failed. In order to give a quietus to those rumours, there should have been an enquiry, whether the judgment was delivered or not. This was the least that was necessary. I see it has not been done. I do not know when it will be done. If such a thing had happened in England, I know what would have been done; if such a thing had happened in Japan, I know what would have happened. Some responsible person would have ripped open his stomach and committed *harakiri*. This is no ordinary matter. Therefore, I say, as the basis of all our reformation, of all our budgets, of all our schemes, of our becoming a democratic society, of our ever establishing a new social order—which it was the dream of the Father of this Nation—if we are

to do anything great in the national field, I say we must improve our administration. We must make it really the steel frame that the British people said it was in their days—whether it was or was not. This administration must be like Caesar's wife—above suspicion not because Caesar was Caesar and therefore his wife must be considered above suspicion but because she was really so. Even so our administration should be above suspicion not because our leaders are honourable and they are honest, but because the administration itself is honourable and above suspicion.

Shri H. V. Kamath (C.P. and Berar: General): It is a melancholy fact that the first two budgets of free India have come in the wake of national sorrow. Just a month before the first budget was presented, India and the world were stirred to their very depths by the martyrdom of the Father of our Nation, the architect of our freedom, the prophet of peace and the apostle of non-violence. A day after the second budget was presented, we have lost our bard of freedom, and the hot-gospeller of Mahatma Gandhi's creed. I hope, Sir, that their spirits will continue to guide our activities here so that *Daridra Narayan* for whom they and we of the Congress have worked may come into his own at last, in spite of budgets, in spite of surpluses, deficits, balancing, and what not.

My honourable friend the Finance Minister, through the vicissitudes of his life, from a lawyer, about which he told us a few days ago, to the nation's Treasurer, must have seen life in its many aspects, the bright side as well as the seamy side. I think here was an opportunity for him to have become what I may call Robinhood, not of the old highway type, but a constitutional Robinhood, of robbing the rich and paying the poor and thus redressing the imbalance of our social order. But, unfortunately, he has not come quite up to our expectations, and therein, I must say he has failed us and the country to that extent. Engraved upon the heart of modern society, to a depth reaching to its inmost core, is the motto of an old Birmingham Bank. The motto was, and is, perhaps, "He who has, is". To my mind, this is not all. Today, "He who has, governs." It is a sad reflection upon the economy of modern times, not only of India, but of the whole world, that most governments are under the grip of big business, and finance—capital. That is a world phenomenon to which India is no exception.

It has been said that in India capital is shy today. There is an old Sanskrit *Sloka* about the son-in-law—

"*Sadā vakraha, sadā rushthah, sadā pūjām apēkshate*
Kanya rashisthito nityam jamata dashamagrahaha."

It means: "Always perverse, always angry, always wants to be worshipped or appeased or adored." As you all know, there are twelve *rashis* in the heavenly zodiac and one of the *Rashis* is *Kanya Rashi*. The son-in-law is the 10th planet of everyman, the 9th planets being, Sun, etc.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Is there any chance of the honourable member becoming one?

An Honourable Member: Looks forward.

Shri H. V. Kamath: I will only say, Sir, there is a destiny that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we may. To my mind, capital is not shy, but capitalists are perverse. The Indian capitalist has cultivated studiously, deliberately, the mentality of non-cooperation with the Government, and Government—we have got some of our very best men in the Government—must make up its mind as to how to deal with the capitalist as they threaten to deal with labour if they go on strike. The reaction of big business was brought

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home to me by reading a pamphlet published by the All India Investors' Association, Calcutta, before the budget was presented. An appeal to the Finance Minister and Government—the pamphlet is entitled 'The economic crisis and the plight of investors' and strangely enough, the remedy suggested by them are among the remedies adopted by my friend the gallant Finance Minister. The remedies they suggested are to the following effect:

Substantial reduction in income-tax and super-tax rates,

Abolition of capital gains tax.

Expedition completion of the investigations by the Income-tax Commission.

Other remedies suggested are—

Grant of large statutory depreciation allowances, particularly in view of the high replacement costs.

Encouragement of import of raw materials for industry and progressive introduction of decontrol.

When I read this, it was strangely reminiscent of the speech of my honourable friend the Finance Minister. It appears to me that business is on the whole pleased with the budget; and I do not know whether there is a tendency on the part of Government—constituted as it is, creature of circumstances and of destiny—towards appeasing them, as said in the Sanskrit *Sloka*—

“Aho rupam aho dhvani”

Mutual admiration, one saying how nice you are and the other saying what fine concessions you have given. But, Sir, we should not blame the Finance Minister far too much. After all he is human and if he has erred, he will confess that he has erred and he will try to redress whatever wrong he might have committed. I do not propose to go into the various new burdens laid upon the common man because they have been touched upon by my friends already—the various taxes such as increase on postal rates, excise duty on sugar, cloth, paper, stationery, motor spirit and tyres and the import duty on betelnut. The increase in postal rates coupled with the assurance that mails will be carried by air if possible reminds me of a story. I hope I have your indulgence to tell the story and I am sure that Finance Minister will relish it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member will have only fifteen minutes. The whole time may be occupied in the story also, I have no objection.

Shri H. V. Kamath: In America or England—I don't know where—there was an Undertakers' Firm. They were facing some competition from rivals. They advertised one day to the following effect:

“Our disposal is very quick, we will send our own transport and a floral wreath if possible. Give us a trial.”

This promise of sending mail if possible by air reminds me of the same. Because the community which will benefit by this promise of air-carriage, is mostly the urban and business community. So I would have liked it very much if the postal rates had been retained as they were for envelopes and post cards and airmail rates increased to three or even three and a half annas. Let the businessman pay through his nose. That community can very well afford to pay that rate, but don't increase the rates for envelopes and cards. I hope this would receive some attention at the hands of the Finance Minister and he will try to revise this unjust scheme of taxation regarding postage. There were other things which he could have taken into account without giving undue relief in the matter of higher income-tax rates.

He could have certainly expedited the measure which has been before the House for the last so many months—the Estate Duty Bill—Death Duties. I am afraid there is a feeling in the country that we are not doing the right thing. It is being postponed session after session and I don't know whether it will come up in this session at all. I venture to say that if prohibition was going to land us in so much difficulty as regards revenue, we might have held it in abeyance as a lesser evil instead of resorting to so much indirect taxation. The price of salt has not been lowered in spite of all our efforts and I do not see why we should not impose a little duty, if necessary.

The other avenues are—

The blackmarket money must be ploughed back somehow and I leave it to the ingenuity of the Finance Minister to grab this money. I am sure he has the gift of the grab, as he has the gift of the gab. Unfortunately I don't know how our Government is moving in this matter, because some time ago our Governor-General is reported to have recently said in Bombay as follows:

“We may fret now about the black-market but who knows whether this evil will not serve some useful purpose and ultimately work out towards a good we know not of?” A philosophical concept perhaps, but I hope the Government will not follow a policy which is in consonance with this dictum. Regarding inflation, I feel the anti-inflationary policy could be carried out either by reducing expenditure or by raising more revenue by direct taxation or both. If you increase indirect taxation on consumer goods, it will only increase the cost of living and aggravate the inflationary spiral.

Then I come to one point which has been very well made out by my friend, the suave and debonair Mr. Shiva Rao. He referred to the Secretariat in general terms. I would like to bring to the notice of one of the Ministers a concrete instance which took place only recently, and I hope he will ruthlessly deal with the slackness and inefficiency which was brought to my notice only a few days ago. I am glad the Honourable Minister too is present here, the Honourable Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, as this relates to one of his Joint Secretaries whose name I shall give outside if he asks for it. A friend of mine went to the Joint Secretary armed with a letter from the Food Minister himself and the Minister in that letter had asked the Joint Secretary to discuss a particular matter with my friend and put up a note. That letter was given to my friend over two months back and he tried to see the Joint Secretary not once but four times but he put him off on some ground or other, and ultimately yesterday the Secretary told him “I am sorry I am going on leave and what is the use of discussing with me. My successor is coming and you might discuss with him.” I hope that this sort of thing will not be allowed to go on in the Secretariat, and that when such concrete instances are pointed out to the Ministers stern action, will be taken so that the good officers—and there are many—may not think that officers are pushed up or not pushed up just as the Minister likes or does not like them, and that merit does not count. This sort of attitude should not be countenanced. Ministers must take action when there is inefficiency or slackness of their Secretaries and when these are brought to their notice.

Then there is the other point referred to by Dr. Sita Ramayya—the expenditure on foreign embassies. Looking at the figures I find certain disquieting facts.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member's time is up.

Shri H. V. Kamath: I will take only two more minutes, Sir, if you do not mind, and the House does not mind. Well, Sir, on page 104, of the Demand for Grants, I find that for the Embassy in America, the budget estimate for the pay of officers and establishment is Rs. 1,70,000; for the Embassy in Russia it is Rs. 93,000, and for the Embassy in China whose strength is going to be increased in the current year from four to six, it is only Rs. 97,000. Last year it was Rs. 99,000 and this year's figure shows a decrease, in spite of the fact that its strength is going to be increased. In America and Russia the officers and the establishments are going to be decreased, in America from ten to eight, and in Russia from seven to four. But we do not have a corresponding decrease in the expenditure. And it is a disquieting fact—a disconcerting fact that some ambassadors receive representation allowances more than their salaries. And some ambassadors, I am constrained to say, have not remained at their post—whichever be their headquarters—for any considerable length of time. They have been roaming about, I do not know how much of it was done at the cost of the exchequer, or whether the cost was met out of their own pockets. But certainly it will be very wise to enquire how long during the last eighteen months, each one of them remained at their posts, and how many months they spent in other lands.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: May I remind the speaker that our Ambassadors in foreign countries are official representatives and must be held in very high honour. And as I said yesterday, we should not make remarks without seeing whether they have some foundation. There is no good making allegations that our ambassadors are roaming about, whether at their expense or at state expenditure. The honourable member certainly is at liberty to ascertain the facts from the Honourable Minister, and if no relief is obtained, then this forum may be used. Such allegations, I ought not to allow in this House. I look on these allegations with disfavour.

Shri H. V. Kamath: I am sorry, I was perhaps slightly misunderstood. I only wanted to say that...

Mr. Deputy Speaker: There is no good saying that an ambassador was roaming about in the continent or elsewhere. Unless the member has verified his information, it is wrong to make such allegations.

Shri H. V. Kamath: I personally know of one or two instances. Lastly, I have only to make a concrete suggestion with a view to increasing efficiency to effect as much economy as possible and to root out corruption wherever it may be. With this object, I would insist upon a new Ministry—a Ministry of Vigilance or a permanent Vigilance Tribunal, or whatever you may call it, being constituted. I would say that it should be composed only of tried public men, with no officials on its personnel, but only tried public men with service to the country to their credit. This Ministry must be in charge of the duty of attending to complaints of corruption, slackness, inefficiency, misdemeanour, and also go into the question of appointments made without reference to the Public Services Commission when any recruitment is made by any Ministry. The Ministries have no time to go into these complaints that they receive. So I urge that this Tribunal or Ministry must be constituted at an early date, and all complaints in all the Ministries must come to this Tribunal for disposal.

Before sitting down, I only want to add this. The times are out of joint, and I would only read out from a recent speech of Dr. Radhakrishnan the

following, with your permission, because it is very pointed, and it applies with great appropriateness. He said:

"Our leaders have had a stupendous task in these fifteen months in rehabilitating hundreds of thousands of refugees, in getting Indian States into our political framework in tackling the great social and economic problems. They require the assistance of young men and women of enthusiasm, of earnestness, of integrity of spirit. They have been complaining in bitter terms of the large-scale corruption from top to bottom, of the lowering of standards of administrative efficiency. They deplore the manner in which merit is overlooked in public employment and passed over to satisfy other interests. Our independence seems to have intoxicated and unbalanced us. Success has exposed our weaknesses more than failure. Our country is today on its trial and the great qualities which won us freedom require to be developed if freedom is to be consolidated. Things which are happening in the neighbouring countries of Burma, Malaya and Siam must be a stern warning to us. The attraction of Communism is not due to the intrinsic merits of the Marxist creed. It is due to the fundamental deficiencies of our social order. Poverty and hunger are the fertile soil for the growth of wild fanaticism. If our society is sick, if our youth is frustrated, if there are wrongs and injustices in the social order which are not corrected, if we compromise with corruption simply because it is in high places, if we are weak in defending democracy, if people are filled with despair and seek escape in new evangels, we cannot complain. Shortages of essential goods, high prices, the failure of the Government to check profiteering to control inflation, produce discontent and loosen the bonds of authority. If we drift toward chaos, it will not be of deliberate intention but because of our weakness and inaction. The...."

Mr. Deputy Speaker: We can take the extract as read.

Members: 'He may finish it.') I am sorry, but I have to call upon the honourable member to stop here. It is open to me to curtail a speech to the time fixed, or allow some time more. I do not want the House to go on reminding me that this thing must be read, or so much more time must be given and so on. I am watching events here, and I am also aware that there are many more members waiting to speak. I call upon Mr. Sondhi to speak now.

Shri H. V. Kamath: I hope that the Finance Minister and our Government in spite of the adverse circumstances that are prevailing will be able to work in such way that *Daridra Narayan* will come into his own and that Government of the people, for the people and by the people will become a reality and the common man will have a life and have it more abundantly.

Shri B. L. Sondhi (East Punjab: General): My difficulty also is that of Mr. Mody though I am not myself a capitalist as he is. There is an uncovered deficit of Rs. 185 crores in the capital expenditure of the current year. There is another Rs. 134 crores uncovered in the Budget for next year. What I have not been able to understand, Sir, is how the Finance Minister is going to cover this. He wants us to believe that the Government is very anxious to fight inflation, but to leave uncovered expenditure like this is in my humble opinion just the contrary. Our cash balances, Sir, are dwindling every day. The Government is not in a position to borrow in the open market. Rs. 163 crores according to the figures supplied to us, will be our cash balance on the 31st March 1949, and according to the Budget it will be Rs. 58 crores only at the end of next year. Excepting that we have some Rs. 800 crores in the sterling balances, I would like very much to know from the Honourable Minister as to what are the prospects for 1950-51. Sir, I know that the borrowing capacity of the Government and the public at large has been very materially affected during the last two or three years. There were half a dozen sources from which we could always draw on this account. Firstly, the Ruling Princes contributed a lot to the loans of the Government as well as the public. They are now just disappearing from the horizon. Secondly, the non-Ruling Princes and the big zamindars were our second line of procurement for capital. They are also disappearing. Thirdly, the British capitalist in India, because he was entrenched here in his business on account of the political advantages that he had, was also interested in investing money here. Some of the money that he made in his business—not all—was invested in India in expanding his business here. He also, Sir, to

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the best of my knowledge is not very much interested now. (Kazi Syed Karimuddin: 'Sorry!') The next biggest asset in India was the Punjab. I have some figures showing that as much as 40 to 45 per cent. was contributed by the middle-class from that province towards new investments before the years 1945 and 1946. That Punjab is today lying low. We have not even sympathy from our Ministers. Some Ministers say that they have no legal or moral responsibility for the losses that we have incurred. Some even say that they do not welcome them here in Delhi. Why are they coming here? I do not want to say more because it is my own Government and my own feelings are too well known to the Ministers concerned.

Now, Sir, I have got another grouse against the Provincial Governments' loans and advances that are being given by my honourable Minister. The Provincial Finance Ministers at the Conference held in October in Delhi, were asked to go slow regarding their plans for prohibition and the abolishment of zamindari. They have done nothing of that sort. The other day, our Deputy Prime Minister declared in Madras that we are not in a position to have nationalization for some years and people who are talking of nationalization, when we have not the means to do it, are only crying for leadership. But it was only four days after that, in that very town of Madras that one of the Provincial Ministers gets up and tells them in the Assembly: "we do not agree to that", and that they are going to amend the Electricity Bill, which they cannot do without the sanction of the Government of India, to reduce the compensation for undertakings which they want to buy from the local people there—the electricity undertakings. This is the response which the Provincial Ministers are giving to the Centre.

Under these circumstances, is not it our duty on a basis of reciprocity to tell these gentlemen sitting there that we also have to look to our interests in the Centre: that we are not going to borrow for you from the market because we cannot: we cannot impose new taxes: please look after yourself for this capital expenditure that you want.

My proposal is very simple. Let these Provincial Ministers try their level best to raise as much money as they can through the Savings Certificates and the National Certificates in their own provinces and let the Centre agree to allow them to utilise that for their capital expenditure. We will have no grouse against them. But let it not be said that they are treating the Central Exchequer, in the form of a currency printing press as if we have a bottomless pit here for them to draw upon any time they like.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member may continue his speech after Lunch.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly reassembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Shri S. V. Krishnamurthi Rao (one of the panel of the Chairmen) in the Chair.

Shri B. L. Sondhi: Sir, before adjourning for Lunch I was developing the point that our capital resources are drying up one after another. I mentioned the Princes, the ruling and the non-ruling. I mentioned the Britishers who were or are engaged in business here and the class of people who are generally called the higher middle classes in the Punjab. Having dried up all these resources I wanted to enquire from the Honourable Minister as to where he is looking to for the tapping of the resources which he wants to use for

capital expenditure. As you know, the money that is still open for collection for this type of work is either with the war babies called the black-marketeers or some class of agriculturists. The agriculturist as a class are not used to save money and put it in the bank or invest them. These war babies now have the shadow of the Investigation Commission hovering over them. Though our Government have recently decided to make some amendments of the Law to allow the Investigation Commission to have some reasonable compromises with them I do not know how long it will take for that procedure to be adopted. Regarding the agriculturist classes unless the Congress Party men as a whole, who are really well known to these people, take upon themselves this task which is entirely theirs and which they are shirking—I am as responsible as other members of the House—we cannot tap those resources in any way.....

Shri B. Das (Orissa: General): Where are those resources?

Shri B. L. Sondhi: I know it better...

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Madras: General): He knows his own people better.

Shri B. L. Sondhi: There is another difficulty from which I would like my honourable friend to help me out. Before the war sometime between 1931 and 1933 the present paper, steel and cement factories began their expansion. By 1936 or 1937 they had practically got all their expansion schemes completed. They took full advantage of it when the war came but those companies which were floated during the war—there were huge floatations then—they could not do anything except put their money in government securities during the war, because capital goods were not available. After the war the capital goods market became the seller's market with the result that the estimate of all these new concerns became out of date. The result was that these new companies have not been able to launch the schemes for which they had gone into the market. I respectfully submit that something needs to be done in this direction, because unless these companies are allowed to function there will hardly be any additional production. The old companies having worked at a very high speed, sometimes double and treble shifts, their machinery is rotting. They are not producing as much as they would normally have done and no additional production is forthcoming. I for one am very much doubtful if we will be able to keep pace with our requirements.

I now pass on to say something about food. As a layman I have found that this subsidy of 32 crores yearly, for the current and the next year, is to my mind a political hush money. (**Prof. N. G. Ranga:** 'To whom?') To you and me. This is for the urban areas. Most of the money is being spent to buy cheaper grain for the urban people. I would therefore request that this matter be looked at from this point of view. After all we are not here to cater for only 5 per cent. which is really the urban population in India. My friend Prof. Ranga who is so solicitous about the agriculturist and the rural areas, I hope, will go into this matter. (**Prof. N. G. Ranga:** 'It is for the Food Minister. Who am I?') As I have been able to calculate this does not save more than two to three annas a week per man. It comes to about Rs. 7 to 10 in a year. I would therefore request that something must be done in this direction. Moreover there is another angle from which I would like to view this question. The provincial assemblies and governments are crying for more and more food. Why not utilise this huge amount and ask those provincial governments to utilise this amount for producing more grain in their own provinces. After all our Food Minister here cannot produce more grain. He has to work through the provincial governments and if the provinces take up this question in right earnest this deficit of ten per cent is not difficult to make up.

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I have a word now to say about the civil expenditure. I find that as compared with undivided India the budget under civil expenditure for this year is more by 13 crores. Most of it has been consumed or is to be consumed by additional posts. I would therefore request the Honourable Minister to use his pruning knife, if he could put it through.

Delhi is well known for its roundabouts but our Secretariat is a big manufactory of red-tapism. It takes six men to dispose of a file which in another country like America or England would have been disposed of by two persons.

I now come to the criticism made in this House by two honourable friends, Mr. Goenka and Mr. Khandubhai Desai, regarding the capital gains tax. They are very much afraid that the companies and their managing agents will swindle the ordinary shareholder in a manner against which there is no remedy here. They forget that there is an office here called Examiner of Capital Issues and no new company can reconstruct its capital without a previous sanction of this Department. That is the negative side. On the positive side when an ordinary middle class investor looks at this picture what does he find? Now that the maximum dividend on ordinary shares has been limited to 6 per cent. and in view of the fact that all new companies cannot declare any dividends for the first few years, what is the attraction for an ordinary investor like you and me to put his money, if he has any, in a new concern if he cannot even participate in the capital appreciation of his shares? From that point of view—not for the sake of the big businessmen, not for managing agents who can be looked after by this Department but for the sake of the common investor—I offer my grateful thanks to the Honourable Minister for boldly taking up this question.

There is another criticism here in regard to which I would like to say a word or two. Rs. 82 crores has been the additional expenditure during the current year. The Honourable Minister has been able to meet it on account of the windfall revenue which he has been able to get. But if we go into the details of these Rs. 82 crores I for one would not blame the Honourable the Finance Minister. Rs. 34 crores out of that is the amount spent for defence. I do not think there would be any person in this House who would not say that the amount was more than justified on account of our Kashmir operations. Then with the drought in certain parts of India we had to import more food. This covers an extra expenditure of Rs. 12 crores. Then, the pre-partition expenditure comes to near about Rs. 21 crores. Relief and Rehabilitation takes another Rs. 10 crores. And we are left only with Rs. 3 or 4 crores.

Mr. Chairman: The honourable member's time is up.

Shri B. L. Sondhi: To close, I would beg this House to take into consideration one more thing and see things from a different angle. We have now termed our Army people, whom we had once called the hired soldiers of the British, as our national heroes; the policemen who used to treat us with their batons are our honoured officers today; the I.C.S. and the Provincial Service people who put us behind the bars are our most trusted colleagues today. Sir, the only class of people who helped us when we were going for fighting the elections and put money into our pockets to cover our expenses. I mean the business classes, I am not mentioning the class of black-market-eers but the common businessmen,—why are we not changing our angle of vision regarding these people? We may again need them tomorrow. The elections are coming very soon. I would therefore beg this House not to create a new class of Harijans but to try to assimilate them and make them as good or as bad as we are.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta (Delhi): It was my proud privilege to assert for the first time the right of speaking in Hindustani in this House. But the House will excuse me if I speak in English today to make myself intelligible to my honourable friend the Finance Minister to whom Hindustani continues to be as foreign as English is to me. There is no doubt about the fact that the general discussion on the Budget provides an excellent opportunity to members of this House to unburden themselves of the grievances that they keep on nursing against the administration. I see that some members have fully availed of their opportunity. There are others who have showered unqualified praises or congratulations on the Finance Minister for the proposals that he has put forward. I do not propose to emulate the example of the members who belong to either of these categories. I only wish to claim the right of calling a spade a spade. To my mind the Budget that has been presented this time is neither a rich man's budget nor a poor man's budget. It is a compromise budget if I may say so, or an attempt on the part of the honourable Minister to repair the great damage which was done by the Liaquat Ali budget two years back. I do not know whether that budget had the blessings of my honourable friend—some said it had—but I am glad that he has sought to repair the damage which was done to the financial fabric of this country by that budget.

So far, strong objection has been taken to the increase in the postal rates. I think this is common ground that in that respect the *status quo* should be maintained, and I have a shrewd suspicion that the honourable the Finance Minister when he proposed an increase in the rate of post-cards he never meant it; it was merely a bargaining point. He probably thought that he would oblige the House by withdrawing the proposed increase in the rate of post-card, and I hope he will do so.

I would like to apply four tests to the budget and I would like to confine my remarks to these four questions namely, (1) whether this budget seeks to remove unemployment in the country, (2) whether this budget seeks to help the removal of illiteracy prevailing in the country, (3) whether this budget helps to solve the housing problem of the country and (4) whether this budget seeks to offer better facilities from the health point of view. Looking at it from this angle I find that I am not only disappointed but more than disappointed. There is no proposal contained in the budget which would help in the removal of unemployment. As a matter of fact the other day when a question was asked whether we have got the figures of unemployment in our country we were told that no attempt has been made so far even to collect such figures. What to say of solving the question of unemployment, which is giving strength to the Communists, and socialists and other elements, when no attempt has so far been made even to register the number of the unemployed. From this point of view I hope even the honourable Finance Minister will agree that the budget is a disappointing one.

Then comes the question of the removal of illiteracy. We are on the threshold of fresh elections and for the first time in the history of India we are going to have adult suffrage. God only knows what result this experiment will bring to the country. To go to the polls and have adult suffrage with a population even 10 per cent. of which is not educated, to my mind, Sir, is a very dangerous thing. I had hoped, and I think the House also expected that the honourable the Finance Minister would provide in his Budget proposals provision for a drive against illiteracy so that by the time the next elections were held adult education would become a watchword throughout the country, and as result of the general drive the number of educated will go up by 10 to 20 per cent. But I see this thing has not even been thought of.

[Shri Deshbandhu Gupta]

Looking at the Budget from the health point of view, I am equally disappointed. Last time when I spoke on the Budget I had raised the question of the housing difficulties. At that time it was felt that this was a very big necessity at the time and some constructive effort would be made by the Ministry of Health to help to solve this problem. Nothing however has been done so far. Today in Delhi you can get anything but a house. You cannot oblige a person by giving him a small room howsoever influential you may be; you can help him in any way but if he wants a corner in some house to put his family you have to ask to be apologized. This is the position. I am therefore obliged to say that in all these respects it is a stereotyped Budget and no imagination seems to have been brought to bear on it by the honourable the Finance Minister. These were the big problems which are facing us and I see no attempt has been made to solve them.

Much has been said by some of the members against the relief measures that have been put forward by the honourable the Finance Minister. In my opinion it would be wrong to attach undue importance to this part of the Budget. As a matter of fact what needs our attention first is the lack of measures which should have been adopted to economise in the expenditure. Today our expenditure, on Defence is Rs. 42 lakhs a day. If we could exercise even 10 per cent. economy there we could have easily saved Rs. 15 crores. Similarly, I find and many other members of this House also have already given expression to that view, that in the expenditure on Services there is no attempt to affect any economy. Partition has brought ruin to lakhs and lakhs of people, many sons of the motherland who had already suffered in the cause of the country have now been totally ruined; values in life have thus changed considerably for them. But there is a class which has benefitted by the partition. I wonder if the honourable the Finance Minister has thought of that class. I see today that the S.D.Os. of yesterday are the Deputy Commissioners of today in many Districts; the Deputy Superintendents of Police of yesterday are at once made the Superintendents of Police today, similarly the Under-Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries of yesterday are today the Deputy Secretaries and Joint Secretaries. They have got a big lift merely due to this accident, the tragedy of partition, and have benefitted from it. I do not grudge them the lift which they have got—someone had to fill up the vacancies—somebody's loss is somebody's gain—I would grudge them this if only they were to put their heart in their work and work in the right spirit and help to build up a strong nation and a strong Government. My reports are that in Pakistan the spirit which animates the services is different from what it is here. I admit, Sir, that there are honourable exceptions, I know there are persons among the services who are working very hard, but I must say their number is few and far between, their percentage is very very small. I would request the honourable the Finance Minister to devote his attention to this aspect of the question and though not reduce their present emoluments which they are getting based on the large promotions in their salaries directly due to the partition, we should at least expect them to effect economies otherwise and put in greater work. It is a general complaint that in the Secretariat people have not got enough work to do. The Economic Enquiry Committee which sat for affecting economies has not been able to produce any report and it is not known whether we will have it even next year. What this delay is costing the exchequer is better known to the honourable the Finance Minister than to me.

Coming to Delhi, I feel that Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara and Coorg are the three Provinces.—I would call them unfortunate—, which are Centrally administered areas. Cutch and Himachal Pradesh have already been added to this list and perhaps very soon Bhopal will also be included. Sir, I have more than once

emphasised that Delhi provides an excellent opportunity for the different Ministries to give a proof of their efficiency. But I am sorry to say that if I were to review the work of the Ministries in the light of their achievements during the last two years in Delhi, I am afraid I would be exposing myself to the threat of disciplinary action to which the President of the Congress has hinted today.

I might mention that I have already had occasion to refer to the working of the Railway Ministry in Delhi. I told the House how corruption was rampant in Delhi and how the achievement of freedom has made no difference whatsoever in so far as corruption in that department goes. If I were to tell at length what was happening in other Ministries I am sure the House will be shocked. My honourable friend the Food Minister has already come in for good bit of criticism by the House. I would not like therefore to offer as remarks so far as the working of that Ministry goes. It would suffice to say that so far as Delhi is concerned, the honourable Minister has himself admitted that in the Centrally-administered areas nothing tangible has been done to add to the produce or in other words no progress has been made so far in the annual output of cereals etc. As a matter of fact, in Delhi even today gram and fodder are selling at almost the same rate and I cannot think of a greater condemnation of a Government than that fodder, the food for cattle is sold side by side, the food for man at the same rate. This is the position so far as the Food Ministry is concerned.....Sir, I would crave your indulgence for giving me another five minutes as Centrally-administered areas are directly under the Central Government and I would like to refer to other ministries.

Mr. Chairman: If every member goes on taking five minutes extra, there will not be time left for others.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: I have not asked for extension so far. You may give me at least one minute for each Ministry.

Coming to Health, I am sorry the honourable the Health Minister is not here, but to give one illustration, may I point out that there was a Municipal Enquiry Committee which went into the question of having a Corporation for Delhi. I believe it submitted its report in the month of May 1948 and it is more than nine months now but the report has not been able to get even the comments of the different Ministries on it. This was a statement made to me by the honourable the Health Minister herself. She told me that the reports have been circulated but no Ministry has found time to offer any criticism of comment on the same so far. It also took about six months to make a reference to the Chief Commissioner's Advisory Council for opinion. I am afraid at this rate Delhi cannot think of having a Corporation even for another year.

Then, Sir, if you were to look at the work done by the Delhi Improvement Trust or by the Health Ministry in the field of medicine etc., I am sorry that there is nothing to complement the Ministry. I can cite examples after examples to show that there has been absolutely no progress. It appears the Ministry has got absolutely no hand in the working of the Delhi Improvement Trust. It goes on the same old way it was going.

In fact things are getting from bad to worse and there is absolutely no improvement in the living conditions of Delhi as result of its efforts. I am offering this criticism not in a spirit of condemnation or criticism, but with a view to bringing it home to the Ministers that they owe a responsibility to this place where they spend most of the twelve months in the year; it is a pity that this place is receiving such scant attention from them.

[Shri Desbandhu Gupta]

If I am allowed to refer to the Education Ministry, I am afraid, the record of its work is even poorer. To quote one example: the Delhi University has made itself notorious by the manner in which manoeuvring was done before the Vice-Chancellor's election this time. Things took place behind the *purdah* which would shock anybody if they can see the light of the day. I will take up this question when my cut motion is moved.

Two minutes more, Sir. As regards the Home Ministry, I cannot but compliment the excellent manner in which they have dealt with the, R.S.S. question, the Akali menace and the socialist threat of strikes etc. during the last three or four months. There could be no two opinions that the administration has worked admirably so far as these three things were concerned, but I am afraid the same cannot be said about its achievement in the past. I would not like to go into what happened in the past. I would only say that crime has not decreased in Delhi, although the expenditure on the Police has gone up by at least four to five times. Whereas we used to have only two Superintendents of Police formerly we have more than half a dozen today.

I will just conclude, Sir. A word about the Ministry of Industries and Supplies.—

If my honourable friend the Minister for Industries and Supply were to go to Chandni Chowk he will find how the controls imposed by him on the sales of cloth etc. are working. More than 500 shops today are selling unauthorised cloth in the open market and similarly cereals etc. This is how controls and rationing are enforced in Delhi. Outsiders naturally judge the efficiency of the Government and rightly so from Delhi. And they can have but one opinion about it and that is that the Ministers have absolutely no time to devote to this question so far as Delhi is concerned.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee (Minister of Industry and Supply): May I point out that the control of distribution is in the hands of the Delhi Administration and not in the hands of the I. and S. Ministry at all?

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: That argument will not hold good so far as Delhi is concerned.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: It does.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Delhi is the direct responsibility of the Central Government.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookherjee: It is not so. It is entirely in the hands of the Local Administration.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Well, let my honourable friend advocate full autonomy for Delhi and I will be the first person to take responsibility for the happenings in Delhi. I hope he would not hesitate to do so?

Mr. Chairman: I am sorry. The honourable member has already exceeded his time.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: You will excuse me, Sir. I wish to make just one suggestion—In fact I wish to repeat the suggestion which I had made last time—that there should be some coordinating authority so far as the Centrally Administered Areas are concerned. Today, sometimes it takes more than six months to get a reply from the Government of India. The file goes from Ministry to Ministry and it takes unduly long to take decision. Therefore, I suggest once again that there should either be a separate Ministry for the

Centrally Administered areas or there should be some coordinating authority to which all these Administered Areas may look to. The Centrally Administered areas are increasing in number and there is no attempt whatsoever made to associate public opinion of these areas with the administration. It is high time that Government opens its eyes so far as these things are concerned and look to the real needs and grievances of the people of the Centrally governed areas. With these words Sir, I resume my seat.

प्रोफ़ेसर यश्वन्त राय: माननीय चेअरमैन महोदय इस समय में जबकि संसार की गति तीसरे महा युद्ध की ओर जा रही है, ऐसे समय में जबकि दुनियां में इकोनामिक क्राइसिस (economic crisis) हो रहा है, हमारे माननीय फाइनेंस (Finance) मिनिस्टर साहब ने एक वेल-बैलेंस्ड (well balanced) बजट पेश किया है इसके लिये मैं उन्हें हार्दिक बधाई देता हूँ। जहाँ तक लक्जरी गुड्स (luxury goods) के ऊपर उन्होंने ड्यूटी लगाई है, उसका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। लेकिन जब मैं यह देखता हूँ कि तांगा ड्राइवर्स भी यह कहते सुनाई देते हैं कि क्या हमारी कांग्रेस सरकार का दिवाला निकल गया है, कि उन्होंने कार्ड की कीमत और लिफाफे की कीमत बढ़ा दी है, तो मुझे दुःख होता है। इसके साथ ही जहाँ पर उन्होंने कपड़े पर और खांड पर भी जो ड्यूटी बढ़ाई है, उसको देख कर मुझे फिर बहुत दुःख होता है। गरीब लोग जो देहात के अन्दर रहते हैं, उन्हें बिल्कुल ही कपड़ा नहीं मिलता है, उन्हें बिल्कुल ही खांड नहीं मिलती है। लेकिन इस ड्यूटी के बढ़ने से तो जो उनकी हालत आज बुरी है वह और भी बुरी हो जायगी। कितने अफसोस की बात है कि जो मजदूर खांड पैदा करता है और जिसकी मेहरबानी से हमें खांड मिलती है उसी को हम खांड खाने का अधिकार नहीं दे रहे हैं। यह कितने दुःख की बात है कि जो काटन ग्रो करता है और जिसको कृपा से हम कपड़ा पहनते हैं उसी गरीब मजदूर को हम कपड़े से (वंचित) डिबार (debar) करते हैं। क्या ही अच्छा होता अगर जो नुवसान हुआ है वह वजाय इन ड्यूटियों के और तरीकों से पूरा हो सकता। रिफ़्यूजीज पर जो खर्च हो रहा है और जितना पिछले साल में हुआ है वह सारे का सारा बूथा है क्योंकि उनका जितना अच्छा इन्तजाम होना चाहिये था वह नहीं हो रहा है। आज आप कैम्पों की हालत देखें। दूर जाने को जरूरत नहीं है जो दिल्ली का शहर है उसकी फ़रील के साथ साथ देखें और सड़कों की पटड़ियों पर देखें तो हमें पता चलेगा कि रिफ़्यूजीज की कितनी तरक्की हो रही है। जो हमारे रिलीफ़ और रिहैबिलिटेशन (Rehabilitation) के मिनिस्टर हैं, अगर वह किसी कैम्प का दौरा करने जायें तो उन्हें पता चले कि कैसी दुर्गति हो रही है। मुझे याद है जब पिछले दिनों वह जालन्धर गये थे तो वहाँ ट्रैफ़िक बंद हो गया था। इससे साफ़ पता चलता है कि गरीब लोग जो कैम्पों में रहते हैं वह अपनी शिकायतें उनके पास

[प्रोफेसर यशवन्त राय]

नहीं पहुंचा सकते हैं। बल्कि वहां जो रिफ्यूजी कमिशनर होते हैं या अफसर होते हैं वह ही मिनिस्टर्स के पास पहुंचते हैं और उनको यह पता नहीं होता कि किसको कैसी तकलीफ हो रही है। अगर हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब किसी काम में ध्यान दें और सिर्फ वहां जाने की तकलीफ करें तो उन्हें सारा पता चलेगा। थोड़े ही दिन हुए कैथल कैम्प के रहने वाले शर्माजी मेरे पास आये, और उन्होंने बताया कि हम कई दिनों से साग खा कर गुजारा कर रहे हैं, हमें अनाज नहीं मिलता है, आटा नहीं मिलता है। जब हम रिफ्यूजीज को बसाने के लिये इतना खर्च करते हैं तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि आज डेढ़ साल हो गया है, हम अब तक उन्हें बसाने के काबिल क्यों नहीं हुये हैं। अगर हमारा इन्तजाम अच्छा होता और हम उनको बसा सकते, उनके लिये प्राविजन कर सकते, तो एक तो यह जो खर्च है उसकी वचत होती और साथ में जो रिफ्यूजीज काम करते तो उनकी आमदनी से हमें जो टैक्स मिलता उससे हमारी आमदनी बढ़ती।

तीसरा एक और जरिया है जिससे हम खर्च बचा सकते थे। हम जो इयूटी कार्ड और लिफाफे पर लगा रहे हैं, और खांड और कपड़े पर लगा रहे हैं उसको इस जरिये से पूरा कर सकते थे। जितना डिफेंस फोरसेज के लिये रुपया खर्च हो रहा है और काश्मीर के अन्दर खर्च हमें बताया जा रहा है वह कम किया जा सकता है। चन्द ही दिन हुये सब आनरेबल मेम्बर्स के पास पैम्फलेट्स पहुंचे होंगे जिससे पता चलता है कि हमने रुपया व्यर्थ खर्च किया है। जो कुछ काश्मीर में प्लेबिसाइट से पहले हो रहा है वह बताता है, कि वहां क्या होने जा रहा है, तो इतना रुपया हम किस लिये खर्च कर रहे हैं।

माननीय मिनिस्टर साहिब न जो बहुत सारे Relief Measures रखे हैं, उनका मैं स्वागत करता हूं, और साथ ही उन्हें बता देना चाहता हूं कि वह एक बात भूल गये हैं पिछले वर्ष श्री मनुस्वामी पिल्लई ने एक रेजोल्यूशन रखा था कि वह लोग जो कि सब से ज्यादा गरीब हैं, मेरा मतलब हरिजनों से है, उनके लिये आप एक करोड़ रुपया सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट से मुकदर करें। इस पर एक और रेजोल्यूशन रखा गया जो सेठ गोविन्द दास जी ने रखा था उन्होंने यह कहा था कि एक करोड़ रुपये की बजाय Adequate एडिक्वेट अमाउन्ट कर दिया जाय। वह रेजोल्यूशन पास हो गया था लेकिन मुझे अफसोस है कि मैं इस बजट में भी देखता हूं कि इसमें भी हरिजनों के लिये कोई प्राविजन नहीं है। सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने यह प्रोमिज किया हुआ है कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट साढ़े बारह फीसदी (Reservation in

Service) हर एक डिपार्टमेंट के अन्दर हरिजनों, गरीब मजदूरों को देना चाहती है। लेकिन अभी हाल ही में मैंने (questions) क्वेश्चन किये थे हर एक मिनिस्टर से यह सवाल पूछा गया कि उसके (Department) में कितने हरिजन मुलाजम हैं और 12½ फीसदी को वह कब और कैसे पूरा करना चाहते हैं लेकिन मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि किसी मिनिस्टर ने इस बात की तरफ तवज्जह नहीं दी है कि वह जो साढ़े बारह फीसदी है वह कब पूरा किया जाय। यहां तो यह मिसाल (example) कायम की जा रही है कि "चैरिटी बिगिन्स ऐट होम"। हर एक डिपार्टमेंट के अन्दर मुझे मालूम है कि कोई हरिजन (Scheduled Caste) नहीं है। माननीय मिनिस्टर्स की तवज्जह इतनी भी नहीं है कि वह देखें कि उन्होंने इतने हरिजन आदमियों को काम पर लगाना है। हमारे ग्रैजुएट, हमारे एम० ए०, बहुत पढ़े लिखे लोग भागे भागे फिर रहे हैं। वह समझते हैं कि हमने इतनी तालीम हासिल की लेकिन सब व्यर्थ है। क्योंकि हमारे लिये नौकरी मिलनी चाहिये। गवर्नमेंट का उसूल यह है कि वह सब को बराबर करना चाहती है, वह कहती है कि वह काश्तकार के साथ है, मजदूर के साथ है, गरीब के साथ है, उनके साथ बड़े बड़े वायदे किये जाते हैं। और कहा जाता है कि उन पर बड़ा खर्च हो रहा है सब जगह मजदूरों का रोना रोया जाता है। लेकिन इन हरिजन लोगों की हालत सबसे खराब है। जिन्होंने गांव का दौरा किया है उनको पता है कि यह लोग कितने दबे हुये हैं। अगर गांव में कोई झगड़ा हो जाता है तो इनके ऊपर झूठे मुकदमे बनाये जाते हैं। जब वह फरियाद लेकर थानों में जाते हैं तो वह क्या देखते हैं कि उनकी कम्प्यूनिटी का कोई भी आदमी वहां नहीं है वहां और आदमी बैठे होते हैं जिनका यह उसूल है कि जो अपनी अपील करना चाहता है उसकी उलटी मार खानी पड़ती है और कैद भुगतनी पड़ती है। यह है हरिजनों और गरीबों के साथ इन्साफ।

इसलिये मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा कि अगर आप यह चाहते हैं कि सब को सुख और आराम हो और जहां आपने रिलीफ मेजर्स (Relief measures) पेश किये हैं वहां मैं आपसे यह दख्वास्त करूंगा कि आप कोई ऐसा मेजर भी अख्तियार करें कि जो इस तरह के लोग हैं वह ऊपर उठ सकें और सोसाइटी एक हो सकें। वरना कम्प्यूनिस्ट लोग उनमें जाकर प्रचार करते हैं कि तुम्हें रोटी नहीं मिलती है, तुमको कपड़ा नहीं मिलता है, तुमको इतना सख्त काम करना पड़ता है। इन बातों से वह गुमराह हो जाते हैं और उनका पीछे लगते हैं और उनकी लीडरशिप में काम करना चाहते हैं आपका फर्ज है कि आप उनको इस तरह गुमराह होने से बचायें।

इसलिये आखिर मैं मैं ज्यादा बक्त न लेते हुये इतना अपने फ्राइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब से रिक्वेस्ट करूंगा कि वह इन बातों पर विचार करने की कोशिश करेंगे।

Prof. Yaswant Rai (East Punjab: General): At this time when the world is heading towards a third great war, at a time when the world is faced with an economic crisis, our honourable Finance Minister has presented a well-balanced budget, for which I offer him hearty congratulations. As regards the duty he has imposed on luxury goods I welcome it. But, I am pained when I see that even tonga drivers are heard saying, "Has our Congress Government gone bankrupt that they have raised the prices of cards and envelopes?" At the same time it again pains me very much to see the duty on cloth and sugar being raised. The poor people living in villages do not get any cloth at all; they do not get any sugar at all. With this increase in duty their plight, already bad enough, would grow worse. What a pity that from the very labourer, who produces sugar and through whose kindness we get it, we withhold the right to consume it. How regrettable that we deprive of cloth the very same poor labourer who grows cotton and through whose kindness we come to wear cloth. How nice would it have been if the loss that has been caused had been made up by means other than these duties. The expenditure that is being incurred over the refugees and that which has been incurred during the past one year is all futile since as good measures are not being taken in regard to them as should have been taken. Look at the condition of the camps today. There is no need to go far. If we look along the ramparts of the city of Delhi and along the pavements on roads we shall find what is being done for the improvement of the lot of the refugees. If our Relief and Rehabilitation Minister were to go to make a tour of some camps he would find what wretched conditions prevail there. I remember how traffic was stopped in Jullundur when he recently visited that place. This clearly shows that the poor people who live in camps cannot convey their grievances to him. On the other hand, only the Refugee Commissioners or other officers who are on the spot have access to the ministers and they—the ministers—do not know what hardship any particular person is suffering. If our Minister could attend to this side and just take the trouble of going there he would know everything. Only a few days back refugees from the Kaithal Camp came to me and told me that they had been living on *Sag* only, that they could get neither grain nor flour. When we are spending so much with a view to the rehabilitation of the refugees I fail to understand why we have not yet come to be in a position to rehabilitate them during the period of a year and a half that has already passed. Had our arrangements been good and we could rehabilitate them and make provision for them we would, on the one hand, have saved the expenditure that is being incurred while, on the other hand, the tax that would have been levied on the income of the refugees from the work done by them, would have gone to increase our revenues.

There is a third source whereby we could have effected a saving in the expenditure. The money that we propose raising by the levy of a duty on cards and envelopes and sugar and cloth could be raised by this means. The amount that is being spent over the defence forces and the expenditure which, we are told, is being incurred in Kashmir could be reduced. The pamphlets which must have been received by all the honourable members only a few days back reveal that we have spent the money in vain. The things that are taking place in Kashmir before the plebiscite show what is going to happen there. Then what for are we spending so much money?

I welcome the several relief measures which the honourable Minister has proposed. At the same time I want to tell him that he has forgotten one thing. Last year Shri Munishwamy Pillay tabled a resolution that "Rupees one crore be reserved by the Central Government for those people who are the most poor, viz., the Harijan." Upon this another resolution was tabled by Seth Govind

Dasji. He suggested that an adequate amount be substituted for Rupees one crore. That resolution was passed. But I am grieved to find that even in this budget there is no provision for the Harijans. The Central Government have given a promise that they want to give 12-1/2 per cent. reservation in services in each department to Harijans and poor labourers. But only the other day I put questions and enquired from each minister as to how many Harijans were employed in his department and when and by what means did he propose to complete the 12½ per cent., but I am sorry to say that no minister has paid attention to the fact as to when is that twelve per cent. to be completed. This is going to be an example of 'Charity begins at home'. I know there is no scheduled caste in any department. The honourable ministers cannot even give so much attention to this matter as to see that they have to employ so many Harijans. Our graduates, our M.A.s, highly educated people are running from pillar to post. They think that they have acquired all this education in vain unless they get jobs. It is a policy of the Government to equalize all. They say they are with the cultivator, with the labourer, with the poor man. Big and high promises are made with them and it is said that considerable expenditure is made over them. Everywhere their sad tale is told. But the plight of these Harijans is the worst. Those who have toured the country-side know how much suppressed these people are. If there is a quarrel in the village false cases are trumped up against them. When they take their complaint to a police station they find that there is no man belonging to their community there. There are other people sitting there whose principle is that anyone who wants to present his appeal has, on the reverse, to undergo beating and suffer imprisonment. This is the kind of justice meted out to the Harijans and the poor.

Hence I would appeal to you that if you want that everybody should be happy and comfortable you should, among other relief measures that you have brought forward, adopt some such measure whereby the status of the people of that category could also be raised and society could be equalized. When this is not done the Communists go and preach amongst them, saying, 'You get no bread, you get no cloth, you have to work so hard.' They are misled by this talk, follow them, and are inclined to work under their leadership. It is your duty to save them from being misled like this.

Not taking any more time I would, in the end make a request to the honourable the Minister of Finance that he might try to give these matters his consideration.

Shri S. M. Ghose (West Bengal: General): I should like to confine my general discussion on this budget only to a few observations, not in connection with the working of any particular Ministry, but relating to the underlying principles of the budget as a whole.

Every one of us knows, and it has been expressed by almost every honourable member that the problem of the common man today is the problem of food and cloth. There is another aspect of national problem about which we should not remain unmindful, and that is, how to make our nation great, how to make our people conscious about the role that India shall have to play in world affairs, and also to remember the great teachings of Swami Vivekananda, Aurabinda and other great leaders of India, who taught us that India has a message to the world and that India has a mission to fulfil.

Now, after achieving our independence, when we are balancing our budget and at the same time trying to remain conscious about our future role, when we are trying to meet the needs of the common man, we are confronted with one thing and it is this: how best we can create facilities for the common man to earn his living and contribute his mite to building up the future India, which was the dream of our great leaders of the past. We know and most of us have

[Shri S. M. Ghose]

expressed that opinion also that without making a great effort to develop our industries, we cannot even touch the problem. How to stimulate the industries? Many of us at first thought that without nationalising industries, without having a complete programme of socialism, our problem cannot be solved. Many of us believed also that when we had achieved our independence, when the Congress was in power, a serious attempt would be made to have a complete programme of nationalisation and socialism. But, I am sorry, Sir, and I regret to say, that our effort has only produced confusion.

Now, having failed in that direction, having our eye on the present day need of the common man, as well as the failure to induce our industrialists or capitalists to co-operate with us, I do not see why we should not sympathise with our honourable Finance Minister for the way in which he has tried to approach the problem; not that he had not in his mind the problem of the common man, not that he does not know how to nationalise or bring in socialism; but as he has already said in his speech also, the international and national set up in which we function today compels us to take up this course of compromise.

Having said that, now, I come to the question of refugees, especially the problem of the refugees from East Bengal. There are two aspects of that problem: one is of those who have come to the Indian Union, how to rehabilitate them; and the other is of those who are still in East Bengal in a sense of insecurity, trying every day to come out. And by coming out from East Bengal, they will no doubt add to the difficulties of our Government for rehabilitating those who have already come.

In this connection I would like to point out that those now living in East Bengal, their number is more than a crore. Although they are citizens of another State, we cannot remain quite unconcerned about them because I feel strongly that it is the concern of our Indian State and it is a first class problem for us. Sir, if those little over a crore of people are forced to come out from East Pakistan to India, I don't know how far and how long this newly born State of ours will be able to bear such strain and burden. Therefore although they are living in a different State, I consider that it is a great problem of ours too. We shall have to think not only in terms of how to rehabilitate these 15 to 16 lakhs of people who have come but also to find out some means by which we can create a sense of security in the minds of those who are still living in Eastern Bengal. Sir, in this connection my submission is that a Security Insurance Corporation may be set up with the participation of both Governments which might look after the security of the minorities in East Bengal as well as in West Bengal if they so desire. The value of life and property of those living in East Bengal may be registered and some sort of insurance certificate may be issued against any damage done by communal aggression.

Then the condition of the Hindus in East Bengal has so much deteriorated that something should be done by a joint move of both Governments to improve their economic condition. I submit another suggestion for the middle-class Hindus, i.e., those who are living in East Bengal to give some hope in their minds. Being full fledged citizens of East Bengal, they may be entitled for service in both the Bengals. The right to contest election of local bodies also may be given to the minorities of both the Bengals. It can be done if a new restricted citizenship is created so far as Bengal is concerned. So far as rehabilitation of those who have come is concerned, the problem is such and the grievances of everybody interested are so enormous that unless Government is determined to rehabilitate these people immediately, something very grave at any time may happen. The problem of rehabilitation as I have seen so far as West Bengal is concerned, they proceed on a certain line on the understanding

that the Central Government will help then after a few months when they have accumulated all the facts and collected materials but suddenly they are told from the Centre that they are to proceed entirely on a new basis. I am giving only one instance. At first it was given to understand that loans will be given to individual refugees and on that basis several thousand applications were received, examined and a few hundreds selected. Suddenly after 3 or 4 months when those applications were selected, a circular went there from the Centre that loans should not be given to individuals but only through Co-operative Societies and the refugees should be asked to form Co-operative Societies. Sir, in this way I don't know why the Central Government should allow such huge wastage of public money as well as the services of our Government officials. If Central Government had a plan not to give loans to individuals that ought to have been made known to Provincial Government from the very beginning instead of asking them to prepare lists for individual loans. Then the camps should immediately be abolished and the people should be rehabilitated. Another complaint of Bengal against the Central Government is regarding the allocation of income tax and jute duty. I am reading from the speech of the Finance Minister of West Bengal:

"In spite of our representation, the Government of India has decided that till 31st March 1950 :—

(1) the Government of West Bengal will receive only 12 per cent of the total provincial share of income-tax as against 20 % allowed to Bengal under the Niemeyer Award, and

(2) the share of jute duty allocable to the provinces will be reduced from 62½ per cent, awarded by Niemeyer to 20 % only of the net proceeds and that the total provincial share will be distributed among the jute growing provinces in proportion to the amount of jute grown in each province".

Then the Finance Minister says:

"I regret to have to say that on questions like these the Government of West Bengal has a feeling that its case does not receive adequate attention in Delhi".

I would like to draw the attention of the Finance Minister to this question.

Then before I resume my seat I would have been glad if there was some provision made in this Budget as token grants to the services rendered by the Rama Krishna Mission and Sri Arambindo Mission in spreading our culture outside India throughout the World and enhancing our prestige also. I would have been very much glad if there was some provision made in this Budget as token grants to these institutions. With these remarks, I resume my seat.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani (U.P.: General): Sir, may I point out that the time is up for this discussion, and we should start the other business.....

Mr. Chairman: I know when the time is up.

Shri Radhavallabh Vijaivergiya (Madhya Bharat): One aspect of the budget which has given satisfaction to many of us who come from the States is that in matters of finance and economy of the country, the States are also coming on the same level as other provinces, and our central budget is really becoming the budget for the whole India. And to-day the representatives from nearly all the States are here in the House and taking their due and active part in the deliberations of the House and the people of the States are sharing the responsibilities and the advantages like their brothers and sisters of the Provinces.

The States, with a few exceptions, have been neglected so far. There are vast possibilities in the States, awaiting development, say in the matter of land reclamation, irrigation, etc. so that our food production which is so very short of our requirements, may be increased. Besides these, there are possibilities in the States for commercial and industrial development, and also in connection with our forests and mineral products. I would invite the attention of the various ministries here to give special attention to these areas in the States where there are such vast possibilities for different kinds of development.

[Shri Radhavallabh Vijaivergiya]

In this connection I would like to refer to the wonderful, almost miraculous work which our Deputy Prime Minister has done in such a short time, in bringing about the integration and consolidation of about 600 Indian States. I might also here make mention of the fact that things are not all well in the different Unions. Of course the reason for that is that the process of integration is going on and interim arrangements are being carried on there, and so in the changes that are being brought about, the people of the States, especially those of small States are facing great inconveniences and hardships. Therefore I would request the State Ministry to arrange for a proper machinery to give more attention to the grievances of the people in the small States.

Sir, coming to the budget proper, it is true—and we cannot deny it—that it is very difficult within two years of our independence to form or bring out our budget of finances and economy on a sound basis. Especially so when our country has been under foreign rule for the past two hundred years, and that foreign rule has left the evils behind, of a foreign economy. There were also the difficulties caused by the effects of the war. There were also the disturbances which followed Independence. But still, I would like to ask whether this is the best budget that we could have had. Could we not have had a better one? I feel we could have had a better one, even under the present difficult circumstances. Sir, the common man, the masses of our people measure your budget in terms of food, cloth and fuel, and if they find that their difficulties in these matters are decreased, or increased, they form their opinion of your budget accordingly. If we look at the budget in that light, we find that the prices of commodities have been on the increase. For instance, in February 1947, the price index of food was 290.6, in February 1948, it was 348.5 and the present index for February 1949 is 384. Similarly about the price index for textile products. For February 1947 the figure is 312, for February 1948, it was 374 and for February 1949 it is 381. The general price index in February 1947 was 292.2, for February 1948 it was 342.3 and for February 1949 the figure is 370.5. Therefore, for the common man, things have been becoming worse and worse, and this budget has not evoked any enthusiasm or support from the common people.

The big business in our country is well-organised, they have all the necessary resources to make their influence felt on the intellectual people of India and also on the Government. And therefore they have succeeded in obtaining several reliefs. The honourable the Finance Minister has given relief to the extent of over Rs. 6 crores to big business in his budget proposals, just to gain their confidence, the confidence of the business community and to provide incentive for investment and production. But what about gaining the confidence of the common people? After all it is the common people who are going to count and we cannot ignore the grave dissatisfaction that is present in the common people on account of the difficulties they have to experience at the present day. After all the real asset, the real strength of the country are the millions of our nationals, and if they are happy, if they are good and if they are strong, and united, then our country too and its finances are strong and our freedom will become stronger and stronger, and we will move on the right path. But if these people lose confidence in the Government, or if difficulties are increased day by day, and if there is discontent among them, then we cannot progress far. We cannot move far. After all their support is the main thing. This morning my friend Mr. Modi emphasised that the Government had great strength because the whole country was with them, and that the millions of our countrymen were with them. It is true the country is with the Government. But it is not with the Government to benefit the big business and the capitalists. The country is with the Government to strengthen the whole country and raise the standard of life of the people. Sir, our

civil expenditure has been increasing, and we must call a halt somewhere. In the revised estimates for 1948-49, there has been an increase of 48 crores in the civil expenditure. How long are we going to increase this expenditure? And as the cost has gone up, has the efficiency increased? No. It is clear and I think that is the general consensus of opinion that the efficiency of the administration and of the civil service has not increased. Many high officials here and responsible people inform me that there is favouritism in most of the Departments. What happens is, when one officer becomes in charge, he to entrench himself brings in his friends and tries to create new posts, and further brings in more and more of his own people. Also in the appointments, what happens in the Public Service Commission is this. Appointments are made beforehand and after a few months when the matter goes to the Public Service Commission, the same appointments are approved, because one of the Secretaries of the Department is there sitting on the Public Service Commission, while making the decision. Therefore efficiency has not increased. We must aim at increasing efficiency. We must also give relief to the common people. Last year we gave some relief to big business, and this year, again we have given them further relief, at the cost of the poor people. The price index of all the necessities of life has been increasing, and we have now raised the duty on even coarse cloth and sugar and on articles of transport. Similarly, we have increased the postal rates on postcards and envelopes. Who are going to get the advantages of these postcards and envelopes which are now to be sent by air to different parts of India. It is clear that the big business is going to benefit from this arrangement at the cost of the poor people. For instance I come from the States. I know that in the States the ordinary means of communication are not even well developed, leave alone air communications. When there are not even proper systems of roads and railways, what benefit are those people going to derive—those 9 crores of people—from this movement of letters and postcards by air? It is clear that the whole thing is that big business is going to benefit at the cost of the ordinary people.

Then, Sir, the matter of abolition of the Capital Gains Tax is a very serious matter and it is fraught with serious consequences—perhaps dangerous consequences. For if this taxation is removed, then many industries will re-capitalise their plant and later on if nationalization takes place the nation will have to pay very high costs, or they will derive benefits in other ways in the depreciation value that they will be allowed and by way of dividends. Therefore, I strongly oppose the abolition of the Capital Gains Tax.

Similarly, in the Capital Budget, we have to be very careful. In 1948 we had 274 crores as balance and at the end of the next financial year, that is March 1950 our cash balances will be Rs. 58 crores. This is quite a serious matter.

Similarly, we have to organise our export trade also on a better and sounder basis. As our honourable the Finance Minister pointed out we are finding great difficulties and having deficits in hard currency.

Similarly this matter of food: we are very short of food and yearly we are increasing our import of food and spending more money on them. We have imported 150 crores worth of food from foreign countries and we have spent nearly Rs. 32 crores on subsidies in these food matters, this year. The Ministry of Agriculture is carrying on a 'Grow More Food Campaign'. There is a lot of pamphleteering but real work is not so much as perhaps could have been done. So, what should be done is that these 'Grow More Food' campaigns should be organized on sounder basis and there must be a plan drawn up—a short-term plan and a long-term plan—and effectively implemented and the required machinery reformed in the Centre and in all the provinces: there should be very strict supervision over each province and State to see that the programme is being carried out according to Schedule.

[Shri Radhavallabh Vijaivergiya]

In the end I would merely say that to go forward we must mobilize the nation for freedom: we must gain the full support of the nation. There is great dissatisfaction all round and if we are to succeed, if we are to reap the fruits of freedom, the nation must be mobilized. The nation must feel the glow and blessings of freedom and the common man should feel enthusiastic in the budgets and in the freedom of the country. Therefore, we must organise our budget and our finances in such a way that the common man gets the greatest benefit and the greatest relief possible in matters of taxation, and the price index and the cost of living come down and inflation is checked as early as possible.

Mr. Tajamul Husain (Bihar: Muslim): I was going to make a complaint to you before I had begun my complaint against the honourable the Finance Minister. But since you have very kindly allowed me to speak I think I had better not make that complaint.

Mr. Chairman: I may point out that the honourable member has only ten minutes.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: Everything will finish in time. I will not be long. I think I will make my complaint. My complaint is to you. I do not care how long it takes but it is for future guidance and not for the present only.

This Budget belongs to the Congress Government: it belongs to the Congress Party: it belongs to every honourable member of the Congress Party. Every member of the Congress Party is equally responsible for the Budget. I am not in the Congress Party. I find that more time has been given to the members of the Congress Party than to those who are not in their party. Since this morning I have been trying to catch your eye and I have not been able to. But I am grateful that at last

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): Many other honourable members have spoken who are not in the Congress Party.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: I say that more chances have been given to them than to those who are not in the Congress Party.

Honourable Members: In proportion to their representation in the House!

Mr. Tajamul Husain: Now I will begin my budget speech.

Mr. Chairman: The honourable member has already taken three minutes in his introductory remarks. He is left with only seven minutes more.

Mr. Tajamul Husain: There is an universal cry. What is that cry? The universal cry is to reduce the poor man's burden. Everybody says: reduce the poor man's burden. Whether this universal cry is wrong or right is not the point now. The only point before us is whether the honourable the Finance Minister is going to listen to the universal cry of the poor people or not. I have not the least doubt that the budget has many good points I say this in spite of the fact that every member of your party has been condemning it. I say that there are many good points in the budget. In fact I am prepared to say that the budget is a good one. But I am not going to speak on the good points of the budget. Those points are obvious. I will mention only a few points which in my opinion are bad. I have just now said that there is a universal cry that the poor man's burden must be reduced..... ("An honourable Member: "That is a good point!") If the Chairman allows me time, I will mention all the good points. A tax on luxuries undoubtedly is a

good thing but there are certain things which have been treated as luxuries although in fact they are not luxuries. Take the case of sugar. Sugar is a thing which everybody takes and which people cannot help taking. You are really taking a thing which is not a luxury but a necessity. It will affect both the poor and the rich but the rich will not feel the few extra pies which they have to pay for sugar whereas the poor will be affected by it.

As regards petrol it is now more a necessity in certain matters than a luxury. The poor man uses the motor transport and if the duty on petrol is going to be increased the poor man will be affected. The honourable the Finance Minister has proposed that as regards petrol used for aviation the tax will not be increased but decreased. Who goes by air? Not the poor people but the rich. So you have given benefit to a certain extent to the rich people. I would suggest that the duty on petrol for aviation should be increased and the duty on petrol for buses and transport meant for the poor should be decreased.

As regards cloth, as a result of the taxation the price will go up and the poor will feel it, though not the rich.

Other honourable members have dealt with postcards and letters. Because this is a poor man's necessity I would also like to say a few words on it. One consolation is that letters will in future go by air as it is possible and then take the ordinary route. In the villages and in the interior of the country there are no air services and so how does this benefit the poor man in the villages. If a poor villager writes a letter from Delhi to Tundla it cannot go by air. It won't go to Cawnpore by air and then back to Tundla. So this is of no benefit to the poor at all. The Finance Minister expects 2.85 crores from this increase. He has given a relief of two crores to the supertax-payers. It means that he takes money from the poor and gives it to the rich. Therefore I will just make a few suggestions. Let there be no increase in postage. Let the postcards and letters go as previously by train but increase the postage on air mail letters. In this way the poor man will not be affected at all.

As regards the exports which we send outside we have received complaints that they are of inferior quality and the imports are so expensive that the poor man cannot afford to buy them. So in this way the poor are affected.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai (Minister of Finance): Sir, I have no doubt that the House is relieved that this long debate has at last come to an end. It is a relief which, I confess, I share. It has been in many ways an interesting, informative and revealing debate, and I have greatly benefited by this debate. We are in many ways a new and an untried democracy and I think a debate like this, covering the whole range of our national administration, has revealed, if I may say so, all the known characteristics of a young democracy. We have a great sense of idealism and a keen ambition to realise those ideals but we are still somewhat at a loss to understand the problems and the precise difficulties with which we are faced.

[At this stage Mr. Deputy Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar) resumed the Chair.]

We are getting increasingly impatient with the earth and all that is in the earth. We would like to find our way to Heaven but we have not as yet been able to find it. For the moment I am speaking both of myself and of every member of the House—We are for the moment floundering in space not knowing where to locate ourselves.

I had the rather difficult and unpleasant task of formulating the budget this year. I wonder if in recent years there has been a year when the economic and financial circumstances of the country have been more difficult to assess or to estimate and to provide for. We have prepared

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 a great many unorthodox budgets in recent years. May I begin with the Budget of 1946, the Budget which was introduced by the last Finance Minister of the unreformed Government. That was a curious budget. That budget was framed with the main idea of providing influences which would counter the inevitable deflation which was expected to arise after the war. When war expenditure had ceased it was feared widely that there might be a lessening of demand for things and, therefore it was necessary to pump more and more money into circulation to stimulate demand. So the last Finance Member of the old Government tried to remove all the taxes which he could possibly eliminate from the tax structure of the country. But the result was that at that time capital goods were not available and difficulties of one kind or another stood in the way of increasing production and the money which was released by the elimination of taxes was used for purposes which had very little to do with production. What happened then was an unhealthy boom in the share market. That continued almost until August or September 1946. Now that date August or September 1946 is a very important date constituting a landmark in the recent financial history of our country. Honourable members will remember that it was in August 1946 that the great communal massacre occurred in Calcutta and it was about that time that a sharp reaction was experienced against the boom that inevitably started with the release of more and more money into circulation as the result of the budget of 1946. That was accentuated by the further communal massacres that took place later in the year. Then in February 1947 came the budget of the Coalition Government, for which Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was responsible. That budget was framed against an inflationary prospect as Sir Archibald Rowland's budget was framed against a deflationary prospect. The Budget of 1947 was based on the assumption that there was far too much money in the country, that commodities were going up, the inflationary position was worse than ever, the share markets were experiencing an unwholesome boom and it was thought necessary that the process should be reversed. Therefore new taxes and heavy taxes were imposed, the very reverse of the process which found expression in the Budget of 1946. The budgets of 1946 and 1947 were both unorthodox budgets, sensational budgets, and the country has not yet recovered from the cumulative effect of two unorthodox budgets. When the Prime Minister did me the honour of asking me to take charge of the Ministry of Finance under the very difficult circumstances which were developing in the country last October I say to myself, knowing the difficulties and the complications that had resulted from sensational budgets, that as far as in me lay I would produce an orthodox, routine, straightforward budget. This unfortunate country has been knocked about for two years in many ways. What it needs today is a little rest, a little room for recuperation, for convalescence. The period will not be long, but that period is essential if the country is to get back its health. Sir, there is nothing sensational in my budget. It is a straightforward statement of the country's financial position.

We are faced with extraordinary expenses. I have been told more than once that the Government of India have shown very little inclination to implement the oft-expressed desire of the House to effect economy in public expenditure. In fact I think one of the most constant notes which have been struck in the course of this debate, is that this Government of which on the financial side I happen to be the responsible spokesman have shown a callous disregard of the anxiety felt by the House and the country in the matter of economy in public expenditure. If the House will be patient with me I should like to tell honourable members that as far as the Economy Committee is concerned there is nothing which I said in the budget or which I left unsaid in the

budget which provides any kind of foundation for the suspicion that we are not going to take the most serious notice of the recommendations which have been made to us by the Economy Committee. The reason why I have not made any definite provision in the Budget for 1949-50 is that we did make a hypothetical provision in the budget of 1948-49 but due to circumstances over which we had little control that hypothetical provision could not be implemented. As far as I was concerned the position in which I found myself was that the Committee had not completed its investigation—a few interim Reports had come—but the final Report which is to set out the general principles and the main considerations on which the recommendations are based is yet to come. And these interim Reports which have come in—valuable Reports—are Reports which give the recommendations more or less in the form of summary proposals, more or less in the form of small cause court decisions. Unless I know precisely the general considerations which govern the outlook of this Committee it is not possible for me to formulate definite serviceable conclusions on these recommendations. Further, as Minister of Finance I am primarily responsible for seeing that every possible measure of economy is adopted. But I have got to consult other Ministries with reference to whom these recommendations have been made, and if I am not in possession of the general considerations on which these recommendations are based, however anxious I might be to introduce economy it would not be possible for me to maintain my stand in the necessary discussions that arise between my Ministry and the other Ministries. I found myself therefore in this position that however anxious I was for economy, however anxious my Government was for economy, I was not in a position to put in the budget a figure which I would be able exactly to implement. Rather than put a hypothetical figure I said to myself I would take the House into my confidence and say I am not in a position to do it but I give my solemn assurance to the House that whatever recommendations are made by the Economy Committee would be recommendations which would receive my most earnest attention.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar (Madras: General): The whole of the gap that exists need not be covered. Something may be left over for the economies that are likely to be effected by implementing those recommendations.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: That does not improve the position as I have set out. The real point to which I would like to invite the attention of the House is this. Honourable members in the course of their speeches have more than once referred to this fact. The items of expenditure under which substantial economies can be effected are not the items of expenditure covered by the reference to the Economy Committee. There is for example our defence expenditure. There is our expenditure on food subsidies. There is our expenditure on the relief and the rehabilitation of displaced persons. I for one would venture to prophesy that at any rate a very substantial part of these special temporary expenses could probably be eliminated before the year 1949-50 is out if for example the Rs. 35 or 40 crores which represents in the budget of 1949-50 the excess of the defence expenditure due to special developments such as Kashmir—if a substantial part of that—could be eliminated. If developments take place in Kashmir as we anticipate, if as the result of exercising a little more pressure on the procurement policy of the Provincial Governments, if as a result of improving our production schemes aimed at immediate production of food, if as a result of a fall in the level of international prices of foodgrains, if the monsoon is going to be a little less unkind to us in the coming year than it has been in the past few years. It is quite possible that under the expenditure on food subsidies we might be able to make a substantial reduction. As regards the work on displaced persons

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we are trying as soon as possible to transform the work done in that Ministry from relief to rehabilitation. If that transformation takes place—part of it is completed—then the expenditure, once it gets transformed from relief to rehabilitation, will cease to be revenue expenditure and will become capital expenditure and in the revenue budget therefore there might be some substantial relief. As far as I am concerned if I happen to be in charge of this Ministry this time next year my anxiety would be during the twelve months between now and then to strengthen the forces which are likely to give me economies in these three substantial spheres of expenditure. If that happens—it is a dangerous thing for a Finance Minister to forecast—but subject to this qualification that no untoward developments occur, if for example we are not faced with another war situation, if we are not going to be faced with another general international economic depression I would venture to make this forecast that when the time comes for this House to consider the budget for 1950-51 our finances would be definitely more comfortable than they are today. Well, if we are so favoured, if it happens that the budget shows a substantial surplus next year as I hope it may, then it is possible for us to use that in two directions both of which are directions which the House favours, we might be able to provide for substantial tax relief on the one hand and we might be able to contribute much more than we have done since we assumed office for the development of those essential nation-building activities on which honourable members have set their heart and on which Government is as keen as any Honourable Member in this House. I hope, Sir, things will develop as we anticipate. If they do, then I venture to think that the year through which we are going to pass in the next twelve months will probably prove the most critical period in our financial history since the country became independent.

A great deal has been said in the course of the debate on the problem of inflation. Inflation, as the House recognises, is a question of the supply of money on the one side and goods and services on the other. I think several honourable members expressed the fear that not enough has been done in the way of drawing away super-abundant supply of money from circulation. I would like to tell the House quite briefly what, in my opinion, is the present money position in the country from the point of view of inflation. If you think that the quantity of money which is operating in our economic system today is to be measured exactly by the amount of currency notes in circulation and the amount of bank deposits you will be very much mistaken. That gives you no indication of the effective money supply of the country today because, remember, a good deal of this money that is represented by the figures of money circulation and bank deposits has gone underground, is dormant, is not in circulation. There is a good deal of that money which has been hoarded because it has passed into the hands of people who are not used to investment and, therefore, for effective purposes that money does not function. There is a very considerable part of that money which is locked up as working capital in larger quantities of stocks than before because the whole process of distribution and transport is now slower than it used to be before the war. In other words, what I am trying to point out is that the pace at which money turns over is very much less than it used to be before. Therefore, my first proposition is that the amount of superfluous money in the country is much less than we are apt to imagine.

Now I come to my second proposition which is this. What money there is in circulation, relatively little of it is going into the investment market because when it comes to industrial investment the whole trend of opinion among investors for some time has been that industrial investment is a matter

which is attended with special and serious risks. So money avoids the industrial investment market. On the other hand that money is being drained off in increasing quantities into investments in purchase and sale of readily marketable commodities which involves no risks. When that happens, the inevitable result is that all these consumers goods, the prices of which determine our cost of living, are going to be in demand much more. That is the position that we are seeing today. On the one hand you have got a sharp rise in prices of consumers goods, and a large amount of surplus money is floating about. On the other hand, there is extreme stringency of money in the money market. That is the kind of conundrum with which we are faced, and I tell the House with every sense of responsibility that the real problem before us—if we are convinced that production is the final answer to the problem of inflation—the real problem before us is to reverse this process and gradually divert the money from the market for consumers goods back into the investment market. If there is any general principle behind by budget, it is that. I feel there is no other solution for the problem of inflation except increased production and unless you can divert this money in increasing quantities back into the investment market, you are not going to find a solution for it.

As the result of the partition, this country's economy has suffered much more grievously than many of us have yet begun to appreciate. There is hardly an aspect of the economy of our country on which partition has not reacted directly and adversely. Take for example the question of transport. My honourable colleague the Minister for Transport will tell you more than 50 per cent. of the troubles of our railway transport is due to partition. My honourable friend the Minister for Commerce will tell you the whole trade structure of the country has been disorganised as the result of partition. My honourable colleague the Minister for Food will tell you that if our food position has been so acute as it is today it is due in a very large measure to the partition. And as Minister for Finance I know that if our foreign exchange position today is so difficult it is to a very large extent due to partition. If our Defence expenditure is so high today it is due to a large extent to partition. If I have met large bills on account of pre-partition liabilities, what is it again but partition? What the House has got to realise is this, that as a result of the various circumstances that started occurring from August 1946, the country has got into a position today where its economic structure has been most seriously damaged. The result of the damage that has occurred to our economic structure is that the wheels of production now have come almost to a standstill. I feel today, both as Minister of Finance and as a student of economics, that the most urgent problem before me is to set the wheels of production moving again. I am not interested today in what the future organisation of our economic society is going to be—that problem will arise in the future, there will be enough time to consider it. Today I am concerned with this problem: here is this whole economic machinery of ours going to pieces; I want to piece them together and make the wheels of our economic machinery move again.

That is the great problem before us and that brings us to this question that we are all agitated about and to which we are giving, in my opinion, more thought and time, than the problem at present deserves. Are we going to nationalise our industries, or are we going to leave our industries to private enterprise? My answer to the question is this. So stagnant today is the whole of our economic system that we need all the resources which are available in the country, whether public or private; all the resources which we can muster in the country we need every bit of them for making the productive system of the country function again in the way it ought to

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In framing this Budget, I have felt that one thing that is necessary is that those who are prepared to consider investment in industrial concerns; those who are prepared to devote their energy and ability to organising industries in the capacity of entrepreneurs, both these groups of people have got to be given a sense of assurance and certainty about the immediate future. Without that sense of certainty, neither of these classes can be brought back into work in the way in which they ought to be. Whether we are going to keep it there after ten years or not, that is a question with which we are not concerned for the moment. What we are concerned with today is that these two classes of people, the enterprisers and the investors, must be made to come back into the field where their services are so urgently required. If the State's resources—resources of finance and personnel—are adequate, the State will certainly take up industries and do its part in this business of developing production, but the State's resources are limited and therefore every available resource in this country must be mustered if this country is to be saved from economic stagnation. That, Sir, is the basis of my Budget.

I have given very little by way of encouragement to investors and enterprisers. What I have done is to give tangible evidence of Government's desire to assure them as regards the immediate future that if they put their ability into this business of production, if they put their money into this business of production, Government will see to it that their interests are legitimately safeguarded and I think every community, every section, of the country which plays its part in the development of the country's economic activity has a right to that assurance, and I do not apologise to anybody for giving this little tangible proof of the assurance that they need and need so badly. On that point, therefore, I am fairly confident that there is no criticism that can be urged against me which I cannot meet with reason. (An Honourable Member: What about the capital gains tax?) I am coming to that. I am coming to a number of other things. Now having said that, Sir, I want to echo and endorse what Mr. Homi Modi said this morning. I have framed this Budget, put it forward before the country, deliberately as a challenge to the business community of the country. It is a Budget which calls upon them to rise to a great and important occasion. If they do not do so, I think they will be held guilty of a serious lapse at the bar of public opinion in the country. We have gone as far as we could in the very difficult financial circumstances in which we are placed. We have gone as far as we could to give them that assurance for which they have been asking. They have been complaining that what stands in the way of production is loss of confidence. We have given them this assurance and if this assurance does not give them the confidence that they have asked for, there must be something fundamentally wrong with the business community as a whole.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani: You justify it in giving this assurance.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: Now, I come to the various tax proposals which have been the subject of criticism in the House. With regard to the capital gains tax, the point was made—and it is quite an effective point that with all this liberalisation that we have made in the depreciation allowances, there is just a possibility of these allowances being abused for the purpose of sales of depreciated machinery at higher values and the excess value escaping liability to taxation. That is a point which I have seriously under consideration and I am hoping at an early date to place legislative proposals before the House which will provide sufficient safeguards against that abuse.

Now, I come to the question of post cards. In fact, I find that of all the proposals embodied in my Budget, that is the proposal which seems to have attracted the most interested attention. I would like to place a few plain, straightforward facts before the House and ask the House to judge these facts for what they are worth. First of all, my honourable colleague the Minister for Communications has given me a statistical statement which leaves me at any rate in no doubt as regards the fact that the existing cost of production of post cards—the manufacture of the cards and the handling of the cards—is exactly 8.2 pies, so that even if there was no question of transporting these by air the very fact that the cost is 8.2 pies provides a *prima facie* justification for the proposal to which the House has raised such very strong objections. Sir, in many ways our sister Dominion has set us an example in economic matters. They still have a charge of 2 pies for their post cards. The House will remember that for about fifteen years on end, until February 1946, our post cards were priced 9 pies. If you take the rates for post cards in other countries such as the U.K. making the fullest possible allowance in the difference in levels of national income, 9 pies is as low a figure as you can strike. (Shri H. V. Kamath:) “Not in India, Sir.” I am not for a moment suggesting that the House must necessarily come to a conclusion on these figures, but I do submit to the House that these figures constitute at least a *prima facie* justification for the proposal that has been put forward.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar: General): No.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kuzru (U.P.: General): You did not give that justification in your Budget speech.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: Well, I was looking forward to a general discussion of the Budget, a general discussion which has given me precisely the opportunity that I wanted for explaining matters in which the House is interested.

There is another point which I would like to place before the House. I did a certain amount of statistical calculations myself, and I took the total of post cards which were delivered in the course of the last latest year for which I have figures. Then, I took the proportion of the literate population of the country. I divided one by the other and then multiplied it by 3 pies and then the figure that I got was an average extra expenditure of exactly 31 annas a year. Now that is divided by the literate population, but supposing I divide it by the whole population or a substantial proportion of the population including the illiterates, it would be considerable less than 31 annas. I put these facts before the House and honourable members will no doubt turn these facts over in their mind.

I come to this question of the excise duty on coarse cloth. The House will accept my assurance that it was with the greatest diffidence that I finally decided to recommend the duty on coarse and medium cloth to the Government. I had various reasons in my mind for making this proposal, however reluctant I was to face the proposal. The loss of the salt duty has undoubtedly been a strain on our revenue position. To my mind, it is quite out of the question to bring back the salt duty. Apart from everything else, it had a symbolic significance which we of this generation cannot afford to ignore. But I do think from an economic point of view, there is more to be said, if the principle of an excise duty on an article of universal consumption is accepted, an excise duty on cloth than an excise duty on salt. I will tell you what the reason is. It is not an original reason, because the abolition of salt duty was decided up on two years ago when I had the honour of filling the post of Finance Member in

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the Interim Government. I came to that decision after a great deal of wavering in my mind. Mahatma Gandhi did me the honour of asking me to meet him and I had several long discussions with him. Although on purely economic grounds I was very reluctant to accept the proposal for the abolition of the duty, I can still remember looking back over these two years, ultimately I decided that he was right and I was wrong and I accepted the proposal. When I placed my proposal before the Cabinet for acceptance by the Government, I had no kind of mental reservation.

The difference between the excise duty on cloth and the excise duty on salt is this. However wealthy you might be, however large your financial resources may be, or your purchasing power may be, you do not consume more than a limited quantity of salt fixed by your physical requirements. But if you had an increasing amount of purchasing power available, you can buy more cloth. In other words, salt stands practically on the same footing as air and water. It is one of the essential things of life, on which to levy a tax, I think goes counter to the principles of humanity on which any modern State is based. May I give the House this somewhat interesting fact—at any rate, it interested me when I was considering this matter. If you take the excise duty at the rate we have proposed, on coarse and medium cloth, a quarter anna per yard, the average incidence of it per year is less than half the average incidence per head of the salt duty. I ask the House to consider with me, if you are prepared to allow that there is justification for an excise duty on an article of universal consumption, whether there is not a *prima facie* case for considering this.

I had also another idea in my mind when I was examining this proposal; I referred to it in my budget speech. The hand-loom industry in this country if the premier cottage industry and I for one believe that whatever kind of economic organisation may ultimately arise in this country, cottage industry must fill an important place, and typical of the cottage industries of the country is the hand-loom industry. The hand-loom industry had a privileged position during the war. Now, mill production is increasing, imports are coming in, in increasing quantities into the country. A time will soon come when the hand-loom industry in the country will be faced with a crisis. If you are at all interested in safeguarding the position of the industry in the country's economy, I suggest that it would not be possible for you to give any assistance apart from the device of an excise duty. I was the Chairman of the Indian Tariff Board of 1932 which went into the question of the Cotton Textile Industry and this question was raised before me over and over again in every part of the country that I visited. The hand-loom industry was suffering from actual competition from the mill industry and I was asked over and over again, "what are you going to do about it." I thought at that time of an excise duty. But a foreign Government was then ruling the country and an excise duty levied by that Government had odious associations which made it quite impossible for me to consider it then. Today, the position is entirely different. That kind of sentimental consideration that prevented me from examining an excise duty as a means of safeguarding the interests of the hand-loom industry is not present today. Before honourable members make up their minds for themselves, I would ask them to look at this question from both these points of view.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar: Do you think that the proposal for an excise duty on cloth is really going to help the hand-loom industry, to put that industry on its legs?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: These question of detail, I suggest, may be held over till the debate on the Finance Bill.

There has been a critical reference to the increase in the excise duty on sugar. We are following the same principle there. The excise duty does not apply to *gur*; it does not apply to *khandasari* sugar; it applies only to mill made sugar. In fact, throughout the whole structure of our excise duty, this principle will be borne in mind, that is to say, if it is possible by means of this to give some of the much needed assistance that the hand-loom industry requires, it will be given in this way.

With regard to excise duties generally, a suggestion that I would place respectfully before the House is this. We are in for a time when, whatever rates of duty you adopt with regard to income-tax whatever rates of duty you adopt with regard to customs duty, these two sources of revenue would begin to decline. We are a democratic society trying to function as an independent Government. Honourable members know as well as I do that while democracy is a priceless blessing, it is a very expensive blessing. The more democratic our society becomes, the more it becomes a positive organ of social and economic development, the more you will find the financing of it is going to strain your resources. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that, if not today, at some time in the near future, you would be seriously faced with the question of accepting excise duties as an inevitable source of revenue for financing the fundamental functions of a democratic Government.

A great deal of reference has been made to the question of provincial taxation. I am aware of the problem that has been created by the conflict and overlapping which have arisen in the matter of taxation as between the Centre and the Provinces. I entirely agree with the view expressed by honourable members that it was time, in the country's interests, in the interests of India as a whole, that this problem was handled and a solution found for it. I will tell the House quite briefly how I am going to face this problem. There are two ways in which you can find a solution for it. You can bring about a convention by agreement between the Centre and the Provinces, and among the Provinces themselves. By agreement, a convention can be created by which this overlapping and conflict may be reduced to a minimum. I held a conference of provincial Finance Ministers a few months ago and one of the questions that we discussed at that conference was how to eliminate this element of conflict and overlapping from one, at any rate, of the taxes levied by the provincial Governments, namely, the sales tax. There was very considerable agreement on major points by the various provincial Governments, but ultimately, it was not possible for us to reach a clear-cut final decision on that point. By exploring the possibilities of agreement between us and the Provinces, it may be possible to reach a solution. Failing a solution on these lines, then, it seems to me we have got to consider in connection with the financial proposals to be put into the Constitution whether we cannot devise a formula which would enable us to eliminate this conflict and overlapping in the matter of taxation by the Centre and the Provinces. There was a certain amount of reference to what is called the Capital Deficit in the budget. It is perfectly true there is a capital deficit shown in the budget statement of roughly about 134 crores. Now I could have avoided that deficit altogether if I had said in my budget speech that instead of estimating 85 crores as my market borrowing, I could have put my estimate at 150 or 200. But I decided to be realistic. I decided that in the circumstances in which I found myself it was necessary that my estimate should bear a fairly close relation to facts. There is another way in which I could have avoided this and that is by telling both the Departments in the Central Government and Provincial Governments 'Nothing doing in the way of capital loans for next year.' Now

[Dr. John Matthai]

a criticism has been made that while you are trying to balance your revenue budget, here is this enormous gap in your capital budget which is going to create inflation and all sorts of difficulties. In fact it has been suggested that this capital deficit is so serious a feature of this budget that it deprives it of all right to consideration. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I don't know if you consider 'nonsense' an un-parliamentary expression.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Not if it is uttered by a Finance Minister.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: May I say, I have seldom listened to such nonsense as has been spoken on this subject. This deficit of 134 crores is being met out of our balances. Now we have got sufficient balances out of which to finance this deficit. Even after allowing for this deficit, at the end of 1949-50 we will have roughly about 58 to 60 crores. In pre-war years, if you take the last pre-war year, our cash balance was somewhat about 18 crores. If you make due allowance for the increase in our budget since then, about 58 or 60 crores is the equivalent of our pre-war normal cash-balance. Of course if it happened that during 1949-50 I am unable to raise the amount of loans in the market that I expect and if demands of the provinces and the Central Government of capital expenditure go on rising, it is of course possible that I may find myself in a difficult position but we have got to take risks. Life and particularly the life of a Finance Minister is a gamble.

Now I will conclude on the note on which I started that I feel barring untoward, unexpected developments, that if we are able to see our way through 1949-50—a very critical year in many ways, a period so to speak marked by a precarious financial balance, if we are able to see our way through that, then I think we shall have broken for some years to come the back of our financial problem. I personally take the view as I said in the budget that our financial future is hopeful. I believe that there are bright days before us. I believe also that these bright days will come sooner than many of us think. If I may say so, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Providence has been good to this country through all the ups and downs of the centuries and if there is one thing of which I am more confident than any other, it is that God's Mercy will not forsake us in this hour of transition and trial.

ESSENTIAL SERVICES (PREVENTION OF STRIKES) BILL

The Honourable Shri Jawaharlal Nehru (Prime Minister and Leader of the House): Sir, my colleague the Home Minister was to have moved for the House to take into consideration a Bill to provide for the prevention of strikes in certain essential services. He has asked me to express his regret for his absence on this occasion because he had to go out of Delhi on an important engagement. He has asked me further to read out to the House a certain statement which he would have read himself if he had been present. This is the statement:

"I beg leave of the House to withdraw the Essential Services (Prevention of Strikes) Bill. In asking for this leave, I should like to explain that when the question of introducing a measure declaring certain strikes illegal was first considered the Railway and Communications Ministries who were threatened with strikes in their respective departments, felt that a Bill prohibiting strikes in these two essential undertakings was necessary to deal with the situation. Subsequently matters improved in that the All India Railwaymen's Federation decided against a strike and the problem was of dealing with strikes sponsored by Unions which did not obey the Federation's mandate and the threatened postal strike. It was then considered that it would suffice to have a more enabling measure with somewhat wider scope so as to cover certain other essential undertakings in which strikes or threats to strike had become a matter of frequent occurrence to the detriment of the morale and interests of the general community. Now the position has further improved in that the strike threat is at present confined only to certain Railways the Unions of whose employees are dominated by the Communists.

But as against that improvement must be set the grave deterioration which has occurred as a result of recent events in Calcutta and elsewhere. I am sure the House realises, in the light of the statement made by the honourable the Prime Minister the other day, the full import of these incidents and appreciates that the problem is not confined only to possible strikes by certain dissident Railway Unions, but is one of law and order generally, involving, as it does, a violent and brutal challenge to the State. This situation has to be carefully considered and suitable measures devised to meet it. We propose to do this and, if necessary, to approach the House again for such directions and powers as may be deemed necessary."

May I, Sir, add a few words of my own. This statement which I have read out on behalf of the Home Minister, I need hardly add, is a statement with the full concurrence of Government. There have been a number of criticisms in regard to the proposed Bill that it proceeds on certain wrong assumptions and it has been stated by some people that the Government was trying to aim a blow at the Trade Union Organizations or their general right to strike. Government have no such intention. That we have repeatedly declared. Fortunately in the present instance, there is no organized or what might be called regular strike envisaged. And the situation has changed for the better, and to some extent in another direction, for the worse. We have to deal with a situation now which is not a strike situation at all, but something entirely different. I do not know exactly how it might develop. But from statements made, sometimes publicly and sometimes otherwise—and we have a considerable record of these statements—it seems clear, as I indicated the other day, that certain groups are bent, not so much on a strike, but on creating disorder and chaos and indulging in acts of sabotage. The other day I reminded the House of the incidents that happened in Calcutta. These incidents were bad in themselves. They were brutal in the extreme. But what was even worse I think, was not unfortunate fact of some persons being killed—that is bad enough—but the fact that some people of our country should be brutal and mad enough to think of such acts and indulge in them. Unfortunately, that kind of atmosphere has been deliberately encouraged by some groups of people in the country. I am quite sure that the vast majority of people and workers are not affected by it and strongly disapprove of it. I should like, therefore, to make it perfectly clear that we do distinguish definitely between these groups who are bent on these anti-social activities and the large majority of workers or employees—employees of government or other employees—in the country. We have to meet therefore, this position created by certain anti-social elements in the country. That is not a labour situation. That is not a strike situation. That is an entirely different situation. Unfortunately, even a small number of misguided or malevolently inclined individuals can cause trouble. Therefore one has to take care, and we propose to take every precaution and proper care. But in doing so, I should like not only this House, but the country at large to realise the nature of the problem that we have to face. That is problem again, not of labour as a whole, or of strikes—those are separate things which can be dealt with in their proper context—but the problem of certain groups who are out, not for the economic benefits of labour, not for the normal labour or trade union activities, but to create certain chaotic conditions out of which perhaps they would.....

Maulana Hasrat Mohani (U. P.: Muslim): What is the use of this ex-parte judgment?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order, order. No interruption please.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani: I suggest this an ex-parte judgment. Where is the use of it?

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The honourable member will kindly not interrupt here after

The Honourable Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not quite clear what the honourable member meant by *ex-parte* judgment. *Ex-parte* to whom or what? I should like to make it clear that, whether it is *ex-parte* or not, it is the judgment of the Prime Minister and the Government of this country, and so long as this government lasts it is going to act according to that judgment. I do not know if the honourable member belongs to that other party which apparently he thinks is not represented here, except by himself. I think that matter must be made clear. If any member tells you that this is an *ex-parte* judgment, what exactly does he mean? When I am talking of certain anti-social elements in this country, elements which have committed murder, dacoity, arson, loot, and the most horrible crimes, elements which the other day in Calcutta threw two persons into a blazing furnace—I think it is horrible.....

Maulana Hasrat Mohani: The Communist Party has denied the thing. They are not responsible for it.

The Honourable Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know if the honourable member here represents the Communist party or not. That I would like to know from him.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani: I appreciate the communist principles, but I do not belong to that party.

The Honourable Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I make it perfectly clear that I am not discussing any economic or political or other principles here at the present moment. So far as this government is concerned, we have tried to give the largest latitude to expression of views, even though those views may, according to some of us, be wrong views. But we are dealing with a situation, not of expression of any views, but with a situation when violent acts, dangerous acts, subversive acts, are committed. These have nothing to do with views as such. I want the House and the country to realise that, because if this government or any government accepts under the guise of expression of views, violent activities, then that government or the structure behind that government cannot last. That is obvious. Are we committed to peaceful activities in this country or to violently subversive activities? That is the point at issue. I submit that no government can admit violent activities, violently subversive activities—and I use the words together I do not mean even theoretically subversive activities, but violently subversive activities, no government can possibly tolerate them. Apart from that, I suggest to the House to consider that the type of activities that we have had to face, that is even worse than what might be called violently subversive activities, an open rebellion of people with arms or otherwise, becoming violent facing an army or things of that kind. Such a thing the Government can meet. But infinitely worse is the person who comes and stabs you in the back. Think of persons being hurled into a blazing furnace. I can imagine nothing more despicable than that.

And the House will remember that I did not use the word "Communist" or "Communism". It is the honourable member who used the word (*Shri H. V. Kamath*: "It just fitted him") I state that whoever indulges in such activities will have to be suppressed and stopped by government, whoever he may be. There are in the country people, a number of small groups, small in numbers, come associated with the Communist Party and some not associated with the Communist Party—it is immaterial what political creed they profess. But if as part of their creed, as part of their activities they indulge in this type of violently subversive activities, then we have to deal with that situation, and I should like to appeal to labour in this country. There may possibly be differences of opinion in regard to labour matters between members in this House or between the Government and the Representatives of labour occasionally. But one thing

I shall beg this House and labour generally, to realise, and that is this: This government as a whole is bent on not only improving the general condition of labour—that is rather a weak way of putting it—but of giving its rightful place to labour in the governance of the country. Even if there are differences of opinion with regard to that, I do submit that there should be no difference of opinion even between persons who have different approaches to these other matters, there should be no difference of opinion when we have to deal with a kind of situation that, to some extent, is facing us to-day.

I do not wish the House or the country to imagine that we are frightened of the situation. We shall deal with it adequately, we are quite confident. But it is not the extent or the danger of the situation that rather distresses me, but the nature of the situation, that there should be some persons in our country who are so entirely misdirected or wrongly inclined as to think in such terms. The types of slogans that are used, they are murderous slogans, and the types of activities that are seen in various parts. Who are behind them, what group or party, or what individual, that is another matter which we shall consider at length and have enquiries made. The fact is that there are groups of individuals who do these things and that they deliberately indulge in acts of sabotage which are not only dangerous for the community but may result in grave disorder in a large number of the Provinces, quite apart from the economic aspect. That is a point on which there should be no two opinions—whether labour or those occupied in other activities in the country. It is because we did not wish the issue to be confused that the Government decided not to proceed with this Bill, which really had been thought of in different circumstances. Therefore, on behalf of the Home Minister, I beg leave of the House not to proceed further with this Bill.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to withdraw the Bill to provide for the Prevention of Strikes in certain essential services".

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Monday the 7th March, 1949.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)
DEBATES

(PART II—PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

Monday, 7th March, 1949

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Speaker. (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11-45 A.M. PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

PARTITION PROCEEDINGS

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (Minister of Home Affairs and the States): Sir, I beg to lay on the table* a copy of the Partition Proceedings, Volumes I to III.

CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE (AMENDMENT) BILL

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel (Minister of Home Affairs and the States): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898”.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

INDIAN WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY (AMENDMENT) BILL

Shri Khurshed Lal (Deputy Minister of Communications): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Wireless Telegraphy Act, 1933.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Wireless Telegraphy Act, 1933”.

The motion was adopted.

Shri Khurshed Lal: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS.

SECOND STAGE

Mr. Speaker: The House will now discuss the Demands for Grants in respect of General Budget. I understand that a time table showing the dates on which the Demands for Grants in respect of the various Ministries will be taken up has already been circulated to honourable Members. Today, the House will take up the Demands for Grants in respect of Defence.

* Not printed in the day's debate. Copy placed in the Library of the House.—(Ed. of L.)

[Mr. Speaker]

As regards time limit for speeches the usual practice has been to fix a time limit of 15 minutes for all speakers including Movers of the Cut Motions if any and 20 minutes or more for the honourable Ministers replying.

If it is desired by the House that a large number of members should be allowed to speak, each honourable Member wishing to speak will strictly confine himself to very relevant remarks, avoid repetitions and close his remarks within ten minutes. I trust this suits honourable Members.

I place before the House the various Demands for Grants in respect of Defence.

DEMAND NO. 28—MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 35,82,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Defence'."

DEMAND NO. 76.—DEFENCE SERVICES, EFFECTIVE-ARMY

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,32,64,38,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective-Army'."

DEMAND NO. 77.—DEFENCE SERVICES, EFFECTIVE-ROYAL INDIAN NAVY

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,64,17,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective-Royal Indian Navy'."

DEMAND NO. 78.—DEFENCE SERVICES, EFFECTIVE-ROYAL INDIAN AIR FORCE

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,69,41,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective-Royal Indian Air Force'."

DEMAND NO. 79.—DEFENCE SERVICES, NON-EFFECTIVE CHARGES

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,41,31,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Defence Services, Non-effective charges'."

DEMAND NO. 103.—DEFENCE CAPITAL OUTLAY

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,20,00,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Defence Capital Outlay'."

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh (Minister of Defence): Sir, last year, during the debate on Defence Expenditure, I expressed the hope that it might be possible to present the Defence Budget to the House separately in the same manner as the Railway Budget. The proposal has since been examined from all aspects and it has been found that it is not possible to do so as ours is only a spending department and has no revenue. I am sorry to have given an impression to the House which it has not been possible to carry out. The proposal was in fact contrary to the practice in other countries.

In the statement of the activities of the Defence Ministry which has been circulated, the honourable Members have a brief account of what we are doing. I would, with your permission, like to place some more details in order to help the members to have a clearer picture.

Our Armed Forces have made history since the 15th of August, 1947. We know all that fell to our lot immediately before and following the attainment of freedom. During those months of grim trials, till very recently, it was the

Armed Forces on whom fell the heaviest responsibilities of all manner and types and it was their loyal and patriotic work, labour and devotion to duty which has meant so much to so many of us over such a short period of time.

The full tale of how the Armed forces were placed at the time of partition cannot be told just yet. You remember we had begun tackling the problem of peace time strength and nationalisation of Armed Forces, almost immediately after we assumed office in September 1946. A Committee was appointed to study the nationalisation problem under the Chairmanship of Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar now my colleague. The Report was completed by the end of 1947. Before that, however, the British Cabinet Mission had arrived and it soon became clear that the country would have to be divided. After the 15th of August, 1947, it was no more the question just of nationalisation; we were now also to divide the Armed Forces as a necessary consequence of the division of India. The problem was indeed grave. There were, on the one hand, widespread disturbances and on the other a process of rapid break-up of the Central and Regimental organisations almost all along the line. On Independence Day, as the Statement in your hands shows, we had at Headquarters but a mere skeleton staff of some 150 officers and 567 other ranks, both civil and military. Elsewhere, some units ceased to be, others were broken up and disabled for effective functioning. Such, very roughly, was the condition of the Army. Nevertheless the situation was faced boldly and without demur.

And, what we have since been able to do, is for the country to see. Lakhs of uprooted men, women and children, driven out of their homes were tended, led and brought away. Battles have been fought and won. Side by side, the problem of reorganisation was not ignored and that process too went steadily on. How it has all been done is indeed a marvel. Of more than 8,000 British officers in the Army before the 15th of August 1947, we have less than 200 today—and almost all of them in technical or advisory jobs. Executive command and control is now entirely in the hands of Indians. Many Indian officers had to be promoted far beyond their service and experience but on the whole they have worked extremely well. In this work of reorganisation and integration, we were given valuable help and guidance by General Sir Roy Bucher, the late Commander-in-Chief and other British officers and the process of nationalisation was completed when on the 15th January last, for the first time in the history of modern times, an Indian, General Cariappa was appointed Commander-in-Chief of our Army.

The House will be glad to know that he has made a good start. The process of nationalization of the Indian Air Force needs a little elucidation. This service as such was already almost completely Indian, our young men having taken to the air from its start as if naturally. The problem now in hand is one of expansion and development. Today, except the Commander-in-Chief and less than a dozen R.A.F. officers on loan, the entire Force is manned by Indians. On the technical side we have only 14 British civilian technicians in various installations.

In the Navy which is in its infancy, the process of nationalization, as the statement shows, must necessarily be slow. As in the case of the Air Force, but to a larger extent, we will need foreign assistance in our Navy for yet some time to come. I am glad to be able to say that our Air Marshal of the Air Force and the Vice-Admiral of the Navy have been doing a magnificent job in assisting us with their rich experience and knowledge. Their interest and enthusiasm are of the greatest value to the Indian officers and men of these services.

[Sardar Baldev Singh]

During the year, in spite of our other commitments and preoccupations we have taken steps towards the organization and development of both the Territorial Army and the National Cadet Corps. The statement before you gives details of what has been done so far. I hope the honourable Members will agree that within the limitations to which we are bound, the progress is by no means meagre. Recruitment in the Territorial Force will begin early in the new financial year. As for the Cadet Corps, it has also gone into stride in most of the Provinces and States. The response of our young men in universities and colleges has been very encouraging and we are already planning to add to the number of units for which we originally planned.

A word about the facilities for higher and intensive training which we are providing for our armed forces will interest the House. Such training is the basis of an efficient Force. Until we attained freedom, we were dependent in this sphere almost wholly on the facilities available in the United Kingdom. This could not continue. In Free India we must have our own institutions for every type of training for our officers both in the technical spheres and in the ancillary services as well as in the higher field of scientific research and military strategy. The field of work is formidable but as such training is the basis of an efficient Force, we have given first preference to the building up of these institutions in all the three Services. It is my hope that within a few years we shall have in our own country facilities for every kind of higher training of a high standard. Reference to some of these new institutions has been given in the statement. Among these the most important are the proposed new National Academy, the School of Military Engineering, the Armed Forces Medical College, the Defence Science Organization and the proposed Air Force and Naval Technical Schools. We cannot go ahead as fast as we would wish, as our effort is to lay secure foundations and our speed is limited by our resources.

My narrative of such institutions will be incomplete without a mention of our Ordnance Factories. It is in these factories that we produce our munitions of war and other equipment, such as small arms. Fortunately, some development had already taken place in this direction. What we possess of these factories therefore is a national asset of considerable importance. But here again we do not have all we need: nor is our technical staff sufficiently advanced, particularly in the higher grades. Therefore, during these last few months we have attempted to provide training to selected Indian technicians to enable them to assume more responsible positions. Ordnance Factories by themselves how-

11 Noon ever are small comfort, however well-equipped or efficiently run. To make them function at their best we must find the necessary material, raw or processed within the country itself. In the past we depended for these on the United Kingdom. We are grateful for all the help we received and continue to receive from them, but we do need to develop our industrial potential on as wide a basis as possible. Basic industries have to be established; steel and other metals of requisite standards must be produced within India. The steel plant to which my colleague, the honourable the Finance Minister referred to in his Budget Speech will take some years to operate. But we have to go steadily ahead and until our own requirements have been completed, we must of necessity depend on imports to meet our requirements. And remember also, along with the development of industries, our own nationals must require technical knowledge and specialization of a high order, so that we may not have to depend on outside

assistance for long. All this will take time. Meanwhile we have to meet our present needs. These are being met in the existing Ordnance Factories or from foreign countries. Here I will again emphasize that with the first-class manpower we have and an Armed Force which the world recognises as one of the finest in war, we must also find equipment and armour of the highest standard for in the sum total of any appraisal of a fighting force, it is the armour, the equipment, the supplies that count as much as the fighting qualities of its men. The Government is conscious of the imperative need to make our Armed Forces self-sufficient and will take action to that end.

An important factor that we have to bear in mind while planning our new Ordnance Factories is that in time of peace they can be utilised for manufacturing civil requirements without in any way effecting adversely the production of Ordnance Stores and other Armed Forces' equipment. All this is an ambitious programme and it involves huge sums of money. Much of it, as honourable Members will appreciate is inescapable. Some perhaps could be avoided. This has been done as we are not unmindful of the strain of this heavy expenditure on the economy of our country. The avoidable expenditure has been cut down wherever possible without however risking our supreme objective, namely, the security of our country.

In an earlier part of my speech I said that on assuming office we had actually began planning a return to the peace-time strength. This was as far back as 1946. Indeed, the process of demobilization had by August 1947 already gone forward to a very large extent but soon after for reasons already referred to, we were compelled to call a halt, and indeed had somewhat to strengthen our forces. Increased expenditure was inevitable and here I would like to give in brief some of the reasons which caused this toll of money.

Firstly, there was the campaign in Kashmir and the police action in Hyderabad. The police action lasted only a few days, it is true. But we could not take chances and much work had to be done and an organization had to be built up on land and in the air so as to ensure a speedy decision. Indeed, the reason why this police action ended so quickly and with so little loss of life and property was that in spite of our other commitments, we were able to concentrate on it a scheme of combined operations which worked with clock-like precision. But in terms of money the cost of this police action was heavy.

Secondly, we had to borrow forces from the States and this has added to the expenditure.

Thirdly, we had to borrow a contingent of Gurkha troops from Nepal to meet the needs of our internal security. The House knows well the important role that the subjects of Nepal have played in the Indian Army in the past. Gurkha units still form a part of our land forces and will continue to do so in the future. Our relations with the Government of Nepal have been most cordial and I am grateful to His Highness the Maharaja for having helped us with these contingent of troops at the time of our need.

Its cost of course had to be borne by us.

Fourth: there had to be increased provisioning of armour, equipment and stores. This item alone is responsible for a large increase in the expenditure.

Fifth: as a result of the division, a very substantial part of the permanent accommodation of the Army has been lost to us in the Frontier and the West Punjab. We have had to make improvisations, and new accommodation will cost a good deal of money.

[Sardar Baldev Singh]

Sixth: the rise in prices all along the line has contributed in no small measure to the increase in our expenditure. We have tried to do our best to economise; but have often found ourselves against a dead wall!

Finally, I am sure the House will appreciate that the increase in expenditure is inevitable with an increase in the strength of the Forces. The strength of the Forces had to be increased considerably. Unfortunately, for obvious reasons, I am not in a position to disclose this strength.

All this has made the bill of expenditure formidable. The main difficulty, as I have explained, has been that ever since our Independence, the call on our Forces has increased for reasons beyond our control. I would however like to assure the House that we are ready to take up the schemes of further improvement whenever practicable and reduction in expenditure as soon as normal conditions are in sight, because it is obvious that in normal times our expenditure on the Armed Forces must bear a much lower ratio than at present to the resources of our country. Comparisons may be odious. But a look at the following facts may be worthwhile without of course in any way suggesting that thereby we justify our own expenditure. The revenue estimate of the Government of India for 1949-50 including the net contributions to the general revenues from the Post and Telegraphs and Railway is Rs. 322.98 crores and the corresponding estimate of our neighbour's i.e., the Government of Pakistan is Rs. 66.66 crores. The estimates of net Defence Expenditure (net from revenue) of the two Governments for the year 1949-50 are Rs. 157.38 crores and Rs. 43.62 crores respectively. The percentages of Defence Expenditure compared with the total revenues of the two Governments thus come to:

Government of India 48.7 per cent.

Government of Pakistan 65.4 " "

I need say no more.

Some of the honourable Members referred to the new Scales of pay and how this has hit our officers particularly the younger ones. The new scale of pay was fixed after careful consideration by a committee which had representatives from the three services. In view, however, of the high prevailing prices some concessions have already been given. They are:

(a) Abatement of "War Excess" i.e., the difference between the emoluments drawn under the old pay code and those admissible under the new pay code, in nine instead of six half yearly instalments;

(b) grant of free accommodation and allied services for the officer himself when he is posted to a station in which he cannot be provided with family accommodation;

(c) special priority for accommodation at the ports to the families of Naval officers who are serving in afloat establishments;

(d) reimbursement within certain limits of excess charges for furniture hired privately with the approval of the M.E.S.;

(e) a fresh outfit allowance after every seven years of commissioned service;

(f) Qualification pay for officers of the rank of Commander, Lieut.-Colonel, Wing Commander and below who possess or acquire special qualifications which may be useful to the services;

(g) an entertainment allowance to senior officers holding certain selected command appointments such as independent command of sub areas or Areas, Groups, etc.;

(h) A flying bounty to certain categories of officers of the RIAF after completion of a minimum number of flying hours in service aircrafts;

(i) Service officers, ratings and other Ranks of the three Services are to be eligible to join the Postal Life Insurance Fund, from which they were previously excluded, on payment of the normal rates of premia payable by civilian government servants. The extra premia over the normal rates chargeable from such personnel on account of special risks of services will be met from the Defence Services Estimates;

(j) Forty per cent of the seats of the Schools in Lovedale and Sanawar have been reserved for children of officers and men in the Armed Forces. The question of giving scholarship to deserving students is under consideration.

I would like to assure the House that the Government has the interests of all their officers and men at heart and would try their best to minimise the difficulties and hardships within the basic principles laid down by the Pay Committee and the limited resources of the country.

One feature of some of our new activities, I would like to mention is the organisation we have set up to look after the rehabilitation of the displaced members of the family of our soldiers. A very large number of such families were among the lakhs of people who lost their homes in Pakistan. Their plight was a source of great anxiety to our men in service and affected their morale. The problem was serious. We therefore established a rehabilitation wing of our own under the command of a senior officer well qualified for the job. The relief since this wing was started is considerable.

Now, Sir, I have done with my explanation of the expenditure said of the Defence Ministry's activities. Unfortunately, the Ministry is one that has no income to its credit so far at least as money credit is concerned. But money is not all in the sum total of life of a nation as it certainly is not in the case of an individual. We have other things of which we can justly take credit. Last year it was my privilege to relate to you how after literally an overnight decision, our army aided by our Air Force had been rushed to the assistance of the people of Kashmir and how in spite of almost impossible conditions of communications, terrain and weather, we cleared the beautiful valley of marauding bands of looters who had entered Kashmir from across the borders. Since then, as the House knows, and particularly after the arrival in India of the United Nations Kashmir Commission, it could no longer be denied that in addition to tribesmen and others, the regular forces of Pakistan were also operating on a very large scale on every front wherever our troops were detailed. But now there is a lull on that front. A cease fire has been agreed to and ordered. I will not therefore say more for we long with all our hearts not only that the present cease fire may give way to a truce but that circumstances may lead to a final solution of the problem we are confronted with in that part of our territory. We sincerely hope for and desire peace in Kashmir and with our sister Dominion of Pakistan. This however does not prevent me from bearing witness to the magnificent manner in which our Army and our airmen fulfilled the mission assigned to them. They had a tradition to keep, a tradition of valour, grit and resolute will in action. In my judgment they have surpassed this tradition. They have literally broken all records. Fighting in Kashmir was a novel experience particularly for our youthful officers holding Command Ranks. I feel proud when I say that almost everyone of them, Officers and Men alike, has proved true to the trust placed in them by their Commanders. Rarely, even in the last Great World War, was warfare conducted in such terrain and weather conditions as our Forces had to face here. They carried heavy armour on altitudes as high as 16,000 feet and more and on roads so called, sometimes improvised within the space of a few hours. Our engineers and sappers cleared jungles and hills and built roads and

[Sardar Baldev Singh]

bridges in all manner of conditions often under heavy enemy fire, in places where no armies had ever ventured before. They faced unheard of difficulties, beat time, and then they beat the enemy wherever they could find him. The campaign will make an epic in the annals of the deeds of our Forces.

The part played by the Air Force was equally praiseworthy. The young pilots and Ground Officers and Men carried out duties that bear comparison with the most arduous and complicated tasks known in the history of aerial warfare. Their exploits, particularly the daring landings they made at high altitudes; in narrow river-beds unknown to them, except for a spot on maps, and on short shell-ridden strips under gun-fire—both during day and night—were some of the deeds of which they and we all will ever be proud. All this was accomplished by our young pilots without much experience or any help by outsiders or foreigners.

We have lost valuable lives—Brigadier Usman, Col. Rai and many other Officers and Men—valiant, noble and true sons of India. Their memory is forever enshrined in the hearts of their brothers-in-arms as in ours. I am sure the House will join me in paying homage to them.

Before I close my remarks I would like to say a word about the part played by the State Forces. They have fought side by side with our troops and everywhere have shown courage and comradeship of a high order. It is our plan to see that State Forces are trained and equipped on the same standards as our own Army. We are aiming at uniformity—particularly as the States are being reorientated and realigned and cast into new and bigger units.

And finally, I would, by your leave, Sir, like to express here in the House our sentiments of joy and pride that our Armed Forces have proved true and loyal to their Government, their people and their country. They have kept out of politics; caste or creed barriers have not influenced them. I have not the least doubt that these Forces will continue to serve our Motherland loyally, magnificently and faithfully at all times.

Shri B. K. Sidhva (C.P. and Berar: General): Sir, I pay my high tributes and compliments to the men of the army, navy and air force and their officers for the able, courageous and marvellous performances that they have made after the attainment of freedom. They have, as the honourable Minister has just now stated in his speech, proved their ability by their actions in the miniature war that took place in Kashmir. From all quarters encomiums have been paid to our men and officers. So magnificent was the planning by our Generals and Commanders of the police action in Hyderabad that it concluded within four days and it has been appreciated from every quarter. I remember in 1940 from the adjoining House of this House—I mean in the Council of State—the British Commander-in-Chief, while on the subject of Indianisation of the army officers, stating that India has not got the ability and the caliber to produce that type of officers who could command the army and their men. How false this opinion was has been proved beyond any doubt within such a short period of our attaining independence by our officers.

When independence was achieved we had nearly 300 British officers and the honourable Minister has stated that during 1948 the number gradually came down to 257 and in the pamphlet that he has circulated to the House he says on the 31st March, that is 23 days hence, there will be only 190 British technicians for the purposes of the army. It is a gratifying result. Though the people of India had never any doubts in the matter the Britishers who

wanted to keep their hold here and keep an army of occupation were always sceptical and doubtful about the efficiency of our officers. This they have amply proved, as I stated just now and as every word of the statement of the honourable Minister points out, in the miniature war which was played in Kashmir under extraordinary circumstances.

Having said that I do feel that our men in the army, navy and air force should be sufficiently paid and should be given all conveniences and comforts. I shall not today touch the strength of the army, navy or air force, nor do I want to discuss their emoluments. But I would certainly like to point out to the salaries and allowances that have been fixed for them, to which he made a reference, and I would like to state that the revised salary is certainly liberal. (Mr. Frank Anthony: 'Question'). Well, I will show to you. If you turn to page 89 of the Defence Budget, the second lieutenant gets Rs. 350, the lieutenant Rs. 400 to 450, the Captain Rs. 450 to 700, the Major Rs. 700 to 1,050, the Lt. Col. Rs. 1,100 to 1,400, the Colonel Rs. 1,450 to 1,550, the Brigadier Rs. 1,600 to 1,800, the Major-General Rs. 2,250, the Lieut. General Rs. 2,750 and the General Rs. 3,000. That is not all. If you see page 88 they are entitled to several allowances varying from the small officers to the big officers from Rs. 400 to 700 per month. These are the allowances—Parachute pay Rs. 45, Dearness allowance Rs. 40 to 150, Compensatory and Local Allowance admissible in Bombay and Calcutta Rs. 50 to 100, Specialist pay Rs. 75, then free accommodation, furniture free, lights and fans free, and conservancy free. Then fresh outfit allowance and uniform upkeep allowance Rs. 120. Officers of the rank of Lieut.-Colonel and below get Rs. 75 or Rs. 50 according to the special technical and staff qualifications they possess. Then there is entertainment allowance. Of course that goes to the Brigadier only. But having worked it out, it comes to on an average Rs. 500. Therefore, I do feel that while I appreciate what has been stated by the honourable the Defence Minister, I do not think there will be any justification for a grouse on the part of the officers for whom we have great regard and whom we want to see that they are sufficiently well-paid.

Having said that, I would certainly like to mention the items under 'Stores' to which the honourable Minister has referred. He stated that there should be no consideration of money but we should bear in mind the efficient Army, Navy and Air Force which we possess. In principle I accept that but it does not mean that we should overlook the extraordinary expenditure that is being incurred on stores. I shall give you some figures which are startling as compared to the salaries and allowances. The total expenditure is Rs. 157.37 crores. Pay and allowances of all sorts to the Army come to Rs. 54.48 crores, to the Navy Rs. 3.21 crores and to the Air Force 4.5 crores, making a total of Rs. 61.74 crores. Coming to Stores, Transportation, Purchase of Stores, Miscellaneous Items, Maintenance of Buildings, all these come to Rs. 93.13 crores—it is 1/3rd higher than the salary of the staff. Under this heading of 'Stores', the Army consumes Rs. 78.12 crores, the Navy Rs. 5.40 crores and the Air Force Rs. 9.61 crores, giving a total of Rs. 93.13 crores. Rs. 93.13 crores as against Rs. 61.74 crores for salary! Non-effective which includes rewards and pensions comes to Rs. 13.44 crores—I have no quarrel with that because that is pensions and rewards.

Now, what are these stores and what are these miscellaneous items? Has the honourable Minister given any attention on this matter to see that there is no leakage? Was this not raised in the House last year and was not an assurance given by him that he will closely go into the matter and see that economies are effected? Sir, on the contrary I find the expenses have increased and I fail to understand it. I want an explanation on this point. Of course I do not agree with some of the criticisms that took place during the General

[Shri R. K. Sidhva]

Discussion that the Army is heavily paid and that we have incurred much more expenditure than what we were spending during the pre-freedom period. But my friends forget that we have to maintain two borders; during the British regime we had only one border but now all the four corners, North, South, East and West, have to be maintained. Sir, I was one of those who used to criticise the Military Budget from the time when it was Rs. 20 crores till it rose to Rs. 42 crores. Pre-war it was something like Rs. 49 crores and we were criticising it. Today we have to pay Rs. 157 crores—I do not mind that because the circumstances are such. I associate myself with what has been stated, but at the same time I do not want any departmental leakage. In the name of an efficient Army we should see that we look to these discrepancies from time to time.

As I said above, what are these stores? If you refer to page 32 there are no details against it. Right up to page 31 there are some details provided but from page 32 there are no details. Against page 32 for an item Rs. 13.16 crores, there are no details, the page is blank. Then page 34, total Rs. 30 crores, the explanatory note is left blank. Page 36, Rs. 1.72, explanatory note blank. Page 38, Rs. 8.29 crores, explanation. Page 40, Rs. 12.81 crores, explanation—blank. These are stores; I am mentioning stores, not salaries—remember I am not touching that question at all. Page 42, up to page 48, Rs. 9 crores, explanation blank. (An honourable Member: 'These are receipts') Some of these are receipts, I am sorry. Barring that all is blank. If, you see page 34, purchase of stores for R.I.A.S.C and I.A.O.C. etc., the total amount is Rs. 30.65 crores. There are some details given, although the explanatory note is blank. 'Provision' itself comes to Rs. 16.92 crores. And what is this provision? Fruits, vegetables, fish, meat, eggs, fowl, ice etc.—fuel, charcoal, coal and firewood are separate, petrol is separate. Rs. 17 crores is the amount on fruits and other items. Now, how are the tenders invited? They are invited in various Commands for three month and six monthly periods. The items mentioned there are so many thousands of bananas, so many thousands of guavas, so many lbs. of grapes and so on and so forth. The interesting feature about this tender is that about ten or twelve items of these fruits—oranges, melons, etc.—are mentioned and the quantities and prices are shown against each item. The officer, whosoever he may be, who receives the tender draws the whole total, that is to say, if the banana is quoted at Rs. 4 a hundred and the oranges at Rs. 2, the total of the whole is divided by that item and considers the lowest tender and the order places. That is all right, but what happens? When the order is placed, the highest item of banana is placed without any consideration as to whether the remaining quantity is supplied or not. I would like the honourable Minister to go into this question. If he calls for the Controller of Military Accounts and sees the bills he will come to realise that the quantities which are mentioned in the tender and agreed to by the contractor have not been supplied.

The articles which were supposed to have been supplied according to the order have not been supplied and this leads to considerable leakage. He must therefore pay attention also to the actual delivery. I know of ice. Ice is tendered by other than factory owners. The merchants tender. There are in each city a limited number of factories. I know of instances where an anna per lb. was the rate of ice. The tender was accepted at 9 pies. You can very well understand that although the production of ice is very cheap, but the quantity given was so much less that between the price the other loss was reaped.

Then there is another item of Rs. 2 crores, miscellaneous, about which no details have been given. A separate Budget has been given to us; we are very

glad that this new innovation has been introduced, but the House is entitled to have all this information about this rupees two crores and other such so called secret items.

Mr. Speaker: The honourable Member has already exhausted his fifteen minutes.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: I would not take much time, Sir, I will finish in two or three minutes, with your permission.

Then there is employment of labour. The Railway Ministry has done away with the employment of labour through middle-men. They are employing directly through their headmen. There is a good deal of leakage in this and this forms a very large part. So it should be done away with.

I will now refer to the Cantonments. There are fifty three of them in the whole of India and they are governed by the municipalisation of Cantonment Boards. Despite that, we know that before 1926 there was nothing like a Cantonment Office or Director General in the Government of India. Now we have one Director of Military Cantonments and Lands, three Deputy Directors, three Assistant Deputy Directors and nine Military Estate Officers and the other paraphernalia in the Department. Now, when the Cantonment Boards are already in existence for purpose of maintenance of lands under the municipal local-self government acts, I do not see the necessity for continuing such a large force in the Secretariat. I would suggest to him to consider this point. I raised this matter and suggested the appointment of a committee. I am thankful to honourable Minister that he has appointed a committee and at the request of this House all the Ministers of the provincial governments who were here at the instance of the Minister for Health attended. They unequivocally said that the Cantonment areas should be revised and I am glad the Minister has taken some action. But one point I would like to know from him. He has appointed two official committees and a general committee. I want to know whether the general committee will have the power to investigate details or merely to examine the reports of the two official committees. This is not clear. If this is not done, the object of this committee will be frustrated.

With these words, I once again pay my compliments. I hope that the honourable Minister will look into the miscellaneous and store charges which form a major portion of his Budget, not minor but major, compared with the salaries and allowances of officers.

पण्डित ठाकुरदास भार्गव:—माननीय स्पीकर साहब, जब मैं यह ख्याल करता हूँ कि

१५ अगस्त को अंग्रेज यहाँ से गये और इस मुल्क को स्वराज्य मिला तो उसकी आर्मी, ऐयर फोर्स और नेवी की क्या हालत थी, हमारी आर्मी ने किस तरह से मुसीबतों का सामना करते हुए हमारे देश की इज्जत कायम रखी और देश का मान बढ़ाया तो बिलातामुल् के मैं अपनी तरफ से और हाउस की तरफ से आनरेबिल डिफेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब को इस चीज के लिए मुबारकबाद देता हूँ।

पाँच हजार मील का हमारे देश का सी.कोस्ट (Sea Coast) है और दो तरफ से हमारे देश का फ्रान्टियर है। इतना बड़ा मुल्क है उसको हमले करने से बचाना है। इस वास्ते हमारी बदकिस्मती है कि इतने बड़े देश के लिए जब अंग्रेज यहाँ से गये तो उन्होंने यहाँ कोई बैटिलशिप नहीं छोड़ा, न कोई ऐयर फोर्स ही थी। जो कुछ वह यहाँ छोड़ गए उन चीजों के लिए भी हमारे देश को योरुप का

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

मुंह ताकना पड़ता है। ऐसी हालत में मेरा ख्याल है शायद रोम वालों ने ब्रिटैन को न छोड़ा होगा। डा० मुन्जे ने सन् १९२८ ई० में इसी जगह खड़े होकर जहां में खड़ा हूं अंग्रेजों से कहा था और भविष्यवाणी की थी कि आप हमारे साथ ऐसा सुलूक न करें। हमारे वास्ते हमारी ऐयर फोर्स और हमारी नेवी को पूरा विकास दें क्योंकि आप रोमन्स की तरह हमें छोड़ कर जा सकते हैं।

सन् १९४७ ई० में जितनी आर्डिनेन्स फैक्ट्रियां थीं उनकी भी हालत दिगरंग हो चुकी थी। वहां पर काम करना बन्द कर दिया गया था। जब अंग्रेजों ने इस देश से जाना तय कर लिया तो उन्होंने इन फैक्ट्रियों की कोई परवाह नहीं की और जब पार्टिशन हुआ तो उनकी हालत और भी खराब हो गई। हिन्दुस्तान की दो तिहाई एकामोडेशन रिहाइश की जगह जो बर्री और बहरी व हवाई फौजों के लिये थी पाकिस्तान के अन्दर चली गई और २/३ फौजे हमारे हिस्से में आ गई और हमको सख्त मुसीबत के अन्दर काम करना पड़ा। लेकिन हमारी फौज ने जैसी की हमें उम्मीद थी अपना काम जानिसारी से किया और दुनिया में अपना नाम रोशन किया।

इससे पेश्तर वह अपना पूरा कामकाज सम्भालते उनको काश्मीर के अन्दर और हैदराबाद के अन्दर और जूनागढ़ के अन्दर काम करना पड़ा। यह तो सब को ही मालूम है कि हमारी फौजों ने जिस तरह से काश्मीर और हैदराबाद में काम किया है उसकी मैं इस हाउस की तरफ से मिनिस्टर साहब को और अपने फौज के सब आदमियों को मुबारकबाद देता हूं। हमारे कमान्डरों ने और हमारे सिपाहियों ने जो कारनामों आज़ादी हासिल करने के बाद दिखाये हैं उससे सारे हाउस, और देश का सर ऊंचा होगया। इतना ही नहीं, हमारे सिपाहियों ने १६ हजार फुट ऊंचाई वाले पहाड़ों पर लड़कर अपना नाम रोशन किया। इतना ही नहीं हमारे सिपाहियों ने जो कि काश्मीर के लोगों की सहायता के लिए गये थे उनके साथ इन्सानियत का सुलूक किया और काश्मीर के बाशिन्दों का दिल उन्होंने जीत लिया। जिन आदर्शों को हमारे पूज्य महात्मा जी बता गये थे उन्ही आदर्शों को कायम रखते हुए हमारी सेना ने काश्मीर में काम किया और गांधी जी के अनुयाइयों की शान को चार चान्द लगा दिये। काश्मीर की जनता को उन्होंने अपना भाई समझा और अपने भाई की तरह से उन्होंने अपनी खुराक में से भी उनको हिस्सा दिया उन्होंने अपने इन कारनामों से काश्मीर के लोगों के दिलों को जीत लिया और इस देश का नाम सारी दुनिया में ऊंचा किया। इन सब चीजों के लिए हम सरदार बलदेव सिंह जी को मुबारकबाद देते हैं।

लेकिन जब मैं दूसरी साइड की तरफ आता हूं तो मुझे सिवा अफसोस के और कुछ नहीं होता। डिफेन्स डिपार्टमेंट की स्टेनडिंग कमेटी के मेम्बर की हैसियत से नेवी बेसेज देखने के लिए मैं बम्बई गया था। मैं वहां जाकर "दिल्ली" जहाज को देखा। दिल्ली जहाज को मैंने अच्छी तरह से देखा और उसके आदमियों से जो उसमें काम करते थे मैंने बहुत से सवाल पूछे तो जवाब मिला उसमें जितने औजार मशीन, टॉरपीडो राडर और जो भी जहाज का सामान है वह सब हमको बाहर से मंगाना पड़ता है और दूसरे देशों का मुंह ताकना पड़ता है। मैंने उनसे पूछा कि अगर इसमें जितना सामान काम में आता है अगर वह बाहर से न आया तो क्या हम अपनी हिफाजत कर सकते हैं। तो मुझको जवाब मिला, और ठीक जवाब मिला, कि डिफेन्स का जितना सामान है बदकिस्मती से हमको बाहर से मांगना ही पड़ेगा। अगर हमको बाहर से सामान नहीं मिला तो हम अपने मुल्क की हिफाजत नहीं कर सकते हैं। अगर हमें किसी बड़े मुल्क से लड़ना पड़े तो खुदा न खास्ता हम अपने को बचा नहीं सकते।

इस चीज के लिए यह जरूरी है कि हमको इन सब चीजों को अपने ही देश में तैयार करना चाहिए। इसके लिए डिफेन्स डिपार्टमेंट को बहुत तेजी के साथ काम करना चाहिये। लेकिन इसके लिए जो कोशिश हो रही है वह कोशिश भी बड़ी आहिस्ते से व सुस्ती से चल रही है। दुनिया के मुल्क हमको जबान से हमदर्दी करने को तैयार हैं मगर सामान हमको नहीं मिलता। तो हमारे वास्ते सिर्फ एक चारा रह जाता है वह यह कि हम जल्दी से जल्दी अपने मुल्क के अन्दर इस तरह की फैक्ट्रियां तैयार करें जिनके अन्दर हम अपना फौज का सब सामान पैदा कर सकें। इस काम को इतनी तेजी और मुस्तैदी से करना चाहिये कि हम हर चीज में सेल्फ सफीसेन्ट (Self-Sufficient) हो जायें। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि इस बजट के अन्दर १५ करोड़ का प्रोजेक्शन किया गया है जिसमें से ११ करोड़ ८० लाख का सामान विलायत की कीमत है बाकी रह गया ३ करोड़ २० लाख, लेकिन इतने बड़े मुल्क के लिए यह बिल्कुल नाकाफी है। मैं चाहता हूं कि इस काम के लिए जितना डिफेंस मिनिस्टर मांगे उतना उनको दिया जावे। हमारे देश में सिपाहियों की कमी नहीं है। हमारे देश में अक्ल की कमी नहीं है। जिस चीज की कमी है वह सामान की और आजकल के जमाने में साइन्स की लड़ाई होती है जिसके जरिये से नये किस्म के हथियार बनाये जाते हैं। हमारी सरकार को हथियारों को बनाने के लिए हर मुमकिन कोशिश करनी चाहिये। हमारे देश के सिपाही दुनिया के किसी सिपाही से कम नहीं हैं।

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

लेकिन जहाँ तक साइन्स का सवाल है हम अभी बहुत पीछे हैं। मुझे खुशी है कि यह रिपोर्ट डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने हमारे हाथों में दी है। इसके अन्दर दर्ज है कि अभी इस नये डिपार्टमेंट का रीआरगेनाइजेशन हो रहा है। लेकिन मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा और जोर के साथ अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इस काम को आप पर लगा दीजिये, इसको आप तेजी के साथ जल्दी चलाइये। अभी यह बड़ा आहिस्ता आहिस्ता चल रहा है। अभी तक तीन साइंटिफिक एडवाइजर और एक अंग्रेज एडवाइजर, जिनने सब स्कीम हमें इसके वास्ते बना कर दी हैं, सिर्फ़ यही मौजूद हैं। और जो ४० सीनियर और १०० जूनियर साइंटिस्ट्स हैं उनको मुकर्रर नहीं किया गया है। आप उनको मुकर्रर कीजिये, जिससे आपके रास्ते में जो भी रेस्ट्रिक्शन्स हों वह आपसे दूर हो जायें। मुझे खुशी है कि एक ऐसा डिपार्टमेंट खुला है और वैम्पायर एरोप्लेन्स भी आये हैं। लेकिन अगर हम इन्हीं तीन वैम्पायर्स के पीछे पड़े रहेंगे तो दुनिया तो बहुत आगे निकल जायगी और हम पीछे ही रह जायेंगे। जो लोग हथियारों के मालिक हैं और जो हमको हथियार देते हैं वह हथियार बहुत पुराने होते हैं। इसलिये इस देश की गवर्नमेंट को इस तरह का काम करना चाहिये जिससे यह खुद रिसर्च करके आगे बढ़ सके। इस एज (age) के अन्दर नये हथियारों का काम है। इस एज के अन्दर हमारा फ़र्ज है कि हम अपने दिमाग से काम लें। अब एटॉमिक एज (atomic age) का जमाना है। यह लाठी और राइफल का जमाना नहीं है। जब मैं आर्डनेंस फ़ैक्टरी की तरफ़ निगाह डालता हूँ तो मैं अपने देश में सिर्फ़ छोटे हथियारों की फ़ैक्टरी देखता हूँ— बड़े हथियार हम नहीं बनाते हैं। यहाँ एक राइफल फ़ैक्टरी भी है। लेकिन मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह लाठी और राइफल का जमाना नहीं है आपके पास बड़ी बड़ी मशीनों के बनाने की न आरमी की फ़ैक्टरी है न नेवी की है और न एयर की है। आप सारी तबज्जह, सोल (Sole) तबज्जह, पूरी तबज्जह, सिर्फ़ इसकी तरफ़ दें अगर आप चाहते हैं कि यह देश ठीक तरह से तरक्की करे। इसलिये मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जो अब स्कीम साइंस बोर्ड की हमारे सामने रखी गयी है यह मुहज एक स्कीम है। अभी तक इस पर अमल दरामद नहीं हुआ है। लेकिन मैं इसकी शिकायत आपसे कैसे करूँ क्योंकि मैं जानता हूँ कि आप जो कुछ कर सकते हैं वह कर रहे हैं। अभी आपको दूसरे देशों पर निर्भर होना पड़ता है। यह सब मैं जानता हूँ और इसलिये कैसे आपसे शिकायत करूँ। लेकिन मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आप इसके अन्दर ज्यादा से ज्यादा तेजी अख्तियार करें। मैं इस पर इससे ज्यादा जोर नहीं दे सकता।

अब मैं पांच छः छोटे सजेशन्स देना चाहता हूँ। जो कुछ मैंने आपकी इस रिपोर्ट में से पढ़ा और जो कुछ मुझे मालूम है उस वक़्त हुई जब कि मैं बतौर

मेम्बर स्टैंडिंग कमेटी के फ़ैक्टरीज को देखने और नेवल वेस को देखने बम्बई और कलकत्ते गया उस वक़्त जो चन्द चीज़ें मेरी नज़र में आई उनकी बिना पर मैं आप से यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। एक बात जो मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि इस रिपोर्ट में मैंने पढ़ा है कि एयर, नेवल और आर्मी सरविसेज, इन तीनों को कोऑर्डिनेट करने के वास्ते हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब हैं और वह इनको कोऑर्डिनेट करते हैं। मुझे इसमें कोई शुबहा नहीं कि डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब इस काम को निहायत अच्छी तरह से करते होंगे। लेकिन मेरी अदब से यह गुज़ारिश है कि इस मामले में अगर इन तीनों फ़ोरसेज के ऊपर एक अफ़सर मुकर्रर किया जाय जो इन तीनों फ़ोरसेज के टेक्नीक से वाकिफ़ हो और वह इन तीनों को कोऑर्डिनेट करे तो शायद ज्यादा मुनासिब होगा। ऐसी सूरत में हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब सिर्फ़ उसकी पालिसी की तरफ़ तबज्जह दें और उसके जनरल इनचार्ज रहें तो वह उस काम में ज्यादा तबज्जह दे सकेंगे। अगर सिर्फ़ इस तरह का काम उनके जिम्मे हो तो वह ज्यादा काम कर सकेंगे। लेकिन यह काम ऐसे आदमी के हाथ में होना चाहिये जो कि तीनों फ़नों में पूरा माहिर हो और जो आदमी इन तीनों के चार्ज में हो वह डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब के मातहत हों। दूसरी बात जो मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि मैंने इस रिपोर्ट में पढ़ा है कि टैरीटोरियल आरमी जिसके वास्ते हमने पिछले सितम्बर सन् १९४८ में ऐक्ट पास किया था उसकी तरफ़ तबज्जह तो दी जा रही है लेकिन:

“recruitment will start in the course of the year 1949”.

मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि मैं इस टैरीटोरियल आरमी की तरफ़ खास तौर पर तबज्जह डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब की दिलाना चाहता हूँ। आज एक अरब ५७ करोड़ रुपये का खर्च इस एस्टीमेट में पास करने को हम तैयार हैं। जब तक कि ट्रांजीशन का जमाना है आप जितना चाहते हैं खर्च कीजिये क्योंकि हम जानते हैं कि काश्मीर का मामला अभी तय नहीं हुआ है। कितने ही भूत हमारी तरफ़ देखते हैं जो हमें हड़प करना चाहते हैं। उस सब के लिये हमें तैयार रहना है। लेकिन अलटीमेटली इतनी बड़ी भारी आरमी हिन्दुस्तान नहीं रख सकेगा और इसका इलाज सिर्फ़ एक ही है और वह यह है कि टैरीटोरियल आरमी इसकी जगह ले। मैं अभी स्विटज़रलैंड गया था। वहाँ कोई बड़ी भारी आरमी मौजूद नहीं है। लेकिन वहाँ का हर आदमी और औरत २४ घंटे के अन्दर फौज में शामिल होकर फौज को तैयार कर सकता है और कई लाख की फौज स्विटज़रलैंड में इस तरह २४ घंटे में जमा हो सकती है। मैं जानता हूँ कि स्विटज़रलैंड

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

एक छोटा सा मुल्क है और वहां की कंडीशन्स और हैं। लेकिन मैं चाहता हूं कि आप टैरीटोरियल फोर्स को जितना बढ़ाएंगे उतना ही आप खर्च कम कर सकेंगे। यह टैरीटोरियल फोर्स एक तरह से सब से बड़ी भारी गारंटी है इंटरनल पीस की। यह नहीं कि सिर्फ दो चार लाख की यह टैरीटोरियल फोर्स हो, इसको आप २० लाख तक कम अर्ज कम बनावें। पिछले मौके पर हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने फ़रमाया था कि उनके ख़याल के मुताबिक़ दस लाख की टैरीटोरियल फ़ोर्स बन सकेंगी अगर उम्र २० और २५ तक की ली जाय। यह बतलाया गया था कि इसके लिये २५ करोड़ रुपयों का खर्च होगा। मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि लांग टर्म व्यू से देखते हुए आप इस टैरीटोरियल फ़ोर्स को बढ़ाइये जिससे इस खर्च की कमी का हम पूरा फायदा उठा सकें।

इसके आगे मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि यह जो बजट हमारे हाथ में दिया गया है उसके मुताबिक़ मिस्टर सिधवा साहब ने कुछ चीज़ें आपके ख़बर अर्ज कर दी हैं कि इस बजट के अन्दर बहुत सी ऐसी चीज़ें हैं कि जिनके समझने के हम काबिल नहीं हैं। मैं आपकी तवज़्जह मिलिटरी फार्मर्स की तरफ़ दिलाना चाहता हूं। एक करोड़ ८० लाख का खर्च हुआ है और मिस्सेलेनियस (Miscellaneous item) के नीचे खर्च ४ करोड़ ८२ लाख ७९ हजार का दिया हुआ है और इस खर्च के डिटेल्स इसमें नहीं दिये हुये हैं। हम यह समझने से कासिर हैं कि आया यह खर्च मुनासिब हुआ या नहीं। हाउस का वोट आप चाहते हैं तो हाउस के लिये ज़रूरी है कि वह इस चीज़ को देख सके। तो इसमें ज्यादा डिटेल्स देने की ज़रूरत है। मैं टेक्नीकल और सीक्रेट (secret) डिटेल्स जानना नहीं चाहता। लेकिन आपको यह बतलाने में क्या हैज़ीटेशन हो सकता है कि कितने डेरी फार्म हैं और वह किस तरह काम करते हैं। इन चीज़ों के डिटेल्स मालूम होने से कोई सीक्रेट जाहिर नहीं होगा। हाउस को कम से कम यह तो मालूम होना चाहिये कि जिस बजट को हम पास कर रहे हैं उसको हम समझ भी रहे हैं या नहीं और इसको अच्छी तरह से देख रहे हैं या नहीं।

इसके अलावा मैं आपकी तवज़्जह इस तरफ़ दिलाना चाहता हूं। मैंने कलकत्ते में एक स्कूल देखा, गालिबन् वह राइफल फैक्टरी के साथ था लेकिन उस स्कूल को देखकर मुझे बड़ी तकलीफ़ हुई। उसके अन्दर भरती होने के लिये १०० लड़कों की गुंजाइश है। उसमें १०० लड़के टेक्निकल ट्रेनिंग हासिल कर सकते हैं। लेकिन बदकिस्मती से वहां सिर्फ ४० लड़के हैं। इस की क्या वजह है? जिस स्कूल में १०० लड़कों की गुंजाइश हो, टेक्निकल

एजुकेशन के लिये, उसमें सिर्फ ४० लड़के पढ़ते हैं तो यह एक बड़ी भारी क्रिमिनल नेग्लिजेंस है। जो हमारे देश में सबसे ज़रूरी पढ़ाई का काम है वह टेक्नीकल ट्रेनिंग की पढ़ाई का काम है। हमारे देश में टेक्निकल एजुकेशन की ज़रूरत है, टेक्नीकल परसानल (technical personnel) की ज़रूरत है। मैं यह नहीं मानता कि यहां फूडग्रेन्स की कमी है। अगर हमारे मुल्क में टेक्नीकल एजुकेशन हो तो काफी फूडग्रेन्स पैदा हो सकते हैं। तो ऐसी हालत में ऐसे स्कूल में जो आरम्भी रन (run) करती हो, जिसका सारा खर्च आरम्भी देती है जिसके अन्दर वजीफ़े आरम्भी देती हो, उसमें १०० लड़के न मिलें। यह बात मैं नहीं समझ सकता। यह बात नहीं हो सकती कि इसमें भरती होने के लिये काफी लड़के न मिलें। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूं कि आप इसकी तरफ़ तवज़्जह दें।

एक चीज़ मैं आपसे शिकायत के तौर पर अर्ज करना चाहता हूं और वह यह है कि आपके जो रिक्रूटमेंट आफिसर्स हैं उनके बारे में मुझे इल्म है कि वह हरिजनों को रिक्रूट नहीं करते जब तक कि वह अपने आपको ऐसी शौम के अशस्त्रास जाहिर न करें कि वह माशियल रेसेज के हैं। मैं जानता हूं कि यह फर्क अब माशियल रेसेज का और नान-माशियल रेसेज का नहीं है और आपने खुद इसको खत्म कर दिया है। वजाय पुरानी माशियल रेसेज के आज मद्रासियों ने इतनी बड़ी ऊंचाई पर फ़ौज में, काश्मीर के अन्दर, बरफ (आइस) के अन्दर रह कर जो काम किया है उसने यह सब फर्क खत्म कर दिया है। लेकिन ताहम अगर हरिजनों के साथ यह सलूक होता है तो हम उनको क्या मुंह दिखला सकते हैं। हमने पास कर दिया है कि यहां अनटचेबिलिटी नहीं रहेगी। लेकिन अगर हरिजनों के साथ यह सलूक होता है तो हम फिर क्या कह सकेंगे। इसलिये मैं अदब के साथ अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि हरिजनों के साथ बेहतर सलूक होना चाहिये। तो आपकी इजाज़त से एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं। मुझे आज जिस तरह फैक्टरियों में इन्तज़ाम है, उससे मुझे तसल्ली नहीं है। मैं यह मानने को तैयार नहीं हू कि जब तक आप उन स्टैन्डर्ड्स को जिन के मुताबिक़ सारी दुनिया की फैक्टरियां चलती हैं, जब तक आप उन स्टैन्डर्ड्स को अपनी फैक्टरीज में कायम नहीं करेंगे, उन्हीं तरीकों को इस्तेमाल में नहीं लायेंगे, जब तक आप इकौनिमिक इन्तज़ाम फैक्टरीयों का ठीक नहीं कर सकते, न तो वह फैक्टरियां डेली कास्ट दिखलाते हैं और न कार्मशियल कास्ट दिखलाते हैं, इस तरह से आप कैसे फैक्टरीयों का इन्तज़ाम कर सकते हैं। फैक्टरीज के कर्मचारी कहते हैं कि हम किसी को इस तरह का हिसाब नहीं देते हैं। मैंने पूछा कि क्या आप बतला सकते हैं कि अगर आपका यह ज़ोब (job) जो रेलवे से मिलता है और फैक्टरीज जो काम करती हैं, क्या वह सस्ती करती हैं, या महंगी करती हैं। लेकिन उनमें

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से कोई साहब इसका तसल्ली वरुश जवाब नहीं दे सका। इसलिये मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा कि आप करोड़ों रुपया देश का खर्च करते हैं, आपके वास्ते चीजें मुहयया करते हैं जैसे कपड़ा, मशीनें वगैरह। लेकिन वह सब का सब जहां तक कि उनकी वर्किंग का ताल्लुक है वह तरीके से होना चाहिये। आप इन का जरूरी इन्तजाम करें।

मैंने जो बात अर्ज करनी थी, वह अर्ज कर दी। घंटी बज चुकी है और मैं हाउस का ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लेना चाहता। मैं आपकी खिदमत में फिर मुबारिकबाद पेश करता हूं, आपके काश्मीर के रेकार्ड के बारे में और आपने जो इस फौज के अन्दर तीन चार बातें जो कायम रखी हैं, उनके लिये। जब राउन्डटेबिल कान्फ्रेंस हुई थी और महात्मा गांधी वहां पर तशरीफ ले गये थे, लार्ड शेन्की ने उनको ताना दिया था कि जब तुमको स्वराज्य मिल जायेगा, तब यह बतलाओ कि तुम यह सारी फौज कैसे कायम रखोगे। आज आपने उसका अच्छी तरह से जवाब दे दिया है, वह बेहतरीन है और अंग्रेजों की जो यह एक मेन्टल ट्रबुल थी उसको बेबुनयाद जाहिर कर दिया है। पिछले साल मैं खुद काश्मीर गया था, और मैंने देखा कि आम्की फौज बिल्कुल नान-कम्प्युनल थी और हर एक आदमी जो फौज के अन्दर मौजूद था, वह जिस तरह से काम करता था जो उसका फर्ज था, मैं उसकी जितनी तारीफ करूं उतनी थोड़ी है। मेरे दिल से यह आवाज बेसावता निकलती है कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान में किसी मिनस्टरी ने शानदार काम किया है तो दो मिनिसटरीयों ने काम किया है वह है डिफेंस और स्टेट्स मिनिसटरी। स्टेट्स मिनिसटरी ने करीब करीब सारी रियासतों का सवाल हल कर दिया और जो डिफेंस मिनिसटरी हैं उसने हमारा नाम हर तरफ बढ़ा दिया और दिखला दिया कि आजाद हिन्दुस्तान की फौज किसी भी बाहरी ताकत का या अन्दूनी झगड़े का मुकाबला हर समय करने को पूरी तरह तैयार है। और उसकी रक्षा में हमारा देश महफूज है।

(English translation of the above speech).

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): When I think that, when on 15th August the British left and our country attained freedom, what was the condition of her army, air force and navy. So for the manner in which our army facing great odds upheld the honour of our country and exalted her prestige, I, on my own behalf as well as on the behalf of the House without any hesitation highly congratulate the honourable the Defence Minister for this.

Our sea-coast extends to five thousand miles and forms the frontier of our country on two sides. Such a vast country is to be defended against invasions. To our greatest misfortune when the British quitted India then for such a vast country they did not leave behind any battleship, and there was no air force

even. The things that they have left here, for them also we have to look towards Europe. I think that perhaps the Romans even would not have left Britain in such a condition. In 1928 Dr. Moonje, speaking in this very House where I am standing today, visualised all this and told the British not to treat us in this manner. He asked them to expand our air force and navy for us as he feared that the British could quit and go back like the Romans.

The conditions of those ordnance factories that were present in 1947, had also become deteriorated. There the work had been stopped in those factories. When the British decided to quit India they do not take any care of these factories and when partition took place the condition deteriorated still more. Two thirds of the military accommodations meant for army, air force and navy went over to Pakistan and two thirds of India's forces fell to our share, and we had to labour under great hardships. But our troops discharged their duties, as we expected of them, with great devotion and acquired a name for themselves throughout the world.

Before they could set to work they had to discharge their duties in Kashmir, in Hyderabad and in Junagarh. Everybody is well aware of the fact as to how our troops discharged their duties in Kashmir and Hyderabad, and for this I, on behalf of the House, congratulate the Honourable Minister and the all personnel of the Indian army. By the deeds of bravery done by our commanders and troops after attaining independence the prestige and honour of this House, of the whole country has been raised. Not only this our soldiers made a name for themselves by fighting on mountains at a height of 16,000 feet. Not only this, our soldiers, who had gone to render help to the people of Kashmir, behaved towards them with utmost gentleness and thus they won the hearts of the people of Kashmir. Upholding the very same ideals that had been laid by our much respected Mahatma Gandhi, our troops conducted operations in Kashmir and raised the honour of the followers of Mahatma Gandhi to an exalted height. They took the people of Kashmir as their brothers and like brothers shared with them their rations also. By such deeds they won the hearts of the people of Kashmir and made a name for this country throughout the world. For all these things we congratulate Sardar Baldev Singh.

But when I turn towards the other side then I feel nothing except regret. As a member of the Standing Committee for Defence I had gone to Bombay to see the naval bases. There I saw the cruiser "Delhi". I made a thorough inspection of "Delhi" and when I asked the officers working thereon they told me that they had to import from foreign countries all the instruments, machines, torpedoes, radar and spare parts of the ship, and so have to look towards other countries. I asked them that if as much materials that are utilized here could not be got from foreign countries then can we defend ourselves? Then I got an answer and a right answer of course, that we will unfortunately have to import from foreign countries all the materials required for the defence of the country. If we fail to obtain these materials from foreign countries then we cannot defend our country. If we had to fight against some powerful country then God forbidding we can not defend ourselves.

Thus it is essential that we must manufacture these things in our country. For this the Defence Department must work at top speed. But what ever efforts are being made in this direction these efforts are going on very slowly and indolently. The other countries of the world are ready to pay lip sympathy towards us but we do not get war materials. Then the only course that is left to us is that we should at the earliest possible set up such factories in our country wherein we could manufacture all our war materials for the forces. This work should be done with such a speed and promptness that we may become self sufficient in all these things. A provision of 15 crores has been made in this Budget and which includes the amount of 11 crores and 80 lacs as the

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value of the things imported from foreign countries leaving a balance of 3 crores and 20 lacs; I cannot understand this, this amount is highly insufficient for the needs of such a vast country. For this work whatever amount the Defence Ministry demands should be given to the Ministry. Our country does not lack good soldiers. Our country does not lack intelligence. The thing that we lack are materials and goods. These are the days of scientific warfare and for this sake new types of weapons and arms are manufactured. Our Government should make every possible efforts to manufacture these modern types of arms in this country. The soldiers of our country are in no way inferior to those of the other countries. As far as the question of science is concerned we are far backward. I am glad that the Honourable the Defence Minister has given this report to us. It is mentioned in the report that just now the re-organisation of this Department is being done. Very respectfully I would submit and with full emphasis at my command I like to submit that you should do this work with top speed, proceed with this work as quickly as possible. For the present the progress is very slow. Till now there are only three Indian scientific advisers and one English adviser, and they have prepared for us all the schemes for the re-organisation. The other 40 senior and 100 junior scientists have not yet been appointed. You must appoint them at the earliest so that whatever restrictions might be in your way may be removed. I am pleased to learn that such a department has been set up and some Vampire aeroplanes also have come. But if we were to dance attendance on these three Vampires only then the world would advance far beyond us and we would be left behind lagging. The countries that manufacture arms and the arms that they give to us are generally old. Therefore the Government of our country should act in such a manner whereby this country by doing research work herself, may make rapid progress. In this present age modern arms are wanted. In the present age it is our duty that we use our intelligence. This age is the Atomic Age. This age is not of lathis and rifles. When I turn my attention towards Ordnance factories, then in my country I see factories for making smaller arms, we do not manufacture heavier types of armaments. We have here a rifle factory also. But I like to submit that this is not an age of lathis and rifles. You have no big factory either of the army or of the air force or of the navy for the manufacture of heavy machines and armaments. If you wish your country to make sound progress then you must pay your sole and undivided attention towards this only. Therefore I wish to submit that the scheme of the Board of Science, that has been placed before us, is merely a scheme only. The scheme has not yet come into operation. But how does it lie in my mouth to make a complaint about this when I see that whatever you could do you are doing. As yet you have to fall back upon other countries. I know all this and so how can I make a complaint. But I wish to submit that you should give more acceleration to this work. I cannot lay any more emphasis than this on the point.

Now I wish to give five or six minor suggestions. Whatever I could gather on going through your report and whatever things I could see when as a member of the Standing Committee I went to Bombay and Calcutta to inspect the factories and naval bases there; I wish to submit something based on these experiences. One thing that I wish to submit is that I have read in the report that for the co-ordination of the air, naval and army services there is the Honourable the Defence Minister and he himself co-ordinates these services. I have not the least doubt that the Honourable the Defence Minister must be doing this work most efficiently. But very respectfully I beg to submit that if for this co-ordination work an officer well conversant with the techniques of all the three kinds of forces is appointed and placed at the head of the three forces, and if he were to do this co-ordination work then it would be far better and expedient. Under these circumstances if the Honourable the Defence Minister were to pay attention towards the general policy and remain

in the general charge then he would be able to pay more attention to this work. If only such work is placed in his charge then he would be able to do more work. But this work must be entrusted to such a person who must be an expert in all the three branches of the defence forces and all the persons in charge of all the three branches must be subordinate to the Honourable the Defence Minister.

The second thing that I wish to submit is that I have read in this report that though attention is being paid towards the Territorial Army, for which we had passed an Act in September 1948, yet "recruitment will start in the course of the year 1949". Very humbly I would like to submit that I wish to draw the attention of the Honourable the Defence Minister particularly towards the Territorial Army. Today we are ready to sanction an expenditure of 157 crores of rupees in this estimate. Till the transition period lasts you may spend as much as you like because we know that the problem of Kashmir has not yet been settled. Many evil spirits look towards us and who wish to swallow us up. We have always to be ready for them. But ultimately India would not be able to maintain such a big army and the only solution for this is that the Territorial Army may take its place. Quite recently I had gone to Switzerland. There is no big regular army. But there within 24 hours every man and woman can report for duty and enlist in the army and so in Switzerland within 24 hours an army of several lakhs in this way can report for duty. I know that Switzerland is a small country and there the conditions are quite different. But I know the greater expansion you would give to the Territorial Army the lesser the expenses you would have to incur. This Territorial Army is in a way the biggest guarantee of internal peace. It may not be so that the strength of the Territorial Army may be only 2-4 lakhs you should raise an army of at least 20 lakhs. On the last occasion our Honourable the Defence Minister had stated that in his opinion a Territorial Force of 10 lakhs strength could be raised if the age limit was to be restricted to 20-25 years. It was stated that this would entail an expenditure of 25 crores of rupees. I would submit that taking the long term view in consideration. You should expand the Territorial Army so that we may be able to take full advantage of this reduction in expenditure.

After this I like to submit that about the Budget, that has been presented before us. Mr. Sidhva has submitted some facts for your kind consideration and has stated that there are certain items in the Budget which we are not competent enough to understand. I wish to draw your attention towards military farms. On this item Rs. 1,80,00,000 has spent, but under Miscellaneous Items the total of expenditure is given as Rs. 4,82,79,000 and no details of this expenditure are given.

We are quite unable to understand whether this expenditure has justly been made or not. If you want to get the vote of the House then it is essential for the House that it may be able to judge this thing. So it is necessary to give more details. I do not want to ascertain technical and secret details. But what hesitation can you have in informing us as to how many dairy farms are and in what manner they function. By knowing the details of these things no secret information would be disclosed. The House must at least know this that the Budget we are passing we are understanding it or not and are critically examining the same or not.

Besides this I wish to draw your attention towards this side. At Calcutta I saw a school which was perhaps attached to the rifle factory. But I was highly pained to see that school. The school has accommodation sufficient enough for admission of 100 students. Therein 100 students can get technical training. But unfortunately, there are only 40 students. What is the reason for this? In a school where accommodation be sufficient for 100 students for technical education only 40 be getting training then this is a very serious type of criminal negligence. In our country the most important

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branch of education these days is the imparting of technical training. In our country there is a need of technical education, and a need of technical personnel. I do not admit that there is a shortage of food grains in our country. If there be technical education in our country then sufficient food grains can be grown here. Then in such circumstances I am not able to understand that such a school, which is run by the army, whose entire expenditure is footed by the army, wherein scholarships also are given by the army, cannot attract even 100 students for admission. It cannot be the case that sufficient number of students may not be found for admission to this school. Therefore I want you to pay more attention towards this.

I wish to submit one thing by the way of complaint. Your recruiting officers, as far as it is in my knowledge, do not recruit Harijans till the time they do not disclose that they are members of those castes that are termed as martial races. I know that now there is no differentiation of martial and non-martial races, and you yourself have ended it. Instead of the old martial races the deeds of glory done today by the Madrasis, who have been recruited in army, while fighting at great heights and in snow fall in Kashmir have ended all this differentiation for good. Yet still if this treatment is meted out to Harijans then how can we appear before them with confidence. We have passed that untouchability will not be allowed to exist. But if such treatment is meted out to the Harijans then what would we be able to say. Therefore I respectfully like to submit that better treatment should be meted out to Harijans.

Sir, with your permission, I wish to submit one more point. I am not satisfied with the present system of management in the factories. I am not prepared to accept that till you would not establish those standards in your factories, according to which all the factories throughout the world run, till you would not utilize them properly; you cannot set the economic management of the factories in order. These factories neither show daily costs nor commercial costs. Then how can you manage these factories? The officers of the factory say that they do not give such accounts to anybody. I asked them if they could tell me whether the job work that they get from the railways, and the factories that do the job, do it cheaply or dearly. But none of them could give a satisfactory answer hereof. Therefore I would respectfully submit that you spend crores of rupees of this country and provide many things like cloth, machines etc. But all these things, as far as their working is concerned, should be done systematically. You must certainly organise them.

What I had to submit I have submitted. The bell has gone and I do not want to take more time of the House. I once again congratulate you for your Kashmir record and for maintaining the two or three salient features of the army. When the Round Table Conference was called and Mahatma went there to participate in it, then Lord Shanky taunted him by saying that when you would attain Swarajya then how would you maintain the entire army. Today you have given an appropriate answer to that gibe. Your answer is the best and has proved the Britisher's mental trouble to be perfectly groundless. Last year I myself had gone to Kashmir and there I saw that your army was absolutely non communal and everybody in the army did his work in a manner as befitted his obligation and duty. However much I praise the army it would always fall short. Spontaneously my heart gives out that if any Ministries have done splendid work then only two Ministries have done so and these are the Defence Ministry and the States Ministry. The States Ministry has solved the problem of nearly all the States and the Defence Ministry has glorified our name and prestige in the eyes of the world and has shown that the armies of Independent India are always fully prepared and competent to combat any external forces or internal squabbles and under its protection our country is perfectly safe and secure.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch, till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

Mr. Speaker: I presume the honourable Minister will require about half an hour. That means we carry on the discussion up to 4-30. I will request honourable Members to keep strictly within the time limit.

Kazi Syed Karimuddin (C.P. and Berar: Muslim): I congratulate the Minister in charge of Defence for the reorganisation of the army in spite of the tremendous difficulties after the partition of this country. We really pay a tribute to the Army for bringing refugees, for fighting the police action in Hyderabad and our operations in Kashmir.

It has been referred to in the speech by the Minister that the process of nationalization is being completed. I lay very great emphasis on the point of nationalisation of the Technicians in the Army and Navy. If all soldiers are recruited from India and if the key posts of the technicians and experts go to foreigners, I would say that there is no nationalisation at all. In the set up of international politics today, Military being the most important department, I would urge that there should be complete nationalisation as far as technicians and scientists organisation is concerned. I would urge upon the Minister in charge that speedy steps should be taken for this and within at least two years, if not more, the entire band of technicians should be recruited from India.

Shri B. Das (Orissa: General): But, it takes a long time to train them.

Kazi Syed Karimuddin: My next point is the expenditure on Defence. I entirely agree with these speakers who have said that looking to the politics, international and domestic, it is necessary to maintain the Army as we are maintaining. Happily for me, I have got a ground of argument and discussion, because the Minister in charge of Defence compared the figures for Pakistan and India. We find that the Defence expenditure is 157 crores in India and 47 crores in Pakistan. If the Minister in charge quoted these figures to show that there is a race for armaments and a justification for these armaments to be increased, then, my submission is, that a stage has been reached when Pakistan and the Government of India should examine and find out whether there is any conflict for which such huge armies ought to be maintained. We have succeeded in our police action in Hyderabad and now, about Kashmir, the matter is left to the plebiscite. The Prime Minister of India and the Government of India have declared not once, but on several occasions that they have no intention to attack any other country, that they have no schemes of aggrandisement. It would be madness to suppose that Pakistan can invade India with our resources, with our military, and with our strength, as the Minister in charge has said. If there is no occasion for any conflict now, it is up to the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India to reduce their armaments with a view to have the internal economy of the country improved and with a view to see that both countries enhance their reputation in the economic and other fields. The only method by which this race for armaments can come down is, as I have suggested at the time of the general discussion, the signing of a non-aggression pact. If it is a question of prestige as to who should approach, we are having several inter-dominion conferences and if there is no cause for any conflict now, it passes my imagination why there should not be a non-aggression pact between the two countries, and why there should not be joint defences, to the lasting good of both the countries. When there is no conflict except the elections in Kashmir, my submission is that this should be resorted to if the defence expenditure is to be brought down from 157 crores. About the good intentions of the Government of India, if any proof is needed, the

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proof is there that at a time when there was undeclared war between India and Pakistan, the Government of India made a reference to the UNO about the Kashmir affair. That is proof of the good intention of the Government of India that they did not want to declare war against Pakistan. When such proofs are forthcoming, when good intentions are there and both realise that there should be amity and friendliness between the two countries, there is no reason why such a pact should not be signed, and there is no reason why joint defences should not be created. Both the countries have got to meet the menace of chaos and anarchy on both sides. East and West. In view of this, and in view of the fact that we should have an Asian bloc to fight out foreigners on our soil, it is very necessary that such a pact should be translated into action.

Shri B. Das: Who will bell the cat?

Kazi Syed Karimuddin: That is the point.

One thing more, and I have done. I was very glad to hear when the Minister in charge of Defence stated that with our Army in India, there was no question of caste, creed and community. I was very glad to know that communal considerations never weighed with our fighting forces either in Kashmir or Hyderabad. We have also found that the Muslims, particularly in the Hyderabad action, were entirely with the Government of India. I would respectfully submit that the recruitment of Muslims in recent years after August 1947 has been very negligible. If there are political reasons which are cogent, they should be stated on the floor of the House. If you have Sheikh Abdulla in Kashmir and a band of loyal Muslims, in the country, there is no reason why Muslims should be excluded as a class from general recruitment to the Army and Navy. Therefore my submission is that there would be a time in the country when Muslims should fight shoulder to shoulder for the honour and prestige of this country and there is no reason why they should be excluded from the defence of this country when they regard themselves as nationals of this country. In the great war of 1914-18, the Muslims of India fought against Turkey. They have fought against Arabia. Even your troops have fought in Kashmir. Therefore my submission is that exclusion of those people as a class, if at all it is resorted to, is not correct. I say that there has been a negligible recruitment of Muslims into the Indian army. If such is the case, this policy should be reversed, and I would make an appeal to the Minister in charge not to allow the Muslims of India to feel that they are humiliated or insulted on the ground that they are not fit to be in the army.

Shri C. M. Poonacha (Coorg): At the outset I wholeheartedly associate myself with the tributes paid by the honourable the Defence Minister as well as by all sections of this House to our Armed Forces. The previous speakers associated themselves in a similar manner with the sentiments expressed by the honourable Minister for the magnificent services rendered by our Armed Forces, both in the Kashmir campaign and also to what is now historically known as the "Police Action" in Hyderabad. From point of brevity I would like to confine myself to a few things which have not been covered by the previous speakers. I do not intend to traverse the same points which have been made out by the previous speakers.

After having heard my honourable friend, Mr. Karimuddin, I felt that in so far as our discussions relate to this Defence Budget, there is a sort of feeling which has given expression to some sort of misleading conclusions. I mean to say that certain references made here give a false impression that India is, on a sort of "War Path" (*Kazi Syed Karimuddin: 'I have never said that!'*)

or on a sort of "Amendment Race." No. I shall say, far far from it, India is not at all on the path of what might be called by a few as an Armament Race, because if you look into the Budget and scrutinise the figures, you will very clearly find there that because of certain unavoidable circumstances which have placed India in a very pitiable condition compelling factors have forced our hands to develop certain things in so far as defence measure are concerned. Mostly, they are of the nature of building accommodation, providing equipment, buying stores, and more than all these things, providing the minimum amount of training facilities for our Armed Forces. It has been said that on account of the partition the set up of our Armed Forces suffered very much. We lost practically two-thirds of our accommodation establishments and we were just left with one-third of the housing accommodation in India, whereas two-thirds of it went over to Pakistan. On the other hand, according to the division of the Indian Army of the undivided India, we got two-thirds of it—two-thirds of the personnel to be accommodated with this less than one-third of the housing accommodation. It is a problem by itself, and most of our expenditure, if you would like to go into it in detail, would be for housing the armed personnel, the equipment, the stores and all manner of things, and then above all these to afford the minimum amount of scientific training facilities for our three Services, particularly the Navy and the Air Force. Therefore, it has been a sort of unhappy reference in this particular matter and I should like to clear all doubts in the minds of every one here that so far as India is concerned there is absolutely nothing like a race for Armament. Much more than that, I should say that this budget is not the one which arises out of a Fear Complex. We do not see any signs of aggression from any side. On the contrary we are in very happy company as our neighbouring States and Governments are so friendly with us that there is no possibility of any sort of threat across our frontiers and we are quite sure about it. Therefore, there is no point in India trying to resort to what might be called in the modern term a Race for Armament. On the other hand, the standard of our defence forces is so low as compared to the modern standards of armies, that it is necessary that we have got to develop and do research with a view to improve the capacity as well as the constitution of our armed forces. That is an inevitable thing. No nation can escape that and in that line we are attempting to make a very slow humble and modest progress. I welcome this Budget from that point of view.

If we could just look into the figures of expenditure of the other nations, we could just find that a country like Australia spends about twelve times more on defence than what it used to spend before 1938-39. America today spends ten times more than what she used to spend before 1938-39. The United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R. in similar manner spend more than three times its pre-war budget figures of 1938-39. Supposing if we compare our own, we will find that we have in no way exceeded these limits except for the compelling reasons that we have been subjected to on account of the partition of India.

Next I come to the point of demobilisation. In the speech of the honourable Minister for Finance, there was a mention that demobilisation would be resorted to in a very progressive manner. I for one feel that this would be a rather very upwise step to resort to at the moment, I do not at all endorse the idea of demobilisation and in any case I do not think that the present strength of the Indian Army or the Armed Forces of India is in any way out of proportion to the requirements and considerations of our country. I would like to suggest that before resorting to any plan for demobilisation our Government must first think of absorbing all the forces of the Indian States and then bring them under one unified Command, and after that review the whole position and if we find that there is surplus of armed personnel, by a method

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of categorisation we can plan for a sort of demobilisation. Not until we have integrated all the Armed Forces of the different States in India should our Government think of demobilisation.

Incidentally I would like to refer to another point also. While we have got to integrate all the State forces in India it is also necessary that we should look into the other side of the picture. I see in quite a number of provinces semi military units called the *Gram Rakshak Dals* or Home guards etc., which have been raised by the provinces. I do not agree with this idea. So far as internal security is concerned I think the Police Force should be adequate to meet the requirements of the provinces. Apart from that there should not be anything like *quasi* or semi military units being raised in the provinces. On the other hand, the Government of India, particularly the Ministry of Defence must go ahead with the scheme of the Territorial Army and also the National Cadet Corps so that they can build up a second line of defence and not allow the provinces to develop their own organisations in a haphazard manner. I hope the Defence Minister will take up this matter at a very high level and deal with the provinces and see that there is uniformity brought about in this respect, because any kind of military organisation should be organised and constituted on an all India footing. It cannot be on a purely provincial footing. So far as provincial requirements are concerned the training and constitution of the police force is sufficient and is more than enough.

I would now like to deal with the question of amenities to troops. In this respect I would request the honourable Defence Minister to pay sufficient attention to create more recreation centres for our Armed Personnel and thus see that more amenities are provided for our fighting forces.

So far as the new Pay Code is concerned, Mr. Sidhva made out a point that there is no hardship to the officers. I beg to differ from him. I should like to tell him that so far as the lower rungs of the officer class are concerned they have been hard hit by the new Pay Code. It is so full of anomalies, which require revision and they should be set right.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: What are the anomalies?

Shri C. M. Poonacha: I have very little time to give the details and I have some other points to speak upon. So far as the pay scales are concerned I think they require careful examination and revision. As regards pension terms I was happy to note that the honourable the Defence Minister in his statement referred to this point and I hope that he will look into this question and see that the terms are revised and brought up to date.

Then I come to the Reservists who have a liability to be called for active service whenever required. They are given a paltry sum of five rupees per month. On the face of it this is very unjust and requires revision, because this was fixed some twenty or thirty years ago. This allowance must be suitably enhanced.

I come to the question of accommodation, particularly married accommodation for the rank and file. So far as the army is concerned they have hardly about ten to fifteen per cent. married accommodation, whereas in the Navy and Air Force it is completely nil. I wish sufficient attention is also paid to this question. The Armed Forces Accommodation Committee which was constituted by the Ministry of Defence sometimes ago submitted its report sometime in 1947. I wonder whether the suggestions made by that Committee have been taken into consideration.

There is the question of the compulsory age of retirement. In normal times only Cadets were taken into the officer class but during War time on account of the demand they had to recruit personnel from higher age groups, so much so the compulsory age restriction for retirement works very adversely on this class of Officers who have been recruited from the higher age groups. This should be examined and suitable rules must be framed to remove the hardships.

With these remarks, Sir, I resume my seat with the hope that the honourable the Defence Minister will take these few suggestions of mine into consideration.

श्री मोहन लाल गोतम : जनाब स्पीकर साहब, अभी कुछ एतराजात जो पेश किये गये हैं उनमें में समझता हूं काफी जान है। जब यह कहा जाता है कि डिफेंस पर हमारा १५७ करोड़ रुपया खर्च होता है, और हमारे कुल बजट का ४८ फ्री सदी रुपया खर्च हो जाता है, तो वाकई बात यह है कि इस गरीब मुल्क के लिये जो भूखा है, नंगा है, यह काफी बड़ी रकम है। लेकिन सवाल यह पैदा होता है कि क्या यह रकम खर्च करना जरूरी है या नहीं। अब तक अंग्रेजों के जमाने में आर्मी के दो काम थे। एक तो External aggression से अपने आप को बचाने के लिये और दूसरे Internal security कायम रखने के लिये। मैं समझता हूं कि स्वराज्य हासिल होने के बाद, हालांकि अब तक यहां हालत ऐसी पैदा नहीं हुई है कि Internal security के लिये हमें फौज की जरूरत न हो। लेकिन मुझे यह उम्मीद है, और मैं यह समझता हूं कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट को इस तरह चलना होगा कि Internal security के लिये फौज का इस्तेमाल न किया जा सके। और सूबों और मुकामी जगह वह इस तरह का अपनी पुलिस का इन्तजाम कर सके कि वहां फौज की जरूरत इन्टर्नल सिक्योरिटी के लिये न हो। लेकिन जब तक यह नहीं होता, जब तक हम यह देखते हैं कि बंगाल में आज फौज की जरूरत है इन्टर्नल सिक्योरिटी के लिये, और दूसरी जगह भी, तब तक हमको यह देखना पड़ता है कि जितनी फौज हमारे पास है, वह हमारे लिये काफी है या नहीं। काश्मीर का मसला आज हम देखते हैं तय हो गया है, लेकिन कहा नहीं जा सकता कि दोबारा फौज को आप हुक्म देंगे लड़ाई लड़ने के लिये या नहीं। यह अभी हम या गवर्नमेंट नहीं कह सकते। लेकिन यह रुपया कम खर्च हो सके तो ठीक है, लेकिन जितना खर्च हो रहा है उसमें बहुत ज्यादा criticism की गुंजाइश नहीं दिखाई देती।

मैं समझता हूं कि जो कुछ रुपया खर्च हो रहा है उससे कहीं ज्यादा खर्च हो सकता है अगर हमारे मुल्क में इतनी गुंजाइश हो, अगर हमारे मुल्क के पास इतना रुपया हो कि वह खर्च कर सके। शायद लोगों को अन्दाजा नहीं है, जैसा कि अभी हमारे दोस्त मौलाना साहब ने कहा है, कि हमारे

[श्री मौहनलाल गौतम]

पास फ़ौज तो दो तिहाई आई लेकिन एकोमोडेशन (accommodation) एक तिहाई ही हमारे हिस्से में पड़ी। फ़ौज के मकानों की हालत बहुत काफ़ी खराब हैं। हम कह सकते हैं कि हमारे लैंड फोर्सेज तो काफ़ी अच्छे हैं, लेकिन जहां तक समुद्री बेड़े और हवाई बेड़े का ताल्लुक है वहां नाकाफ़ी है। समुद्री बेड़ा तो हमारे पास न होने के बराबर था, अब शायद धीरे धीरे कुछ हो रहा है और शायद आपको यह सुनकर ताज्जुब होगा कि अगर दस साल तक हम लगातार कोशिश करते रहें तब भी हमारे समुद्री बेड़े की ताकत उतनी न हो सकेगी जितनी कि आज एक छोटे से मुल्क न्यूजीलैंड की है जिसकी आबादी सिर्फ २० लाख है। बीस लाख की आबादी के मुल्क के पास हमसे इस वक़्त समुद्री बेड़ा ज्यादा है और हमारे पास उतना बेड़ा दस साल के बाद तक नहीं होगा जिसको कि हम करोड़ों रुपये खर्च करके यहां बनायेंगे। हवाई फ़ौज का भी यही हाल है। उनके पास इक्विपमेंट (Equipment) नहीं है। समुद्री बेड़े के पास इक्विपमेंट (Equipment) नहीं है। एक क्रूज़र (Cruiser) बड़ी मुश्किल से मिला है। तीन डेस्ट्रॉयर्स (Destroyers) आ रहे हैं। यह हमें नहीं मालूम कि वह किस किस के होंगे। मैं यह नहीं मानता कि कोई मुल्क अपने यहां से फ़र्स्ट क्लास इक्विपमेंट आपको दे देगा। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि अभी रुपया तो बहुत ज्यादा खर्च करने की ज़रूरत पड़ेगी। इसलिए यह मानते हुए भी कि यह रक़म बहुत काफ़ी बड़ी है, हमें यह भी आगे के लिए ख्याल रखना होगा कि हमें इससे और ज्यादा खर्च करना है। लेकिन जब मैं यह कहता हूँ तो उसके मानी यह नहीं हैं कि जो कुछ खर्च हो रहा है उसमें हर तरह से जितनी इकोनोमी (Economy) हो सकती थी वह हो रही है और इससे ज्यादा नहीं हो सकती। मैं समझता हूँ कि डिपार्टमेंट और मिनिस्टर साहब कुछ कर रहे होंगे हर तरह की इकोनोमी के लिए, लेकिन फिर भी गुंजाइश इस बात की है कि हमेशा इस तरफ नज़र रखी जाय, एक सख़्त और कड़ी नज़र रखी जाय इस बात पर कि फिज़ूलखर्ची न हो। उसके लिए मेरी तजवीज़ यह है कि कोई कमेटी इस बात के लिए बिठाई जाय जो हमेशा यह Watch करती रहे कि फिज़ूलखर्ची न हो।

अभी जैसा मैंने अर्ज़ किया कि हमको समुद्री बेड़ा या हवाई ताक़त काफ़ी बढ़ानी है, वहां दूसरी चीज़ यह भी है कि हमारे पास आर्डिनेंस फ़ैक्टरियां जो हैं वह छोटे हथियार ज़रूर बना लेती हैं, लेकिन बड़े हथियार बनाने के लिए हमारे पास कोई आर्डिनेंस फ़ैक्टरी नहीं है। उसको हमें बनाना पड़ेगा। आर्डिनेंस फ़ैक्टरीज के मुताल्लिक में दो एक बातें आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर साहब की खिदमत में अर्ज़ कर देना चाहता हूँ। वह यह है कि आर्डिनेंस फ़ैक्टरीज के लिए एक

ऐसा प्लान होना चाहिए जिसको कि आप कुछ साल तक पूरा करने के बाद एक ढंग की आर्डिनेंस फ़ैक्टरीज को इस मुल्क में जारी कर सकें। मैं नहीं जानता कि जितनी आर्डिनेंस फ़ैक्टरीज हैं वह सब महफूज़ जगह पर हैं या नहीं। अगर ऐसा नहीं है तो आपको अल्टीमेटली (Ultimately) उनको वहां से बदलना पड़ेगा। आर्डिनेंस फ़ैक्टरीज में जो पुरानी मैशिनरी है उसको भी आपको बदलना पड़ेगा। और सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि आर्डिनेंस फ़ैक्टरीज के मुताल्लिक एक कोऑर्डिनेशन (Co-ordination) चाहिए। हमारे यहां इस कोऑर्डिनेशन की कमी है और उसकी तरफ मैं खास तौर से गवर्नमेंट की तवज्जह दिलाना चाहता हूँ। इंडस्ट्रीज डिपार्टमेंट और डिफेंस डिपार्टमेंट दोनों अलहदा अलहदा नहीं किये जा सकते। अभी कुछ हफ्ते हुए कि इंडस्ट्रीज डिपार्टमेंट की तरफ से एक कान्फ्रेंस बुलाई गई थी, लेकिन उसमें डिफेंस डिपार्टमेंट का कोई आदमी नहीं बुलाया गया। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत बड़ी ग़लती है कि इंडस्ट्रीज डिपार्टमेंट और डिफेंस डिपार्टमेंट में कोई कोऑर्डिनेशन नहीं है। हमको आर्डिनेंस फ़ैक्टरीज को भी इस तरह संगठित करना होगा कि लड़ाई के ज़माने में वह हथियार बनायें और जब लड़ाई न रहे तो इस तरह की चीज़ें तैयार करें जो कि आम जनता को मुहय्या की जा सकें। जब तक ऐसा न होगा तो उसका नतीजा यह होगा कि लड़ाई के वक़्त तो जो टैकनीशियन आपने रखे हैं वह कुछ चीज़ें तैयार करेंगे मगर ज्यों ही लड़ाई ख़त्म होगी आपको मजबूरन उन टैकनीशियन्स को निकालना पड़ेगा क्योंकि वह जनता के काम की चीज़ें नहीं बना सकेंगे। टैकनीशियन्स चले जायेंगे और दूसरी जगह काम शुरू कर देंगे। अगर फिर दोबारा आप उनको चाहेंगे और फ़ैक्टरी को पूरी ताकत तक चालू करना चाहेंगे तो वह आपको नहीं मिल सकेंगे। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि टैकनीशियन्स को ट्रेन करने के बाद खो देना डिफेंस डिपार्टमेंट के लिहाज़ से अच्छा नहीं होगा। जहां तक हो सके ऐसा नहीं होने देना चाहिए। लेकिन जब आप इस तरफ तवज्जह देंगे और मजदूरों और टैकनीशियन्स को वहां रखने की सोचेंगे तो कई एक और सवालात पैदा होंगे। वह यह है कि मजदूरों के बारे में ऐसा मालूम होता है कि पिछली पे कमीशन ने बहुत सी ऐनामलीज (Anomalies) छोड़ी हैं। मैंने यह सुना है कि डिपार्टमेंट ने एक मिस्टर साहनी को इसके लिए मुक़र्रर किया है, लेकिन १४ महीने हो गये अभी तक उनकी कोई रिपोर्ट नहीं आई है और यह मालूम नहीं होता है कि वह उन ऐनामलीज को किस तरह दूर करने की तजवीज़ कर रहे हैं।

जैसा कि आर्डिनेंस फोर्सेज के बारे में है, वैसा ही फ़ैक्ट्री लेबर के लिए भी हाउसिंग का प्रोब्लम एक बड़ा प्रोब्लम है। रिपोर्ट में लिखा हुआ है कि कलकत्ते के मजदूरों को मकान मिलना मुश्किल है। अगर आप उनको मकान मुहय्या

[श्री मोहन लाल गौतम]

नहीं करते तो मैं आपसे पूछता हूँ कि कलकत्ते में मजदूर किस तरह रह सकते हैं। इसलिए आपको फ़ैक्टरीज को इस तरह आर्गेनाइज (Organize) करना होगा कि लेबर भी कन्टेन्टेड (Contented) रहे। यह न हो कि जब तक वह स्ट्राइक की धमकी न दें उस वक्त तक आप उनकी बात ही न सुनें। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह गलत है और अगर आपने इस तरीके को कायम रखा तो आप कहाँ जायेंगे मैं यह नहीं कह सकता।

मजदूरों में एक बड़ा भारी मसला है जैसा कि आर्म्ड फोर्सेज में भी है, और वह है टैम्पोरेरी लोगों का। ऐसे बहुत से लोग टैम्पोरेरी हैं जो कि दस दस, बारह बारह, पंद्रह पंद्रह और २० २० साल से मुलाजिम हैं। आप ख्याल फ़रमाइये कि उनको इतना अर्सा हो गया और वह टैम्पोरेरी हैं। उनको पता नहीं कि वह कब निकाल दिये जायेंगे। उसे मालूम नहीं कि अगर उसे कल निकाल दिया गया तो उसे कहाँ मुलाजिम मिलेगी, और दूसरी तरफ वह यहाँ पर रह कर भी पूरा ध्यान अपने काम पर नहीं दे सकता। इसलिए उसका इनएफ़िशिएंट (Inefficient) हो जाना जरूरी है। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि यह मसला एक बार तै हो जाना चाहिए कि आप कितने आदमियों को Assimilate कर सकते हैं और टैम्पोरेरी लोगों का कुछ इन्तज़ाम हो जाना चाहिए।

हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब ने जब अपनी सुवह की स्पीच दी तो उन्होंने रियासतों की फ़ौज की बहुत तारीफ़ की थी। उन्होंने कहा था कि वह फ़ौज बहुत माकूल है। और उन्होंने बहुत अच्छा काम किया, यह आज सुवह हम मिनिस्टर साहब से सुन चुके हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि अब वह ज़माना आ गया है कि जिस तरह से स्टेट का इंटीग्रेशन (Integration) हो गया और जिस तरह से कि मुल्क को एक बना दिया गया है, उसके बाद यह जरूरी नहीं है कि रियासतों के मातहत अलग अलग फ़ौजें रहें। उन सबको भी एक हो जाना चाहिए। वह सब फ़ौजें एक कमांड में और एक आर्गेनाइजेशन में होनी चाहिए और रियासतों के हाथ में सिर्फ़ पुलिस रह जाय। इससे फ़ौजों के खर्च में बहुत सा ख़या भी बच जायगा और जो बहुत सी इनएफ़िशिएंसी छोटी छोटी रियासतों की फ़ौजों में है वह दूर हो जायगी और आपकी फ़ौज की बहुत ताक़त बढ़ जायगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमको इस तरफ़ बहुत जल्द ध्यान देना होगा और इस फ़ौज को भी Integrate करना होगा।

एक चीज़ जिसकी तरफ़ मैं गवर्नमेंट की ओर तवज़्जह दिलाना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि, और जिसके बारे में अभी तक हमको बहुत दिक्कतें शायद नज़र आती हैं, कि हमें अपनी फ़ौज के लिए बाहर से सामान मंगाना पड़ता है।

मुझे इसमें शक है कि हम जो कुछ भी सामान मंगाते हैं वह हमें फ़र्स्ट रेट मिलता है। इसके अलावा हम दुनिया के किसी भी हिस्से से माल लें, हमको यह भी देखना होगा कि हम उसको अपने यहाँ किस तरह बनायेंगे। अगर हम बाहर से सामान लेंगे तो उस पर असर फ़ारिन पालिसी का भी पड़ेगा। यह एक बहुत बड़ा मसला है जिसके बारे में मैं उस एक या डेढ़ मिनट के वक़्त में जो मेरे पास है ज़्यादा अर्ज नहीं कर सकता। लेकिन हमें अब इस बात पर अच्छी तरह ग़ौर करना होगा कि हम अपने मुल्क को किस तरह से मजबूत बना सकते हैं और किस तरह हम यह सामान दुनिया से ले सकते हैं। इसलिए मैं यह अर्ज करता हूँ कि जो कुछ हो रहा है हालांकि वह काफ़ी है लेकिन अभी बहुत कुछ बाकी है।

अभी यह कहा गया है कि हमारे यहाँ यूरोपियन टैकनीशियन हैं। मैंने भी इस मसले को देखा है और इसकी काफ़ी जांच की है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जो कोई भी हमें हिन्दुस्तान में मिलता है वह रख लिया जाता है, लेकिन हमारी बदकिस्मती यह है कि अभी हिन्दुस्तान में ट्रेड टैकनीशियन्स काफ़ी संख्या में हैं नहीं और उनको ट्रेन करने में देर लगती है, और यूरोपियन इस वजह से रखने पड़ते हैं कि हमारे पास हिन्दुस्तानी टैकनीशियन नहीं हैं। जिस वक़्त मिल जायेंगे उस वक़्त उनको हम रख लेंगे। उनकी ट्रेनिंग के लिए इन्तज़ाम हो रहा है और अब वह ट्रेन किये जा सकते हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं उम्मीद करता हूँ कि मिनिस्टर साहब जो कुछ मैंने उनकी खिदमत में अर्ज किया है उस पर ध्यान देंगे।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri Mohan Lai Gautam (U.P.: General): I think there is sufficient force in some of the objections which have just now been raised. When it is said that our Defence Expenditure amounts to Rs. 157 crores and it constitutes 48 per cent. of our total Budget, then it is in reality a fact that this is a very huge amount for this country to bear—a country poor, famished and naked. But the question arises as to whether such an expenditure is absolutely necessary or not. Uptil the time of the British regime the Army had to perform two functions viz. firstly to safeguard the country against any external aggression and secondly to maintain internal security. I feel that even after the attainment of independence, conditions have not yet been restored here which may obviate the necessity of maintaining an Army for internal security. But I hope and also feel that our Government shall have to change its line of action and abandon the use of Army for preserving the internal security, and it should make arrangements to employ its own Police Force both locally and in the Province and thus the necessity of maintaining the Army for internal security may not be felt any longer. But as long as this is not done and so long as we find that there is a necessity of keeping an Army in Bengal and other places for the maintenance of internal security, then we shall have to see whether the Army which we have is sufficient to meet our requirement or not. Today we see that the Kashmir problem has been solved, but it can not be anticipated whether

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you will give fresh orders to the Army to fight or not. Neither we nor the Government can visualize this at the moment. But it would better if we can reduce this expenditure and there is apparently not very much scope for criticism of the whole expenditure that is being incurred at present. I realize that if our country can afford, we can spend far in excess of what we are doing at present but this all depends on our country's finances. Perhaps

3 P.M. people have no idea, just as my honourable friend Maulana Sahib has stated, that while we got two-third of the army we got only one-third of the accommodation. The condition of the buildings intended for the Armed Forces is bad enough. We can say that our Land Forces are quite sufficient but so far as our Naval and Air Forces are concerned, these are inadequate. Our Naval Force existed in name only. Now perhaps its strength is being raised gradually. You will perhaps be wonderstruck to know that even if we strenuously try for the next ten years, we cannot raise the strength of our Naval Force to the extent it is possessed by a small country like New Zealand which has got a population of 20 lakhs only. A country with a population of twenty lakhs has got at present a much stronger Naval Force than that owned by us, and we will not be able to raise the strength of our Navy to that extent even after the expiry of ten years, and spending crores of rupees. The same is the case of our Air Forces. They have not any equipment. The Navy also lacks in equipment. We could get one Cruiser and that only after much difficulty. We are shortly receiving three Destroyers. We do not know even as to what their type would be. I do not think if any country will like to part away with its first-class equipment for our sake. I therefore, feel that we have still got to spend a lot. Even though after taking this as granted that this is a huge expenditure, we shall have to keep in view that a far greater amount has got to be spent further. But when I say this, it does not mean that all possible economy is being effected in the present expenditure and nothing more can be done in the matter. I think the Honourable Minister and his Department might be doing something to launch economy drive in every direction, but still there exists ample scope for doing this and exercising a strict vigilance that no extravagant expenditure is incurred. To achieve this end, I would propose the setting up of a Committee which should always watch that no money is spent extravagantly.

Just as I have now stated, we have to raise a sufficient strength of our Naval and Air Forces. Apart from this, I would like to say that our existing Ordnance Factories do manufacture small arms only but we have not got any such factory which is capable of manufacturing big arms. We shall have to set up such a factory. I would like to tell the Honourable Minister one or two things in connection with Ordnance Factories, namely that a plan covering a number of years should be formulated so that after the expiry of a specified period you may be able to set up a particular type of Ordnance Factory in this country. I do not know whether all the Ordnance Factories are located at safe places or not. If this is not the case, you shall have to shift these ultimately from those places. You shall have to replace the worn-out machinery in the existing Ordnance Factories. And above all, there should be some sort of co-ordination in respect of Ordnance Factories. Such sort of co-ordination is lacking here and I would like to invite special attention of the Government towards this aspect. Both the Industry and Defence Departments cannot be separated from each other. Only a few weeks ago a Conference was convened by the Industry Department, but no representative from the Defence Department was invited to attend that. I think it is a great blunder that no co-ordination exists between the Defence and Industry Departments. We shall also have to reorganise Ordnance Factories in such a manner that these

should manufacture ammunition in the time of war and after the cessation of hostilities these should be employed to produce such articles as might be made available for the use of the general public. So long as this is not done, the result would be that the technicians which are employed during the war-time will only manufacture a few articles, but as soon as the war is over, you will be compelled to discharge them because they will not be able to manufacture goods of public utility. The technicians will go and seek employment elsewhere. Next time if you want to re-employ them and run the factory to its maximum capacity you will not be able to get them back. Therefore, I think it will not be advisable from the point of view of the Defence Department to lose the technicians after having trained them. Such a state of affairs should be obviated as far as possible. But when you look towards this respect and devise various ways to absorb the technicians and labourers, then this would give rise to many other questions. These are: it so appears that in the case of labour the last Pay Commission have left over many anomalies. I have been told that the Department have appointed one Mr. Sahni for this purpose. But a period of fourteen months has elapsed and he has not as yet submitted any report and it is also not known as to how he proposes to remove all those anomalies.

Just like the Armed Forces, the housing problem has assumed a gigantic form in the case of factory labour as well. It has been mentioned in the report that it is well nigh impossible for the labour to get accommodation in Calcutta. In case we do not provide them with accommodation, then I would like to know as to how can the labour manage to live in Calcutta? For this reason you shall have to organise the factories in such a manner so that the labour may remain contented. This should not be the case that so long as they do not threaten to go on strike, you should not listen to them. I feel that this is a wrong course and if you continue to act in this manner, then I cannot say as to what would be the consequences?

Just like the Armed Forces, there is another serious problem which confronts the labour and that is of the temporary personnel. There is quite a large number of such temporary personnel who have put in ten to fifteen and twenty years of service. You may just see that even after having rendered such a long service, they are still temporary. They do not know as to when they might be discharged. They also do not know where to go in case of their services being terminated the next day, and moreover, while continuing to be employed here they cannot put heart and soul in their work. Thus they are surely bound to become inefficient. Therefore, I feel that this problem *viz.*, as to how many men you can assimilate should be tackled once for all, and some arrangements should be made in respect of temporary personnel.

While speaking today morning, our Honourable Minister paid glowing tribute to the States' Army. He stated that they are perfect armies and have rendered meritorious services. This we have heard today morning from the Honourable Minister. I think the time has now come that after the integration of the States and unification of the country, it is no longer necessary that the States should be allowed to maintain separate armies under their control. All these should also be integrated. All those armies should be brought under our Command, and one Organisation and the police only should be left under the control of the States. This would not only result in a considerable saving being made under the Defence Expenditure, but would also remove the inefficiency that exists in the Armies maintained by smaller States and increase the strength of your Army. I feel we shall have to devote our immediate attention to this aspect and integrate these armies also. Another aspect to which I would like to invite the attention of the Government and in respect of which we have perhaps upto now been feeling many difficulties is that we have to import from abroad the equipment for our Army. I doubt it that whatever

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goods we purchase, we get first-rate. Apart from this, from whatever part of the country we may obtain the goods, we have got to see as to how will we be able to manufacture these in our country. If we purchase the stores from abroad, it will also affect our foreign policy. This is a very gigantic problem over which I cannot say much within one or one and a half minutes which is left at my disposal. But now we shall have to consider over this matter carefully as to how can we make our country strong and how can we purchase these stores from the other parts of the world? Therefore, I would submit that although adequate action is being taken, yet there remains lot to be done.

It has just been stated that we have got European Technicians. I have also studied this problem at a great length. I think that whoever is available in India is employed by us. But unfortunately, we have not as yet got a sufficient number of trained technicians in India and it takes time to train them. The Europeans have got to be employed on account of the reason that we do not have adequate number of Indian Technicians. As soon they become available, we shall employ them. Arrangements have been made to train them and they can now be trained.

With these words, I hope that the Honourable Minister would consider over the various suggestions which I have ventured to make.

Shri Biswanath Das (Orissa: General): Sir, I rise to congratulate my friend for having been able to raise an efficient Army, which is in formation, out of the ashes of the combined Indian Forces that we lost as a result of August 15th, 1947. Sir, the Cabinet Mission in its plan of 15th May 1946 have given weighty economic, administrative and above all military reasons against the partition of India. They had laid special stress on the military aspect of the question and I do not think I could do better than quote one sentence out of it:

"The Armed Forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and break them into two would inflict a deadly blow".

Sir, we were necessarily very nervous when this partition came, and it is to the glory of the Cabinet and especially of my honourable friend to have brought out something brilliant and glorious out of the ashes. Without meaning any exaggeration, I think our defence position is fairly secure and we today have a fairly good Army enough to give us security in the whole of South-East Asia.

All these have been effected certainly at a heavy cost. We have to spend 48 per cent. of our revenues this year, as has been plainly stated by my honourable friend. The question, therefore, comes in whether we have to accept bread and butter or guns and munitions. I must, in this connection, draw the attention of the honourable Members of this House to the severe comments offered by the *Eastern Economist*. It claims that the defence expenditure could have been cut short by at least Rs. 35 crores, fixing it at about 120 crores. But, Sir, we have to realise that we are in a stage of formation. When Britain left us, the British Navy was guarding the Indian shores, the British personnel was commanding the Indian Army and we were dependent upon not only British officials but also on British equipment and research. Therefore, our Army, big or little as it is, is in a stage of formation, it is still forming, and it would be ideal to criticise today about the finances involved or the expenses that we have to incur. The world conditions, and above all the internal security conditions and also the feelings of neighbours, all combined—which have been brilliantly summarised by my honourable friend the Minister for Finance—make it incumbent on India to spend more for her se-

curity. It is unfortunate that our expectations have not been fulfilled, namely of the League of Nations, of which India is a permanent Member. She was expected to have an international army to look to the peace and security of all the nations of the world. Our anticipations have so far been falsified; we have neither peace nor any sense of security. Pakistan, our neighbour till yesterday was with us and part of us, but it is difficult to find out what her intentions are. Sometimes she gives us kicks, sometimes kisses. What to accept, kisses or kicks?—it is difficult to know. I realise the anxiety of my honourable friend Mr. Kaimuddin and I reciprocate his feelings. The time has come when there should be a sort of a defence agreement or arrangement with Pakistan but how long it will take remains to be seen—God alone knows it.

Some of my friends have consoled themselves with the idea that we are having a good Army and we are having some amount of security. But to what purpose? So long as your Army is merely Indian without Indian equipment, I think to that extent our dependence is lasting and our so-called independent Army is nothing. Therefore, I would appeal to my honourable friend the Minister in charge, and especially my honourable friend the Minister for Finance to take every step in order to keep for India a ready and efficient Indian Army for her security purposes. For this, India should also be able either to start different industries and have Indian armaments herself by starting State organisations or take all necessary and possible action to encourage private enterprise so that India will have very soon not only Indian troops but also Indian equipment. In this connection, let me say this about the purchase of battleships and cruisers, old, antiquated, probably some of them rotten—I do not know—but I have to believe our military officials. We have to purchase these—to what purpose? Why not take up a building programme? America, England and all other free countries have taken to such programmes, why not India do it? Do it yourself or encourage private enterprise. We have got enough possibilities for encouraging ship-building yards in different parts of the country. Stating as a witness, Capt. Choudry gave very good evidence before the Indian Industrial Commission which sat between 1914 and 1916, advocating the starting of a ship-building yard in Orissa at that time. He said that in the East Coast there are very good places where ship-building yards and the ship-building industry could be started. Why not do it? Why depend on British and American antiquated, and rejected ships?

Having stated so much about equipment, I come to the question of the Indian Army. Sir, I have nothing but praise for them. They have none of the protection provided for them under Sections 232 to 239 of the Government of India Act. The adaptations have taken away all the protection that was given to British officials and today our men are as nationalist as nationalists could be. I thank them through you and request the Minister in charge of the Department to convey our feelings to them.

Not only this, but the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Forces is no more His Excellency today. Nor is he drawing the fat salaries that his predecessors were drawing, and yet he is called upon to take heavier responsibility and more onerous duties. He has to defend India, he has to defend our frontiers, he has to defend the coast. It falls to me therefore to give him a warning. When the Japanese war came, the first naval action took place in the Orissa coast and I still recollect the hurry with which the officials in Orissa had to receive the injured and pay attention to the distressed that had to land as a result of the naval action. Now, you have neither Akyab nor Chittagong to help you in giving protection and as for Pakistan, I have told you it is a question of

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alternative kicks and kisses. Unless they come to some sort of understanding with the Government of India, I think it is fair that the Government of India should see that the eastern coast, particularly the provinces of Bengal and Orissa, are properly safeguarded.

Need I, in this connection, state that you have got the Chilka lake, which is the biggest one in India. My honourable friend Sri Umacharan Patnaik, a member of the Orissa Assembly, who was in the Territorial Forces, has written a valuable book on this problem of utilisation of Chilka for purposes of defence and trade. Looking to history you will see that there was a time when Chilka was a very flourishing port in the eastern coast. I would therefore appeal to the Ministry of Defence and the other concerned Departments to explore the possibilities of utilisation of this great natural benefit that God has given to India.

Now, I come to another question and that is equally important. Having shaken off our dependence on the British Navy, we have to build up our Navy. We have to prepare ourselves to build our Navy. You are building up institutions in Cochin. Why concentrate your activities only at concentrated places? Why not have it diffused in three or four places in the wide coastal line of 4000 miles, so that you will have them at various places. You do not know from what direction troubles come. Sometimes they come from the west; sometimes they come from the east. Is it not fair, necessary and desirable to have institutions at different places instead of concentrating them at one place? I, therefore, appeal to you to give due consideration to this aspect of the question.

I had a number of things to say, but I am sorry there is little time at my disposal. I have stated and I will state again that the time has come when I would appeal to my honourable friend to instruct the Commander-in-Chief and the Generals to visit various provincial headquarters and also university centres and give our young men an idea about the Military, the Navy and the Air Forces, so that they will get some instructions about defence and discipline which is so much wanting in educational institutions and thus you will find very good recruiting ground in these universities.

As my time is up, I wish to repeat as I have begun. I thank my honourable friend and also our Army for the very good and splendid way in which they have discharged their responsibilities equally both in war and in peace—war, because in Kashmir and Hyderabad as also in other places they have shown their mettle. Even Muslim friends have joined the Indian forces giving a direct lie to the anticipations and expectations of communalists, in peace because at times of internal trouble our Army has shown its grit. Although it is now mainly Hindu and Sikh, it has given enough protection to Muslims. I, through you, Sir, convey our sense of appreciation of the Army.

One word more and I shall have done. It is this. Mr. Karimuddin sounded a note of warning in the sense that there are very few Muslims in the Army. I think my friend will agree with me that the Ministry and the Army have shown the greatest confidence by allowing General El Edroos to command even today the army in Hyderabad. No further proof is necessary to the world and to my honourable friend of the genuineness of non-communal feeling of the military, the Ministry and the Cabinet.

Mr. Frank Anthony (C. P. and Berar: General): Sir, in the short time at my disposal, I do not propose to elaborate on the tribute that I feel it is necessary to pay to the officers and men of the Armed Forces. Personally, I do not think

any tribute which is too high can be paid to the officers and the men for the manner in which they have weathered the shock of division, our Army was denuded of senior officers and we had to carry on with junior men, many of us felt justifiable misgivings at that time as to whether we would be able to recapture the first-class standards which had been obtaining in our Armed Forces. Today I do not believe that any one who has any knowledge of our Armed Forces has any misgiving whatsoever. I believe that the first-class standards of efficiency, soldiering, discipline and leadership which obtained and for which our Armed Forces have been rightly famous have been more than recaptured.

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (one of the Panel of Chairmen.)]

Sir, it is because I am anxious that these acceptedly high standards of leadership, efficiency and discipline should be maintained and if possible strengthened, that I wish to draw the particular attention of the Defence Minister to a matter which, I believe, is creating widespread discontent among all sections of the officers of the Armed Forces. I refer, Sir, to the new Pay Code. It is only right that members of the Armed Forces should not be allowed to agitate for the redress of their grievances. That is an accepted axiom in all the democracies, but while we have this axiom that they should not be permitted to agitate for the redress of their grievances, to that extent it places a greater responsibility on the Defence Minister and those dealing with this problem to see that no removeable grievances exist among officers and men. We would be blinking at facts if we were told that there is no widespread discontent among the officers today as a result of the new Pay Code. If my honourable friend will listen to me, I feel that he will be inclined to agree with what I am attempting to tell this House. It is a known fact that the officers today receive very much less than they were receiving formerly. That by itself is no justification for giving them the former scales of pay. But this is a fact. I was a member of the Pay Commission. Comparing what the Pay Commission gave to his civilian counterpart, I feel that the New Pay Code has not been completely fair with the Army Officer. The Pay Commission accepted a fundamental principle that no officer would have his salary reduced. For instance, if an Officer was getting Rs. 1,100 by no process could he be made to get less than Rs. 1,100. When the question of promotion came, he might have been promoted to the next higher grade and put at a point where he would get a little more than Rs. 1,100, but at no point of time would he be made to receive less than the pay he was receiving, namely, Rs. 1,100. But what has happened in the Armed Forces? My friend there will say: 'Though we have reduced their salaries, we have staggered the reduction over a period of four to five years.' I can give him hundreds of instances. Majors with wives and children who were getting Rs. 1,400 to 1,500 today find their salaries reduced. They have received promotions only in name. They are Colonels and so far commanding battalions. Their positions are much more responsible now and yet they are now getting about Rs. 350 less than what they were getting formerly. Sir, I join issue with my friend Mr. Sidhva. I do not think he has studied this question as much as I have done. He was satisfied with the answer that the Defence Minister gave that the scales given to the new men are liberal. I join issue on this statement. I say that they are not liberal. They are definitely unfair. I hope my honourable friend the Minister is aware of this and would not like me to say that the facts given by him are incorrect. I know of Captains today who are getting Rs. 450 a month. They have wives and on an average three children. They are paid this flat rate. You have done away with their marriage allowances, children's allowances and the like. What is the result? Captains are living today in the different messes in little better condition than that of coolies and servants. I have seen

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this for myself. They have to pay rent and live in conditions suited to an officer. You expect them to live like officers and gentlemen. They have to pay rent and messing charges for their wives and children: these account for as much as Rs. 420 out of the Rs. 450. You leave a Captain with Rs. 30 to pay for his servants and all his other needs. This is what is happening today. My friends will never understand this. They want to apply the civilian standards to the Army. You expect these men to subscribe to certain minimum standard. You want them to maintain the standards of gentlemen, a certain smartness and the like. My friends there do not understand these things and they will never understand these things. My friend will be quite prepared to make Captains and Majors live like coolies going about the streets shabbily dressed. This will undermine their morale and their smartness. If you apply civilian standards to the army you will be reducing it to a second class army, make it a rabble army such as in the Middle East.....

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Madras: General): Does not the Government provide them with uniform?

Mr. Frank Anthony: That is the trouble. There is so much gross ignorance. I am talking with some authority. I know something about the subject. When a man is commanding a battalion.....

Shri R. K. Sidhva: What is your authority, may I know?

Mr. Frank Anthony: I have done some soldiering and was for many years a member of the National Defence Council.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: All rank snobbery.

Mr. Frank Anthony: There are certain imponderables that may be maintained if you want to maintain first class leadership. Our soliders are the best in the world. But this is an axiom that an Army is only as good as its leadership. Take away the first-class leadership of the army and you will reduce it to a rabble army such as we see in the Middle East. I feel very strongly about this matter. I meet officers of all ranks and they tell me that this is what is happening. There is a perceptible undermining of the efficiency of the officer class. Two results have emerged immediately. There is bitterness. How can you expect these officers to live on lower incomes with added responsibility? If you allow your senior officers and your junior officers and the Air Force men the right to premature retirement, tomorrow 80 per cent. of them are likely to leave, because they get much more as salaries in civilian life. I do not want to cause any sense of agitation among the officers. I am asking you to give them a reasonable standard of life. Why are we maintaining discrimination between the Sandhurst men and Indian trained men? Your pay scales are iniquitously inadequate that a Sandhurst man is getting much more than an Indian trained man. You treat the Sandhurst man as a key man and he refuses to accept the iniquitously low salaries you are paying his counter part trained in this country. (*Interruption*). There is this differential treatment between a Sandhurst man and an Indian Commissioned officer, because the Sandhurst man will not accept the new Pay Code and you have willy-nilly to pay the Sandhurst man more. What need is there for this discrimination? Is it your intention that the Indian trained officer should not have a reasonable standard of life? I cannot help feeling that this is false economy, fatal economy. I am not pleading any particular man's case, because I have no axe to grind. But it is false economy. If you think that you cannot meet the bill of an army of the present size, cut down the army; have a small force led by first-class men. But don't have a large rambling army or undermine the qualities of leadership which we have built up over several decades.

There are only two more points I wish to make. I am very glad that a person of the stature of General Cariappa has been appointed Commander-in-Chief. I feel that his appointment has met with general approval. I am certain that with him as the head of the army, the old standards of efficiency, discipline and leadership will be maintained.

There is one other matter I wish to refer to. The army and the armed forces have set up an exemplary standard in the matter of unity, brotherhood and the complete absence of communalism and sectarianism. I am one of those who feel that all those traditions of unity and sense of nationhood should be maintained. I feel that every possible step should be taken immediately to remove the last vestiges of sectarianism in the armed forces. I remember that the Wilcox Army Re-organisation Committee recommended that all communal names of units, communal units, etc. should be abolished immediately. I would ask the honourable Minister to see that this is done immediately.

I want to refer to one other matter. I feel that while our armed forces ensure the protection and the integrity of the country, they will do so only as long as the intrigue and nepotism of civilian life are not allowed to seep into the armed forces. Army men are expressing the fear that the nepotism and intrigue of civilian life are seeping into the armed forces. This is one of the greatest of responsibilities that the Minister for Defence and his Department face. I feel that the Commander-in-Chief with his high reputation will set his face sternly against any attempt at nepotism. But it should be the business of the Ministry, to strengthen his hands and see to it that politicians, the members of your Ministry, civilian members, do not interfere with the running of the Armed Forces. In a new found freedom, there is an understandable tendency for politicians and civilians—I am both—to over-reach themselves, to interfere in matters which they do not understand. I would like the honourable Minister to see to it that his Secretaries, joint Secretaries or Under Secretaries, merely because they happened to have passed the Indian Civil Service Examination, do not think that they have a greater mental calibre than the Generals commanding the army, and dictate that this or that should be done with regard to the Armed Forces. This is a grave danger. You have professional men, first class men: Let them do the job of soldiering. It is almost gratuitous for me to emphasise that this whole approach to the Armed Forces today is perhaps the most vital problem that faces us. It is our greatest trust and our greatest responsibility, and on how we discharge that trust will not only depend the integrity and strength of our Armed Forces but also the safety and existence of India.

Shri B. Shiva Rao (Madras: General): Sir, as I sat listening to the debate, it struck me that if my honourable friend, the Finance Minister could feel envious of a colleague—he has very good reason to be so of the honourable the Defence Minister; because while in the course of the general discussion of the Budget, speaker after speaker raised the point of economy in the Civil administration, today the debate has been more in favour of extra expenditure rather than that of economy. I am not against extra expenditure on Defence, if I can be assured of full value for my money. It is of the utmost importance in a world where the situation is uncertain and may indeed break down, it is of the utmost importance that Independent India should build up as soon as possible an efficient, balanced and all-round fighting machine. But I would like to be assured that the money spent is well spent, and that the utmost economy is exercised in putting forward schemes for expenditure. I was not impressed this morning when the Defence Minister made a comparison between the Defence Budgets of the Government of India and of Pakistan. It may be true that Pakistan spends a larger proportion of her annual budget this year on defence than we do in this country. At the same time, we must remember that a nation with a smaller budget is bound to spend a larger proportion on defence

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than a country with a much larger budget like ours. I hope, Sir, that the Finance Minister will remember to have a separate scrutiny of Defence expenditure at the end of the Budget Session and satisfy himself and the House that every scheme that is put forward is necessary to improve the efficiency of the fighting forces. The main reason why I have intervened in this debate is to put forward what I may call the 'lay man's point of view' in regard to certain aspects of schemes of development and the re-organization of the Armed Forces to which the Defence Minister referred in his speech this morning.

At the end of the First World War, there was Lord Escher's Committee which went comprehensively into the structure and methods of the Army of that time. I remember that in the very first session of the Reformed Legislature in 1921, the main business of the Budget Session of that year was to review Lord Escher's report and to base certain conclusions thereon. I can well understand that during the last eighteen months, the Defence Ministry has been preoccupied with numerous problems of Kashmir and Hyderabad and the maintenance of law and order. But now that those preoccupations are beginning to recede into the background, the time seems to me ripe for the formulation of long-term plans for the building up of our fighting forces; but before the Defence Ministry proceeds very far, I hope the House will have an opportunity of knowing first hand from him, to the extent that he can take us into confidence, the objectives he has in view in building up our own fighting machine.

Speaking for myself, I welcome the provision in the Budget for the appointment of 40 senior scientists and 100 junior scientists to work on scientific problems in relation to the Army, Navy and Air Force. Sir, science has gone so much into the technique of war, that we cannot hope to build a modern fighting machine without a very large demand on scientific research. There is another aspect to which I would devote a moment. Just before the beginning of the war there was Lord Chatfield's Committee which went into the question of mechanization of the Army, and I believe the process of mechanization has gone very far today; but I would like the Defence Minister to consider whether having regard to the conditions in this country, it is either practicable or desirable to complete the process of mechanization. I am saying this because I remember that in the early phases of the war, when Burma was overrun very rapidly by the Japanese, the British Commander in charge of the Allied Forces in Burma at a Press Conference, which he held here, confessed that one of the blunders which led to the disaster in Burma was that while the Japanese did not hesitate to use country-craft and even bullock-carts in Burma, the British threw into a country with very few communications a highly mechanized force. I think that too is an aspect to be borne in mind in going ahead with our plans for the building up of the Army.

Turning to the Budget estimates for this year, I welcome the provision for an expansion of the Territorial Forces and of the National Cadet Corps; but like my honourable friend, Mr. Poonacha from Coorg, who spoke earlier this afternoon, I too have my apprehensions about allowing provinces to develop their own battalions for the maintenance of internal security. On the one side, I think it is undesirable that our Regulars should be called upon to help the civil authorities in the maintenance of law and order. On the other hand, in a Federal Constitution, I think one must proceed with a certain amount of caution in allowing the provinces to develop provincial battalions. I say this particularly because last August I raised a short Notice question in this House on a communication issued by the East Punjab Government in the course of which that provincial Government said that it had offered certain terms and conditions to General Mohan Singh to build up a volunteer corps in certain districts in the East Punjab. I think, Sir, on the question of law and order, the Government of

India will have to think afresh and see whether it cannot have a National Militia rather on the lines of the Canadian Military Police, entirely at the disposal of the Central Government and distinct from the regular Army. Sir, there is very little in the explanatory memorandum which has been supplied to us and in the statement which was made this morning to explain why almost a crore of Rupees is being spent on the Frontier Corps. I would like to know when the Defence Minister speaks on this subject later some more details as to the nature of this expenditure. I am referring to it because until very recently, the Frontier meant the North West Frontier. I know how many crores of Rupees were spent from year to year on it by the British on a policy which seemed to be a combination of coercion of the tribes and bribery. Having spent a few days in Waziristan on the eve of the war, I was convinced that the right policy would have been to increase the expenditure on hospitals, on schools, on irrigation schemes, rather than in keeping the tribes under submission by methods of repression. I hope the present Government of India will lay more emphasis on social development and on the formation of local militia very much on the lines of the Waziristan Scouts so far as the maintenance of law and order is concerned.

There is one final point I would like to make before sitting down. War today is global. When war is declared, the top-ranking military officers have to take into account a great many things more at the present moment than in the earlier wars. It seems to me the time has come when the Defence Ministry should apply its mind seriously to adding to the courses at the Staff College at Wellington, subjects such as economics, politics, sociology and science. It is very necessary that the Ministry should attempt to build up both in the Staff College at Wellington and in the regimental units libraries dealing especially with international problems.

I was interested in the suggestion which was made by my friend opposite regarding the possibilities of a non-aggression pact with Pakistan. Recently, immediately after the Asian Conference on Indonesia, which was held here, the leader of the Ceylonese Delegation in a speech which he delivered under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs, threw out a similar suggestion, not a non-aggression pact, with one country only, Pakistan, but a Defence Pact which could cover Ceylon, Pakistan, Burma, Malaya and Indonesia. I do not say that the time is ripe for going ahead with any scheme of that kind. On the other hand, I think that the Defence Ministry should have one section which would devote very careful and serious attention to possibilities of this kind. There is at the present moment, a joint defence scheme between Australia and New Zealand, which covers a great many subjects. It is possible for these two Dominions to have coordination not only in regard to the organisation, equipment, training and exercise of the Armed Forces, but also joint planning, interchange of staff, production of munitions, aircraft and numerous other items necessarily be considered in connection with defence problems. I do not say that it would be possible for us immediately to think in these terms; but, there are looser types of joint action, like the Atlantic Pact for instance, or the Union of the Latin American Republics. I suggest this because, all the countries which I have just mentioned have achieved independence recently and the burden of defence for independent countries is becoming so intolerably heavy that one is compelled to think in terms of joint action. Anything that we can do to facilitate such action, I suggest, must be welcome to the Defence Ministry.

Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri (Assam: General): Sir, I congratulate the honourable Minister of Defence for the esteem and affection which he enjoys of his countrymen. We are certainly grateful to him for his achievement of the past two years. Though insufficiently equipped, by dint of constant

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vigilance and restless activity, he was able to avoid a situation which might have been more serious. By and by, he has been able to instil in our minds a sense of security which is very beneficial for the welfare of the country. If I covet any office, I am frank in this matter, my other friends are not so frank, I covet the office of the Minister for Defence. With the able guidance of two of our foremost leaders, namely Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, he, I am sure, will be able to bring back to India the past glory of *Bharat Varsha*.

He is now trying to build up the Army, Navy and the Air Force. We all wish him God speed in this. My only grievance, and a personal grievance, against him is that he does not look as formidable as the Defence Minister should be. His adonis like appearance,—I am only quoting one of the ladies who has just spoken,—his soft look, his gentle manners, tempt many of the politically minded ladies to waste some of his time. But I hope when his age grows, as time passes on, he will be able to put up a sterner appearance and a more luxurious beard on his face which will carry an impression of awe which a Defence Minister ought to carry. Particularly, because, we have not today a Commander-in-Chief who also occupies the position of a Minister and I stoutly disapprove the idea of having a Commander-in-Chief now who will be able to stand out stoutly to three other Commanders. I hope if I am here next year, I would be able to see in my honourable friend a sterner appearance which he ought to possess.

I have heard the criticism, not so much in this House, as outside it, that we are following the British budget so far as military expenditure is concerned. I ask the honourable Minister,—I have no particular axe to grind at the present moment,—if he is satisfied with the amount which has been given to him. If he is satisfied well and good; if he is not satisfied, I would be prepared to vote further grants. The reason is quite obvious. We have seen what our position is with regard to the Navy. On 15th August 1947 when the partition took place, we had only a few sloops, and frigates; nothing that could be called a really equipped force. Most of the Navy men who belonged to Pakistan, left us and joined the Pakistan force. We had practically nothing in our hands and we had to get a lot of things. If we want to have a fully equipped Navy, we have a long list to acquire; at the present moment we have none. Similar is the case with the Air Force. What we have is quite insufficient. I want my country to be so fully equipped that my Army, my Navy and my Air Force will be the pride of the world. I want such a force as would be able to maintain not only peace in Asia and India, protect Asia and India, but by dint of its own strength, by show of its force, would be able to make war a rare thing in this world. It is for this reason that I unhesitatingly say that I am prepared to vote for him further grants if he is only in the position to spend it properly. I fully endorse the viewpoint

4 P.M. which has been put forward by my honourable friend, Mr. Anthony. I know that this armed force had acquitted itself wonderfully well in spite of the great personal disadvantages which they had to undergo. That was due to a sense of patriotism: that was due to a sense of relief from a transfer of control from the British to Indian hands. But are you going to bank on this feeling for a long time? Can you really depend on this feeling and continue to reduce their pittance to the present position in which they are now? My honourable friend, Mr. Anthony, has explained by giving figures whereby it is clearly shown that it is impossible for any officer to make both ends meet now after all their allowances have been reduced in the manner that it has been done. Has the necessity of the defence of our country been less now than it was during the British regime? What then is the justification for the sudden reduction of

expenditure on allowances? If you really want to have a good army, make it well contented. It is no use, as Mr. Anthony has said to have a big and huge army, most of which is discontented. I believe in a well-dressed, and well-equipped officer and soldier. I do not want an officer to be reduced to a position where instead of smoking cigarettes he will have to go about smoking a *biri*, and instead of having his tobacco he should go about chewing *pan*. I cannot picture that kind of an Army officer. I do not wish to see an officer going about with a uniform which is crumpled: an uniform that has not been ironed for days together. But all this I tell you is going to happen in a short time because you have not left any other alternative on account of the poor pay, on account of the poor position to which you are driving them. They must go and see a *jatra* performance: they must smoke *biris* and they must go on chewing *pan* and bespatter their dress. This is a state of affairs that is haunting me now.

I do not really understand what is the object of doing away with the marriage allowance altogether. If the honourable the Defence Minister discourages—either on account of his personal experience or otherwise—the idea of marriage, or of having children I could quite understand. But there are in his Forces already married men and already men who are fathers of children. What is he going to do with them? It is impossible for them to bring their wives and live in hostels because the allowance is too little for them. Does he want a perpetual separation as a sort of compliment to the advocates of the Hindu Code—separation between husband and wife? If that is his intention, I cannot have much to say. If that is not so, then I submit that all these allowances should be restored.

I would like to draw the attention of the honourable Minister to another aspect of the matter. On account of the poor allowances and pay which they get they are not able to insure their lives in a proper manner, with the result that when a sudden casualty of an officer takes place—as I know of an officer who has met with death recently, who has left behind a wife and three children—the wife gets an allowance of Rs. 200 p.m., and this is a Major's wife. How can that family exist? Is this the treatment which you should meet out to the family of a man who has lost his life in the service prematurely? All those criticisms on military expenditure were of a type when the British were ruling: but those criticisms will not apply to military expenditure today.

We have budgeted almost the same amount as the Pakistan Government has budgeted in their own Dominion and yet it is known to every one that Pakistan is much better off than ourselves so far as the military position is concerned. They have not hesitated to budget as much as we have. This allotment of money for defence expenditure has been misinterpreted by some public men and an important daily paper in India to mean that we are in an armament race in which Pakistan and India want to vie with each other. So far as we are concerned, I think the honourable Minister will bear me out that we have no such intention. We have provided so much money because we need not only this but more than this amount. There is no question of an armament race and there is therefore no question of a compromise or an agreement so far as defence expenditure is concerned between Pakistan and India.

As I close, I would only like to draw the attention of the honourable the Defence Minister to my own province, the Eastern Frontier. There is danger brewing in that frontier. There is a State which is on the border of India, and that State as far as my information goes—I may be wrong or I may be right—is already full of Communists; and from that point—from that State to the neighbouring districts, that is the neighbouring tribal areas—the march

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is only of a few hours. God forbid if anything should happen to Burma! The conquest of Assam, Bengal and even Bihar will be only a question of time. The forces which come from the tribal areas do not care much for the whip of the Bihar Minister. If they can only cross the Assam and Bengal frontier, it will not take the twinkling of an eye for them to get hold of Bihar. So, I say, that you must take time by the forelock and you must see to it that proper defence arrangements are made for Assam. I regret to have to say that the Government is not giving the attention which was due to the making of roads in the province. The road to Tripura is lying absolutely unprotected.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: There is a provision for Assam.

Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: Unless you have a road from Shillong to Tripura through Silchar, you will not be in a position to protect Tripura in an emergency and yet the Government of India is quarrelling at the present moment with the Government of Assam as regards the allocation of expenditure for those roads. The road to Ledo.....

Shri R. K. Sidhva: Rs. 50 lakhs have been provided for Assam.

Mr. Chairman: May I remind the honourable Member that there are two more members to speak. May I request him to close his speech.

Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: If you request me, I shall stop.

Mr. Chairman: Certainly. I do request you.

Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: So, I have two words more to say. The road which is there from Ledo to China, which was built at considerable cost, has been neglected and that is the road which is necessary for our purpose. The road from Golaghat to Dinapore through which only transports can go from Assam to Manipur State is also in a dilapidated condition and it will give way.

श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय : श्रीमान अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज वैसे तो कटमोशन के लिये समय था, लेकिन जनरल डिसकशन के तौर पर ही हम लोगों को कुछ कहना है। हिन्दुस्तान अंग्रेजों के कब्जे से निकल कर अब आजाद हो गया है और हम सब लोगों पर यह ज़िम्मेदारियां बढ़ गई हैं, जैसे देश की रक्षा की। यहां जितने मੈम्बरस हैं वह उन सबको यह महसूस करना चाहिये कि देश की रक्षा की ज़िम्मेदारी हमारी है, यह सिर्फ कैबिनेट या गवर्नमेंट की ही ज़िम्मेदारी नहीं है, बल्कि हम सब को इस विषय में सोचना चाहिये और देश की रक्षा के वास्ते पूरी गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिये। यहां जो कुछ भाषण हुये हैं, उनके विषय में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि कुछ साहबान ने कहा फ़ौजी अफसरों की तन्ख्वाहें कम हैं और उनको ज्यादा मिलनी चाहिये। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि हम एक नुमाइन्दे के तौर पर या कुछ लोगों की इस विषय में कठिनाइयां व्यक्त करें, लेकिन उससे कुछ अच्छा असर पैदा होने वाला नहीं है। हम लोग अगर देखेंगे तो उधर रेलवे में हम काफी मजदूरी नहीं दे रहे हैं, इधर हम गवर्नमेंट सर्वेन्ट्स को काफी तन्ख्वाहें नहीं दे रहे

हैं, उधर हम फ़ौज के लोगों को काफी तन्ख्वाहें नहीं दे रहे हैं, तो आखिर आप इतना रुपया कहां से लाने वाले हैं। सवाल यह है कि आज जब देश में हमें अपने बजट को बैलेन्स करना है और जो देश के थोड़े से resources हैं, या जो साधन हैं, उनके अन्दर काम चलाना है। तो हम यह यहां नहीं कह सकते कि उनकी amenities या हर तरह के एलाउन्सेज (allowances) बढ़ाये जायें। थोड़ा बहुत करने के लिये तो मैं जरूर मुनासिब समझूंगा। लेकिन जो अफसरान हैं अगर तन्ख्वाहें और दूसरे एलाउन्सेज उनके नहीं बढ़ाये जाते, तो और दूसरी सहायित्तें बढ़ाने के विषय में डिफ़ेंस मिनिस्टरी को गौर करना चाहिये और मैं समझता हूं कि वह इस पर गौर करेंगे। लेकिन जहां तक कोई ज्यादा खर्चा बढ़ाने का सवाल है, मैं समझता हूं कि कुल बजट को देखते हुये जो कि इस वक्त भी काफी बढ़ा हुआ है, मुनासिब नहीं होगा। फ़ौज पर हम १३२ करोड़ रुपया देने वाले हैं। समुद्री सेना पर ८ करोड़ ६४ लाख और हवाई सेना पर १३ करोड़ ७५ लाख और दूसरे खर्चे (Defence Services Non-effective) १३ करोड़ के हैं। इस तरह से कुल खर्चा १६८ करोड़ के करीब आ जाता है। जब यह कुल इतना बढ़ा मालूम हो रहा है तो मैं नहीं समझ सकता कि हम अफसरों की तन्ख्वाहों और एलाउन्सेज किस तरह से बढ़ा सकते हैं। यहां के भाषणों में एक भाषण इस विषय का रहा कि हम पाकिस्तान से कोई डिफ़ेंस पैकट कर लें। हिन्दुस्तान जैसे लम्बे चौड़े मुल्क के लिये यह कहना कि वह इस समय race of armaments में पड़ा हुआ है, गलत है। मैं समझता हूं कि यह महज पाकिस्तान की पालियामेंट में जब वहां बजट पेश किया गया और वहां फ़ौज का खर्चा पेश किया गया, तो उसको जस्टीफ़ाई करने के लिये जो दलील दी गई है, उससे जो सिलसिला चालू हुआ वह सिलसिला हमारी पालियामेंट में भी शुरू हो गया। मैं समझता हूं कि हमको इस तरीके से कोई मुकाबिला करने की जरूरत नहीं है। हिन्दुस्तान तो पहले भी self-sufficient नहीं है। हम यहां फ़ौज पर इतना भारी खर्चा कर रहे हैं, हम अपनी नेवी पर और ऐयर फ़ोर्स पर बहुत ज्यादा रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं। हमारी नेवी का खर्चा ८ करोड़ और हवाई सेना का १३ करोड़ है। लेकिन असलियत यह है कि यह बहुत ही नाकाफी है और आजकल क जमाने में आप आरमी चाहे जितनी बढ़ाते चले जायें, लेकिन जब तक आपकी हवाई फ़ौज ऐसी न हो, और उसको बनाने के लिये बड़े-बड़े कारखाने न हों, जब तक आप यहां डिफ़ेंस इन्डस्ट्रीज यहां पर अच्छी तरह कायम नहीं करते, तब तक आप मुल्क की कोई तरक्की नहीं कर सकते। इसलिये जरूरत तो यह है कि जैसा अभी श्री चौधरी साहब ने कहा कि आरमी की हमें बहुत जरूरत है। हिन्दुस्तान इतना लंबा चौड़ा मुल्क है, और हमारे पास नेवी इतनी कम है कि हमको नेवी की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिये, हमको हवाई सेना की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिये, और इन बातों की तरफ इस बजट में बहुत कम गुंजायश है। मैं समझता हूं कि

[श्री गोपीकृष्ण विजयवर्गीय]

इन दो सेक्शनस में हमको बहुत ज्यादा गौर करने की जरूरत है और जो डिफेंस इन्डस्ट्रीज हिन्दुस्तान में बनने वाली हैं, उनकी तरफ ज्यादा खर्चा करने की जरूरत है। तो इसलिये यहां armaments की रेस तो है ही नहीं, जैसा कि काजी करीमुद्दीन साहब ने कहा था। यहां हिन्दुस्तान इस दृष्टि से आगे नहीं बढ़ रहा है। हिन्दुस्तान किसी का मुकाबिला नहीं करना चाहता, हिन्दुस्तान किसी मुल्क से लड़ना नहीं चाहता। इसलिये race of armament की दलील देना गलत है। हम अभी तक अपने पैरों पर खड़े होने लायक अपनी फ़ौज और हवाई सेना और नेवी नहीं बना पाये हैं। नेवी के एक्सपैन्शन (expansion) का जो प्रोग्राम है, वह अभी अधूरा है। श्रीमान् अध्यक्ष महोदय में अभी बम्बई गया था और वहां नेवी के विषय में थोड़ा देखा। हमारी नेवी हमारे मुल्क की लम्बाई चौड़ाई के लिहाज से काफी नहीं है। दूसरे मुल्कों के पास जैसी नेवी है, उसके लायक हमारे पास बिल्कुल नहीं है और इसलिये हमको बहुत जल्द अपनी नेवी को बढ़ाना चाहिये और हवाई फ़ौज को बढ़ाना चाहिये। और उसके लिये बजट में जो गुंजायश रखी गयी है, प्राविजन रखा गया है, वह बहुत कम है और उस तरफ गवर्नमेन्ट को ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिये, ताकि हम दुनिया के दूसरे मुल्कों के मुकाबिले में कमजोर न रहें। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि पिछले दिनों पिछले साल काश्मीर, हैदराबाद और दूसरे कारणों से ज्यादा खर्चा हुआ है। और उसमें हमारी फ़ौज ने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है।

लेकिन फ़ौज के जो यह दो हिस्से हैं अंग है उनको हमें बनाना है नेवी और ऐयर फ़ोर्स की तरफ बहुत जल्द ध्यान देना चाहिये और डिफेंस इन्डस्ट्रीज हमारे यहां बहुत जल्द बनाई जानी चाहिये।

श्री अध्यक्ष महोदय मैं एक रियासत से आता हूं जिसका नाम है मध्य भारत। मैं रियासती फ़ौज के विषय में कुछ कहना चाहता हूं। देश की कई छोटी छोटी रियासतों में नाम मात्र की फ़ौजें थीं और कहीं तो बहुत छोटी रियासतों में दस सिपाही तक थे और कहीं पन्द्रह थे और इन सब का नाम फ़ौज था। न उनके पास ठीक वर्दियां थीं, न हथियार न एम्प्लुनीशन, कुछ भी नहीं था। वह तो महज एक तमाशा थीं। अब कई छोटी छोटी रियासतें इकट्ठा होकर एक यूनियन बन गई हैं और उसमें जो फ़ौजें हैं उनमें जैसी हिन्दुस्तानी फ़ौज में efficiency होती है, वैसी नहीं पाई जाती। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि रियासतों में जो फ़ौजी खर्च हो रहा है, वह बहुत बेगरज है और गवर्नमेन्ट को इसकी तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए और रियासती फ़ौजों को हम आल इन्डिया (All India) फ़ौजों में शामिल कर लें। वहां उनके अलग राजाओं के राजप्रमुख कान्स्टीट्यूशनल हेड्स (Constitutional heads) की तरफ से रक्षा कर रहे हैं, नो उनका अलग फ़ौजों को रखने

की जरूरत नहीं है। वह तमाम रियासती फ़ौजें हिन्दुस्तान की फ़ौज में इनकोपोरेट (incorporate) हो जानी चाहिये और रियासतों में अलग अलग फ़ौज रखने की जरूरत नहीं है। मैं हिन्दुस्तान की बड़ी फ़ैक्टरीज के विषय में एक शब्द कहकर खत्म करता हूं। बड़ी फ़ैक्टरीज में हमको चाहिये कि हम अपने ही एक्सपर्ट्स और अपना ही इन्डस्ट्रीज तैयार करें, ताकि वह हिन्दुस्तान में हर तरह का शस्त्रास्त्र तैयार कर सकें। अभी तक जो बड़ी बड़ी फ़ैक्टरीज हैं, उनमें जैसा कि मालूम हुआ है कुछ चुने हुए यूरोपियनस हैं। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि वह बहुत वफ़ादारी से और ईमानदारी से हिन्दुस्तान के लिये काम कर रहे हैं, लेकिन हमारी आज जरूरत यह है कि हम हर जगह पर हिन्दुस्तानी आदमी रख सकें और ऐसे हिन्दुस्तानी एक्सपर्ट्स हों जो हथियार तैयार कर सकें इसलिये बड़ी बड़ी फ़ैक्टरीज में यूरोपियनों के साथ साथ हमारे देश के लोगों को काम सिखाया जाय और बाहर भी भेजा जाय और इस तरह से जितनी जल्द हो सके हिन्दुस्तानी एक्सपर्ट्स और विशेषज्ञ तैयार किये जायें ताकि हमारा देश दुनिया के दूसरे मुल्कों से पीछे न रहे।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri Gopikrishna Vijayavargiya (Madhya Bharat): Sir, though the day was allotted for the discussion on Cut Motions, yet we have to say something by way of general discussion only. India has now been emancipated from the yoke of the Britishers and the responsibilities of all of us have been considerably increased; especially the defence of the country. All the members present in this House should realize that the responsibility for the defence of the country devolves on us—it is not merely to be confined either to the Cabinet or the Government, but all of us should consider this matter and seriously think over the problem of the Country's defence. With regard to the speeches delivered in this House, I would like to observe that some of my honourable friends have stated that the military officers are not being paid adequately and an increase should, therefore, be made in their salaries. There is no doubt in it that our action in representing the difficulties experienced by certain individuals is not likely to yield any wholesome effect. If we see, we will find that we are not giving a fair wage in the case of Railways. Here we are not paying handsomely to the Government servants, and we are also not paying adequately to the Defence personnel. After all where from do you expect to get all this money? The question is that today we have to balance our Budget and depend upon whatever meagre resources are available in the country. Therefore, we cannot urge here that they should be provided with all sorts of amenities and their allowances increased. I would, however, deem it proper to give some relief at least. But if the salaries and the allowances of the officers are not increased, the Ministry of Defence should consider over to allow them other facilities and I hope they will do the needful. But so far as the question of increasing any extra expenditure is involved, I feel that it would not be advisable to do so at present, specially when the whole Budget anticipates very heavy expenditure. We have provided for Rs. 132 crores in respect of Defence Services (Army); Rs. 8.64 crores for Royal Indian Navy; Rs. 13 crores for Royal Indian Air Force and Rs. 13 crores for other expenditure, viz., Defence Services, Non-effective. Thus the total expenditure comes to about Rs. 168 crores. When this itself appears to be a very heavy amount, I fail to understand how can

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we increase the pay and allowances of the officers? In one of the speeches made here, it has been suggested that some sort of Defence Pact should be entered into with Pakistan. It would be quite absurd to say that a vast country like India is in armament race at present. I realize that this very argument was put forth in the Pakistan Parliament at the time of the presentation of the Budget proposals merely with a view to justify the huge defence expenditure shown therein; and as an offshoot of that this has been put forth in our Parliament too. I think it is not necessary for us to vie with each other in armaments. India is not even self-sufficient. We are already spending such a huge amount on our defence expenditure; we are incurring a heavy expenditure in respect of our Navy and Air Force. The expenditure under Navy and Air Force amounts to Rs. 8 and 13 crores respectively. But in reality, this is quite inadequate. To whatever extent you may expand your Army, but so long as we have not got an Air Force and big factories for the manufacture of necessary material and you do not establish the Defence industries in a proper manner, you cannot make your country a progressive one. Therefore, just as my honourable friend Mr. Chaudhuri has stated there is a great necessity for having an Army. India is a very vast country but we have got a relatively small Naval Force and we should, therefore, devote more attention towards the building of Navy. We should also pay more attention towards the Air Force. But very small provision has been made in this Budget in these respects. I feel that there exists a vital necessity for us to devote particular attention to these two branches of the Army, and still greater is the necessity of investing more money in the Defence industries contemplated to set up in India. Thus, there does not exist here any race in armaments, just as had been pointed out by my honourable friend Kazi Syed Karimuddin. India neither wants to have any rivalry nor does it desire to fight with any country. Therefore, it would be quite improper to put forth the argument of 'race of armaments.' We have not as yet been able to build up our Defence, Naval and Air Forces by means of which we may stand on our own legs. The Naval expansion programme is still incomplete. Sir, I had recently gone to Bombay and happened to see there a few things concerning the Navy. Our Navy is not quite adequate as compared to the length and breadth of our country. Our Navy does not stand any comparison with that possessed by other countries, and, for this reason we should forthwith expand our Navy as well as Air Force. The provision made in the Budget in these respects is quite inadequate and Government should devote more attention towards this aspect so that we may not remain weak as compared with other countries in the world. There is no doubt in it that during the last year we had to incur a heavy expenditure on account of Kashmir and Hyderabad operations and other reasons and our Defence Forces have throughout played a very meritorious role. But we have to build these two Branches of the Army viz., Navy and Air Force and should devote immediate attention to this matter. Defence industries should also be established in our country without any delay.

Sir, I come from a State which is called Madhya Bharat. I would like to say something in respect of the State's Army. In some of the smaller states in this country, the armies existed in name only and most of the smallest states had hardly ten to fifteen soldiers and still they were termed as 'Army'. They had neither the uniforms, nor arms nor ammunitions. They had nothing. That was all a fun. Now some of the small states have integrated into Unions, and the armies they have do not display the efficiency that is found in the Indian Army. Therefore, I would like to say that the expenditure which is being incurred towards the maintenance of armies in the states

is altogether a waste and Government should pay attention to this and merge the States' Armies with the All India Army. There the Rajpramukhs on behalf of the Princes acting as Constitutional Heads are safeguarding their interests and there seems absolutely no necessity for maintaining separate armies. All those States' Armies should be incorporated in the Indian Army and there is no longer any necessity to keep separate armies in the states. After saying a few words with regard to the working of big factories in India, I would conclude. We should train our own experts and develop our industries in the big factories so that these may be able to produce locally all sorts of arms and ammunition. Just as we have been told, there are still some European experts employed in these big factories. There is no doubt in it that they are working for India most honestly and faithfully but today we are faced with a primary necessity to employ Indians in every place and we should have such Indian experts who are capable to manufacture arms. Therefore, I would urge that the Indians should be trained along with the Europeans in all the big factories and they should also be sent abroad for training and thus Indian experts and specialists may be trained as early as possible so that our country may not lag behind the other countries of the world.

Shri Upendranath Barman (West Bengal: General): I join in the chorus of appreciation of the performance of our Defence Forces and for what they have done since the partition of our country. Within the limited time at my disposal I think it prudent to refer to two most important matters. One is that from all quarters of this House the Honourable the Defence Minister has got benediction and good-will for his budget. I also have no hesitation in accord-
ing my approval to it because of the condition of time and the circumstances that we are passing through. But I would like to tell the honourable Minister for Defence that he should not be complacent about the future. The national economy of our country has so many demands on it that such a huge expenditure cannot be approved by the country for any more years to come. But at the same time we realise the importance of defence which is a defence of our civilization and of our independence. I therefore ask the honourable Minister and the Cabinet to think over the matter and take a comprehensive view of all things so that the defence budget may be reduced consistent with efficiency and that a larger and larger portion of it may be released every coming year for national reconstruction and development. It is poor consolation to a man who has not enough to eat to be defended by an expensive force. I think for that purpose my honourable friend Mr. Anthony has made one suggestion that instead of maintaining a huge army the Ministry should think over here and now to make the army efficient and reduce it as far as practicable and at the same time equip it with the best of machinery that are prevalent during this scientific age—keeping that force which is absolutely necessary contented and well-equipped.

Having said that I would refer to another matter for due consideration of the honourable the Defence Minister. I know that even without my mentioning the honourable Minister has got it in his mind, but still as the matter directly concerns us it is my duty to refer to it—and that is the Eastern Command. By the partition of the country unfortunately more than about 800 miles of frontier have been added to our eastern frontier. The frontier that existed before partition was quite unsafe and unscientific; there was practically no boundary demarcation or scientific boundary between Burma, Tibet and India. In addition to that we have now got another 800 miles to defend. It may not be a defence against Pakistan army—or it may be, I do not know—but the eastern frontier is now threatened in many ways from many ideologies. There is no doubt about it and the recent occurrences must

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have given some indication to the Cabinet here. In regard to the safeguard of the eastern frontier I would like to say to the honourable the Defence Minister that just as in the western frontier it is the Punjabis that have been brought up as a martial race by the British it is necessary to look with the same consideration to the east also. After all it is Assam and Bengal first and foremost which will have to bear the onslaught if there be any attack in the future. And the first and foremost consideration for a man is to protect his hearth and home. Therefore it can be expected that if the Bengalis and Assamese can be now trained militarily they will do the best in order to protect that frontier than perhaps anybody else. They will not hesitate to pour their life-blood like red wine in order to defend their hearth and home, the prestige and honour of their women, and also to protect India. I would submit that Bengal had been denuded of that glory after the British conquest because Bengalis were always suspected. But even in the first world war the Bengali regiment proved its mettle in the fields of France. Even today—I may not boast very much—we take pride that it is the Bengalis, Bengali youths, Bengali Captains, Generals that have fought our enemies in Kashmir in Hyderabad and at other places. (Shri H. V. Kamath: “And Netaji.”) My honourable friend Mr. Kamath mentions here revered name of Netaji. I can tell you that even in the British days it was in Bengal that the throne of England was first attacked. It was on the soil of Bengal that a young boy of 17 years of age did not hesitate to attack the Chittagong Armoury and did it successfully. I do not want to say much now. All these things are passing into ancient history. I can only say this to the honourable the Defence Minister that provided opportunities are given the Bengalis and the Assamese will prove as much heroic and chivalrous as other regiments under his command and it is their just right and claim that they should be given the opportunity which will help my honourable friend in defending the eastern frontier. With these few words I congratulate the honourable the Defence Minister for the task that he has accomplished.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: I rise to thank the House for the valuable support that they have given me during the discussion on the defence budget. The eloquent tributes that have been paid to the armed forces of this country will go a long way to encourage them and infuse them with greater enthusiasm to work for the safety of this country. Several suggestions have been made during the discussion and I would like to take up the more important ones first and if time permits I will deal with the others later on.

To begin with Mr. Sidhva complained about the lack of information that has been given in this book. I admit that the explanations are not exhaustive but he was referring to some pages which do not contain any explanation at all. I would refer him to page 13, main heads 5 and 6, which give the information which he wanted in connection with the Military Lands Department and the provision of stores, etc.

Another point that he raised was in connection with the appointment of the Committee for the Cantonments. The Defence Ministry has appointed a Committee to go into this matter and with this view we have appointed several Primary Committees in almost all the Cantonments that we have in this country. These Primary Committees will collect factual data and they will put all the relevant information before the three Command Committees. All this matter, after careful scrutiny will come before the Central Committee. I would like to assure him that these Primary Committees and the three Committees which have been formed in the three Commands

will not in any way interfere with the working of the Central Committee. In fact, if the Central Committee does not feel satisfied with the working of these Primary Committees or is not satisfied with the information that has been collected by them the Central Committee is at liberty to ignore the recommendations of the Primary Committee and start their work afresh and visit any Cantonments they like. While appointing this Committee, we did not have any reservations; we want to go thoroughly into this question and make such amendments as are considered necessary.

Then I will come to the question of the ordnance factories. Several honourable Members have given valuable suggestions; they will be borne in mind. But may I point out that the question of ordnance factories is not an easy one? Some honourable Members have pointed out that we should immediately proceed with complete nationalisation and turn out every foreigner that is now working in the ordnance factories. Sir, I am conscious that we should have as far as possible Indians in almost all posts. As the House must have noticed from my speech this morning, we have proceeded with nationalisation as far as we possibly could, but the case of Ordnance Factories stands on quite a different footing and I would like to assure the House that whereas I am anxious that we should have Indians in almost all the important places, at the same time I would like to say that I will not hesitate to get the best possible expert advice from foreign countries and if necessary to bring experts from outside, not for permanent employment but to train our officers. Sir, the country has become independent; we should not be afraid of a foreign technician working here and there. In fact, we should welcome them and the best way that we could train our officers is to bring experts here and give training on a bigger scale than send a handful of our officers abroad for training. The Department is following this policy and I am sure in the next few years you will see what the result has been of the policy that we have adopted.

Then reference was made by my friend Mr. Anthony to the new Pay Code of the officers. This morning when I stated some of the amenities that we have given to our Indian Commissioned Officers, most probably he was not present in the House. I would like to state, for the information of the House that before the War the difference in the pay of the K.C.I.Os. or Sandhurst officers, as my honourable friend put it, and the pay of Indian Commissioned Officers, was great. During the War, the Indian Commissioned Officers agitated and I think it was in the year 1941 or 1942 that the pay of Indian Commissioned Officers was raised to the same level as that of King's Commissioned Officers, with the clear understanding that after the termination of the War the scale of pay would be reduced to the same level as before the War. These officers, young officers, have done really good work and I have got every praise for them and realising the difficulties, the hardships that have been caused to them due to rise in prices, my Ministry has taken every possible step to give them the maximum possible relief. If I were to reopen the question of their pay now it would create innumerable difficulties. The King's Commissioned Officers of whom we have got about 90 in our Service will disappear in the course of the next twelve or fifteen years and after that we will have only Indian Commissioned Officers and the disparity which is causing so much discontent now will not exist any longer. During this period we are taking steps and we have already taken steps, as I mentioned this morning to give the maximum possible relief within the basic principles laid down by the Pay Committee. May I mention one more point, namely that this Committee which went thoroughly into the question also examined the scales of pay of officers in other countries. I have not got the figures before me, but I went into them and examined them and on a careful examination I found that the scales of

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pay under the new Pay Code that have been proposed here compare very favourably and I should say in some cases they were higher than the pay given in other countries. But some increase has been given in other countries and I would say it will be wrong on our part if we compare the scales of pay in this country with the scales of pay in other advanced countries.

Mr. Frank Anthony: May I ask my friend whether he will consider restoring the marriage allowance? That is all I ask—not the basic pay.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: Sir, if my honourable friend will wait, I was coming next to this question. This morning as I stated, quite a large number of concessions have been given and I will be prepared to consider any further relief that can be given within the basic principles of the recommendation of the Pay Committee, but it is impossible for me to go beyond the recommendations of the Pay Committee.

Coming to marriage allowance, to which my friend Mr. Rohini Kumar Choudhuri also referred, this question was thoroughly examined by this Pay Committee. The present scales of pay have been fixed after taking into consideration the marriage allowances. Therefore, this marriage allowance was abolished in the new Pay Code.

I was rather pained to hear some remarks from my honourable friend Mr. Anthony about the interference on the part of the Joint Secretaries or Secretaries in the Defence Ministry. I have kept a careful watch and I can assure the House and I can say it with all the confidence at my command, that as far as I know there is not a single case which has been brought to my notice where there has been interference by the Secretary or by the Commander-in-Chief in each others' work. There are bound to be complaints; I hear lot of rumours—people come to me and complain and when I enquire into these allegations they are not substantiated. If Mr. Anthony has got any substantial data in his possession, I would request him to come and discuss with me and I can assure you, Sir, that as long as I am here it will be my endeavour to see that in the Armed Forces nepotism or favouritism does not get in as is alleged in the case of the civil side.

I come next to the criticism of my honourable friend Mr. Karimuddin. From the remarks that I made about Pakistan's Budget, he construed that there is a race for armaments between the two countries. Sir, I have nothing of the kind in my mind. I can assure you—I cannot stand guarantee for what others do—but as far as this country is concerned, we have only one consideration, namely that we want to go ahead without expansion programme, we want to establish training institutions, and we do not care for what other countries do. I simply made a reference to Pakistan budget to show that the impression which the speech of the Pakistan Finance Minister gave as if we are to blame for everything, as if we are guilty, as if we are spending more on the Defence forces as compared with Pakistan, is not correct. I just wanted to show to the House that as far as India is concerned, we are not at all competing with any country and our expenditure on defence is less as compared with Pakistan expenditure. I would repeat that we have got every desire, it is our earnest desire—the Prime Minister has stated it on several occasions, that we want to have friendliest relations with Pakistan. I would therefore suggest that we have already given a lead in this matter and Pakistan should take the lead that we have given and reduce their expenditure on defence to the same level as we have done.

Then, Sir, Mr. Karimuddin referred to the recruitment of Muslims in the Armed Forces. The House is aware that we had a large number of Muslims in the Armed Forces. On 15th of August 1947 the percentage of Muslims in the Indian Armed Forces was about 33. Almost all of them, except a few, I should say about half a dozen officers and perhaps a few hundred other ranks, opted for Pakistan. That is the main reason why the percentage of Muslims in the Indian Armed Forces is low.

Then, again, he also is perhaps under the impression that there is a certain bar for the employment or recruitment of Muslims. May I assure the House that as far as this country is concerned, the recruitment to the Armed Forces is open to all the communities, irrespective of caste or creed? I would invite all Muslim friends who are living in this country and who are prepared to make equal sacrifices for this country, to join the Armed Forces; and as far as my information goes, we have recruited all those who offered themselves for recruitment and were found fit from medical point of view.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar: General): What about Harijans?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: Now to come to the employment of Harijans in the Armed Forces, I regret that recently a circular did go out which created misunderstanding, particularly in Bihar, and as soon as it was brought to the notice of the Government it was withdrawn and revised instructions were issued expressing regret for the mistake and making it perfectly clear that Harijans are welcome to the Armed Forces. I can assure the House that there is no bar. For some arms there were in the past some conditions attached before Harijans could be recruited to certain units, but that distinction has now disappeared and the Services are open to everybody.

A reference was also made by my friend Mr. Shiva Rao whether the time has not come to have joint defence with Pakistan. As I have said before—perhaps the House does not know—this question was discussed several times in 1947 in the Joint Defence Council and examined thoroughly and after careful consideration of the matter we came to the conclusion that the time was not ripe then to have an organisation of this kind. Both Pakistan and we were reluctant due to the intense feelings then prevailing. But ultimately when the bitter feelings that have existed disappear, when cordial relations are restored I am sure that some proposal of this kind would be examined and before it is finalised, I am sure the House would have an opportunity to discuss it. It is difficult for me to say anything more definitely for the present—several suggestions have been made—and all I would like to say is this, that we have every desire to be on the best terms with Pakistan.

Reference was again made regarding the Territorial Army by my honourable friend Mr. Bhargava. He wanted to expedite the recruitment to the Territorial Force. As the House will realize the main difficulty in this has been the shortage of officers. We are trying to overcome this, now that the cease fire in Kashmir has taken place. As soon as arrangements can be made, I am sure the Territorial Force will make a start.

Then, Sir, suggestions were made and to some extent dissatisfaction was expressed with the slow pace at which we have proceeded with the scientific organisation. This organisation is absolutely essential in the defence science and also for development in the Ordnance Factories. With that point of view and to meet this difficulty, we have established the science organisation with Dr. Kothari as the head scientist. This organisation has not made rapid progress on account of its peculiar difficulties, but I would like to assure the House that as far as the employment of junior and senior scientists is concerned,

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the recruitment has to be made by the F.P.S.C.—it does not rest with my Ministry—it must go through the F.P.S.C. and the F.P.S.C. will naturally take some time in advertising, then interviewing and finally selecting candidates. As far as we are concerned, we are most anxious that this organisation should be brought to its full strength as early as possible.

Criticism was again made about the huge expenditure on stores. Mr. Sidhva perhaps this morning forgot when he was mentioning the amount of Rs. 16 crores under the head "provisioning" that it did not include only bananas, onions and stuff of that kind; it included rice and atta also.

May I inform the House that, as far as the purchase of stores is concerned, my Ministry assesses its requirements and forwards them to the Ministry for Industry and Supply. It is that Ministry that settles the prices and finalises the contracts.

Sir, as far as equipment is concerned, we are faced with peculiar difficulties. Under the old regime, these difficulties were not there. Then there used to be a British Commander-in-Chief and he used to be also Minister in charge of Defence. Under that arrangement, whatever developments were made in the United Kingdom, they were automatically adopted here. But that is not the position now. The House will have to bear in mind that we are now an independent country and to some extent we have to depend on the help of foreign countries. Most of our equipment in the Army, Air Force and the Navy comes from the United Kingdom. It will be idle to think that we will be in a position to manufacture all our requirements in the next few years. As I said this morning, we are now proceeding with the establishment of an iron and steel industry. It will take five to seven years before it starts functioning and only after that we can proceed with the manufacture of a large number of items that are required by us. The House will fully realise that today there is an extreme shortage of iron and steel in this country. Iron and steel are the main items that are required for the manufacture of arms and equipment as far as the requirements of the Armed Forces are concerned. It will interest Members to know that iron and steel prices have gone up tremendously and therefore it will be difficult for us to make any headway unless these supplies are made available locally.

There is another point regarding the large number of vehicles that we are using. We are fortunate in having large stocks from the last war and we are carrying on with these stocks left over here by the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Now new developments have taken place. The United Kingdom and the United States of America have discarded all the vehicles that they used during the last war. They have now designed new vehicles and in their own country they have scrapped the vehicles they were using during the war. In the next two or three years when our present stock of vehicles runs out, and these spare parts are not available, we will again have to incur heavy expenditure in replacing all the vehicles that we have at present. I am just mentioning this for the information of the House to illustrate the difficulty, the big difficulty that we have to face. It will take some time before all our requirements can be manufactured in this country.

—I have nothing more to say. It is difficult for me to reply to all the points that were raised by honourable Members. (Shri Harihar Nath Shastri: "What about labour in Ordnance Factories?") About labour in ordnance factories, I may say that there are two kinds of labour. One section consists of temporary

employees who have been working for a number of years and the other type is extra temporary establishment where the number is very large. The temporary establishments are on a different footing. As regards the temporary labour working in the factories, that question is being examined and those who are found fit for promotion will be promoted to permanent jobs.

Now I would like to thank the House for the valuable support given to me. I am encouraged by that support and I will endeavour my best to do what we can for the Defence Forces in the matter of equipment. I shall also economise expenditure as far as possible. I do hope that the House understands the difficulties that we are faced with. In the end I thank the House again for the support they have given me.

Shri Biswanath Das: The honourable Minister in the course of his speech referred to some expansion. May I know whether he means expansion of training institutions? He might be misunderstood by people who read in between the lines.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: Yes, What I said was that we have now decided on an expansion programme of all the institutions necessary for the Army, Navy and the Air Force.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 35,82,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Defence,'"

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,32,64,38,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective—Army,'"

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,64,17,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective—Royal Indian Navy,'"

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,69,41,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective—Royal Indian Air Force,'"

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,41,31,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Defence Services, Non-effective charges,'"

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,20,00,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Defence Capital Outlay,'"

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 8th March, 1949.

**CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)
DEBATES**

(PART II PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

Tuesday, 8th March, 1949.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11-45 A. M.

THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—contd.

SECOND STAGE—contd.

Mr. Speaker: According to the arrangement, the House will today take up the Demands for Grants in respect of the External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations Ministry. I shall therefore place the Demands before the House.

**DEMAND No. 19—MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND COMMONWEALTH
RELATIONS.**

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 51,17,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of ‘Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations’.”

DEMAND No. 39 — TRIBAL AREAS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,04,00,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1950, in respect of ‘Tribal Areas.’”

DEMAND No. 40—EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2 59,40,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of ‘External Affairs.’”

The Honourable Shri Jawaharlal Nehru (Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations): Mr. Speaker, Sir, this House is no doubt interested in the many aspects of our foreign policy and foreign affairs and how they affect India, and questions are often put on these various aspects. Probably, in the course of the debate today, attention will be drawn to many of these factors, but with your permission, Sir, and the indulgence of the House, I should like to deal with the general aspects of foreign affairs and foreign policy as they affect India and as we look at them rather than to say much about the smaller aspects of this main problem.

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Even before that, I should like to say something in the nature of a general survey not only of foreign affairs but of India itself. We have had, in the course of the last few days, a great deal of criticism of the Budget proposals and many of the failings of Government have been pointed out with, more or less, force. So far as I am concerned, I welcome every type of criticism and I do believe that it would be unfortunate if this House became just, shall I say, a static House, a subservient House, a House which just says "Yes" to anything that the Government might put forward. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and every member of this House has to be vigilant and the Government, of course, must be vigilant. But there is always a possible tendency for those in authority to become a little complacent. Therefore, I repeat that for my part I welcome the vigilance of honourable members of this House in drawing our attention to our failings or any other error or delinquency on the part of the Administration. I hope that that criticism is offered in good spirit, in a friendly way, and that it does not challenge the *bona fides* of the Government. Of course, if the *bona fides* of the Government are sought to be challenged, I do not mind that, provided it is clear that that is the issue.

I have felt in listening to these criticisms during these days or reading about them that perhaps we are concentrating too much on the trees and not looking at the whole wood. We are not looking at the whole picture of India today and what has happened in the course of the last eighteen months or so. It is rather important for us to keep this whole picture before us, or else any amount of attention to detail would not, help us, because it is that big picture that counts—not the small parts of it here and there. Look at this picture eighteen or nineteen months ago and look at it today. Look at it as far as you can, objectively—as if you were at a distance and saw this changing scene. I think if you could transport yourself to the period a year and a half ago and to all that was happening then and to all that has happened since then, I think you will find that there has been not only a great change in India, but that India has gone ahead in many ways in spite of all our difficulties and all the travails that we have passed through.

Speaking for myself—and the House realises that our Government, to some extent particularly myself—we have had to carry very heavy burdens and we have to carry them still and there are great difficulties ahead of us; nevertheless, in all honesty, I have a feeling of achievement, not failure and I look upon the future—and may I say I do not mean the distant future but the near future—with full confidence and feel a certain secret emotion at being privileged to participate in the service of India at this tremendous stage of her history.

May I say, as you have referred to the Budget proposals, that this Budget itself contains provisions, many of which may not perhaps be pleasing to some members, may be we might have done better here and there, but the Budget itself, I think, is a sign of our strength and the strength of the nation. (Hear, hear.) I think that the House and the country will see that the care and foresight given to this Budget by our Finance Minister will be paid in full measure in the months and years to come. We have proceeded cautiously, because, frankly speaking, we dare not take risks with this great trust we have got. Many a thing that we would like to do we have refrained from doing, because we cannot gamble with India's future or India's present. It is too serious a matter for us to go ahead even with our own theories or ideas on the subject, if there is any risk or danger involved in them. So we have

proceeded cautiously. It may be that somewhat quicker results might come to us if we were a little more dashing in this matter, but I personally entirely agree with this cautious approach at this present critical time, and apart from any small matters here and there. I should like to pay my tribute to my colleague, the Finance Minister, for the courage and vision and high ability with which he has tackled our problems.

The Indian Union is an infant State, an infant free State, a year and a half old, but remember that India is not an infant country. India is a very ancient country with millenia of history behind her,—history in which she has played a vital part not only within her own vast boundaries but in the world and in Asia in particular. India now, in this last year or more, emerges again in the main trend of human affairs.

Now, that is something of great historical significance. India I said. I could have said that Asia emerges in this main trend of history. Asia, in the long millenia of history, has played a very important part. So has India, of course, but during the last two hundred years or so, certain developments of science and technology in Europe, and America a little later, led to Asia coming under the domination of Europe and to a restriction of her activities in the world at large. She became confined and restricted. Various changes took place internally in India and in Asia during this period. But, generally speaking, India and other countries of Asia were under this political and economic domination of Europe. Now, that period and that epoch has ended and India now comes I think into the forefront in national affairs and world events.

One of the major questions of the day is the readjustment of the relations of Asia and Europe. When we talk of Asia, remember that India, not because of any ambition of ours, but because of the force of circumstances, because of geography, because of history and because of so many other things—inevitably has to play a very important part in Asia. And not only that; India becomes a kind of meeting ground of various trends and forces and a meeting ground between what might roughly be called the East and West.

Look at the map. If you have to consider any question affecting the Middle East, India comes into the picture inevitably; if you have to consider any question concerning South-East Asia, you cannot do so without India. So also about the Far East. So, while the Middle East may not be directly connected with South-East Asia, both are connected with India. So, even if you think in terms of regional organisations in Asia, you may have to keep in touch with the other regions. And whatever regions you may have in mind, India cannot be ignored her important part. So India plays a very important part in Asia.

Now, I said, one of the major questions of the day is the re-adjustment of the relations between Asia and Europe. In the past, especially by virtue of her economic and political domination, the West ignored Asia, or at any rate did not give her the weight that was due to her. Asia was really given a back seat and one unfortunate result of it was that even the statesmen did not recognise the changes that were taking place. There is I believe a considerable recognition at this stage, but it is not enough yet. Even in the Councils of the United Nations, the problems of Asia, the outlook of Asia, the approach of Asia have failed to evoke the enthusiasm that they should. There are many ways of distinguishing between what may be called the approach of Asia and the approach of Europe. Asia today is primarily concerned with what may be called the immediate human problems. In each country of Asia—underdeveloped countries more or less—the main problem is the problem of food

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of cloth, of education, of health. We are concerned with these problems. We are not directly concerned with problems of power-politics. Some of us, in our minds, may perhaps think of that. Europe, on the other hand, also is concerned with these problems no doubt in the devastated regions. Europe has got a legacy of conflicts of power and of problems which come from the possession of power. They have the fear of losing that power and the fear of somebody else getting greater power and attacking one country or the other. So that the European approach is a legacy of the past conflicts of Europe. It is no good blaming this country or that country for that. It is a legacy and the consequences of the past conflicts of Europe—Europe having been the dominating continent in the world, quarrelling sometimes within its own area for the domination of the world. Well, that domination is largely gone. That legacy of conflict remains in Europe.

Sir, I do not mean to say that we in Asia are in any way superior ethically or morally to the people of Europe. In some ways I imagine we are worse off. There is a legacy in Europe of conflict. In Asia at the present moment, at least there is no such legacy. The countries of Asia may have their quarrels with their neighbours here and there, but there is no basic legacy of conflict such as the countries of Europe possess. Now, that is a very great advantage for Asia and it would be folly in the extreme for the countries of Asia and India to be dragged in the wake of the conflicts in Europe. We might note that the world progressively tends to become one—one in peace and it is likely to be one, in a sense, in war. No man can say that any country can remain apart when there is any major conflagration. But still one can direct one's policy towards avoiding this conflict and being entangled in it.

So the point I wish the House to remember is this. First of all, this emergence of India in world affairs is something of major consequence in world history, not because we are giant figures. We who happen to be in the Government of India or in this House are men of relatively small stature. But it has been given to us to work at a time when India is becoming a great giant again. So, because of that, in spite of our own smallness, we have to work for great causes and perhaps elevating ourselves in the process.

When India became independent a year and a half ago, we chose the time, or if you like, fate and circumstance chose the time for us, which was one of exceeding difficulty. There were the damages and the consequences of the last great war. And immediately we were independent, there were volcanic upheavals in India. It would have been difficult enough for us if there had been complete peace in India to face all the problems that had accumulated during the period of our arrested growth in the past. But added to that came new problems of colossal magnitude. How we faced them the House remembers, and it will be for history to record whether we failed completely or we succeeded or succeeded partially. Anyhow we survived and that, at any rate, was some success. Anyhow we survived and made good in many ways, apart from mere survival. And gradually we have overcome those problems and gradually we have made of India a single political unit. And may I point out to this House that the political unit that is India today is the largest political unit, in terms of population, in the world? But population and numbers do not count, it is quality that counts. I would say further that from the point of view of our potential resources and our capacity to use those potential resources, we are also potentially the biggest unit in the World. I say that not in any spirit of vain glory but let us recognise the huge trust we have in our keeping and let us then think of it in terms of the great burden and the great responsibility upon us and not in smaller terms. Now this is the background.

Shall I put to you another background? That was this. We, the great majority of the members of this House and vast numbers of people in this country have spent our lives in what might be called a revolutionary activity, in conflicts with authority. We are bred up in that tradition of revolution etc. and now we sit in the seats of authority and have to deal with problems, difficult problems. That adjustment is not an easy adjustment at any time for anyone, more especially now. Then again, not only were we revolutionaries and agitators and breakers of many things but we were bred up in a high tradition under a great man. That tradition was an ethical tradition, a moral tradition and at the same time an application of these ethical and moral doctrines to practical politics. That great man placed before us a technique of action which was unique in the world, which combined political activity and political conflict and a struggle for freedom with certain moral and ethical principles. Now I dare not say that any of us, not all of us, lived up to those ethical and moral principles but I do dare say that in the course of the past 30 years or so, all of us in smaller or greater degree, and the country itself in smaller or greater measure, was affected by those ethical and moral doctrines of the Great Master and Leader. And now with that idealism and ethical background, we faced practical problems and it becomes an exceedingly difficult thing to apply that particular doctrine to the solution of those problems. That is a conflict which individuals and groups and nations have often had to face. It came to us in very peculiar circumstances and it was intensified by those circumstances and so there has been this travail of the spirit in most of us.

We have often thought of Gandhiji and his great doctrine, of his great message and while we praised it often enough, we felt 'Are we hypocrites, talking about that and being unable to live up to it. Are we deluding ourselves and the world?' Because if we were hypocrites, then surely our future was dark. We may be hypocritical about the small things of life but it is a dangerous thing to be hypocritical about the great things of life. And it would have been the greatest tragedy if we exploited the name and prestige of our great leader, took shelter under it and denied in our hearts, in our activities, the message that he had brought to this country and the world. So we have had these conflicts in our minds and those conflicts continue and perhaps there is no final solution of those conflicts except to try continually to bridge the gulf between that idealism and that practice which is forced down upon us by circumstances. For after all if we are in charge of any work, if we are in seats of authority and responsibility to face a particular situation, we can only do so, on the one hand according to the way that we think will meet that situation. We cannot and I am quite positive that our great leader would not have had us function as blind automatons just carrying the same thing which he had said without reference to change in events. On the other hand, we have to keep in mind those very ideals to which we have pledged ourselves so often. There is always a great difficulty between the approach to a problem of a Prophet and of a Politician. We had the combination of a Prophet and a great Statesman but then we are not Prophets nor are we very great, possibly, in our statesmanship and so we cannot be judged by that high standard. All we can say is that we should do our utmost to live up as far as we can to that standard but always judging a problem by the lights of our own intelligence, otherwise we will fail. There is this grave danger, on the one hand of denying the message of the Prophet, on the other of blindly following it and missing all its vitality. Both happen. By just repeating some phrase or dogma without realising what the truth lay behind it and thus perhaps killing the spirit of the Prophet even more than by denying that message. We have therefore to steer through these.

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Then a Politician or statesman, call him what you will, has to deal not only with the truth but with men's receptivity of that truth because if there is not sufficient receptivity of it from the politician's or statesman's point of view, that truth is thrown into the wilderness till minds are ripe for it. And certainly a statesman cannot function and in a democratic age much less can he function unless he can make people believe in that truth. So unfortunately but inevitably compromises have to take place from time to time. You cannot do without compromises but a compromise is a bad compromise if it is opportunist in the sense that it is not always aiming at the truth. It may be a good compromise if it is always looking at that truth and trying to take you there. So in the past year and a half we have faced these difficult problems and the difficulty has been obvious enough to many but perhaps not many have thought of this travail of the spirit under which we suffered all the time; and this fear that we are becoming too much slaves of events, carried away by them, too much opportunists, and it may indeed be very difficult to draw the line. So all we can do is to pull ourselves back occasionally, look at our activities and examine them from that high standard which was laid down and try to remain as near to it as possible.

It was a curious thing that we who carried on the struggle for freedom in a non-violent and peaceful way should immediately have to be confronted with violence in its intensest form, civil violence as well as, what may be called, military violence, that we should have to undertake a kind of war in a part of the country. The whole thing seemed to be a complete upset of all that we stood for; and yet circumstances were such that I am quite convinced that we had no other way, and that the way we took was the right one.

May I mention to the House that towards the end of October 1947, when this question of Kashmir suddenly came upon us, when we heard that raiders had come into Kashmir and were destroying and looting, it was a very difficult question for us to decide. It was difficult enough from the military point of view, because we were isolated and far away, and the sending of arms or troops by air was no light undertaking from the purely military point of view. But the real difficulty before us arose from inside, it was a difficulty of the spirit. What will this land us in? That was the difficulty. On the one hand there was the powerful call of the people of Kashmir, those people who were being attacked and destroyed. We could not say "No" to them. On the other hand we did not quite know where it would lead us. And in that difficulty of the spirit I went—as I often did—to Mahatma Gandhi, for his advice. It was not natural for him to give advice about military matters. What did he know about them? His struggles were struggles of the spirit. But listening to me, if I may with all respect say so, he did not say "No" to the course of action that I proposed. He saw that a government as we were, had to follow its duty even in the military line, when certain circumstances arose. And throughout those few months, before he was taken away from us, I conferred with him on many an occasion about Kashmir, and it was a great happiness to me that I had his blessings in the steps we took.

So, looking back on this year and a half, we have built up India as a single organized political unit, and in this, as the House knows, my respected colleague, the Deputy Prime Minister, has played a supremely vital part. We have some little further to go in that matter. But I hope those further problems also will be settled very soon. There is the problem of Kashmir. There are the problems of what are called foreign possessions in India,

Pondicherry, Chandarnagore, Goa, and the rest. And all along we have stated that we want a peaceful and co-operative solution in regard to these foreign possessions. But it is quite clear that there is only one future for these possessions, and that is complete integration with India. We are prepared to wait a little for it, to avoid conflict etc. We do not want that, we want peaceful solutions of these and other problems. But it is an inconceivable thing that in this new, resurgent India, bits of territory should belong to powers far away. So we are trying to the best of our ability to find a peaceful solution of these problems.

May I point out another thing? The House, very rightly is vigilant about avoidance of waste, about growth in our administrative services etc. There is an Economy Committee sitting, and there are other committees considering this problem. That is right. But please remember that the Government of India which has been functioning since the 15th August, 1947 has had to face many other problems than any other Government of India had to face previously. First of all, the previous governments, although they were endowed with certain social objectives, they did not think of them as primary functions, or of the same importance as we necessarily must. Secondly, take this field of foreign affairs about which I am speaking. There were no foreign affairs then. It has been an entirely new adventure for us, building up our foreign and international position. This has meant necessarily additions to our staff here and in foreign countries, large additions and large expenditure of money. It may be that some economy is possible; but that should be considered and looked into. But you cannot be an independent nation, and not have those foreign relations—the two are incompatible. Indians are spread out all over the world. We have to look after their interests. Apart from Indians living in other countries, we have various interests, trade interests and other interests. We have to buy things. We have to sell things. It is quite impossible for any independent country, more especially a great and big country like India, to carry on its normal existence without these foreign relations, with foreign establishments, foreign embassies, legations, trade missions and the like.

I mention this because often enough there is criticism of our spreading out all over the world with our foreign embassies etc. It is perhaps thought that this is just a gesture to satisfy our own vanity. And I am told, sometimes, that I have got some kind of a bee in my bonnet; that I forget the troubles in India, and I do not consider them, our domestic problems, that I think only of sending ambassadors from Timbuktu to Peru. Well, I should like the House to consider this matter and be quite clear about it, because to refer to Timbuktu and Peru in this connection does not appear to me to be the height of wisdom. It shows quite an extraordinary lack of appreciation of what India is and what internally and domestically India requires. If we do not go out and have our foreign establishments, somebody will have to look after our interests. Who is that somebody? Are we going to ask England to look after our foreign interests in other countries as Pakistan has done in many countries? Is that the type of independence that we imagine? What does independence consist of? It consists fundamentally and basically of foreign relations. That is the test of independence. All else is local autonomy. Once foreign relations go out of your hand, into the charge of somebody else, to that extent and in that measure, you are not independent. So, if we are an independent nation, we must have foreign relations. In fact, we cannot carry on without them. If we had foreign relations we have to have the establishment necessary to carry on those foreign relations. And foreign relations though they involve

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trade, business etc. are not like opening a branch of a business or firm, as sometimes some of our business magnates seem to imagine. It is a very intricate and very difficult business dealing with the psychology of human beings, the psychology of nations, with their background and culture—linguistic and so on and so forth. It is an exceedingly difficult business—the relationship between nations. So we have rather rapidly developed our Foreign Service from scratch. It has been a difficult business and it would be absurd for me to say that everything we have done in the development of our Foreign Service has been entirely to my satisfaction. But I would like to say from the experience I have gathered during the last eighteen months or so, that we have done on the whole remarkably well and that the test—the one test of that of course—is the status of India in the eyes of the world. That is a good test. Individuals may have erred here and there. But ultimately as the final result—does our foreign policy yield results or not? Does it deliver the goods or not? I think it has delivered the goods to some extent—to a considerable extent: indeed to a surprising extent. I should like to express my high appreciation here in this House of the work of many of our Ambassadors and Ministers abroad and of the work of our Delegations to the United Nations: and allow me to inform the House that the reputation of India in the United Nations Assemblies is very high.

Our three chief foreign missions are, as the House knows, in London, in Washington and in Moscow. There have been criticisms about relatively small matters. It may be about appointments and the like. I will not go into them. But I should like to tell the House, speaking always as Foreign Minister, that I would welcome any enquiry which is brought to me and I shall either enquire into it or give the information that I have in my possession to any Member of the House at any time. There are bound to be many such things deserving enquiry, arising out of a vast establishment. I think these principal missions of ours in London, Washington and Moscow have done remarkably well. In China we have had to face very difficult situations and our Embassy there has faced them with great credit. In Paris (France), we have had a succession of misfortunes due to many causes, but chiefly that we have hardly had any place to stay in for a year. There is no proper place and they have lived in very undesirable quarters. On the whole, we have succeeded in building up our Foreign Service in a very short time with considerable success. Naturally, we shall go on trying to improve it.

Then the main question that troubles this House often enough is the position of Indians abroad. Now that question has to be viewed in a different light from what it used to be in the past. In the past our main effort was to get the British Colonial Office to interest itself in bettering the conditions of Indians abroad. Now we as an independent nation have to deal with other independent nations. Naturally, we try to do our best. I believe the conditions of Indians abroad are being bettered, but the main thing that has happened is this, that the status of Indians abroad in the eyes of the world has gone up tremendously. Naturally, the coming of freedom and the independence of India—that in itself helps in bettering their conditions.

The problems we have to face in world affairs at the present moment, bear a great deal of relation to the conflicts that are going on. We have stated repeatedly that our foreign policy is one to keep apart from big blocs of nations—rival blocs—and to be friendly to all countries and not become entangled in any alliances, military or other that might drag us into any possible conflict. Some people have criticised us and suggested to us that that is not a good enough policy: that we are losing what we might get by a closer association or alliance. Others, on the other hand, have criticised us by saying that while we say one thing we act secretly or otherwise in another

way. It is a little difficult, of course, to give an answer to an imputation of motives, but as a matter of fact, we have very strictly followed that policy of not getting entangled in any kind of commitment—certainly not military—the question does not arise—with any other power or group of powers, and we propose to adhere to that policy, because we are quite convinced that that is the only possible policy for us at present and in the future. That does not, on the other hand, involve any lack of close relationships with other countries.

The House will remember that sometime back I mentioned the question of India's possible relationships with the Commonwealth and I informed the House of the broad lines of our approach to this problem, and I gathered that the House agreed with that in spite of possibly some individual Members not agreeing with it. Subsequently, the question was considered by the National Congress at its Jaipur Session and in broad lines they also laid down the policy to be pursued. So far as we are concerned, we propose strictly to adhere to those directions. Of course changing circumstances have to be understood and interpreted in different ways, but the broad lines of policy have been laid down and the broad lines of policy are those:

That India will naturally and inevitably in the course of a few months, may be/ become an Independent Republic.

That in our external, internal or domestic policy, in our political policy, or in our economic policy, we do not propose to accept anything that involves in the slightest degree dependence on any other authority.

Subject to that we are prepared to associate ourselves with other countries in a friendly way. We are associated today in the United Nations with a great number of countries in the world. Anything else that we might do, will naturally have to be something that does not go against our association with the United Nations—that is within its structure. We have been associated with the Commonwealth that used to be called the British Commonwealth of Nations in the past in a way which was entirely unsatisfactory and we fought to get out of it, until we have completely achieved our objective in regard to independence. In practice and in theory also we shall achieve it completely and fully in the course of the next few months. Now it is only in terms of independent nations co-operating together that we can consider the problem of our association with the Commonwealth. There may be, as some people have suggested, alliances with this or that nation. Alliances usually involve military and other commitments and they are more binding. Other forms of association which do not bind in this manner but which help in bringing together nations for the purpose of consultation and where necessary of co-operation are therefore far more preferable than any form of alliance which does bind. What the outcome may be I do not know. As soon as I know I shall inform the House but what I am placing before the House today is this: that our policy in regard to this matter is going to be strictly determined by the Jaipur Congress resolution.

Recently there was a conference on Indonesia held at India's instance in New Delhi and many countries from Asia came there besides Egypt, Ethiopia; Australia and New Zealand. That conference forcibly brought several matters before the world's eye and at that conference one of the resolutions passed was that we should explore methods of closer co-operation. We are pursuing that line of enquiry and perhaps in the course of a month or two or perhaps more we may have some more definite results to consider: possibly we might have another conference to consider the possible lines of co-operation. Again, that co-operation can only be the co-operation of independent nations without the least commitment of any to the other. But it is a fact that there are so many matters in common between us that it is helpful for us to co-operate with one another. We have not yet decided as to what the region of co-operation might

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be, because, as I said a little while ago, India is interested in several regions of Asia: whether all should be grouped together or separately, I do not know. That is for us to consider together as to what is more feasible but in any event two facts have to be borne in mind. One is that whatever structure of co-operation we might build up will be entirely within the scope of the Charter of the United Nations. Secondly, there will be no binding covenants in it but largely one of consultation and co-operation that naturally flow from common interests. So our policy will continue to be not only to keep apart from power alignments but trying to make friendly co-operation possible. Fortunately we enter upon our independence as a country with no hostile background in regard to any country. We are friendly to all countries. Our hostility during the last 200 years was mainly directed towards the dominating power here and because of India's independence that hostility has largely vanished, though it may survive in some people's minds, but that is not important. So that we approach the whole world on a friendly basis and there is no reason why we should put ourselves at a disadvantage, if I may say so, of becoming unfriendly to any group. I think that India has a vital role to play in world affairs.

The various ideologies that confront the world today, the various 'isms' which threaten conflict repeatedly may have a great deal I think to commend themselves but all of them have been derived, if I may say so, from the background of Europe. Well, the background of Europe is not something apart from the background of the world and there is much in the background of Europe which is present in India or in other countries. Nevertheless, it is true that the background of Europe is not completely the background of India or the world and there is absolutely no reason why we should be asked to choose between this ideology or the other *in toto*. India is a country with a tremendous vitality which it has shown through its history: it has often enough imposed its own cultural pattern on other countries not by force of arms but by the strength of her vitality, culture and civilization. There is no reason why we should give up our way of doing things, our way of considering things, simply because of some particular ideology which emanates from Europe. I have no doubt at all that we have to learn a great deal from Europe and America and I think that we should keep our eyes and ears completely open. We should be flexible in mind and we should be receptive: but I have also no doubt at all that we should not allow ourselves, if I may use the words of Gandhiji, we must not allow any wind from anywhere to sweep us off our feet.

So we should approach these problems, whether domestic or international problems, in our own way. If by any chance we align ourselves definitely with one power group we may perhaps from one point of view do some good but I have not the shadow of a doubt that from a larger point of view, not only of India but of world peace, it will do harm. Because then we lose that tremendous vantage ground that we have of using such influence as we possess—and that influence is going to grow from year to year—in the cause of world peace.

What are we interested in world affairs for? We seek no dominion over any country. We do not wish to interfere in the affairs of any country, domestic or other. Our main stake in world affairs is peace: our main stake in world affairs is to see that there is racial equality: our main stake in world affairs is that people who are still subjugated should be free. For the rest we do not desire to interfere in world affairs and we do not desire that other people too should interfere in our affairs. If, however, there is interference with us, whether military, political or economic, we shall resist it.

So it is with this friendly approach that we look at the world. It is true that in doing so we are often likely to be misunderstood, because passions have been roused all over the world and sometimes each country thinks that if you are not completely lined up with it you are its enemy or opponent. It is unfortunate if people think so: we cannot help it. We may sometimes even lose some petty advantage, because of this fear and suspicion in other people's minds. But even now other countries are beginning to realise that we are playing an independent rôle: that we are not tied up to anybody, that we consider problems dispassionately and objectively, in so far as we can judge them on the merits and not from that other point of view, which is becoming very common, that is to say from the point of view of a certain manoeuvring for a possible future war. That is the point of view from which problems are dealt with today.

If there is a future war what should be done now to better our position or to get this territory or this country on our side and prevent it from going to the other side? It is not for me to criticize other nations and their policies. But I just do not see why India should function in that way or should become a part of this world manoeuvring that is going on. So we have to keep apart from that and at the same time develop the closest relations with all those countries. It so happens that because of history and chance our relations—economic and trade—are far greater with some countries than with others. Well, we will continue them always seeing that they do not come in the way of our growth, do not hamper us in our progress.

The supreme question that one has to face today in the world is how can we avoid a world war? Some people seem to think that it is unavoidable and therefore they prepare for it and prepare for it not only in a military sense but in a psychological sense and thereby actually bring the war nearer. Personally I think that is a very wrong and a very dangerous thing to do. Of course no country dare take things for granted and not prepare for possible contingencies. We in India must be prepared for any possible danger to our freedom and our existence. That is so. But to think in terms of the inevitability of world war is dangerous thinking. I should like this House and the country to appreciate what a world war means, what it is likely to mean. It just does not matter who wins in the world war because it will mean such utter catastrophe that for a generation or more everything that we stand for in the way of progress and advancement of humanity will be put an end to. That is a terrible thing to contemplate and everything should be done to avoid this catastrophe. If it is unavoidable—of course we do not run away from anything because we are afraid of it—we have to face it. I feel that India can play a big part, and may be an effective part, in helping in the avoidance of war. Therefore it becomes all the more necessary that India should not be lined up with any group of powers which for various reasons are in a sense full of fear of war and prepare for war. That is the main approach of our foreign policy and I am glad to say that I believe that it is more and more appreciated.

We are at the present moment on friendly terms with all countries. With our neighbours—with Pakistan I think the situation is improving from day to day. It is much better than it was a few months ago; I hope it will improve more. With Afghanistan and Nepal—although Afghanistan is not our immediate neighbour now: anyhow it has been our neighbour—we are on the friendliest terms with them. With other countries in Asia and in Europe our relations are getting closer and closer, our trade is expanding and so on and so forth. We should utilise this position I think in the United Nations and elsewhere to fulfil the cause of peace, and it is possible that a number of other

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countries which are not happy at the prospect of war may also support the attitude that India might take up when occasion arises in regard to it. We have dealt with questions in the United Nations as individual separate questions,—for instance, in regard to Korea, in regard to Palestine, in regard to some other matters too, and we have displeased people because we have dealt with individual questions and gave our opinion on the merits. Of course the merits cannot be divorced from various other possible consequences. I think people have realized often enough that the advice that India gave and which was not accepted then was the right advice and the trouble would have been far less if the advice had been accepted then.

There are many aspects of this question which I can speak about, but I have already taken a great deal of the time of the House. I would beg the House to look upon the matter from this wider point of view that I have placed before it, that is the emergence of India and Asia into this trend of human affairs, the inevitability of India playing an important part by virtue of her tremendous potential, by virtue of the fact that she is the biggest political unit in terms of population today and is likely to be in terms of her resources also. She is going to play that part. If we have to play that part we have to look upon this question from this bigger point of view and not from the small difficulties and problems that may face us and that part must essentially be one of promoting peace and freedom in the world, of removing racial inequalities.

And may I in this connection say that it has been a matter of deep grief to us to learn of the racial riots that took place at Durban in South Africa? I do not wish to say much in regard to that except that if racialism is encouraged anywhere it is bound to yield such trouble. But it is a matter of deep grief to us that Indians and Africans should be involved in such rioting. It has been, not today but over years past, our definite instructions to our envoys in Africa and elsewhere that we do not want Indians to have any special interests at the cost of the Africans anywhere. We have impressed upon them to co-operate with the Africans in gaining the freedom of those Africans and we have repeated these instructions again. I hope that after this unfortunate experience of Durban, Indians and Africans will come together again. Indeed there is evidence from East Africa and elsewhere of a great measure of co-operation between Indians and Africans.

So I hope that this House and this country will approve of the general lines of policy that I have suggested and indicate that it is India's desire to play this important part in favour of world peace and thereby perhaps help in avoiding that supreme catastrophe, that is, a world war.

Mr. Speaker: If the House is agreeable, instead of having an unfinished speech for five minutes, I think we may now adjourn and re-assemble at 2-30 P.M.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

Seth Govind Das (C.P. and Berar: General): The Honourable the Prime Minister today reminded us that our country is an ancient country. No doubt, Sir, it is an ancient country with an ancient history, with an ancient civilisation and with an ancient culture. On account of the Honourable the Prime Minister reminding us, I suddenly remembered the days of our great emperor

Asoka. In his days, Sir, we had relations with various countries and today I am glad to find that after our freedom we are again developing such relations. (An Honourable Member: 'Not the empire!') Not the empire. Even at that time of Asoka we had cultural relations; we had no idea of winning any country even at that time. We want to develop the same sort of cultural relations today after India has become free.

Fast communications have made this world very small. Every country has come closer to one another and therefore the importance of international relations, and importance of international policy has become very great. After we achieved freedom our prestige has increased in the world. On account of the methods which we used for achieving our freedom, it has increased still more and after achieving our freedom the way in which we dealt with various problems—the latest of them being the problem of Indonesia—our prestige increased still further. Much depends upon the policy which we shall follow in future. It should be based no doubt on ethical and moral standards and if it is based on ethical and moral standards we shall consider nothing but human problems. Every country considers these human problems, but most of them consider them only with respect to their nationals. Our motto had been—“*Atmaval sarva bhuteshu*”,—and on account of this motto we were pledged to *vishva-prema*, universal love. Our master taught us the same even in these days of bloodshed.

The honourable the Prime Minister has rightly said that today the greatest problem is the readjustment of the relations of Asia and Europe. I am sure that if we follow the policy which we have followed so far, we shall be able to readjust the relations of Asia and Europe—not only the relations of Asia and Europe but of the whole world. Compromises are necessary. Even in the philosophy of *satyagraha* there is compromise—how many times Mahatma Gandhi made compromises with the British Government? But no compromise should be made sacrificing our objectives, and therefore the two declarations which the honourable the Prime Minister made today, one with respect to our foreign possessions and the other with respect to our relations with Commonwealth countries, will be hailed throughout the country. He rightly said that we do not want to force those possessions to join our territory but at the same time it is but natural for them, if not today then tomorrow, if not tomorrow then the day after, to join us. And as far as the friendship between the Commonwealth countries is concerned, we have to keep intact the decision which we have made in our Constituent Assembly that India is going to remain a Sovereign Republic. We have done right in not joining any of the blocs in the U.N.O. and I think we should pursue the same policy.

The honourable the Prime Minister said something with respect to Indians abroad. It has been a subject in which I am interested for the last 25 years. He said the status of our brethren abroad has increased. On account of our independence it has, I admit; but if we see the real conditions there we find that there has been no improvement in the material conditions there. I shall give examples only of two countries because I have very few minutes at my disposal. I shall first deal with East Africa. As far as East Africa is concerned, we find that the inter-territorial organisation of the four colonies there—that is Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar—has come into existence. The whites were important in Kenya, but on account of this Inter-Territorial Organisation, they have become important even in Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar, where they are in a microscopic minority. East Africa is a country with which we had oldest relations and new immigration Acts have been passed there barring our immigration altogether. Another trouble has

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sprung up there. That is communal trouble and on account of some communal feelings in our community there, the whites took advantage of it. They exploited those feelings and wanted to have separate electorates in Kenya. The Government of India pressed for not having separate electorates and though separate electorates have not come into existence, yet in Kenya Legislature, reservation of seats has been made and there are three seats for non-Muslims and two for Muslims. In South Africa things are much worse than they ever were. The Durban riots were a very sad event and it is feared that the Commission which has been appointed by the Union Government might whitewash the whole affair.

Thus we see that though our status might have gone up in the Commonwealth countries, the condition of Indians in these countries is practically the same. In Mauritius, Fiji and Trinidad there are no problems today, but in Burma, in Ceylon and in Malaya also we have to face these problems. In Malaya the trade unions are under communist influence and that is the reason for the trouble there. In Burma, the question of nationalisation of land has been taken up. Of course, we cannot oppose it on principle, because we ourselves are abolishing the *Zamindari* system; but we have to see that adequate or at least reasonable compensation is given to the persons who own that land. Unfortunately, in Ceylon, we have not the same cordial relations with the indigenous population as we used to have. To me it appears that the only solution of the problems of Indians abroad is that we should never fight there for any exclusive rights for ourselves or any privilege for ourselves. We should merge our interests with those of the indigenous population there and we should make a united front with them against these whites who have usurped the rights of all.

In conclusion, I wish to say that India has been an idealistic country. The honourable the Prime Minister said that we have much to learn from Europe and America and I say that Europe and America have also much to learn from us. If we stick to our ideals, if our Government, if our Embassies abroad, stick to those ideals, ideals which have come down to us from times immemorial, ideals which our masters have taught us, I am sure that it will not be this country which would be learning much from Europe and America but it would be Europe and America which will be learning something from us. I congratulate the honourable the Prime Minister for all that he has been doing since he has become our Foreign Minister and I hope that if we go on doing what we have done in the last eighteen months, our country will have a unique place in the international world.

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Madras: General): I am glad to say that most of the members in this House are very much in agreement with the general line of foreign policy that our Prime Minister has been pursuing and the line that he has taken also in the statement he has made to us this morning.

To take up the point that my honourable friend Seth Govind Das has just now raised, I am glad that he has also declared himself in favour of the principle that Indian nationals in these various countries abroad should not fight for any exclusive rights for themselves, and on the other hand, they should make common cause with the peoples of those countries. It is a very important statement that he has made, in that he has interested himself in their cause and he has developed wide contacts among Indians abroad. But unfortunately, our nationals abroad do not seem to be pursuing such a policy in their own relations with the local nationals. Except for Kenya and may be in one or two other places in West Indies etc. our nationals seem to have got into certain privileged positions and are unwilling to take into partnership the local

nationals. Only recently, we were told that in South Africa, even in running the buses when the Negroes wanted a share in it, our friends were not willing to make any concessions and I have been receiving from time to time a number of complaints from the Negro nationals and their leaders, especially in Kenya, Uganda and Nyasaland about our own attitude. Therefore, they have expressed the hope that we in India anyhow will not be taking up the same attitude that those Indian traders are taking up in those countries. It is as well that our Commonwealth Department makes it clear in unmistakable terms to these nationals abroad that they cannot expect any support from our Government if they were to pursue this policy of trying to get concessions from the whites and not yielding anything at all to local peoples and not trying to take them into comradely relationship and partnership.

Then, coming to what our Leader of the House has said this morning, I have felt that he was not quite as seriously conscious of the actual existence of a cold war, of an ideological war, of an economic war, that is today going on in different parts of the world, that is being waged by two great nations and two great Powers backed as they are by their own satellite countries,—United States on the one side, and the U.S.S.R. on the other. If you go to Yugoslavia you find that Marshal Tito is complaining of economic non-cooperation from Stalin. If you go to Czechoslovakia, you find a similar complaint being made against U.S.A. If you go to the Scandinavian countries, similar complaint is being made against Russia. Coming to the Asian continent, we find that in a number of countries including Indo-China and Burma, Russia has been playing a role which is not very honourable to herself or useful to the world cause of peace. It is true that the hand of either the United States or the U.S.S.R. is not so easily discernable in what is happening in all these countries; but nevertheless their agencies are at work in order to queer the pitch and to create confusion and create economic unsettlement. In between these two great Powers comes Great Britain together with her friends in Western Europe. They are still interested in imperialism. They are still anxious to retain not only their Asiatic possessions, but also to develop their interests in African possessions. They are bent upon carrying on a policy of exploitation.

What is happening in Malaya is something which should upset many minds. It is true that in Malaya the Communist party has been playing a role which is really destructive. It has taken to violent means and violent ways and necessarily its guerilla warfare has to be put down by legitimate means including the use of armed forces. But if such steps had been taken by a National Government of Malaya it would have been possible for the rest of the world to appreciate. But when British Empire has had to take this step, necessarily the position of people like us who have been so closely associated with the Commonwealth becomes very difficult to justify. Even in Africa, not to speak of South Africa, the role that the British Government has been playing is not very honourable and, in regard to Indonesia, the attitude taken up by Great Britain is certainly objectionable. It is under these circumstances that we have to make up our minds whether we can agree not only to be friends with Great Britain but also to be one of the partners in the Commonwealth. Our position in the Commonwealth will certainly become stronger and more useful in advancing the cause of the world, if Great Britain were to make up her mind to shed imperialism and give freedom to all these people and help them to establish strong, powerful and stable national governments. Until that happy day dawns, I am afraid the position that India will be taking up in the Commonwealth is likely to be the butt of criticism as well as talk on the part of the various other countries. That is where the softest or the weakest point lies so far as our foreign policy is concerned.

[Prof. N. G. Ranga]

Then, the United States of America has been asking the rest of the world to believe in her democratic professions. But is she fully democratic? That is where doubts arise. Has she been pursuing a policy of democracy, looking at the whole world as one unit, treating every country as equal to every other country and treating every people as equal to every other people, deserving of equal consideration, help, assistance and *camaraderie*? The answer is in the negative. She has been trying to help western European nations. Why? Is it only to help them to rehabilitate themselves after the war? Not only that; it is also to save them from the advancing tentacles of totalitarian monsters that are raising their heads all over the world. Very well. If she is right in doing that, then why is it she has played such a disastrous rôle in China? She had been blowing hot and cold with regard to that country. She had been giving false hopes to Marshal Chiang Kai Shaik and he had been pursuing a line in the hope that he would get help. But where is he today? When he became very badly in need of American help, they refused him that help and left him in the lurch with the result that the poor Marshal has been obliged to flee his own country. Does she want India and other countries also to pursue the same disastrous policy and come to a disastrous end? These are the questions that America has to answer. These are the questions also that our own Foreign Department has got to place before itself in its dealings with America and our own friends.

If the peoples of the world are to be saved from totalitarianism, they have got to be quite clear what they mean by totalitarianism. Communism is one brand, Sovietism is another, capitalism and imperialism are a third. We do not want to have anything to do with these three. But nevertheless, if these people are to be saved and helped to stand on their own feet, some help is needed.

We are told that the world is one in prosperity as well as in poverty. But what do we see? There is this prosperous country of America and there are the poorest people on the continents of Africa and Asia. Is it possible for these two parts of the world to feel in one and the same way towards all problems when they are placed in opposite extremes so far as their economic condition is concerned? Naturally it is not possible. It is the duty of the statesmen of the world to see that the world is made one. But if it is to be made one—this is what Truman has told us—did his Foreign Secretary Marshall offer to place their wealth at the disposal of other countries, not as loans or gifts but as their offering towards the promotion of this conception of the unity of the world? Did they use their resources in men and money and expert aid and materials to raise the economic level of other countries?

What is it that America has done so far as Asia is concerned? Nothing. And what is more? We have asked America to help these countries in the same way as she has been helping Western European countries. Until today she has not made up her mind to come to the rescue of Burma, Indonesia, Indo-China or China. If the economic condition of the masses in these countries had been raised to at least the minimum necessary level of decency, would it have been possible for those people to become a prey to the destructive agencies and elements that are now gaining more and more sway there? We have been told by the American Government and by Western countries that Western Europe was saved from the clutches of the Communist party because that territory was flooded with American capital goods and that with these they salvaged those people. Why is it that they did not think of doing the same so far as Asia is concerned?

I want our Foreign Department to concern itself with this aspect of the matter and then tell America and the rest of the world: 'Look here, if you are keen on championing the democratic cause and developing democracy all the world over as against the expanding and advancing world totalitarian front, then come to the rescue of people of this part of the world in regard to food, clothing, capital goods and other essential basic industrial equipment that this country needs. We want assistance. There is only one country which can provide that assistance and that country is America. But America is not playing the game.'

Then on the other side there is Soviet Russia. She has also been trying to help her own friends of the south-east European countries. They have been helped economically by Soviet Russia and in the East also, Russia is trying to help those countries friendly to her. Because of our policy we have been pursuing of not aligning ourselves with Russia or America, we have not been able to get any assistance from either of these political blocks. Therefore what shall we do? Even at the risk of having to hug our own poverty, as our own Prime Minister declared, we should not definitely align ourselves with this or that group. Then what are we to do? As I said last year, we have been pursuing that line in this country of not joining either group. Then are we to be neutrals? I have said before that it is not becoming of this country that we should be taunted as neutrals. We should take a positive line. I am glad that our Prime Minister has been pursuing such a positive line. I am very glad he has taken the initiative in calling an Asian Conference here in regard to the Indonesian problem. He is going to call another Conference and I am happy to see in the World Press the lead he has given has come to be appreciated very much except in the Soviet press. I can understand why it is so. I cannot understand why the Russians are so very keen in criticising the initiative taken by the Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Do they want the Britisher to take the initiative? Or do they want the Americans to take the initiative? If India had not taken the initiative it would have helped the Imperialist cause and not the cause of peace. India has no interest in imperialism or power politics. As she has taken the initiative, it is only fair to expect Soviet Russia to appreciate the lead given by India. We cannot be content with the present state of things.

We cannot rest on our oars and that is where our Foreign Ministry has got to take sufficient steps in order to build up a peace front. It is necessary that they should come out into the world definitely and positively say that we are not in favour of either capitalist totalitarianism or idealistic totalitarianism or even economic totalitarianism but on the other hand we are out for the establishment of a true and full-fledged democracy and in order to building up that democratic front, we wish to pursue our foreign policy not only here in this country, not only in our relations with individual countries but also in our activities in the UNO.

Mr. Speaker: In order to enable me to accommodate a larger number of people who are anxious to speak, I would earnestly request the members to restrict their remarks to ten minutes instead of fifteen minutes. Otherwise it will not be possible to give chance to more members.

Mr. Tajamul Husain (Bihar: Muslim): We got independence about a year and a half ago and now we are considered to be one of the greatest nations in the World. How this wonderful thing happened in such a short space of time? It is due entirely to the effort of one man and that is our Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He raised us in the eyes of the world and I am sure if he remains our leader for at least ten years more, we will become the greatest nation in the world.

[Mr. Tajamul Husain]

As regards the Commonwealth Relations we have not as yet decided whether we will remain a member of the Commonwealth or not. There are no doubt both advantages and disadvantages in remaining a member of the Commonwealth but I submit this is not the place to discuss this point. This point will be decided later on by the Constituent Assembly. If at that time we find that it is beneficial to us to remain a member of the Commonwealth, we will decide accordingly but if we find that there is absolutely no advantage to us by remaining a member of the Commonwealth, we will decide that we will not remain a member of the Commonwealth. But one thing I have not been able to understand, *viz.*, recently the Australian Prime Minister said that Australia was meant only for the White people. He also said that our Prime Minister Pandit Nehru agreed with him with regard to this policy of Australia. I would like to know whether it is true or not.

As regards Burma, as far as I am aware, there is an Act called the Burmese Nationalisation of Land Act of 1948 by which the Burmese Government can purchase all lands and houses belonging to Indians in Burma and also that Indians in Burma are not allowed to bring back sale-proceeds of the land and houses to India if they want to come to India. We are not allowed under the same Act to bring the profits from trade and commerce. So it has become impossible for Indians to come back to their own country if they so desired. There were many Indians there who were in the service of the Burmese Government and they had been dismissed but they were not allowed to bring their hard-earned money which they had saved out to their own country. If they want to remain there they cannot do so and they cannot come back to India because they are not allowed to bring back the money. They could not stay there because the right of citizenship had been denied to them. I understand that our Government have taken up the question of valuation of land belonging to Indians in Burma. This is very good, but not enough. I suggest that the Government of India should take up the question of valuation of house property and business also. I would like to say a few words about Embassies. We have just attained independence and naturally we want to become also the greatest nation and I have no doubt we will but it will no doubt take time and we must go slow. My suggestion is that on no account should we side with any foreign powers in case of war. We must remain neutral atleast for about ten years. By that time we will become stronger than what we are now. There is no doubt that the embassies in the foreign countries are doing good work. We are spending lot of money over them. My only prayer is we do not get ourselves involved in their power politics of the United States of America or Russia and lastly I will say one word about the French and Portuguese possessions in India about which the Prime Minister has already enlightened us. No Indian would like any Foreigners to remain in any part of India as part owner of India. It will be dangerous for us especially in case of war if we allow them to remain and so something should be done about it and I am glad that the Prime Minister has told us something about it.

Shri Harihar Nath Shastri (U.P.: General): I would not deal with the question of high foreign policy over which three of my distinguished friends have already spoken. I would simply submit in a nutshell that the policy that our great leader has been pursuing since the achievement of Independence is the only correct policy and that policy has raised India high in the estimation of the world. But at the present moment I desire to confine myself to one particular aspect of the External Affairs, namely, the working of our embassies in other countries. I feel that this is a very delicate subject and moreover I feel somewhat overwhelmed by the presence of one for whom during the last 24 years of my public life I have had profound regard mingled with considerable

awe. Still, I rise to say something in this regard because of a sense of duty which inspires me to open my mind on the present occasion. In doing so, I should like to assure the House and my Leader that I have no personal prejudice, no dislike against any particular individual. On the contrary, I have every respect for every one of our ambassadors. They are honest people, men of integrity, and they are doing onerous duty to this country, for which they deserve the wholehearted support and protection not only of the Government but also of this House. My comments are entirely impersonal and based on expediency and a certain amount of experience.

I would, in the first place, make a few remarks in regard to the principle that should govern the appointment of our ambassadors in future. In regard to this question, I have two suggestions to make. Firstly, that the appointment of our ambassadors should be confined to public men of standing and distinction in this country, who have been conversant with and who have been through thick and thin in the politics of this country. My second suggestion is—and I would invite my Honourable leader to consider whether it has any weight—that local men are, as a general rule, not appointed as our ambassadors. (Mr. Tajamul Husain: 'What is meant by local men'? The honourable member will please try to understand what I say. The reason why I make this suggestion is that due to long association with any particular country, an Indian who has been in a foreign country for, say, twenty or twenty-five years, develops conflicting loyalties, gets involved in intrigues and manipulations and the result is that these things stand in the way of the proper discharge of his duties, and also undermine his efficiency. So I humbly suggest that this aspect may be taken into consideration.

Then, there are two or three other suggestions that I should much like to make. The first is in regard to the question of foreign publicity. I felt, while I was in England, and in some of the continental countries last year, that the publicity of our country in foreign countries was very much ignored and I was pained to find that even in a country like England which had long association with this country colossal ignorance was prevailing in regard to the affairs in India. I met, eminent people, particularly leaders of the trade union movement, and I was astonished to find that there were baseless impressions in their mind in regard to this country. One of the impressions was that civic liberty in this country was completely suppressed and that there was a fascist regime in this country. The second and still more regrettable impression that prevailed at that time in that country was that the Cabinet of this Country was divided and that there was one section that stood for civic liberties whereas there was another section which stood for complete suppression of civic liberties. It should be, and it should have been the duty of our ambassador that such impressions should not arise and if they exist, they are counteracted effectively.

The third suggestion that I want to make is with regard to having adequate personnel having a fair knowledge of foreign languages. I found in course of my tour, that in our embassies people having a fair knowledge of the languages of the countries were very much lacking, and there were interpreters in certain continental countries who did not belong to India, but to those countries. I think that arrangements should immediately be made to start an institution under the External Affairs Ministry to train young men to take up this work.

Within the next two or three minutes that I have at my disposal I would like to touch on one important question, namely, the handling of confidential work. In course of my tour I noted that in some of the embassies, there were stenographers who were handling confidential work. And again, up to this time, ciphering work is also done in certain places by people who are foreigners. And

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still more amazed was I to find one thing in a particular country—I do not want to name that country. It was that our ambassador in that country went out on some official business for two or three weeks and during his absence, instead of his confidential files being handled by the Deputy High Commissioner, that work was handled by and looked after by his Private Secretary who was a foreigner, belonging to that country. I feel, that our Foreign Affairs Ministry should see to it that the confidential work in our embassies should be looked after by responsible people who belong to this country.

I have touched upon some of the points, and before I conclude, let me join in the high compliments that have been paid to my leader, by my distinguished friends. I do say that he has very successfully handled the foreign affairs of our country. There is only one observation I have to make with regard to our foreign policy. There is an impression in this country which has found echo in one of the speeches at least, that the time has come when we should directly or indirectly align ourselves with a particular bloc. In this connection I want to give a warning. Let no false sense of security and, no temporary resentment against any particular country or against any particular party, cloud our judgment and goad us to follow a policy that may in the long run prove disastrous for our country.

Shri B. Shiva Rao (Madras: General): I want to utilise the brief time at my disposal for placing before the House some points arising out of India's participation in the last Session of the United Nations General Assembly. Before I do that I would like to make a suggestion to the Prime Minister that attempts should be made to place on the table of the House, with as little delay as possible, the reports of all Indian delegations to International Conferences, not only to the United Nations General Assembly but to such conferences as are held by the F.A.O., or U.N.E.S.C.O., or any other organization connected with the United Nations. Secondly, I would like him to consider whether it would not be possible to give this House an opportunity more frequently than once a year, to have debates on different aspects of foreign affairs. He spoke to us this morning comprehensively for almost an hour and a quarter, covering many points of the greatest interest and importance, and the House is expected to deal with them in the space of two and a half hours. I am aware, Sir, that because of the late arrangements that were made in regard to the budget discussions this year, it was perhaps not practicable to give more than one day for the discussion of the estimates of the External Affairs Ministry. But I hope this aspect will be borne in mind next year. Thirdly, I would like to repeat a suggestion which I made in the course of the budget discussion last year, and that is that inside the External Affairs Ministry there should be built up a section which would deal with all international conferences, whether they relate to commerce, or to public health or to cultural activities or to any Ministry in the Government of India. That I think would ensure a co-ordination of policies to be pursued by our Delegations which go abroad.

Now, coming to the Session of the General Assembly held in Paris last year, I think I must confess that it was even more barren of achievement than its immediate predecessor in 1947. In the main the lack of achievement was due to two factors: one was the uncertainty created by the presidential elections in the United States, which lasted until the beginning of November: the second was the deepening crisis over Berlin. Sitting in Paris and watching the almost interminable debates, particularly in the Political Committee, I was often reminded of a saying which I heard in this House many years ago, when in the place of the Prime Minister there sat the British Home Member of the then Government of India and the Leader of the Opposition was the late Pandit

Motilal Nehru. The Home Member in concluding the debate quoted a Bengali proverb, and translated into English is something like this: "those who live on the banks of a river must learn to make friends with the crocodiles." In Paris I felt that we lived on the banks of more than one river well stocked with crocodiles of various sizes and shapes; some almost friendly looking, some more true to form.

Last week in one of the questions which Mr. Sidhva put he raised a series of supplementaries in regard to South Africa's designs on South-West Africa, and he almost seemed to suggest that the Government of India had somehow failed in not securing the support of the Dominions and the other powers for the resolution that India had sponsored in regard to South-West Africa. I think it is necessary to understand the limitations under which a delegation works at an international conference like this. At the Committee stage it is necessary to secure a simple majority for any resolution before it can be passed on to the Plenary Session of the General Assembly. In the Plenary Session itself it must have at least a two-thirds majority. Now it is not in India's power, not belonging to any bloc as the Prime Minister pointed out this morning, and not having any power of influence over the voting of other members of the United Nations, it is not possible except by persuasion to secure the support of other members of the United Nations. And so far as South-West Africa is concerned, although India sponsored a resolution in the early stages, which we felt was necessary in order to register an emphatic protest against South Africa's design on South-West Africa, we found that in the later stages of the debate, even in the Committee, it was not possible to secure a simple majority for our resolution, and therefore we were compelled by the force of circumstances to support a resolution which was sponsored by one of the Latin American countries. Our regret was not only that it was not possible to prevent South Africa from annexing virtually South-West Africa, but that in our efforts to secure justice for South-West Africa we could not in the later stages of the debate get the support of a great many members of the United Nations from Asia. Ten or eleven of them, after promising support in the early stages fell away rather mysteriously.

Now, I refer to this item of South-West Africa, not only because it was an item on the agenda in which we took special interest, but Africa today is one of the danger spots in the world. It is in Africa, largely due to the intolerant, racial spirit of the Malan Government, that the seeds of future conflicts are being sown, and sooner or later, unless the other powers look out, there may be a conflagration which might spread to other parts of the world. The issue does not concern only a few lakhs of Indians in South Africa, or a few lakhs of the coloured people in South-West Africa. The issue is, broadly speaking, the right of the coloured races all over the world to the same rights and privileges which members of the United Nations enjoy. It is here it seems to me that India can, and in fact is playing her most important and her most significant role. We have gained our independence by the principles taught to us by Gandhiji and we have succeeded in our efforts without loss of goodwill or friendship of the imperial power which held sway over us for many decades. Therefore, we are in the best position today in the world to secure the same rights for the other subject races who number something like two hundred million. I do not think it is easy for a colonial power at any time to relinquish its hold over a territory, with all the economic and political privileges which go with Imperialism. But just now I think there is a further complication in that the colonial powers of Western Europe have a grave fear that if they were to grant increasing freedom to territories under their control, the peoples of those territories may not enjoy their freedom for long but may be influenced by another power with a different ideology. It is for India to persuade these colonial powers to give up those rights and it is also for the British who are still

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today the greatest colonial power in the world to influence the other colonial powers to take the same line as they have done in India, Burma and Ceylon.

There is one other point to which I would like to refer before I sit down. I think we can legitimately derive great satisfaction from the fact that in all the elections for which India stood at the last session of the General Assembly—the Economic and Social Council, the International Law Commission and the Committee on non-self-governing Territories—not only did we succeed but we polled practically the highest number of votes that any country could get. We lost the election to the International Court of Justice not for any lack of appreciation on the part of the other powers of the merits of our candidate but entirely for high political reasons unconnected with India. I think it was our misfortune that India was not free at the time of the inauguration of the United Nations in 1945. I think by our size, by our population and more than anything else by the contribution that we can make to the strengthening of the foundations of world peace I think India is entitled to regard herself as amongst the big five or six. Unfortunately our claims were not recognised at that time. Nevertheless in view of the rapidly increasing influence that India wields today in world politics I think we should be undeterred by any considerations of false modesty but we should seek membership of the Trusteeship Council and of the Security Council, because I know that many countries in the world, particularly the colonial areas throughout the world, look to India for leadership and for protection.

Shri H. V. Kamath (C. P. and Berar: General): It is a matter for gratification that India since her recent emergence into world affairs has, under the wise guidance of our Foreign Minister, so far steered clear of the shoals and rocks of international power politics. While over Europe the Dollar and the Rouble are contending for mastery and while over large parts of Asia the same conflict is being waged in other ways and other forms; and in spite of the debacle in China, the retreat of democracy in Indonesia, the stagnation in Indo-China, the division of Korea, the upheaval in Malaya, the civil strife in Burma and the ferment in Palestine, we are happy to know that India has successfully pursued a natural and independent foreign policy. My anxiety is to see that this policy is pursued not merely today in peace but even in a future war—God forbid that it should come! With this idea in view I think that the first thing we have to do—which is the *sine qua non* for pursuing such a policy, completely neutral and independent foreign policy in foreign affairs—is to cut ourselves off from the commonwealth. With the greatest defence to the Foreign Minister's view in this matter I am constrained to say that so long as we continue to remain in the Commonwealth we will not be able to pull our full weight in world affairs or even in Asian affairs.

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao (one of the Panel of Chairmen)]

The Prime Minister in his speech referred to the Commonwealth as the "so-called British Commonwealth" or the "former British Commonwealth". But it is disquieting to note that Dr. Evatt, the Minister for External Affairs in Australia recently said, I think it was last month, to the following effect in the Australian House of Representatives: "There has been no change in the title of the British Commonwealth and we were delighted to see that the phrase was used by the King in his speech in Christmas time. In matters of life and death the British Commonwealth sticks together."

I hope this is a misrepresentation by the Australian press of Dr. Evatt's speech. But if that represents the correct state of affairs, I think it is high time that we seriously reconsider the desirability of breaking off from the Commonwealth. Moreover, if we continue in this Commonwealth we are liable to the charge of being a party if not a party at least as conniving at

the racialism and colonialism that are still the dominant features of the Commonwealth today. The battle between colonial servitude and political liberty or democracy is being waged today in Asia and I am sure it will be waged tomorrow in Africa and so long as the Commonwealth continues to be what it is today, I think we as the youngest democratic nation in Asia have no place and we should not desire to have any place in the Commonwealth.

There is another factor against our continuance in the Commonwealth and that is this. Britain being the oldest member of the Commonwealth is likely to be the *primus inter pares* or the first among equals, among members of the Commonwealth and Britain, as world affairs show us today, has linked herself indissolubly and inevitably with the United States of America and there is hardly any genuine democracy in America today. What with the negroes being oppressed, and denied civil liberties, and what with the attitude of America towards the undeveloped and under-developed countries of Asia as was revealed in the proceedings of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations as well as in the ECAFE conference at Lapstone, Australia, in November or December last, there is hardly to my mind any genuine democracy in America today; and if we link ourselves with the Commonwealth it follows automatically, as night follows day, that we will be within the Anglo-American orbit. My anxiety is to see that we continue a completely and entirely independent foreign policy and the first essential is to break ourselves from the Commonwealth and sever all links with it.

Our next task would be to build up in Asia a United Nations of Asia by means of multilateral or bilateral pacts, regional alliances, not contrary to the United Nations Charter and its framework but within the United Nations framework; build up regional alliances within Asia and also bilateral and multilateral pacts in Asia and Europe relating to trade, commerce and even defence. If small countries like Norway, Sweden, Denmark can afford to be free without the shelter of the Commonwealth, why not we a great and ancient nation, that has shaken off the foreign yoke; why cannot we stand on our own legs and enter into friendly alliances with all the countries in the world and build up this neutrality? In war it is not enough to say that we are neutral. Such neutrality should be borne of strength. Mahatma Gandhi used to say that he would prefer violence to the non-violence of a coward. The neutrality of the weak is no neutrality at all. It should be the neutrality of the strong and if we cannot build up our armaments, we certainly can build up the spirit of the people, the psychology of the people and that is what is wanted today, a militant neutrality of the people, just as Mahatma Gandhi in the days of 1942 built up this sort of psychology, the psychology of militant neutrality. This we can and should build up today. I am sorry to state that the psychology of the people is not being built on the right lines. I hope it will be done so that our neutrality policy will be successful in peace as well as in war.

Adverting to the embassies I would only like to say that firstly we have got to have a close watch and scrutiny over the expenditure not merely in connection with embassies but also with delegations and missions that go abroad. We must have full audit, both pre-audit and post-audit if that be necessary. We must take the earliest steps to see that all the embassies are completely staffed by Indians from top to bottom. Today there is the danger of espionage. Espionage is not merely done in war but also before war. We know how before the second world war some countries had their espionage systems in several other countries. This is a risk which we cannot afford to take. Therefore it becomes important that our embassies should be completely staffed by Indians from top to bottom. Our embassies must radiate culture and goodwill; they must be centres of Indian culture. Because, mutual understanding is today an important essential in world affairs. I

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would further remind the House that Mahatma Gandhi in his post-prayer speech just before his martyrdom stressed this fact as regards the expenditure on embassies—that a poor country cannot afford to spend too much on embassies. But today one is inclined to think that we care more for prestige abroad than for prosperity at home. To my mind prestige abroad and poverty at home go ill together. Prestige abroad without prosperity at home is an empty shell.

Before I close I would only say this that I believe that the second half of this century will show that Europe and America are not the whole world and that the future course of human civilization will be determined not on the Rhine, the Danube or the Volga but on the Yangtze, on the Nile and on the Ganga. To us in this century this opportunity has come now. There is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at the flood leads on to fortune. I hope we shall be able to take advantage of this tide and march on to victory of peace, freedom and democracy not merely in Asia but in the world and we shall be able to build a world not half-slave and half-free as it is today, not a world divided against itself but one free world of peace, democracy and socialism—may I say, where the *atman* has triumphed over the atom bomb, where men are citizens of one free world and mankind one family rooted in the living God. I will only join the Prime Minister in his prayer for world peace and the welfare of mankind and I hope that ere long the spirit of Empire will give place to the Empire of the Spirit. *Om shanti, shanti, shanti.*

Mr. Nazruddin Ahmad (West Bengal: Muslim): The subject is very vast but the time is very short. I shall therefore deal with only one aspect of this subject, namely, the problem of maintaining peace. War is not inevitable, but much preparation is necessary and in fact one condition of peace is that every country should have sufficient military strength. If a country is weak from a military point of view other countries will find it easy to take possession of her. But even individual strength of a country from a military point of view is not enough: there must be collective security. Without collective security a country will not find herself safe. I submit therefore that India should be looking out for defensive alliance wherever and however possible. The weakness of international law in the past has been that international law is the vanishing point of jurisprudence. Whatever decision was taken by an international body, that body had not sufficient sanction behind it and it could not enforce its decisions, and therefore its decisions were not respected. As a consequence, might became a test of right. But we have in the U.N.O. the seeds of an effective world organisation. I suggest that India should try to strengthen the U.N.O. There should, I submit, be a federation of independent states. The army of the entire federation of federated countries should be one and unified. There should, I suggest, be a legislature of the entire federation and there should be a federal court of the federated nations. That should be the ideal towards which we should move. The idea of isolationism is absolutely meaningless and it will not lead to the maintenance of peace. Nobody knows how a world war starts. The seeds of war are to be found everywhere. All that is wanted is a little spark here or there. There is endless trouble in China, there is enough trouble in Burma, there is trouble in Malaya and other places and what is more, there is trouble inside India. The sooner therefore we begin to organise the different countries together on a common basis the better. The danger to peace may possibly come from the Russian side, and to avert any possible danger from that side it would be highly desirable for the democratic countries—those who want to come in—to combine together. It is from that kind of a combination of all democratic countries that a defensive organisation will be possible. It will not do to say

that we should sit on the fence and look to our interests; when a war starts we will be involved in it. The better thing would be a preventive method, namely, to seek a defensive alliance. If all the countries or as many countries as possible combine together, unite their army together, have a common legislature, common court and common army to give effect to their decisions, then I think the combination would be too strong for any possible disturber of peace to attack. In this way we can build up the defensive strength of the world and ensure peace.

The other subjects are very vast and I do not wish to take the time of the House. I should like that the suggestions which I have made be considered by the Government.

Srijut Kuladhar Chaliha (Assam: General): Sir, while my predecessors have taken you to overseas and to embassies I shall take you to places nearer home—to the land of Gaidalu Rani of the Naga Hills, the land of Chitrangada the land of Rukmini? (An Honourable Member: "Kamrup;") no, not the land of Kamrup which is rather already a developed country. Sir, in the eastern frontier between the administered territory and the McMahon Line which came into existence as a result of the agreement with Tibet in 1914 there live a lot of people known as Monalsas inhabiting the land, then we find the Lamai, Nisu (Dafas), Abors and others. These people have been practically loyal to us though we have not done anything yet for their education, health or in the matter of communications. It is really difficult to run roads in that area, but should we not attempt? We find that in this area we have our own *Brahmakunda* and *Parashramkunda*. Up to that extent we have run a road but beyond that we have not done it. I trust you will look after these people, that you will start schools and build roads. They have been given too much to the Christian American missionaries who have taught them to think that we are foreigners and that Europeans are better friends. Indians are not allowed there. This system is still prevailing that without a permit even now no man—Congressman or whoever he is—is allowed into that territory. This system should go; it is causing a great difficulty in that area. I last went there in 1941 and I had to take a pass. I was followed by a C.I.D.—that was of course during the war—and we could not go beyond Margherita. So, I should like to request the honourable the Prime Minister that this permit system should be abolished.

Then I shall take you to the other area which is called Lekapani through which runs the Stilwell Road which is under great disrepair. I think it was through this country that we were successful—or the British were successful—in stemming the tide of the foreign invasion. We should get this road in proper order if we want to be successful in future and avert dangers in good time. The Stilwell Road should be tackled properly; I think the length along the Indian and Burmese border should be repaired. Without this road we will have to face difficulties. Of course, beyond this we have the Kachins and Burmans—they are slightly friendly with us yet trouble may flare up in a day because we find that beyond 100 miles, south of Mandalay, there have been Communist troubles and it is only about 300 miles from Mandalay to Lekapani. We should be careful to move our army in time—even now, I think

Then I shall take you to the Naga hills where the people are restive. There we find Gaidalu Rani who was inspiring the people to fight against the British, so that they may join with Mahatma Gandhi in his attempt to do away with the British regime. She joined hands with us. Today she is rotting somewhere I do not know where, but she is still there. I think our Prime Minister knows it very well—it was he who made her famous throughout the world. (An honourable Member: "She is still in jail?") No, she is out, but we have not made any provision for her. We should make a provision for her so that she may be an example to us and an inspiration to the

[Sri Jut. Kniadhar Chaliha]

rest of the world. (An honourable Member: 'A national pension') I suggested that long ago when the British regime was there, but we failed then; we suggested that she should be brought even up to Mathura or Brindaban and kept here but we failed there.

I shall now take you to Manipur. It is an acceding State but we have troubles there. We have the Communists and the people are restive; I do not know if even a Minister is a Communist there. We should watch this area very carefully and we should repair the road *via* Jorhat to Danshri; that road is cut away by the Danshri River. If you do not keep that road to Jorhat *via* Dimapur, Palel and Tamu, I think in times of danger we shall have to rue for it. That road is a national highway but it has not been kept in proper repair; the patch between Dimapur and Golaghat is very bad. It should be repaired in the interests of the tribes and for the protection of our frontiers. It is also necessary that the Commander-in-Chief should visit these places—I think he has an idea to visit them. There—there is the Communist menace, south of Aijal and Langleh. The Communists have come up to Akyab, they can come up to Langleh, then to Manipur and then to Silchar. The roads through these areas should be developed. If the roads from Langleh *via* Aijal and then to Silchar and then from Manipur to Silchar *via* Bishenpur are not improved we shall have some trouble in future. The Communists have got there. Possibly during the War you must have heard of Bathedung and Rathedung and through these areas the Communists are infiltrating. Therefore, it is necessary that that road should be properly looked after.

I shall now come to the Budget. I find that a crore and four lakhs have been allotted for 'Tribal areas', but out of that I find Rs. 88 lakhs have been provided for the Assam Rifles. I think no attention has been paid to the improvement of the tribal areas. Out of a crore and four lakhs if 88 lakhs are taken out very little is left for the improvement of these areas. This sum should be taken under Defence. I do not know if I am wrong but I do not find any item under the head 'Education'; it is a blank item. It may be that you have a five year plan and possibly you have included education there. But if it is not included, I shall request the honourable the Prime Minister to see that the proper amount is included for the education of the Nagas, for the education of Lushais and for the education of the other tribal people. Hospitals should also be run in these places and we should not let them remain alone in the hands of the Christian missionaries who have been, practically speaking, disloyal to us and who have been teaching that we are bad people, that we are not friendly to them that we are a people who look upon them as *harijans*. This feeling should be eliminated, and I think the British and American missionaries should, as far as possible, be brought out of these areas.

I also find that these areas are very rich in forests. There is a forest area of about 1800 square miles, much better than the Nicobar Islands. We have such an excellent place where timber can be extracted and tea chests made out of it. At present we have got two mills. We require about 50 to 100 lakhs of tea chests and possibly the entire quantity can be had from this area provided we invest money. I have been in consultation with people here in Delhi and they say that about Rs. 15 lakhs in one mill and about Rs. 20 lakhs in another will be quite sufficient to produce all the tea chests that we require for the country. Also, these chests will give the Government of India a duty of possibly about Rs. 50 lakhs or more, even if they charge eight annas a chest, and the entire cost can be met out of the tea chests if the mills are undertaken either by the Government or through private agencies.

As regards health, we do not run hospitals in those areas as the Christian missionaries have done. They have got a hospital in the Naga hills, in Sadiya. We should proceed in the same way, in the missionary spirit; we should run hospitals with nurses so that the full weight of our civilising influence and the influence of the Indian Union is felt. Then and then only will we earn the gratitude of the people of Assam, the people of Naga hills and the people of other hills.

Shri M. Tirumala Rao (Madras: General): I do not want to take much of the time of the House, coming as I do at the 4 P. M. lag end of the debate, but I want to offer a few remarks. Foreign policy is not an isolated activity of a Government. It has got an organic and indissoluble connection with finance, business and the economic situation in the country. Therefore, if we are to judge whether our foreign policy is sound, whether it is intended to consolidate the position of the country in the world politics, we have also to look to the country from within. Unless we are internally strong with regard to our defence, our counsel or our word in international gatherings will not carry much weight, and in order to build a sound defence in a new democracy that has been just born, you require all the assistance of a willing Finance Minister who should be able to allot as much money as is demanded by the Defence Department.

Our country has already a name and a fame that has established itself even before we won our independence. When we were slaves under the British, our country had no foreign policy. It was controlled by our masters and a few Yes-men were always taken to these international gatherings of limited status and were asked to go into the meetings and get out of the meetings at the sweet will of the ring-master who invariably used to be a British politician. But even though we had no status in international circles, the country's moral stature has gone so high that our great savants like the late Rabindranath Tagore, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mahatma Gandhi, have placed this country on a pedestal which is far above the rest.

Within the short time we have had freedom, the indefatigable energy of our Prime Minister has spread the position of our country into the counsels of the world. As one who has witnessed our Prime Minister addressing the United Nations Organisation recently on November 1st, last, I could see how he was far above the tallest of those that were gathered there from the international Councils. I had the good fortune of going in the Parliamentary Delegation from here where we had contact with delegations of all the Commonwealth countries. They were all politicians, members of Parliament, who were vying with one another, both ladies and gentlemen, to see our Prime Minister and shake hands with him, because from their respective High Commissioners and their big officers and Prime Ministers they had heard that our Prime Minister was easily the outstanding personality at the Prime Ministers' Conference. Therefore, though I am not here to praise him to his face, this is the only opportunity when I can tell you, my comrades in this House, of the impression which he created in the world abroad. But to carry out his ideals, he requires a strong country behind him, a prosperous country behind him and an invulnerable defence behind him. It is not enough if we go on developing in a lopsided way.

I do not agree with the very unjustified and cynical remark that fell from an ex-President of the Congress that we are more prosperous abroad than inside the country. If you go about and see what prestige this country has built up and that in a short time, you will understand what it is. All the countries that are now under the heel of the Western Imperialism are looking to India for their emancipation. The recent conference in India on Indonesia which was attended by 19 nations proves that a white nation, with a white policy, like Australia was compelled to come down here and take counsels round the table.

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in New Delhi. That means the Eastern Hemisphere and South East Asia has got its own problems and in their solution India is going to play a great role in the near future. The position in Burma, the position in Ceylon and the position in Eastern and Western Pakistan are not very happy. It taxes all the intelligence, all the diplomatic skill and also the physical strength of this country if we are to eliminate the trouble spots on the frontiers of India. With all the goodwill that is at our command, we are not able to bring round Ceylon to treat our nationals there properly. The South African problem has become an eye sore to all of us and we need not wonder if it becomes a world problem which will easily lead to a fresh war.

To develop all these things, we require not only the foresight and capacity of our Foreign Minister. He has to be assisted by a well-trained army of workers. We had no diplomatic corps worth the name before the British left us. They had naturally kept all the strings in their own hands under the Foreign Department which was entirely manned and controlled by Europeans. However high placed an Indian official may be, even if he belongs to the omniscient I.C.S., it is a new department for them and when I see the Embassies I find that nearly half of them are manned by officials. Out of the 19 Legations and Embassies, I find nine officials and eight non-officials. I want that the non-officials should be encouraged and there should be further recruitment from the non-officials of this country to fill these places. With all respect, I want to bring to the notice of the Prime Minister that officials have been brought up in a certain groove, in a certain atmosphere, which has not been changed by the democratic influences in the country. You send a high official to America or elsewhere. He goes about his business in the wonted way and comes out without any human contact with those people that are working there. Therefore, I suggest that officials are good Secretaries to carry out the policies of politicians and statesmen. I want that the Foreign Department and our Prime Minister should take note and try to select a class of public workers, men from public life, who would go and fill these places with credit and honour to the country.

I want the Foreign Department to observe some continuity with regard to these Conferences. In this Conference, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, which was held in Ootacamund, you sent Mr. Sitarama Reddy, one of the Ministers in Madras, as the alternate leader and you sent our Deputy Speaker, Shri Ayyangar. But when this Conference was held in Australia, the Department—I think it was the Commerce Department that was concerned, but I hope the Commerce and External Affairs Departments will work in coordination—they had not even the courtesy to ascertain whether these gentlemen who had given their time and attention to this Conference would be willing to go as delegates to this Conference. They deputed one senior official. I have no quarrel with senior officials. I have got very great respect for them and for their ability and integrity. But that is not the point here. You cannot always depend on a particular class of public servants to represent this country in all international conferences. Where is the harm if these two gentlemen who are capable and gave their time to this Conference were at least consulted and it was ascertained if they would be able to give their services. They were actually ignored and were left behind. So also with regard to delegations. The Commonwealth delegation which was sent from here consisted of all legislators. We have gathered good experience. We have established very good contacts with friends from the rest of the world and it is time that we think of public men in this connection.

Shri Braleshwar Prasad (Bihar: General): Sir, I suggest that the Government of India should approach the Governments of Russia and America to guarantee our neutrality in the event of a world war. I feel that such a course

of action will be in perfect consonance with the main trend of our foreign policy. We do not want to be the palanquin bearers of the leaders of Russia or America. Our own economy is not at present fully developed. We want time for that. We do not want that our growing economy should be shattered as a result of participation in war. Our experience has been that countries who have participated in war have found themselves, after a period of time, to have been losers in a political sense. After the first world war, it appeared that England won it, but where is England now? As a result of participation in two world wars England has lost the position of power she enjoyed once in the Councils of the World. It is too early to say whether America has won this war in the political sense of the term. Military victory does not necessarily connote political victory. I feel that the time may not be far off when it will be fully realised that neither America nor Russia have won this war. As my friend Mr. Kamath pointed out, the future lies with the people of Asia, Egypt, China and India. The lesson of history has been that countries who did not participate in wars did not suffer in any sense of the term. Switzerland kept out of the two wars and remained neutral. She has not suffered in consequence. I want to know whether Turkey and Ireland have in any way suffered as a result of non-participation in the second world war? I want to know whether Japan which did not take any part in the first world war suffered (*Inter-ruption*). My main contention is that participation in wars does not promote national greatness and non-participation does not mean that the country concerned loses its status and place.

A point was made yesterday that we should enter into a joint defence pact with this country or that. I am opposed to that, because the question of defence is intimately connected with the question of foreign policy. Unless the countries with whom we are advised to enter into defence pacts have the same aspirations and the same foreign policy as ourselves, there is no meaning in seeking an alliance with them. Unless the Governments of Pakistan and Nepal and South-east Asia pursue the same foreign policy that we are pursuing, there cannot be anything beneficial in a joint defence pact. We are pledged to peace and unless those countries are also pledged to peace, there can be no pact with them. I personally feel that the whole picture of South East Asia will undergo a radical change if we ask the Governments of England and America and Russia to guarantee our neutrality. We will then know who is our friend and who is our enemy. Let Russia deny that position which we want. Let America deny that status which we want to achieve. What will be our next step if that recognition is not given to us, it will be for us to decide. I know what we should do next. I feel that a strong South East Asian Federation can only be built on the foundations of peace. A strong and stern refusal to participate in a coming war will be the only basis on which the South East Asian Federation can be established.

Shri Raj Bahadur (United State of Matsya): The foreign policy of a country is as vitally important for its security and freedom as its military capacity and preparedness for the defence of its frontiers. That our foreign policy has been a success none can doubt. The very fact that the establishment of our State has been achieved and that the ship of our state has weathered the severest storms and tempests speaks volumes for the soundness and wisdom of that policy.

It may be realised that for the success of any foreign policy a well-organised, and efficient publicity department is essential. It was but meet and proper that in June last the Information Branch of our Foreign propaganda was entrusted to the Foreign Ministry itself. From a practical point of view, it may be said without any fear of contradiction, that during the course of the centuries during which we have been slaves under the domination of foreign countries, a mountain of prejudice and superstition has grown up against our nation. I am saying this from my personal experience. During last

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summer I had the opportunity of a short visit to England and happened to be in a hotel where a schoolmaster of a secondary school resided. He invited me to go and speak about India to his boys in the school. The boys were between the ages of 16 and 18. I went there and had a talk for about 1-1/2 hours. At the end the students put me certain questions which stunned and shocked me. The first question was: Do you worship snakes and cows? Is it a fact that many Hindus have got as many as 1,000 wives each? Is it a fact that every Indian is found chewing twigs in the morning? Is it a fact that some Indians are not allowed to travel in trains or go to the wells for drawing water? These strange questions culminated in the query whether there were cannibals in India. One can imagine my feelings when I was thus faced by such a question. As far as untouchability was concerned, I could not easily controvert that, but even so I told them that the evil of untouchability was similar to the evil of Race prejudice "colour bar"; and while we have already got over the evil of untouchability to a great extent we are confident that we would completely overcome it long before the day the so-called white races banish the evil of "colour-bar". As regards the question of using twigs was concerned I answered their question by saying that the twigs freshly cut from trees of known medicinal value every day were definitely better for the teeth than using the same brush for weeks and months. I was also asked whether cattle were left astray in the streets and I told that while it may probably be true in remote villages it was certainly not true for bigger towns and cities. I was confronted with a book on geography containing the picture of a cobbler sitting on the foot-path with cattle standing around him. This is the type of information that is being given to students in England. Such pictures damage the reputation of India. In one of the News-Picture Houses I happened to visit, I saw a picture about the supposed uprising of the people of Jaipur in June last, alleged to be clamouring for independence. There was another picture depicting Mahatma Gandhi murder trial. Wherein the principal accused was prominently featured and the running commentary described him as "smiling when he faced the camera". The third picture portrayed Sydney Cotton as a hero. His so-called mercy mission of flying medicines from Karachi to Hyderabad was depicted prominently. Yet another picture shown there related to the so-called benevolent rule of the Nizam. The screen was thus full of hostile propaganda. The press also was fully anti-Indian and hostile. It is therefore very essential that the mountain of prejudice that has accumulated in foreign countries against us should be removed. We have got to undo the wrong. Mahatma Gandhi in one of his moments of intense feeling once called the British rule "satanic". That rule, apart from the social, cultural, moral and political ruination of our country created a mountain of prejudice against us in Western countries. So, one of the most important things that the External Affairs Department has got to do is to annihilate that mountain of prejudice. We are proud of our civilisation and culture. But we have got to impress upon the Western people the excellence of our civilisation and culture and prove to them that it is not the whole truth to say that "we have a lot to learn from Europe and America". The whole truth would be if we add that they have also got to learn a lot from us. In conclusion may I submit that the masses all the world over are definitely averse to any sort of war. They are not at all interested in any scramble for raw materials or markets. They are not interested in power politics or in the loaves and fishes of jobs in the United Nation's offices. They are interested only in their bread and in the peace and security of their hearths and homes. As such, if India has got to lead, as our honourable Prime Minister has justly remarked, we have got to carry the Master's message to the world.

for which the masses are pinning. We have got to play a vital role in the avoidance of a Third World war. If India's message has to be taken to the outside world, we have got to see that our Publicity Organization is brought upto the required standard. We see that there is danger lurking on all sides of our frontiers. We see what is happening in China; we see Burma is seething with a bloody struggle. We also see that things are not quite alright on our northern and western sides also and in such a critical time it is very essential that we are interpreted correctly and rightly to the entire world.

Shri O. V. Alagesan (Madras: General): While listening to the speech of the honourable the Prime Minister this morning my mind went back 17 years to a meeting in the Madras Beach which was addressed by Panditji when he was the President of the Indian National Congress. That meeting was presided over by our late lamented leader Satyamurti who after the speech of Panditji characterised it as "the feast of reason and flow of soul." I was reminded of more words when I was hearing the speech on foreign policy by our Prime Minister this morning. It is said that this Government is fortunate in that it is able to command not only the political support of the people of the country but also the sentimental affection and loyalty of the people. That is true; but let us consider the other side also. Can anyone assess the benefits that have flowed to this country from the possession of such a rare personality as our Prime Minister at the helm of affairs. Is not the country fortunate in having his leadership? He has put India very prominently in the international map. It cannot be denied that in spite of the fact that we may be the biggest political unit in point of potential strength and population, our international stature is small compared with that of several other countries today but the international stature of our leader is nothing less than that of any other personality in the world. It is no exaggeration to say that he even overshadows the other leading personalities of much bigger countries than ours. I welcome the statement that he made this morning on the French possessions in India. He said that ultimately they cannot but end in integration with India. But we should remember that the people of these Foreign possessions in India have waited long. These possessions in the present context are an anomaly and an anachronism. They cannot continue—these little bits—when the rest of India has become free, to be under the control and administration of foreign powers. It is unnatural. It is high time that we say 'Quit India' to all these powers that hold these bits of India in their possession today. Taking the French possessions, we know what has happened there. There was a farce of an election conducted as a result of a compromise arrived at between our Government and the French Government. It was not possible for our Government to send its official observers to that election. Non-official observers were present on behalf of the Indian National Congress and they have since told the country what election it was that took place. People, who know the state of affairs in French India, will say that there can be no such thing as a free democratic election there as is understood in the rest of India. It is always the party that is backed by the Government that wins there. This is clear from the fact that not one seat was captured by the pro-merger group there, that is, by the French India National Congress. All the seats went to the party which was supported by the money and goondaism of the French Administration in Pondicherry. Now we are told as a result of the very same agreement that a referendum will be taken when these newly elected representatives so decide. The principle of referendum cannot be acceded to by our Government. We cannot agree to the principle that portions which are part and parcel of India should go to the polls and decide to join India and vote for reunion with India. The people themselves in these possessions consider that

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to be a challenge to their self-respect and nationalism and patriotism. It should be taken for granted that these people want re-union with India and negotiations should be set a foot and results achieved quickly. Because, I may remind the House here that the peoples agitation in these possessions was stopped at the bidding of Mahatma Gandhi who advised them that since there is a National Government in power today, since Panditji is taking care even of Indonesians, he will certainly take care of the French Possessions in India and that he will see to it that they are merged with the rest of India. On that advice the people stayed their hands and are from that day following the advice of the Indian National Congress. It is but fair to them that we should see that they are re-united with India at the earliest possible moment. More than one speaker referred to the situation arising out of the Land Nationalisation Act in Burma. There are about 30 lakhs of acres—worth 90 crores that belong to Indians and it is not known whether any compensation will be paid to these nationals of our country who hold these properties there. It was observed earlier that nobody can object to the principle of nationalisation. That is true. But, it should be treated as the national property of India and negotiations should be started with Burma Government and a satisfactory solution found for this. Also there is another question as to how Burma Government treats the properties of nationals belonging to other countries. If there is any discrimination in their favour, then we have a right to demand that the property of our nationals also should be dealt with in the same manner. At least our nationals in Burma may be called somewhat well-to-do people and they may take care of themselves but when I turn to Ceylon, the position of our people there—more than seven lakhs mostly labourers—is pitiable. The question of Indians Overseas is mostly a question of Tamils Overseas and as one hailing from that part of the country, I am naturally very much interested in their well-being. I do not mean to say that the Government as such is not taking sufficient interest. In fact, it has. The long correspondence that took place between our Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of Ceylon makes a sad reading. Our Prime Minister has approached the problem with a vision and insight which was not reciprocated by the other side. He has written: "I have approached this problem, not as one between two disputing parties in which each has to make concessions to the other but as one requiring a joint effort by two Governments to do justice and to bring contentment to an important section of the population of Ceylon, which though Indian in origin, has made substantial contribution to the economic development of Ceylon." This was the approach of our Prime Minister but it was not reciprocated. Since this correspondence took place, the Indian Residents (Citizenship) Act has been passed by the Ceylon Government. Though 32 members of the Ceylon Assembly opposed it, it was passed by the support of 52 members of that Assembly. Under this Act, the disabilities imposed on Indians in the way of their registering themselves as citizens of that country are so great that it is well-nigh impossible for them to do so. It will not be possible for them to register themselves as citizens of Ceylon because they will have to prove that they had lived there from the beginning of 1939, in the case of married persons and 1936 in the case of others. Even after this registration, there are further discriminations made against citizens by registration and citizens by descent. With all these disabilities, many of our people will not be able to take part in any of the economic activities of that country. It is a serious situation and this also can be settled only by high-level negotiations and friendly approach. I hope the Government will take sufficient notice of this and do the right thing.

I have only one thing to add, and I have done. The honourable Prime Minister in another place, while referring a recent appointment of our representative in a foreign country explained the background of that

appointment. I wish that the same background is kept in mind when making appointments to those countries whose Indian population is largely the Tamil.

Dr. B. V. Keskar (Deputy Minister for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations): I have listened with great attention to the speeches of my honourable friends and to the various expositions of what they think our foreign policy should be, of what is their conception of the lines on which we should shape our foreign policy, and I have also listened with very great attention to the various suggestions and points that they have placed before the House.

In regard to certain points raised by them, for example the one raised by Shri Shiva Rao, let me at the very outset say that we would be very glad to place such of the reports of our international delegations on the table of the House as are not confidential, and care will also be taken in future to have reports placed on the table of the House and specially prepared for the House. We would also welcome more frequent debates on our foreign policy. It will be of great help to the Government to know the mind of the House. And on the occasion of an important international event, we would very much like to have debates. I might also add that the meetings of the Standing Committee for the Ministry of External Affairs which are also in the nature of a restricted debate on such topics would be more and more frequent. They are, even now held frequently.

With regard to the principle on which our foreign policy has been based, my friend Prof. Ranga said that the honourable Prime Minister in his speech did not appear to be very conscious that there is a cold war going on at present between the United States of America and Russia. I think I listened to the Prime Minister's speech very carefully and it was nowhere said that we are not conscious of this cold war. I would rather call it a mental and moral tug-of-war that is going on at present. In fact the present power blocks to which Prof. Ranga referred are really based on this tug-of-war. So, this cold war is felt by all of us everywhere. It is not only in the countries to which my honourable friend referred that you feel it. For example, he referred to Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia where you feel it every instant. I would say that we feel it everywhere in the world, in some countries more intensely and in others less intensely. That is the reason why in his statement on foreign policy the Prime Minister referred to our position with regard to these two big blocks. I know he referred also to the question whether we should be neutral and some other honourable member also referred to the question of our neutrality. I would like to say that there should not be any misunderstanding. We do not join this block or that; but it does not mean that we will be passive onlookers of the great drama going on in the world. We will also participate in it. I know honourable members wanted that we should participate. But the question is how we should participate in this great drama that is going on. The Prime Minister very clearly indicated the lines on which we are going to proceed. Ours is a positive policy of encouraging peace and all forces of peace in the world. I think that is the best and the only policy, not only for this country, but also for the rest of the world. How that policy should be developed and on what lines, these are questions of detail into which we can go later on. I do not think at this moment, this is the right time to go into them. I may assure the Members of this House that at no time we would follow the policy of pure neutrality. Ours would be what I would call a positive and constructive approach to world peace.

Another honourable member, Shri Brajeshwar Prasad referred to the question of maintaining world peace and suggested that we must ask the United States of America and Russia and also England to guarantee the neutrality of

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India. He also referred to the example of Switzerland. May I say, in reply to this suggestion that the country which requires such a guarantee of peace from other powers is a frail one, and it is a manifest admission of weakness and helplessness on our part. If we claim that we are going to play a positive and strong role in maintaining and achieving international peace, I think it is a very weak and wrong attitude on our part to take. Do you think that paper guarantees given by U.S.A. or Russia or any other country counts in the ultimate shape of things? At the proper time, such a guarantee may possibly be regarded as a scrap of paper, if it suits any particular power to choose to violate our neutrality. Neutrality, or what I would call our particular position always depends on the situation of things, on our own strength, on our attitude and our own relations with other powers in the world. I do not think that a guarantee of neutrality would guarantee peace for India or peace for the world.

Shri Brajeshwar Prasad: If a pact of neutrality can have no meaning, has any pact any meaning?

Dr. B. V. Keskar: Questions have been raised by my honourable friends, Seth Govind Das and Prof. Ranga with regard to the position of Indians overseas. Naturally every year there have been discussions in this House and outside. We have been very anxious and very occupied about them and we have always followed the conditions of Indians overseas. But as the Prime Minister said in his speech, their position to-day is different. After August 1947 our attitude with regard to the question of Indians overseas had to undergo a considerable change. We had to look at it from a new angle. All those of our countrymen who are settled in large numbers in our neighbouring countries, and certain countries far away, like British West Indies, in the new shape of things have to choose whether they would like to be Indian nationals or they would like to be citizens of the country where they are living. Our policy has been very clear. We have encouraged Indians who have settled down in various countries to take up the nationality of, and to merge themselves with, the people of those countries and their interests, and not to remain as an alien bloc in those countries, because that always creates conflicts, creates suspicion in the minds of the people and leads to trouble and bitterness. Ultimately, as they claim to be our nationals we have to go to their help and sometimes it is very difficult to do so.

Prof. Ranga rightly referred to the question of Indians in certain neighbouring countries who have got interests which are in conflict with the interests of the people there: those who have banking interests and capital interests, and which the people of those areas resent. Naturally, in any question of the Government of that country trying to curb or limit their powers the question would always crop up whether we should support our nationals there or not.

So, on the whole, our policy has been that Indians in different countries should try to merge their interests with the people of the country there. Certainly that does not mean that we are indifferent to their fate. We are always very carefully following the situation of Indians in different areas and we do our best to help them.

I would like to modify the statement made by my honourable friend, Prof. Ranga in one instance. It would not be right or absolutely correct to say that Indians have in quite a large number of countries interest which can be called banking or capital interests. If you will look at the figures, you will see that the vast number of Indians abroad are labourers and of very poor class of people and unfortunately they have been exploited up till now. It is therefore

only right that as they are ignorant people, who are unable to look after their own interests, who are not educated, and who are our country-men, that we should look to their interests and guide them.

Shri B. Das (Orissa: General): But he had Burma in mind.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: They did not come into conflict with the locals there!

Dr. B. V. Keskar: I agree. With regard to Indians overseas, the question of Burma came up. Mr. Tajamul Husain and Shri Alagesan referred to the situation in Burma. I think Shri Alagesan had misunderstood the situation there. The question of paying compensation to Indians, as has been stated many times on the floor of the House, is one which has been occupying the attention of the Government all along. He quite rightly said that the Burma Government has every right if it decides to nationalise land in Burma: the question is what is the form and amount of compensation to be paid to Indians in Burma who held land. That question had been taken up with the Government of Burma. All along we carried on negotiations through our Ambassador there and through direct correspondence on several occasions. Honourable Members will also remember that a Delegation was to go to Burma composed of the Congress President and two of the Ministers from Madras and other interested persons, who were to negotiate with the Government of Burma with regard to this important matter. Unfortunately, the situation in Burma has worsened and it is not possible for the moment to carry out these negotiations. As a result of this, the implementation of the Land Nationalization Act is not taking place because the Burma Government is fighting for its own life, but I might assure him that the question of compensation, and other matters connected with the well-being of Indians in Burma will be always considered by the Government, and when the proper time comes negotiations will be resumed.

My honourable friend, Mr. Chaliha, touched on the question of the tribal areas. He has made the statement that we have done nothing, or practically nothing, to help the people of the tribal areas in developing themselves, in educating them and in creating better communications and means of modern amenities in those areas. As honourable members know, this vast area, which is on the borders of India, and which is our frontier with two or three countries, is a very vital one, and it is for that reason that it is in the External Affairs Department and not under the Home Ministry as such, or under the Provincial Government. I would like Mr. Chaliha to know that we have a five-year plan for the development of this area, and I think he has been wrongly informed that no scheme has been put in motion or is being implemented with regard to education and the cultural contacts with the people of these areas. If my honourable friend will look into the details of this year's budget, he will find that a sum of Rs. 600,000 is set apart for the educational and economic development of this area. There is a scheme for developing all roads, for the development of medical facilities, for agricultural improvement and for the construction of hospitals in this area. In fact, the construction of two or three hospitals is being taken up immediately. They have already constructed a base hospital and about twelve dispensaries in this tribal area. The question of education is also engaging the attention of the Government and our immediate scheme is to have a training school for training teachers from the local area who will take up the education of their own people.

Some complaints were made by my honourable friend that Congressmen are not allowed to go into these areas and this is something which the present Government cannot tolerate. But the question is not so simple as it looks. The

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fact is that the people of these areas themselves privately approach the Government and sometimes publicly that outsiders should not be allowed to go there because they feel that they may be exploited.

Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri (Assam: General): That is the old story. That was in the British days. They do not say so now.

Dr. B. V. Keskar: We have had some consultation with the tribal people, very recently and they take the same stand. It does not mean that no one is allowed to go there. Anybody interested in working in the tribal areas or seeing things for himself, members of the Central Assembly or members of the Assam Assembly, are given permission immediately. There is no question of their not getting permission. But my honourable friend would take into consideration the question that this is a delicate matter, and we do not want to raise up suspicion and hostility in the minds of the tribal people that we are trying to put up schemes or do things which are going to bring about their fall or upset the state of things which existed with them till now. Our five year plan is really a scheme for bringing them into contact with modern amenities and modern methods of administration and we propose to do it gradually. Being ignorant and being isolated and not being in contact with other more civilised life they should be brought gradually and slowly on a par with the administration that exists in Assam and other neighbouring areas. We are all agreed on that. I think in the opinion of the Government, it should be done gradually and slowly.....

Shri H. V. Kamath: What about the issue of India's relations with the so-called Commonwealth and also the issue of building up a psychology of militant neutrality in India to which I referred?

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Neutrality has already been answered.

Shri H. V. Kamath: I mean active neutrality and not passive neutrality.

Dr. B. V. Keskar: I think the honourable the Prime Minister referred to it this morning. Our approach is positive and how it is going to be achieved something for all of us to ponder over.

I come now to some of the points raised which I would like to deal with...

Shri H. V. Kamath: About the Commonwealth is that the last word? Can the Deputy Minister throw any light on this?

Dr. B. V. Keskar: There is nothing like the last word. I will deal with it.

My friend Mr. Harihar Nath Shastri referred to the question of public being ineffective, and inefficient or rather there being incompetency in the matter of knowledge of languages in our representatives abroad and hence some of our confidential work being entrusted to foreigners. There is also the question which has run through not only most of the speeches here but it has always been hinted on the floor of the House many times and outside, viz., too much expenditure and the necessity for economy in our establishments abroad. I have only one or two observations with regard to this.

Looking at this problem from the point of view of principle, as the Prime Minister said this morning, first of all we have to decide whether India as an independent country has to establish relations with foreign countries or not. I think this is something which we need not discuss, though one or two friends did say that there is no need for us to have so many foreign relations. I think if we have to live as an independent country we have to have foreign relations, otherwise we cannot lead an independent life. If you look at the comparative figures of expenditure incurred by different countries on their foreign

missions abroad you will see that ours is proportionately the lowest and most economical foreign office in the world. I am not referring to England whose expenditure is many times more than ours or the U.S.A. whose expenditure is bigger still, but the expenditure on foreign establishments of even smaller countries is much bigger.....

Shri H. V. Kamath: How it is in relation to the *per capita income*?

Dr. B. V. Keskar: If you want our country of 300 million people to be represented abroad and if the honourable member wants as he himself said in his speech that India should play a certain role in the international world, I do not think it can be done without an adequate and first class foreign establishment. Especially I would like honourable members to bear in mind that ours is a newly independent country. I would go further than the Prime Minister and say that for a country which has newly won its independence, which has not got a foreign establishment, which wants to develop an adequate and first class foreign establishment, it ought to spend much more, because initial expenditure in such things is always bigger. For example you all know that most of the foreign countries have got their missions for decades and centuries. They have their own big buildings, offices; they have a tradition behind them. We have to create all that and that involves more expenditure than ordinarily would be required. If you look at the details of our expenditure you will see that in order to economise as much as possible taking into consideration the financial situation of our country, the Government have thought fit to proceed cautiously with regard to the establishment of our foreign missions abroad, even though we know that we should develop our contacts with the world as soon as possible.

A reference was made to external publicity. How are you going to have external publicity and have effective publicity too if you do not want to spend money on it? There are two different and contradictory points of view expressed by my honourable friends. Some friends want that we should spend less and at the same time we should be effectively represented abroad and should also have effective propaganda in the outside world. I think that is not possible. We have to spend and spend adequately. Naturally we take into consideration the financial situation of our country and try to economise our expenditure as much as possible.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Have it also audited properly.

Dr. B. V. Keskar: There are special auditors appointed to audit the accounts of our missions abroad and adequate care will be taken to see that every pie is spent properly.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: What is the cost of the British Embassy in India?

Dr. B. V. Keskar: I am sorry I cannot give the figures but I can tell my honourable friend that the expenditure of the British Foreign Office as a whole is several times bigger than ours.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar: General): Ours is a poor country.

Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: Sir, I would like to remove the wrong impression created in the mind of the Honourable Deputy Minister. The statement that the tribal people do not like Indians from the plains to go to them and that they welcome Europeans and American should not be allowed to go uncontradicted. In reply to a question put by me it was said that in a conference held in 1946 such a sentiment was expressed by the tribal people but during those days in all the political areas the political officers were Europeans and no Indian was allowed to work in those areas. Therefore they expressed an opinion which was tutored.

Dr. B. V. Keskar: I never said that. I think my honourable friend has not heard what I said. I did not say that they did not want Indians to go there. They do not want any outsiders to go there, whether Europeans, Americans or Indians.

Sir, I have dealt with most of the points raised by my honourable friends in the debate. I would only like to express my appreciation of the very kind and appreciative tone of my honourable friends who have been kind enough to praise the work done by this Department during the year.

The Honourable Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am reluctant to take up the time of the House again but there are one or two matters on which perhaps I might be able to enlighten honourable members, more especially my colleague, Shri Kamath who has been ranging from militant neutrality to the audit of every pie. May I inform him that if he wants militant neutrality I am going to be neither militant nor neutral. Therefore I disregard his suggestion and I am not going to follow the policy that he is advocating as it is a completely wrong policy. That is point No. 1. I shall explain why. I do not understand

this business of neutrality. Neutrality comes in in times of war. It has to be considered then. But it does not come in in times of peace. It has no meaning whatever. It makes no meaning whatever by saying that 'I shall be a permanent neutral whatever happens'. Nobody can say that as nobody knows what will happen. To say that shows utter lack of appreciation of reality.

Shri H. V. Kamath: May I ask what is the meaning of the neutral foreign policy that we are supposed to be pursuing?

The Honourable Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: My friend Shri Kamath might have used that word; I have never used that word. I consider that expression completely wrong as a description of our policy. Our policy is a positive constructive policy as my colleague Dr. Keskar said. What I venture to point out is this. Normally speaking the foreign policy of every country is based on its own interests naturally and on certain interests, shall we say, of world peace or better relations with other countries. But the first thing that normally prevails is inevitably every country thinks of its own interests. When its own interests coincide with wider interests it becomes very anxious about those wider interests also. In any intelligent view of world affairs today one can say that every country's interests lie in the maintenance and promotion of peace and the avoidance of war. That is the main thing. What happens in peace time is another matter. Normally in a country's foreign policy every item is considered on its merits—every matter that arises. When a country aligns itself with another country in times of war then they support each other apart from the merits of the case. So today in the United Nations questions are often considered not on the merits but with a view to attaining a position, by manoeuvring or otherwise, so as to be strong enough to meet a possible war in future. That is the approach often enough on questions today. India's approach has been different: that is to say, while it naturally has to take all facts into consideration, in the main it considers the question on the merits. I gave one or two instances. I shall give another instance—the instance of atomic energy. When this matter came up before the United Nations at the Paris session a few months back there was a great deal of difference of opinion between the two rival approaches. As it happened the Committee that was appointed had for its Chairman a distinguished Indian, and he brought quite a different approach to it, that is, a legalistic and judicious approach of trying to find out on the merits what should be done and not merely trying to counter this or that position. The approach was such a different approach that it immediately made its mark and everybody in the U. N. felt that here is somebody considering the question judiciously on merits and not merely as a game of chess to counter the other. We therefore propose to consider every

question on the merits and more especially in its relation to the problem of world peace: that is we want to minimise the conflicting elements and as far as possible to encourage those forces that tend to maintain peace. I do not wish to exaggerate our capacity to do so. May be we cannot do so; things have gone too far. May be that our attempts appear rather ridiculous to some people. But the point is first the negative point that we do not wish to encourage hostility in the world, and secondly the positive point that we wish in so far as we can to encourage the positive policy of peace—maintaining peace within the countries and peaceful relations and not rushing into a fray against this country or that country in the excitement of the moment or otherwise which does not do any good and which merely adds to the bitterness of the situation. Therefore our policy is not a policy of sitting on the hedge; it is not also a middle on the road policy as some people imagine. It is a positive policy of always seeking to do something which may somewhat lessen the tensions of the moment and thereby possibly prevent any great catastrophe from happening: because that catastrophe will injure us tremendously as it will injure every other country in the world. As I said it will be presumptuous on my part to say that we can affect the pace of world events. I do not say so, that we can do it or that we are likely to affect it very much. Nevertheless I think that we might affect it to some extent; to a small extent we do affect it. That extent might grow. It is worth trying and we are going to try.

This morning I ventured to say that India by virtue of her past genius if you like, culture if you like, has got perhaps a special role to play. I generally do not encourage the idea, which is a peculiar product of intensive nationalism, of each person thinking his country as a chosen country of God—normally the people of each country think that they are the chosen people; whether it is in America or Europe or Asia we all tend to think that we are the chosen race—I do not wish to encourage that idea. I am proud enough of my people, my country, my heritage, but it is a narrow-minded view to think that we are the chosen people and all the others are outside pale. Nevertheless I do think that India has played a tremendous role in history—a vital role—and in spite of her subject condition and degradation there is tremendous vitality in her, and now that the fetters and the bars that prevented her from going ahead have been removed that vitality will come into play again. That vitality has something distinctive about it. It may be that that distinctiveness may make a difference to world affairs. I think it might. It is a curious parallel if I place it before you, but still it helps a little. Today possibly the symbol of the West is the atom bomb. People think in terms of it. People are frightened of it. People prepare for it and devote all their energies to it. It is a curious combination: it is almost a symbol of the West today. You devote all your energies to promoting something which you fear most! Everybody is frightened of it. It is a terrific thing, and yet all energies are spent in making that. So the atom bomb has become the symbol of the age today so far as the West is concerned. I do not want to make the atom bomb the symbol of India. Our Great Leader gave us the spinning wheel as the symbol of India. That spinning wheel with a certain variation we adopted in our National Flag and thereby we brought in not only that idea of peace but also that ancient idea of Indian culture which is represented by this wheel for thousands of years in India. Now we may be unworthy people to come up to our Great Leader's expectations or to the symbol of the wheel in our Flag. Nevertheless it does symbolise India. And that is the difference—the Atom Bomb on the one side and this Wheel on the other. And, weak or strong, we shall stand by this Wheel and carry on our foreign policy accordingly.

Mr. Chairman: I shall now put the demands to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 51,17,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,04,00,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Tribal Areas'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,59,40,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'External Affairs'."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter Eleven the Clock on Wednesday, the 9th March, 1949.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) DEBATES

(PART II—PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS).

Wednesday, 9th March, 1949.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I).

11-50 A.M.

THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*contd.*

SECOND STAGE—*contd.*

DEMAND NO. 29—MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND SUPPLY

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,57,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Industry and Supply'."

DEMAND NO. 55—INDUSTRIES AND SUPPLIES

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,91,95,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Industries and Supplies'."

DEMAND NO. 56—SALT

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,29,50,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Salt'."

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee (Minister of Industry and Supply): Sir, I have circulated to the House a report of the activities of my Ministry and along with that a copy of a memorandum which was placed before the last meeting of the Central Advisory Council of Industries. These two documents will give some idea to the members of the House as also to the public outside of the manifold activities and the problems which came within the purview of this Ministry during the last year. It is not my intention to repeat what has already been included in these two documents.

I do not propose in my opening speech to discuss matters of detail. There will be a number of speakers who, I believe, will bring to the notice of the House several matters affecting both policy and administration and it will be my endeavour at the close of the debate to reply to them.

1947 was a bad year for India. So far as production was concerned we recorded a fall which was almost unprecedented in the history of India during the last quarter of a century. 1948 fortunately has shown some improvement in the industrial production of the country. The increased production on percentage basis will be somewhere between 12 and 16. I am not suggesting that this increased production indicates that all is well or there should be

[Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee].

any slackening of effort on the part of the Government or of industry or of labour. There need be no undue self-complacency. At the same time we can confidently claim that we have turned the corner. If we are able to pursue a policy of progressive development depending on the co-operation of industry, labour as also of all sections of the public I have no doubt that we will be able to tide over the very difficult situation that confronts India today.

Sir, in course of 1948 we declared our Industrial Policy. It is not my intention now to repeat in minute detail what that policy is. But I would briefly say that that policy kept before it the essential interests of the country as a whole. We did not make any fetish about any particular abstract theories or 'isms' but we were anxious to place before the country a programme which we thought was a balanced one, was fair and equitable to all concerned, and which while it should give incentive to the industrialists would also hold out hope and a message of good cheer to labour and to others who were connected with industries in India. We decided that we would ourselves undertake some projects which we considered to be of a basic character, of a fundamental character, and at the same time we would encourage private enterprise to develop some of the industries which we thought should receive our first attention. We were anxious that there should be an all-India policy for industrial development. Industry has mainly remained a provincial subject, but as time marches on, as we realize the significance of the unity of India, we feel it essential that there must be an all-India, centrally regulated, policy at any rate in relation to the major industries of this country.

Now, in course of 1948 you may ask what is it that Government has done with a view to implement the promises which Government made in course of the budget discussion of last year. Among the new projects—I am not going into the details—we have already sanctioned two schemes, one for the establishment of a dry core telephone cables factory and another for the establishment of a penicillin, sulphadiazine and paludrine manufacturing factory. We have under active consideration the project reports which we have received for the establishment of one or two factories for the manufacture of one million tons of steel. We have selected heavy electrical machinery, manufacture of radio equipment and radar, synthetic oil from coal, tractor, and machine tools as five of the main projects which are now under examination and it is my hope that in course of this year we will be able to take preliminary steps for the purpose of implementing at least some of them. Members of the House will see that there is a provision in the budget for a sum of about Rs. 3 crores for development purposes. Obviously, if these schemes are to mature fully in course of the next four or five years we will have to spend anywhere between Rs. 200 and 300 crores. Where that money will come from, how these schemes will be financed and conducted are matters which will have to be examined by Government in course of this year. In course of time I expect that we will have to come up before the House for final approval of our policy.

I may pause here for a moment and briefly refer to the procedure which Government have followed for the purpose of considering these big projects. We called to this country some of the big and well-known consultants and experts from different parts of the world and we have asked for their assistance in preparing the project reports. These experts have come not from one selected or favoured country: they have come from U.S.A., from England and from many countries on the continent. They have gone round our country. We have placed our preliminary reports before them. They have examined the position regarding raw materials, transport facilities and also the requirements of the country, and the project reports which they have prepared bear direct relation to the facts which we placed before them.

In addition to this, Sir, we have two or three other big undertakings which we have already taken in hand. The first and foremost is the Sindri factory for the manufacture of fertilisers. As the House will remember, our programme is to manufacture 350,000 tons of fertilisers, and this, I believe, will be the biggest fertiliser factory in the whole of Asia. I am in a position today, as unfortunately I was not in course of my last budget speech, to say that we have completed in course of this year three-fourths of this factory and if everything goes on well, we will be able to start production somewhere between early and middle of 1950. We have selected a large portion of our staff. The policy we have pursued is to select Indians; we have sent them abroad; nearly twenty-five of them have gone to England and America and are working in different factories for the purpose of equipping themselves well and coming back to Sindri and taking charge of their work. We have made it a rule that every foreigner whom we may have to select for a temporary period has an Indian under-study attached to him.

Apart from fertilisers, we have also decided to establish a cement factory which will be producing about 250,000 tons of cement per year. In the course of the next two or three weeks we expect to complete the acceptance of tenders for the purchase of plants and machinery for the establishment of this factory. Here, Sir, I may say that there was a certain delay in receiving plants and machinery for the main factory from England but with the assistance of our High Commissioner in London, who acted with the full support of the U. K. Government, it has been possible for us to obtain high priority for many of our plants and machinery which have already arrived on the spot.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar: General): Where will this factory be started?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: At Sindri in Bihar.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: I was asking about the cement factory.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: At the same place. Sir, we had one difficulty and that was with regard to gypsum. As you know, gypsum we expected, when the scheme was originally passed, would come from Pakistan. But I am now happy to announce that we have satisfied ourselves that sufficient stocks of gypsum will be available from within India, from Bikaner and Jodhpur in particular. We have sent certain sample quantities abroad and we have got a completely satisfactory report regarding their quality and durability. It will not be an easy job; we will have to move 2,000 tons of gypsum every day for the purpose of keeping the factory going, which means—if metre gauge has to be used—we will require nearly 200 wagons per day. But we are in close touch with the Transport Ministry and with their co-operation we are now arranging to move a sufficiently large quantity of gypsum to Sindri for the purpose of piling it for use as soon as the factory is in a position to start.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi (U. P.: General): What is the distance between Sindri and the area of the gypsum ore?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: Same distance as between Sindri and Jodhpur.

So far as the other factory which we have under our control is concerned, that is the Hindustan Aircraft Factory at Bangalore.....

Shri M. Tirumala Rao (Madras: General): Sir, he could not give the distance between Jodhpur and Sindri. That is the efficiency of the honourable Minister's Department.

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) [9TH MARCH 1949]

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: I only wanted to point out that it is too far away.

Mr. Speaker: Let him proceed.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: The distance is about 1,000 miles. So far as the Sindri factory is concerned, what I propose to do is this. There is some misgiving in the minds of honourable members as to what has been done there. We have taken cinema pictures of the progress of work in the factory and in the course of the next fortnight or so I hope to be able to invite members to an exhibition of the film.

With regard to the Hindustan Aircraft Factory, during the last one year it has done work which deserves praise from all concerned. Apart from repairing and re-conditioning aircrafts which have been in use not only for internal purposes but also abroad, we have now started our new Designing Section and that section is completely under the control of an Indian. Several foreign experts came and visited the factory during the last year and every one of them complimented not only on the way in which work was being done but on the general programme that we have been able to formulate. It is our intention to secure the services of a foreign design consultant; during the last fortnight we have received an offer from a German expert who holds an international position in the world and we have already invited him to come out to Bangalore for the purpose of remaining with us for a limited period and for giving training to the Indian staff which is working there. We are now producing a type of aircraft which will be required mainly for the Defence Ministry and we will be able to go in for production in the course of the next month or two. Of course, this we are doing under special "licensing" arrangements with a firm in England but we are also hoping that the work which is now being done in our own design shop will produce results in the course of a year and half and we will be able to produce in India an aircraft which was designed by an Indian and manufactured mainly by a staff of Indians under Indian control.

We have also during this year made arrangements with a British firm which has been doing special work in our coal mines for open-cast mining operations. That was completely under the control of a British firm and at the end of the lease it has been decided that future work will be done by a company of which ultimately the major shareholders should be the Government of India. It appeared that this specialised work was done only by foreigners; during the last few years there was no provision for training Indians and one of the first conditions that we have laid down is that in the course of the next five or six years a sufficient number of Indian technical personnel will be trained so that the entire work may be taken over by Indians.

We have also developed a scheme for the Mathematical Instruments Office which is now manufacturing instruments of high precision. We hope to secure the services of two experts from Germany—we have sent a cable to Germany for the purpose of engaging them and they are expected to come here in the course of the next few months to help us to reorganise the work of this department.

Sir, so far as private enterprise is concerned, the bulk of industrial activity in India is naturally in the hands of private people. I do not wish to go into details with regard to the work which has been done in this field, but it has been our endeavour during the last year to establish much closer contacts than hithertofore between industrialists and the Government of India. We have got today twenty-five development Committees each representing a major industry and the object of these Committees which will meet every quarter is to discuss problems, such as availability of raw materials or of capital goods

or of transport difficulties. We will try to fix up a target figure for our production and we try to see how by a process of mutual help it is possible for us to keep up to the target of production that we may fix upon. We have been able during the last one year to help to the best of our ability and here we have acted—Ministries of Commerce, Transport and Industry and Supply—with the closest possible co-operation. We have not been able to establish a Planning Commission yet; but there is a Cabinet Sub-Committee functioning which is called the Economic Committee of the cabinet under the chairmanship of the Finance Minister. We meet at least twice or thrice a month for the purpose of discussing problems of mutual interest and evolving a common policy of economic development affecting various Ministries.

The Industrial Finance Corporation which functions under the control of the Finance Ministry, although it is more or less an autonomous organisation, came into existence only about six months ago and during this short period this Corporation has found it possible to help about twelve different industries in different parts of India and the total financial assistance which the corporation has already sanctioned comes to Rs. 2.25 crores. (An honourable Member: 'How many industrialists?') Twelve limited companies in different parts of India. Now, that also indicates the anxiety of the Government not merely to offer advice but also to offer financial assistance so that the total industrial development may proceed on lines which are approved by Government.

I have just referred to the progress which we have made with regard to the heavy industries. Government lay considerable stress on the need for development of cottage and small-scale industries. This is a sphere on which there is no doubt which is mainly for the provinces to deal with, but for the first time we have appointed an All-India Board which met about two and a half months ago and we have formulated a programme of action which, if implemented by the provinces as also by the Central Government, will I have no doubt solve a very difficult economic problem which now faces us today. We, no doubt, will lay every possible stress on the development of large-scale industries. We will see that those industries are distributed in a rational manner in all parts of India, but we do not wish to commit the mistake of concentrating only on large-scale industries. I feel, Sir, that the future of this country lies in a proper adjustment of the claims of large-scale industries and small-scale industries. In fact, if we really want to revitalise the rural life of this country, if we really want to tackle the grave problem of unemployment that faces the country today, we can do so not only by having industries in different parts of the country but by a regional planning of small scale and middle-size industries. We have, therefore, put ourselves in close touch with the Provinces. This is a sphere of work which we do not wish to take away from provincial control. Complaints are sometimes made that the Government of India are taking away all powers with regard to industrial development. What we have done is this. Apart from certain industries which the State may itself bring into existence, we are adopting a general policy of development of centrally regulated industries. Naturally, to that extent, the power of the provinces will have to be curbed, but apart from that, the provinces will have a very large sphere of activity left to themselves, and one sphere of activity on which the provinces can and should concentrate is to explore how to develop not only cottage industries but also medium size industries.

We have received a report of the working of conditions in Japan. I do not wish to trouble the House with regard to the details, but it is clear that if we can proceed more or less on the same lines as Japan for the purpose of developing cottage industries, we will be able to solve one of the most important and difficult problems that faces India today.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Anything towards *khadi* and *charkha*?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: So far as *khadi* is concerned, propose to include it as part of our activity.

So far as control is concerned, I do not propose to go into the details. I believe in the course of our debate, reference will be made to the several commodities which are now under control, but the most important of them relates obviously to textiles. I know, Sir, what the difficulties are in regard to the administration of control, but I can definitely assert that so far as control on our textiles is concerned, generally it has succeeded. There is no doubt that prices have been controlled; there is no doubt that production has increased; there is no doubt that today there has been a larger distribution of cloth in all the provinces in India than was the case previously. The only difficulty which has arisen is with regard to the accumulation of cloth in certain producing areas mainly arising out of the inability of the provinces to lift them in time. With regard to that also, we have now provided a new system. If a province fails to purchase the cloth quotas allotted to it by the end of the month following the month for which the quota is given, then it will be open to the mills under certain conditions to sell these stocks and distribute them through ordinary trade channels. I have got the latest figure—I got it last night—regarding accumulation. I find, so far as Bombay and Ahmedabad are concerned, the accumulation comes to about four weeks only. That is the figure which I received last night.

Shri R. K. Sidhva (C. P. and Berar: General): What is the quantity?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: Four weeks production. So far as the other areas are concerned, the accumulation varies from six to ten weeks.

Shri C. Subramaniam (Madras: General): What about Coimbatore?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: I am not going into the details. Later on in the afternoon I shall come to that.

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Madras: General): There is the growing shortage of supply of cotton.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: I am coming to that. I am going to refer to that point just now.

So far as accumulation is concerned, the House should not forget that normally about six to eight weeks accumulations did exist in the past, but of course this time in certain areas accumulations are more. Difficulty arose out of the fact that in December the total quantity of stamped cloth which the mills price-marked was nearly 30 to 50 per cent. higher than the average for the previous three months. The reason why this was done was that from January the prices were reduced and mills were anxious that whatever they had, should be stamped by the end of December, 1948. I am not blaming the mills. That was a natural tendency, but that also led to accumulation of cloth. The other reason was that Pakistan has been unable to lift nearly about 100,000 bales of cloth allotted to it. Arrangements have now been made for Pakistan to purchase its stocks within a short time and if that is done, I believe in the course of the next month or so the position will be considerably relieved.

But Sir, I would sound a note of warning with regard to the future of textile industry in relation to cotton. This is a serious matter. The House probably knows that we use nearly about 42 lakhs of bales of cotton. So far as our own production is concerned, we expected about 28 lakhs of bales this year, but we have been told by the Agriculture Ministry that we cannot expect

more than about 23. There will be a deficit of 5 lakhs of bales here. With regard to the ten lakhs of bales of cotton that we used to get from Pakistan, the quantity has been reduced to 6½ lakhs of bales. We have got a certain quantity of imported cotton from Egypt and from certain other places like East Africa, but taking all these together I find that this year will come to a close with a deficit of about seven lakhs of bales of cotton which will have to be taken out of the surplus which we already have with us. This means we will absorb a good portion of this surplus, and will be left only with about eight or ten lakhs out of a total reserve of nineteen lakhs of bales. This matter is already engaging the attention of the Agriculture Ministry. If we want to utilise more areas for cultivation of cotton to the detriment of food, obviously the country will not like it. (An honourable Member: What about the question of price for cotton?) The price is a different question. Even if we increase the price, the quantity will not increase. So far as the price is concerned, we are going to take up this matter before the next sowing season starts and I hope that in the course of April we will be able to arrive at a decision on this matter. So far as the price of cotton coming from outside is concerned, we are paying obviously much more. As the members know, for every piece of cloth nearly 50 to 60 per cent. goes to cotton. If we have to purchase cotton at very high prices, it will naturally affect the price of cloth as well.

So far as the other controlled commodities are concerned, I can only make this general observation that it has been our policy to delegate as much power as possible to provincial governments. It is not feasible for the Central Government sitting here in Delhi to administer control of all commodities which are spread throughout the length and breadth of India and to issue detailed orders from here. We have delegated as much of the powers to the provinces as is possible. With regard to industries which are of all-India importance, obviously the allotments have to be made by the Central Government. Further, we have appointed Advisory Committees with regard to almost all the commodities so that consumers, manufacturers and other people who are interested may come to know the basis on which allotments are made, may offer their suggestions, which are always considered by us. We also consult representatives of the provincial governments from time to time. We put our heads together and bearing in mind the availability of the materials which are with us, we try to make allotments that are fair and just to all.

Of course, one difficulty has been with regard to transport, but that also has improved during the last few months. Apart from the Central Transport Advisory Board meeting regularly every month, we have other special priority Committees and whenever we get complaints from certain industries, we bring the matter to the notice of the transport authorities and there is a genuine attempt on the part of all to solve the difficulties which confront us.

With regard to disposals, I find that is one of the matters which will come up for discussion. I do not propose to go into detail now in regard to it. I can only just say that up till now we have sold Rs. 112 crores worth of goods and still Rs. 140 crores worth of goods—book value—remain to be disposed of. Now, members will please remember the difficulties that confronted Government since 15th August 1947. Soon before partition, the purchases slowed down. Immediately after partition, on account of the Punjab disaster, there was a ban put on the sale of the disposals stocks. The Defence Ministry also, quite rightly, placed a ban on the sale of the stocks for reasons which are obvious to honourable members. In fact, I can just give one figure. Defence Ministry used about Rs. 22 crores worth of goods from the Disposals during the period when hostilities were in progress.

If those goods had had to be purchased from the open market, the Government would have had to pay, at least forty crores, nearly double the amount

[Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee]

which had to be spent through the Disposals organisation. In any case, today, all the bans have been withdrawn and I am hoping that in the course of 1949 we will be able to sell at least 75 per cent of the stocks that we have in hand.

Shri M. Thumala Rao: Is it not Government property that you hold in the Disposals?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: It is Government property. If the Government had to purchase those things from the open market for the requirements of Defence, then, the Government would have had to pay much more.

Here, there is some conflict of opinion. Some people want quick disposal, no matter where the things are sold. Others feel that there should be proper checking and we should not allow the bulk of these stores to pass into the hands of speculators and middlemen, who will make huge profits. The policy that we have pursued is that we give preference to the Government indentors, Central Government, Provincial Governments, States, Educational and Scientific institutions. Then, we give the next preference to industries. If the industries want any goods for their own use, we certainly give them preference. Last comes the category of ordinary traders and merchants who desire to purchase them for the purpose of re-selling them. We are in consultation with the Finance Ministry and we are trying to evolve a system whereby it will be possible for us to make these surplus goods available to Governments and also to organised *bona fide* industries for the purpose of their own use in a much better way than what it was before.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Where are these stores kept?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: All over India.

So far as the purchase organisation is concerned,—that is the last subject which I propose to touch—in the course of 1947 including the portion of 1947 when we had an undivided India, the Government of India purchased stocks worth about 92 crores of Rupees including purchases in England and the United States of America. In 1948, up till October, when we have divided India, we have purchased for Rs. 92 crores. In other words, by the end of March 1949, we shall be purchasing to the extent of nearly about Rs. 125 crores. It appears that the purchases made in India have also increased enormously, which means so much more goods produced in the country, which have been purchased by the Government for their own use. If any questions are asked with regard to the purchase organisation particularly in England or America, I have got full details and I shall only be glad to answer them.

I know there are some defects and weaknesses in our organisation. But, I can say that during the last one year, it has been our constant endeavour to improve the efficiency of our machinery. Today, the Government must look upon their activities from a new angle of vision. When private industries or others which are struggling, come to us for assistance, we do not want merely to say, no, to them or create difficulties for them. No matter whether it is a big industry or a small industry or from whichever part of the country one comes, it is the moral duty of the Government, if the Government believes in industrial development, to give every assistance to them. That has been the policy of the Government. We may have failed in some cases; but if the difficulties are pointed out, we shall only be too glad to improve them. I am hoping that in the course of the next year, with the co-operation of all concerned, we will be able to march towards further progress and development which will redound to the credit of our country.

Shri B. L. Sondhi (East Punjab: General): What about retrenchment, Sir?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: It is dealt with in the report.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: Evidently, the House has given unanimous approval to the speech of the honourable Minister and his policy. Personally, I am slightly unhappy because, whatever my points were, he has outwitted me. I had many things to say; the several points about which I had suspicion, he has clarified in advance. It was really cruel of him to have dealt with every point in advance. We feel now that he knows what we feel and I am glad that from that point of view, he has been quite a great success as a Minister, and I must congratulate him for the grasp he has over his department.

But my grouse still stands. In my enthusiasm to lay stress on certain points, which I feel are of great importance, I may be permitted to repeat a little. Sir, industrial development can be viewed only in the background of the conditions that prevail, conditions that are obtaining in the country. At present, there is inflation. Everybody knows that and I do not want to lay stress on it. But, one thing which is lost sight of is that along with this inflation, there is equally strong, equally widespread deflation also in the country. This is my feeling. If deflation means no purchasers in the market, if deflation means that commodities are lying in the market unsold, if deflation means that there is no money with the people to purchase the commodities, then, I say there is deflation in the country. With inflation, I repeat, there is equally widespread and an equally dangerous type of deflation prevailing in the country. If you go into the bazar, you will find that shop keepers do not sell their things because probably the requirements of food do not leave any money in the hands of the people. A man has now to spend more on food, every family budget is hard pressed for money for purchasing food. When people have no spare money, where is inflation, I cannot see. There is inflation with regard to food; but with regard to other commodities, there is deflation. Things are not being sold and purchased. In the present setting of our economy these conditions are apt to occur and re-occur.

My objection is to the very economic structure of India. When Mahatma Gandhi was alive, the world was looking to him to give a correct lead to the world. In fact, he stood not for political freedom. In his view, political freedom was only a means to an end. This political freedom of which we have been so proud, from the point of view of Mahatma Gandhi, was meaningless without the achievement and realisation of higher things which he laid stress on. He stood for a universal revolution of the outlook of human society. What he wanted was a change of values. Today we find that society is fast taking to monetary values alone. It seems as if money were everything in life, and all the rest of values human, moral and otherwise, are going down. Mahatma Gandhi wanted to introduce these human values, moral values into world society. That was really meant by *Ram Rajya*. Since he died, that work could not be pushed further. To achieve that *Ram Rajya*, his basic plan was to re-arrange our economic structure in such a manner as to enable us to have those values in the fore front. His slogan was cottage industries and the *charka*. He was opposed to big industries. If he had lived for say, 20 years more, as he expected to live, he would have made great achievements in India and would have earned for India a place in the history for ever. He opposed mechanisation of industries on such a big scale as the world in the west is doing. As I appreciate Mahatma Gandhi's ideals, I am also opposed to big industries, and big concentration of industries. They do not only take away from us moral values and impose fictitious value of money on us; but, they, in fact, totally demoralise society. They create unemployment. In fact, *Swaraj* has no meaning to the real India which lives in the villages unless the villagers are approached by means of the cottage industries. There is unemployment in the villages: they suffer from deflation

[Shri Mahavir Tyagi] because they have no work to do. Industries are being concentrated in big towns. If things go on like this, *suraj* will become the *suraj* of the urban people and our rural people will be deprived of even their daily bread. What is happening is this. The villagers who have good muscles are going to the machine. Today, the sole motive is the profit motive. Industries are not being run on the motive of service. What Mahatma Gandhi wanted was to substitute service motive in the place of this profit motive. The profit motive is the supreme motive with which society acts today, with the result that these industries are not progressing. The industrialists feel that they are not getting enough profits. Now, the middleman is getting more profit than those who run the industries. They are afraid of one thing or the other and they are withdrawing from the industries. The middleman's profit in exchange of goods is great. The result is that the most of the trend and stress in the society in India is now on those professions which do not produce and which only deal in exchange and get middle-men's profit. Black market pays more than toil. In middlemen's trade there is a much higher percentage of profit than in the business of the man who works with muscles or who works with machines. The result is that there is too big a rush on exchange and distribution, which results in hoarding and black-market. Production is slow. Another difficulty is labour. We are quite enthusiastic about labour and we go on raising their pay too. Although it is an unpopular slogan for a politician who goes to labour for votes, I must submit that the wages in industry are going much higher in relation to the wages of the village worker. I come from a village. Why not think of the village wage earner also who is nowhere in the picture? The result is that the villager gives away his field work and goes to a mill where he can get a higher wage. I want higher wages to urban wage-earners because living is dear; but at the same time there must be a proportion between the labourer who works on the field and the one who works on the wheel. Agriculture is a thing of more importance than cloth or other necessities of life. A man who works in industry gets more than the one who toils in the field with the result that peasants are not getting enough labour to work in the field and so agriculturer is not producing enough. I would invite the attention of members who represent labour to the fact that the productivity of labour is also fast diminishing. It is a clear case of diminishing results. I find that in 1939 the average index of the productive capacity if it was 100 units per wage-earner in textile mills, it has now been reduced to 80.4. In coal mines in 1939 monthly production was reported to be 10.18 tons per head and now it has come to 6.87 per head. There is therefore a demand for rationalisation in the industry because although the worker is getting more money and his dearness allowance is guaranteed, production is persistently going down. When the productive capacity of workers goes down, the consequence is that the industry engages more labour to enable it to produce more. Engagement of more labour means less profit. Then there is a justification of rationalising industry with the result that wage earners from the mills are turned out and there is unemployment. This vicious circle goes on like a spiral giving rise to all sorts of troubles. The revolutionary trend will go on increasing so long as you concentrate industries in urban areas. It is inevitable. Therefore Mahatma Gandhi wanted that industries should be decentralised and villagers must have their own little industries. He wanted every wage-earner to be an industrialist in his own home. It raises their moral capacity and stature. Because now villagers are being torn off their homes and they go to strange environments and they lose all their natural tendencies of 'love' and 'truth'. It is only when a man is with his wife and children that his love for them grows and he begins to care for them and becomes human. Bereft of his home life when he goes out, he begins to behave like a stranger and gets demoralised. So I submit that

industry in their own homely environment is the only solution of the human society. India is an agricultural country, and high industries like the one the honourable Minister mentioned little suit our conditions. The factory at Sindri will be very costly. The raw materials will have to go from Jodhpur to Sindri and then the finished product will be distributed all over the country; just think of the cost of transport to and fro. I submit that the fact that it is the biggest industry in the world is not a matter of pride. I am really sorry for it. It should have been broken into small units and spread over the whole country so that the distribution of its product could be easy. In the same manner there are other industries which are being started. Regarding the manufacture of synthetic oil an American firm Koppers and Co. a steel industry in America has been given the charge of this Synthetic oil factory. The project is required to produce one million tons which is a huge amount. Nowhere in the world such a big project has ever been put. Germany produced 4 million tons of synthetic oil during the war annually, but its production was distributed between dozens of projects. None of the projects was producing more than 10 million tons. But we have such a huge project that it will require a specially big size of machinery. In America also they had small units. I doubt whether these bigger units will be profitable at all.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: The unit you have suggested is 1 lakh tons.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: Then it requires 40.0 million gallons of water daily and perhaps 7 lakh tons of coal daily. I am not criticising your project. You are doing it for the good of the country but it should be a smaller unit. I stand for cottage industry. Many of my points, as I have already said, have been covered by the honourable Minister in his speech.

Now open general permits are being given for imports. There are many such industries which were only recently started, they will suffer. Take for example bicycles. India has begun to produce cycles. If import licence is general and every one is free to import any number of cycles, our industry will fail. Even cycle industry, I wish to submit, could be broken into small units and they too could be manufactured as cottage industry. Japan is doing it. Mahatma Gandhi himself was not against machinery altogether and so I am also not against it. What I want is that machinery should be uniformly given to the villagers. Let the villagers be their own industrialists and labourers together, let every home be a small factory in their villages; and I want them to work with electricity and produce more. Even the big weaving mills I do not like. They too should be broken into small pieces—units. In Japan they have one or two looms in a cottage and the woman of that cottage produces 200 to 400 yards of cloth by the close of every evening. In this way these textile mills could be broken into units and distributed in say 200 homes in each village and the produce could be easily collected and sent to the market. In that manner alone we can bring into play the productive capacity of the society. This will bring socialisation of the means of production and this will be distribution of both labour and leisure among people equally and then only we shall achieve our object of economic freedom to all and equal opportunity to all; otherwise equal opportunity is a dream which will never be achieved through the present system of economy. I therefore emphasize that the cottage industry should be encouraged and villagers must be kept in the picture because India belongs to villagers and not to urban. We are at present doing all for urban areas.

Mr. Homi Modi (Bombay General): My honourable friend, the Minister for Industry has placed before the House an illuminating survey of the work

[Mr. Homi Modi]
accomplished by his Ministry during the last year, and I desire just to say a few words in elaboration with the picture he has presented.

After the confusions and uncertainties of the earlier period, a more or less clear pattern of industrial policy is emerging, and I think that is a matter for congratulation not only for the Government but for the whole country. My honourable friend spoke of Government not wanting to make a fetish of any 'isms', and I am increasingly glad to find in the last few months that the cry of nationalisation has been put in its proper perspective. Now, at any rate, every section has come to realise that the prime national objective is increased production, and that can be achieved, not by threats against capitalism such as have been uttered unfortunately in the past, but by securing the cooperation of industrial interests, and also of the representatives of labour. As I have said, on a number of occasions, and I take this opportunity of repeating it to-day, that Industrialists must take courage in both hands and discard all their apprehensions in regard to the trends of governmental policy and in regard to the economic progress of the country. By and large, this country has a great future, and the industrial community has a great part to play in building up that future.

Shri B. Das (Orissa: General): Only if you have courage and confidence.

Mr. Homi Modi: I for one, have enough courage.

The progress achieved in 1948 has been referred to in the honourable Minister's Speech and also set out in the brochure which was placed before the members of the Central Advisory Council of Industries. I think it necessary to correct somewhat the picture given there and to say that the progress so far as most of the heavy industries are concerned was disappointing; at the same time, there was encouraging progress in the matter of small-scale and medium-scale industries. And I entirely agree with my honourable friend Dr. Mookerjee when he said that a proper balance has to be struck between heavy and light industries, if the progress of the country as a whole is to be achieved and the standard of life of the people raised within the near future. I hope, therefore, that a great deal more will be done to promote light and medium-scale industries, in the course of the next few years.

Now, how has this progress been achieved? It was because the ministry took the right steps to secure the cooperation of the interests concerned. The first step they took in that direction was the Industrial Conference held in Delhi in December 1947, and at that Conference the honourable Minister had the satisfaction of securing the cooperation of both interests—industry as well as labour—and both interests were committed to the adoption of far reaching changes in the economic structure. Development committees were set up at this conference, and these committees produced valuable reports which were placed recently before the Central Advisory Council of Industries. At this meeting of the Central Council, the difficulties of various industries were threshed out. Every section was fully represented there, and I think a great deal of work was done in the matter of ironing out differences. I would like to say here that my honourable friend, the Minister for Industry and Supply makes an ideal chairman. He has got a bland manner and benign countenance—altogether misleading, of course—but he does manage to wring out of both interests—labour as well as industrialists—a large measure of agreement. As I said at the conclusion of the Central Advisory Council meeting, in thanking him on behalf of the industrialists, he has a technique of his own. We keep on fighting, and at the end, my honourable friend gets up, and winding up the proceedings says, "It is gratifying that there has been such a large measure of agreement on all the issues, and we will proceed to frame the report", and before we know where we are, he has committed us to something which we had never bargained for.

Then there was also another step taken, and that was the measure which is under contemplation, of centrally regulating the most important industries in the country, and a small committee was appointed for the purpose of advising Government on the lines on which such central regulation and control should be laid down and exercised. This Committee recently met the Economic Committee of the Cabinet and placed before it its views. Here again, I am afraid the honourable Minister is going to produce a rabbit out of a hat, because several objections have been lodged which he has lightheartedly brushed aside, but I hope that when the Bill is placed before the House, it will be found to have taken into consideration the various points that have been urged.

All these things have resulted in close collaboration between the Ministry and industrial interests, and I would like in this place to pay a tribute to the very devoted work of the Secretariat which my honourable friend commands. They work hard; they probably know no holidays, like most people in the Secretariat; and they have served the Ministry and the country exceedingly well.

In the field of labour also a great deal has been done, and my honourable friends who represent labour here will bear me out when I say that every attempt has been made in recent months to try and establish closer understanding between industry and labour. Very recently a committee, at which I assisted, has formulated principles which should govern the regulation of fair wages and that report will go out to all the provinces, and I hope that uniform principles of fair wages will be laid down for the whole country.

As regards profit-sharing, that is a more difficult job. But there again we have a committee, and though we have not yet been able to come to any definite conclusions, I hope that with moderation on both sides, we shall be able to evolve a formula which will be acceptable to all.

My honourable friend who spoke just before me seems to be against all heavy industries. He has advanced some novel arguments in support of his thesis. He suggested that the industrial worker who went out for the whole day ceased to have any interest in his wife and family. That has not been my experience; and I should have thought that absence made the heart grow fonder. I wonder what takes place in the families of my honourable friends who come from thousands of miles, if it is suggested that being absent for the day impairs the relationship between husband and wife!

Now, Sir, let us not be too optimistic about all that has happened. Let us put the results which have been achieved in their proper perspective. I see considerable difficulties ahead; difficulties in the way of labour producing all that can be expected of it, difficulties in the matter of raw materials and transport, and also difficulties in the way of the functioning of controls. My honourable friend has lightheartedly dismissed the suggestion that the control on cloth has not been working satisfactorily. It may be working adequately in some places. I would still like to warn him, as I did only a week ago when I appeared before him with half a dozen other industrialists, that control will require to function far more satisfactorily before we can say that position is right. There is a great deal, Sir, that remains to be done—a great deal of hard thinking and hard work. I would like this country to emulate the example of Great Britain where a remarkable recovery has been effected in spite of the fact that there is a great deal of apprehension with regard to the future of industry in that country. Results there have been achieved which are positively remarkable and which are a tribute to every section of the people.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: May we know whether the honourable member has been asking the Government for any concessions so far as this textile industry is concerned, and if so, what are they?

Mr. Homi Mody: No concessions. I do not make speeches for a consideration. I say exactly what I think and I think exactly what I say. I have not the slightest intention of asking for anything. All that I want is efficiency of control and that is the only point that I was making.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Hear, hear. That is something.

Mr. Homi Mody: It is all very well to embark on grandiose schemes of development of the country's resources, but the outstanding factor of the situation is that even the existing capacity of industry is not being fully utilised for one reason or other. Let us see first and foremost that all the industries are producing to their capacity before we embark upon big adventures. I hope, Sir, in that connection my honourable friend will see to it that proper financial checks are imposed upon the formulation and establishment of such industries as Government have undertaken and are about to undertake. These checks which industrialists impose upon themselves are entirely absent when it is a Government that establishes industries, and I hope that from time to time the honourable Minister will place before the House a picture of what exactly has been happening, the progress which has been achieved, whether the estimates have been worked up to, and whether everything is working out according to plan.

One more word. My honourable friend spoke of his establishing in conjunction with the Sindri Fertilizer factory a cement plant of 250,000 tons. I am very glad about that. I hope from time to time my honourable friend and I will be comparing notes as to who can produce cement cheaper and more efficiently.

Shri B. Das: And I will bet on you!

Mr. Homi Mody: I think you are very wise. I am prepared to take a bet on myself and I promise my honourable friend that he will learn a great deal from us if he will only have the humiliation to sit at the feet of those who can teach him!

The Assembly then adjourned for lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

Mr. Speaker: I would like to know what time the honourable Minister will require for his reply?

The Honourable Shri Satyanarayan Sinha (Minister of State): Half an hour.

Mr. Speaker: I shall then try to accommodate the speakers suitably. I think the time limit should be 10 minutes.

Kazi Syed Karimuddin (C. P. and Berar: Muslim): Sir, I want to speak.

Mr. Speaker: It is not going by mere application. The honourable member must catch the eye of the Speaker.

Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao (Mysore State): Sir, I also congratulate the honourable Minister on the performance of his Ministry during the last year. Except steel all the other commodities have gone up in production during the last year. In fact even in the present Budget as much as 12.63 crores have been provided for industrial development and grants for development to provinces amount to nearly 25.45 crores. Only eight lakhs have been provided for cottage industries. All these certainly go a long way in stepping up the

industrial production of the country. So far as the policy is concerned fundamentally I agree that it is sound but there are many loose ends which have to be tightened up. In the brochure that is given to us in the last page it reads:

"The import and export policy of the government is also designed to encourage industry and trade, while safeguarding the interests of the consumer. The Ministry of Commerce which is mainly responsible for import and export policy acts in close consultation with the Ministry of Industry and Supply and the Ministry of Finance."

Certainly it is a very desirable thing. But as I said there are certain loose ends and I am only referring to these. I want particularly to refer to the Hindustan Aircraft Limited and the machine tool industry and the match industry.

The Hindustan Aircraft Limited is a great asset which has come to us as a war effort. Of course the honourable Minister said that it has been working satisfactorily and that a new designing section has been started in the Aircraft factory. But I doubt very much if we will get the full benefit from the Hindustan Aircraft Limited. In fact during the war time I learn that there were 17,000 workers working in three shifts. In addition to this many job works were given to smaller industrial units not only in Bangalore but also in distant places like Coimbatore. But now the labour has been reduced to 3,500 and only one shift is working. That is my information. Of course I am open to correction and I will be very glad to hear that the maximum benefit is being derived from the Hindustan Aircraft Limited. As a matter of fact it is one of the best equipped factories, I think, in Asia. I learn that machine tools were brought to the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. not only for the factory itself but also from the Eastern Zone and also the African Zone. If we can only make the best use of the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., I think we can step up our industrial production to a very great extent. In fact in industrially advanced countries like America, Japan and Switzerland nearly 60 to 70 per cent. of the half finished materials are drawn from smaller industrial units. That was being done during the war period even in the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. The job work was given to the smaller industrial units and thereby a number of subsidiary industries were developed round about Bangalore. But I learn that now even job works are taken by the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., so much so that some of the smaller industrial units have suffered round about Bangalore. My submission is that the honourable Minister should see that the best use is made of the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd.

The honourable Minister referred to the construction of railway coaches. Last year the Railway Minister was pleased to tell us that as many as 300 coaches would be put on the rails by the end of 1948 but we learn that only 20 carriages have been put on the rails. I understand that if proper use is made of the machinery available nearly a carriage every two or three days can be constructed in that factory. I do not see why efforts should not be made to step up the production of the railway coaches in the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd.

I was fortunate enough to visit recently England in connection with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Delegation. The Singer Sewing Co., which was manufacturing shells during the war is today manufacturing 8,000 sewing machines per week and nearly 2½ million needles per week and still they are not able to meet the demand. They have similar factories in other parts of the world: they have eight or nine factories and I think they have one in India also. Every one of these factories has been able to adjust itself from war economy to peace economy and they have been producing materials and England has been able to step up its production by nearly 24 per cent. more during the current year as compared with 1946.

[Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao]

I do not see any reason why we should not make use of this factory to step up our production also. Efforts should be made to produce other articles to see how these machines could be utilised. In fact I learn that the machine shop is working only with 40 per cent. load. There were about 430 men working in three shifts in it, but today there are only about 150 men working in one shift. There are automatic screw machines and spindle automatics which are not made full use of. The Tool room is not sufficiently loaded with work. In the Foundry the strength has been reduced from 150 to 35. It is competing with jobbing factories in Bangalore. They can specialise in non-ferrous castings for which there are no facilities in South India. The Welding Department is not provided with good load. There is a good saw mill and the strength here has been reduced from 500 men to 75 men. This could be made use of for mass production of standard door and window frames. The acute nature of the housing problem in our country is well known. I ask the honourable Minister why such a fine saw mill—one of the best equipped saw mills—should not be made use of for the mass production of window frames and door frames to meet the housing problem. Then there is the Sheet Metal department. It had a strength of 500 which has been reduced to 150, and it is also working only one shift now. There are Hydraulic Presses, Punch Presses of different sizes, Plate and Sheet Shears, Power Brakes, Spot Welding machines and Routing and Shaping machines. I may mention that the Percival factory in England which manufactures aeroplanes has only two punch presses whereas in the Hindustan Aircraft Limited we have seven punch presses. Why are we not making use of these presses for developing our industrial output? Attempts should be made to utilise them for the manufacture of electric light fittings, telephone exchange equipment—there is no factory in India to manufacture telephone equipment—telephone parts, refrigerators, washing machines and thermos flasks. There is also a Painting and Varnishing department in the Hindustan Aircraft Company. It has very good equipment for nickel-plating, chromium-plating and anodizing. But nothing is being utilised.

In this connection I would submit that the Defence Department, the Railway and other transport services, the Posts and Telegraphs Department, the Electrical departments both of Government and private agencies, Water Supply and Sanitary Engineering—all these Departments should co-ordinate and they must tell Government what their needs are; and all these needs could, if possible, be manufactured in the Hindustan Aircraft Company.

Then I come to the machine tool industry. Here also the Government has an idea of starting a machine tool industry. But there are six first-class machine tool industries in India and I had occasion to visit the Harihar factory which was started during the war period. Their output during the war was 30 to 40. Today it is only 19 or 20. They can step up the output to 70 to 80 machines. But today I find Rs. 2 lakhs worth of machine tools lying idle because they have no market. The import controls are not working properly. The vested interests, especially the importers and their foreign agents are trying to evade the tariff protection given to the industry by slightly altering the specifications. This loophole should be blocked. We are importing a number of industrial plants. Among the industrial plants there are a number of machine tools which could be manufactured and which are being manufactured in India. Why should these machine tools be imported from abroad?

I shall read here one advertisement which appeared in one of the foreign papers. This is an extract from Machinery Lloyd, No. 17, August 1948, page 131:

"Machinery required for Punjab Rehabilitation Scheme. The Department of Industries to the East Punjab Provincial Government in Sirala is setting up workshops in which refugees from the West Punjab are to find employment in general engineering trades. In this connection the Department urgently requires machinery and equipment, both new and second-hand, including the following: 30 four-ft. lathes; 103 six-ft. lathes; 100 eight-ft. lathes; 58 ten-ft. lathes; 40 twelve-ft. lathes; 23 fourteen-ft. lathes...."

I don't want to read the whole of the extract. All these machine tools are manufactured in India and can be supplied from the Indian machine tool industry. It is not only the Harihar industry that is suffering. There is one in Calcutta, one in Bombay, one in Mysore and there are three others, and all these machine tool industries are suffering because the importers and their foreign manufacturers are trying to get over the tariff protection given to the industry. I request the honourable Minister for Industries and also the honourable Minister for Commerce to look into this matter and give proper protection to the machine tool industry.

Kazi Syed Karimuddin: I congratulate the honourable Minister in charge for his very eloquent speech today and if results are to be judged by the quality of the speech I think he has succeeded. But his speech disclosed that whatever he said was based upon hopes and expectations and the expectations that he has raised do not depend on the achievements we have in the past or the present but achievements that we are going to have in the future. I have heard the speech of Mr. Homi Mody in this House and he has congratulated the Government and the Minister in charge for the measures he has taken for increasing the production as far as the industrialists are concerned. He has also praised the secretariat for the co-operation they have shown. It seems the industrialists, particularly Sir Homi Mody is satisfied with the measures that have been adopted by the Government of India. This is a still greater reason and occasion for examining the proposals, whether it is at the cost of labour or whether it is in the interests of the industries alone that the present policy has been moulded; and there is still greater reason to examine the work of the secretariat and collaboration of the secretariat with the industrialists in view of the praises showered by my friend.

Shri B. L. Sondhi: Why are you always getting so suspicious?

Kazi Syed Karimuddin: I am not suspicious. I want you to examine it. Then I would like to refer to one matter to which the honourable Minister in charge has referred and that is 'the textile industry.' I come from that part of the country, that is Berar, where cotton is produced in abundance. I am very sorry to say that the present policy of the Government of India in regard to control of the prices is not only detrimental but it is suicidal to the growing of cotton in our part of the country. The result is that much of the cotton area is being curtailed in favour of groundnut. In Berar, which was known for cotton and which was annexed by the British Government from the Nizam only on the ground that cotton from there was being sent to Manchester, you will find the groundnut area increasing every day because of the price control. And I can assure the Government of India and the Minister in charge that the cost of production of cotton is not realized by the cultivator today; and I am prepared to face any enquiry being a cultivator myself. Therefore either the Government has to revise the policy and stipulate the growth of cotton in Berar or people will be allowed to grow any other commodity like groundnut to the detriment of the nation. It has been said that the control over textiles has succeeded to a great extent. My own feeling is, and I think it must be the feeling of many members, that the control over cloth has miserably failed, particularly in our part of the country and as I see in Delhi. In spite of the controls that have been imposed we see hundreds of shopkeepers dealing in blackmarketing in regard to cloth. The poor cultivator for whom these controls were really meant is the greatest sufferer and I would really like that the Government of India should examine this question.

[Kazi Syed Karimuddin]

By adopting measures in favour of the industrialists our chief aim is that the production which has fallen in the past should increase. Now it is an established fact that the capital goods to the extent we want are not available from America or England; an assurance has been given by the Minister in charge that they are being received, but as far as I know they are not available to the extent we want for increasing our production. Then what is the other remedy that you should adopt? The only thing is that as far as the textile industry is concerned, we have to introduce double-shift and treble-shift, and for that the co-operation of labour is very essential. We have been talking of assistance to the industrialists, we have also to see how labour can be reconciled. Sir, I do not support the exaggerated claims of labour, as probably my friend Mr. Sondhi is expecting from me. I say this is a National Government and in every measure that is adopted by the National Government labour's legitimate grievances should be considered and labour should not be made to resort to strikes. The point is whether, in view of the growing conflict between labour and capital, it is possible now to reconcile their claims. Around us, in many countries we find chaos and anarchy prevailing and spreading. Is this not the time when we have given assurances to the industrialists to come forward and do their job well, but we have seen in these twelve months that inspite of the assurances given last year nothing has been done by the industrialists and whether the industrialists would do it in the future cannot be said.

In India, as you find in the Railways and in other industries, we find that there are notices of strikes. Labour is going on strike. What is the remedy? The remedy that is suggested by the Government of India is that we want to give a share in the profit. But that theory is indefinite, that theory has not been worked out in detail, and it has not been settled as to what would be the share in profit given to labour. We are talking about vague generalizations about profit-sharing. What Sir Mody said about that was that they were going to evolve a formula regarding profit-sharing; when that formula is to be evolved we do not know. In the meantime we find labour is uneasy in the country. Sir, I do not justify the present attitude of labour. We find there are three parties working in that field: one is the Communists, the other is the Socialists and the third is the Congress labour leaders. My submission is that unless we satisfy labour it is not possible to increase production. My only suggestion—though it is a cry in the wilderness—is that in order to reconcile the conflict of labour and capital, there is no other remedy except to nationalise the key industries. The nation will be with the Government of India if there is a nationalisation of industries. In the surrounding countries we find that after once the economy is broken it is difficult; even the Government of India or the Congress or any other organisation will not be able to improve it. Before it is too late, change the economy of the country. There is no shame or humiliation regarding that. This is a National Government and a Government of the people for the people. Therefore the key industries have to be nationalised. People laugh at the idea because they think it is impracticable but they should see round them; they should see China, they should see Burma and see what is happening there. The only remedy for us is that we should nationalise our key industries; you should have co-operative training in farming. This is not an idea to be laughed at. You will be sorry, if you don't change the economy of the country very soon.

Shri Prabhu Dayal Himatsingka (West Bengal: General): I was glad to hear the honourable Minister giving facts and figures about the steps Government has taken to step up production and to help the different industries. I was also glad to observe the note of co-operation that he has struck in the activities of the Government and the suggestion that he has made that Government is going to seek the co-operation of all the interests that count in production.

The present state of the nation's economy is so low that the great mass of people in India are below the subsistence level. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that to increase the standard of living we should be able to produce more, and produce more as quickly as possible. You will notice that in about 1930 when the then Government promised protection to sugar, sugar factories grew up in the course of two or three years all over the country and our country is now more or less self-sufficient in the matter of sugar. Similarly, inspite of difficulties that were present at the time, cotton mills grew up and the country can get 15 to 16 yards of cloth per head of the population. Similarly other industries also grew up. What is necessary for the Government is to define a planned policy and to encourage various industries and industrialists to come forward and set up factories and take all possible steps necessary to give all possible encouragement and help whenever needed.

If you take the figures of production in our country, you will be surprised to note how far behind we are compared to other countries. I will give two or three cases only. In the United States of America, the *per capita* consumption of textile cloth, including woollen cloth, comes to 90 yards whereas in India it is less than 16 yards. The *per capita* consumption of sugar in America is 120 lbs whereas in India we get only 6 lbs. In paper the *per capita* consumption is 250 lbs whereas in India it is 1½ lbs and out of this 1½ lbs only half a pound *per capita* is produced in India and the rest is imported. Similarly, if you take steel which is one of the requirements which will go to build houses and all other industries, the production in America is 100 million tons per year whereas in India which is more than double in population the production is less than one million—1/100th of the production that you have in America. Therefore, what is necessary for the honourable Minister to do is to give all kind of help to private industrialists and other to set up factories so that we can have more production and quicker production.

At present I find from the report that has been circulated by the Ministry of Industry and Supply that various steps are being taken to place large orders for 136,000 tons of Belgian steel, 2 lakh tons of American steel and so on. My point is that we cannot go on buying these things from foreign countries. We must take steps, and immediate steps, so that we can produce these things in our country. We must not waste our foreign exchange which is available with difficulty, in purchasing these stores. On the contrary all possible steps should be taken to start factories as soon as possible.

There are certain industries which need immediate attention, for instance, the chemical industry and the engineering industry. We are very deficient in these two departments. We have not got much of either fine chemicals or light chemicals or heavy chemicals. Similarly, we have not got many factories producing durable consumer goods from the engineering department. It is necessary, therefore, to give all protection, and the first step that I suggest is that instead of allowing open general licences for import of these things, let high revenue duties be imposed so that if the things come from outside the Government will be able to realise revenue. But in the meantime various people will be able to set up factories and they will get indirect protection so that in course of time we will be able to save our money from going out of the country. I hear at present there is a new kind of economy that is being followed in the Government Departments. Previously, we used to be told that even if a thing costs a little more in our country, we should go in for that in preference to a foreign article. I am told that now that policy is being changed and in the name of inflation, if something is cheaper outside India, that should be purchased in preference to things made in India.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Where do you get that from?

Shri Prabhu Dayal Himatsingka: That is what I have been told. I find from page 14 of the report that even if the Indian prices were a little higher...

Shri B. L. Sondhi: That goes against you!

Shri Prabhu Dayal Himatsingka: I am glad that the information I had was wrong.

As regards the engineering and chemical industries that I mentioned, they are very difficult to build. They need very costly technicians and people with specialised knowledge. If necessary, Government should come in and help them in getting technicians from outside and give them all kind of help.

We must not forget that it is the industry and commerce that give more than 50 per cent. of the revenue of the Government of India. Income-tax and super-tax and corporation tax come to about 50 per cent. of the total revenue and also customs and other things also come from trade and commerce. If there is prosperity in business, railways also earn more. Therefore, the more we produce in the country, the more we will be able to raise the standard of living of the people and raise more money which can be spent in nation-building departments.

As regards controls, the honourable Minister was pleased to say that they are working satisfactorily. So far as stocks of cloth are concerned, I am told that in Ahmedabad and Bombay they are about six weeks, not four--there may be some difference as to the date for which the facts have been collected, but in any event steps should be taken to reduce the stocks. I am told in Madhya-bharat the accumulation is ten weeks production. The reason is that some of the nominated buyers are not lifting the goods. The instruction which the Honourable Minister said had been issued has not reached most of the mills and steps should be taken to see that it reaches the proper quarters so that it may be effective and the co-operation of persons who could help Government in carrying out their programme of industrialisation should also be invited.

श्री लक्ष्मी नारायण साहू : माननीय शिल्प मंत्री का भाषण बहुत अच्छा हुआ। लेकिन मैं इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि १९१८ ई० में यहाँ इंडस्ट्रियल कमीशन की रिपोर्ट निकली थी। उस टाइम को आज ३० बरस हो गये। और इस टाइम में हिन्दुस्तान के हर एक गांव में जो आदमी रहते हैं उनकी उन्नति हो गयी है या वह गिर गये हैं इसको जब देखते हैं, जब हम यह देखते हैं कि इस तीस बरस में उनकी उन्नति हो गयी है, स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग जिसको बोलते हैं, जीवन का नाप, उसकी उन्नति हुई है या नहीं तो इसका तो कुछ पता ही नहीं चलता।

मैं उड़ीसा देश से आता हूँ। उड़ीसा का प्राचीन नाम था कर्लिग और कर्लिग का नाम ही है कपड़ा। कर्लिग देश इतना कपड़ा पैदा करता था कि सुमात्रा, जावा, बोरनियो, सब देशों को भेजता था। अब ऐसा हो गया कि उड़ीसा में हमको कपड़ा बाहर से खरीदना पड़ता है। इसके बाद भारत सरकार से “बन्दे मतरम्” शुरू करके हमने कहा था कि हम विलायती कपड़ा नहीं पहनेंगे और हम विलायती काड़े को जला देंगे तो आज तो विलायती कपड़ा बाजार में बहुत ही ज्यादा है। तो गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी क्या है, नीति क्या है, कुछ समझ में नहीं आता। साबुत के वारे में उक्तल देश इतना नमक

दनाता था कि सारे उड़ीसा प्रान्त को और फिर मध्य प्रान्त को, सी० पी० को भेजता था। ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के टाइम में ऐसा हुआ कि उड़ीसा से सी० पी०, नागपुर, की जो लाइन थी वह रास्ता साबुत को बन्द करने के लिये बन्द कर दिया गया और इस तरह उड़ीसा का साबुत का कारखाना सब खराब हो गया। आज तो हम भारत सरकार की यूनिट हैं। तो भारत सरकार को ऐसा देखना चाहिये कि हर एक यूनिट ऊपर को उठे। हर एक यूनिट अगर उन्नति नहीं करेगा तो यह भारत सरकार भी गिर जायगी। तो उड़ीसा में आदमी को खाने को नहीं मिल रहा है। हम लोग यहाँ चिल्ला रहे हैं कि जीवन का नाप बढ़ाना चाहिये और सब लोग कहते हैं कि प्रोडक्शन कम हो गया। तो प्रोडक्शन कम क्यों हो गया यह जैरा सोचने की बात है। हमने अपने हर एक देश से काटेज इंडस्ट्री को निकाल दिया है। उसको निकाल देने के बाद हमने जो बड़ी बड़ी मशीनरी लगाई है उससे हमारी उपज और कम हो गयी है। मेरी बात तो आप जाने दीजिये। इस किताब “Danger Spots in World Policy” में यह लिखा है:

“There is very good reason to think that in India the displacement of village and cottage industries by factory work is being accompanied by a real decline in the individual productiveness of large sections of the agricultural population, which constitutes three-fourth of the whole. The industrial development necessarily results in a large amount of unemployment for the artisans of the villages when the customary articles of local manufacture are made in factories.”

इसी से, इस तरह बड़ी बड़ी फैक्टरी बनाने से हम लोगों के जितने ७ लाख गांव थे वह सब बरबाद हो गये। और अब हम सोचते हैं कि जो बड़े बड़े शिल्प हम बनाना चाहते हैं उनमें जैसा कि माननीय शिल्प मंत्री जी ने भी कहा, हम लोगों की पालिसी थोड़ी डीसेंट्रलाइजेशन (विकेन्द्रीकरण) की होगी। क्योंकि केन्द्रीकरण करने से ऐसा हो जाता है कि हिमालय पहाड़ के मुआफ़िक तो आप के हाथ में पावर आ जाती है लेकिन जब गिर जाता है तो गिरता भी वह हिमालय पहाड़ की तरह है। इसीलिये हम सब को थोड़ा सोच समझ कर चलना चाहिये। इंडस्ट्रियाइजेशन तो हम सब करते हैं लेकिन मशीनरी वगैरह के लिये हम अमेरिका के पास जाते हैं और उनकी कृपा पर निर्भर रहते हैं।

कपड़ा-फैक्टरी बनाने के लिये कितना कहा गया था लेकिन कहीं भी अभी फैक्टरी नहीं बनी है, एक जगह उड़ीसा में फैक्टरी बनी है और शायद एक जगह दिल्ली में बनी है। दूसरी जगहों के लिये मशीनरी नहीं मिली।

[श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण साहू]

तो जब सन् १९१८ में इंडस्ट्रियल कमीशन बैठा था उसी वक्त से हम कहते थे कि यहीं मशीनरी पैदा करें और उसी पर ध्यान दें और जितनी मशीनें हम यहां पैदा कर सकेंगे उन्हीं से सन्तुष्ट होकर हम यहां माल पैदा करेंगे। लेकिन हम तो अभी मशीनें अमेरिका से लाते हैं और इस तरह हम उनके गुलाम बन जाते हैं और हिन्दुस्तान में १९०५ का हमारा जो "बन्दे मातरम्" का वादा था कि विलायती कपड़ा नहीं पहनेंगे अब विलायती कपड़ा यहां भर गया है। इसीलिये मैं मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूं कि आप अच्छी तरह से सोचें कि हर एक जाह में काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज और स्माल इंडस्ट्रीज और हर एक रीजियन में होनी चाहिये। जैसे जिस रीजियन में कपड़ा होता था वहां फिर वैसा कपड़ा होना चाहिये और जिस रीजियन में साल्ट बनता था वहां अब फिर साल्ट बने। यह स्थाल रखना चाहिये। हम तो कहते हैं कि दो चीज कपड़ा और साल्ट का स्थाल रखना चाहिये और खाने की चीजें तो गांव गांव में होती हैं। यह जितने कंट्रोल हम बनाते हैं सब टाउन के लिये, सिटी के लिये बनाते हैं कि ऐसा हम कंट्रोल नहीं करेंगे तो वहां के आदमी मर जावेंगे क्योंकि वहां पर खाने की चीजें नहीं रहेगी। सब आदमी एक दिन में मर जावेंगे अगर खाने की चीजें नहीं मिलेंगी। लेकिन गांव में तो कोई नहीं मरेगा क्योंकि गांव गांव में तो उपज करते हैं। इसीलिये मैं चाहता हूं कि सोच समझ कर हमको सिटीज को भी ज्यादा नहीं बढ़ाना चाहिये। हम फ़ैक्टरी बनाते हैं और एक एक जगह में कई बंसा डालते हैं। इसीलिये हम चारों तरफ से घिर जाते हैं और समस्या, प्रोब्लेम, इतनी ज्यादा हो जाती है कि काम नहीं चलता।

सर होमी मोदी ने कहा और मेरे मित्र माननीय त्यागी जी ने भी जो कहा कि एक आदमी को बालबच्चे लेकर रहने का सुभीता नहीं मिलता। लेकिन सर होमी मोदी ने उनका ऐसा जिक्र किया कि एक वरस नहीं रहने में क्या हो जाता है। लेकिन मैं कहता हूं कि जो आदमी ऊपर में रहते हैं वह तो बालबच्चे लेकर रहते हैं और उनको तो बहुत सुभीता है। लेकिन जो आदमी, लेबरर है वह काम करता है और उसको अच्छा घर, अच्छा मकान, जब रहने को नहीं मिलेगा, वह बालबच्चे लेकर अगर काम नहीं करेगा तो उसको उपज का अच्छा मौका नहीं हो सकेगा और स्ट्राइक जरूर होगा। स्ट्राइक का क्या मतलब है? हम लोग यह चिल्लाते हैं कि काम्युनिस्ट स्ट्राइक कराते हैं। मैं तो कहता हूं कि काम्युनिस्ट या सोशियलिस्ट कोई कुछ नहीं करते हैं और वह कुछ नहीं कर सकेंगे अगर जो लेबर है उसको

खाने को और रहने को अच्छा मिले। अगर उसको रहने के लिये अच्छा मकान मिले तो आपके काम्युनिस्ट उसको कुछ नहीं कर सकते। हर एक आदमी चाहता है कि वह सुख से रहे। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूं कि शिल्प मंत्री जी का जो रीजियन्स की उन्नति करने का ख्याल है मेरे विचार में वह हर एक रीजियन में जिस तरह की इंडस्ट्री चाहिये उस तरह की इंडस्ट्री वहां चलावेंगे।

उड़ीसा के बारे में मैं इतना ही कहना हूं कि वहां इतनी मछली पड़ी है, इतनी मछली वहां होती है कि उस तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिये। हमारे शिल्प मंत्री जी तो मछली खाते हैं, बंगाल वाले तो मछली खाते हैं और हम लोग भी मछली खाते हैं। तो वहां इतनी मछली पैदा होती है उसका कुछ बंदोबस्त करना चाहिये। वहां साल्ट का भी प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये। अभी तो वहां साल्ट ऐसा हो गया कि एक तरह की मनोपत्ती हो गयी है। हम लोगों ने साल्ट टैक्स उठा दिया लेकिन हमको उससे कोई फायदा नहीं होता है। गवर्नमेंट जब से नैशनेलाइजेशन करना चाहती है तो मैं तो चाहता हूं कि साल्ट का नैशनेलाइजेशन कर लिया जाय। और इस तरह बहुत अच्छा काम होगा और सब को फायदा होगा। अभी तो वहां उड़ीसा के रहने वाले उड़िया को कुली मानते हैं। बंगाल में एक लाख उड़िया कुली हैं, बर्मा में आधे लाख हैं, और शायद जमशेदपुर में २४-२५ हजार हैं और उड़िया का नाम ही है कुली। क्योंकि वह ऐसा नीचे गिर गया है कि जब कोई उनमें से उन्नति करता है तो वह अपने को छिपाता है, उड़िया बोलने से कोई कह देगा कि वह कुली है। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि आप सब यूनिट को एक लेवल पर लाने की कोशिश करें और जो आप स्टैंडर्ड आफ लिविंग को बढ़ाने की बात कहते हैं तो उसको बढ़ाने के लिये यह कोशिश होनी चाहिये कि हर एक जगह में छोटी छोटी काटेज इंडस्ट्रीज, और स्माल स्केल इंडस्ट्रीज का प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये। और बाहर से जो मशीनें लाकर हम बड़े बड़े कारखाने बनाते हैं मैं नहीं कहता कि उसको एकदम छोड़ देना चाहिये लेकिन हमारी जितनी ताकत है उसी के अन्दर रह कर उनको हमें यहां बनाना चाहिये। अगर हम ऐसा करेंगे तो इसमें बचत रहेगा। आप अभी जो इंडस्ट्रीज बनाते हैं तो एग्रीकल्चर से जो आदमी उसमें आते हैं सो सब वहां से एकदम घर छोड़ कर आते हैं और सब बालबच्चे वगैरह बाहर रहते हैं और जैसा कि इंडस्ट्रियल लेबर कमेटी ने कहा है उसका दिल अच्छी तरह काम करने में नहीं लगता है। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूं कि मंत्री जी अच्छी तरह से सोच विचार करके इस पालिसी को ठीक करेंगे।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu (Orissa: General): The speech of the honourable the Minister of Industry and Supply was really fine. But I wish to submit

[Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu]

only this that the Report of the Industrial Commission was published in 1918. Thirty years have passed since the publication of the report. When we see whether during this period the people living in the villages of India have made progress or have declined, whether their standard of living has gone up during these 30 years or not, we do not make it out clearly.

I come from Orissa. The ancient name of Orissa was Kalinga, and the word Kalinga itself means "cloth". Kalinga used to produce so much cloth that it was exported to Sumatra, Java, Borneo and other places. Now the condition in Orissa is that we have to import cloth from outside. After this by starting the "Vande Matram" Campaign we had told the Government of India that we will not wear foreign cloth and will make bonfires of the foreign cloth instead but today the foreign cloth is flooding the markets. What the policy of the Government is we fail to understand. As regards salt the country of Utkal used to make so much salt that it was sent to whole of Orissa and then to Central Provinces. During the reign of the British Government it so happened that in order to destroy the salt industry of Orissa the Railway line that connected Orissa with Nagpur in Central Provinces was dismantled and thus the entire salt industry of Orissa was ruined. Today we are a unit of the Indian Government. So it is essential for the Government of India to see that every unit makes progress. If every unit will not make progress then this Indian Government also will fall down. The people in Orissa are not getting even sufficient food-stuffs. We are agitating here that the standard of living must be raised and all the people say that the production has gone down. Why the production has gone down is a matter that requires careful thinking. We have driven out cottage industries from every part of our country. After driving them out we have installed huge machineries and hence our production has gone down still more. Leave aside what I say, but in this book "Danger spots in World Policy" it is written:

"There is very good reason to think that in India the displacement of village and cottage industries by factory work is being accompanied by a real decline in the individual productiveness of large sections of the agricultural population, which constitutes three-fourth of the whole. The industrial development necessarily results in a large amount of unemployment for the artisans of the villages when the customary articles of local manufacture are made in factories."

For this reason only, by erecting huge factories our seven lakh villages have all been ruined. And now we think that for the big industries that we want to set up, as was said by the honourable the Minister also, our policy to some extent will be for decentralization. If we successfully centralize we can have enormous controlling power but if we are unsuccessful in centralization it means a huge failure. Therefore we must proceed after due consideration. We all want to do industrialization but for machineries we have to run to America and have to depend upon their mercy.

How much was said about the starting of cloth mills but no factory has yet been installed anywhere. One factory has been installed in Orissa and perhaps one at a place in Delhi. No machinery could be had for other places. Since 1918, when the Industrial Commission was set up, we have been saying that machines should be made here and attention be paid towards this; and whatever machines we would be able to make here, we would produce goods with them only. But till now we import machines from America and thus we become their slaves; and in spite of our promise of "Vande Matram" that we gave in 1905, promising that we would not wear foreign cloth, the foreign cloth has flooded the market. Therefore I wish to draw the attention of the honourable the Minister towards this point and request him to consider that cottage and small industries should be established everywhere and in every region. The cloth industry should be revived in the regions where cloth was

made, and where salt was made salt should again be made. This point must be kept in mind. I say that particular attention be paid towards two things only cloth and salt, because food-stuffs are produced in each and every village. Whatever controls we devise, we devise for towns and cities, because if we would not enforce such controls there, the people living therein would die of starvation because no food-stuffs would be available there. All the persons there would die in a single day if food-stuffs are not procured for them. But nobody would die in the villages because food-stuffs are produced in villages after villages. Therefore, I wish that after a thoughtful consideration we must not increase the number of towns and cities any more. We set up factories and at one place instal several of them. The result is that we become surrounded from all the sides and the problem becomes so acute that it becomes difficult to continue the work.

Mr. Homi Mody said and he was supported by Shree Mahavir Tyagi that one does not even get an opportunity of living there with family and children. But Mr. Mody has also mentioned as to what happens by not living in this condition for a year. But I say that the people who belong to the higher strata of society and live with their families do get a good deal of comfort. But one who is a labourer and who works and toils there, if he would not get a good house to live in, if he would not work and labour along with his family and children then he would not get good chances of making progress and strikes will surely take place. What is the motive behind these strikes? We shout that communists instigate strikes. I do say that the communists or socialists do nothing and they will not be able to do anything provided the labour class was to get enough food and good living accommodation. If he were to get a good house to live in then your communists cannot at all make him do anything. Everybody wants that he may live in comfort. Therefore I wish that the idea that the honourable the Minister of Industry and Supply has for the development of the regions I think that he will set up those industries in a region where local conditions would be suitable.

I would say this much about Orissa that large quantities of fish are available there, and this fact should not be forgotten. Our honourable the Minister for Industry and Supply takes fish; people of Bengal take fish and we also take fish. So much fish is available that some arrangement should be made about it. Proper arrangements for the supply of salt also should be made. The position about salt these days is such that a monopoly has been set up. We have abolished the salt tax but we do not get any benefit out of it. When the Government wants nationalization I do wish that salt should be nationalized, and in this way a lot of good work will be done and everybody will be benefitted. Now the people of Orissa, the Oriyas, are regarded as coolies. In Bengal there are one lac of Oriya coolies, in Burma half a lac, and about twenty or twenty five thousand in Jamshedpur, and the word 'Oriya' has become synonymous with a 'coolie'. They have gone so much down in public estimation that when any one becomes of some importance he conceals his identity lest by speaking Oriya he is called a coolie. Therefore I wish to submit that you should try to bring all the units to one level and whatever you say about raising the standard of living, then for raising the standard your efforts should be that small cottage and small scale industries should be established at each and every place. I do not say that we should by one stroke discontinue the practice of setting up big factories by importing machines from foreign countries, but we should try to manufacture here as many machines as lie in our power. If we would do so then a balance would be maintained. The industries, that you set up these days, attract people from agriculture, they come leaving their homes for good and all of them keep their families away; and as the Labour Industrial Committee has found out they do not set their hearts properly on their work. Therefore I wish that the honourable the Minister would set the policy after a careful and thoughtful consideration.

Shri Basanta Kumar Das (West Bengal: General): The previous speaker laid emphasis on the necessity of having decentralised industries and cottage industries. This morning the honourable Minister gave us a picture of how big industries have been working; but we have not been able to have a picture of how the small-scale and cottage industries have been working in the rural areas. The Government of India when they enunciated the industrial policy in April last, wanted to coordinate the cottage and small scale industries with the big industries, and the Government of India accepted a certain responsibility in respect of cottage and small scale industries. Accordingly, a Cottage Industries Board has been set up and last January the Board resolved that a Central Training Institute be started, an Emporium be started in Delhi, and a cottage industries journal be published. These are steps in the right direction no doubt. But, I am sorry, Sir, that the progress has been so slow. The recommendation of the Industries Conference was made in December, 1947. The meeting of the Cottage Industries Board was held in January 1949. It took one year to formulate a policy regarding cottage industries; I do not know what practical steps have been taken to coordinate the cottage industries with the big industries. I do not know what has actually been done by the provinces. The honourable Minister told us this morning that he does not like to disturb the autonomy that the provinces are enjoying in respect of cottage industries. In spite of industry being a provincial subject, he has thought it fit, and the Government of India has enunciated a policy that they would do something in the matter of industries. It is necessary therefore that the Government of India must take this matter urgently in hand and do something tangible in the field of cottage industries also.

Last year, when we heard our Finance Minister speaking about the Finance Bill, he emphasised the point that we must take to cottage industries to fight inflation. The honourable the Prime Minister also, when he addressed the meeting of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industries, emphasised that point. He said that apart from his conviction as a congress-man, from experience he felt the necessity of cottage industries. I do admit that the Government is aware and that the Government is conscious of the fact that cottage industries should form a very important sector of their industrial endeavours. But, I am sorry that proper attention and proper steps have not yet been taken. I shall take one instance. We have been given to understand that we are importing foreign salt to the tune of one crore maunds and an Experts Committee was appointed to explore the avenues to find where salt could be produced. I know they visited some parts of Bengal where salt can easily be produced and in fact the salt industry in Bengal was a great industry. Bengal used to supply salt not only to the big province when it was undivided but it also exported to many other parts of India. I do not know whether the Experts Committee have presented the final report but what we have come to know is that there are atleast 8,000 acres of land capable of being utilized by the salt industry in one district of Bengal alone and there is a big sea coast still left in Bengal which can also be explored for the purpose. Here is a great necessity of coordination. There are cottagers who used to prepare salt from the very old days. After the cyclone in 1942 the fuel problem has been great and they find themselves in great difficulty to produce salt. The solar evaporation method is not known to them. Government have taken no steps as yet to introduce and to popularise that solar evaporation method among the cottagers. On the one side a big factory may be started in the areas that have already been reported by the Experts Committee and on the other hand these cottagers must be saved and their industry must be saved. Government ought to take immediate steps for these cottagers. Therefore there is great necessity of co-ordinating this big industry and the small-scale industry. Of course, in that part of Bengal, Government have taken no steps for production of salt as yet

[Shri Basanta Kumar Das]

but if they try to start any big industry there it is of utmost importance that at first steps should be taken to save those cottagers so that they may have their living from that salt that they used to produce. There are other industries which have no competition in the field like the Mat industry. The Mat industry in one part of Bengal is a very big industry and it has very much dwindled. Government may do many things that can revive that industry and a lot of people can be saved from ruin because this industry is dying. I can name many other industries but my only point is that urgent steps should be taken so that there is a proper co-ordination of the industries. I don't know when the institution that is going to be started will take up the research work and when the training work will begin. A sum of 8 lakhs has been provided in the budget. I consider this sum to be too small. An honourable Member has already pointed out that we have provided so great an amount in the budget for improvement of big industries but only 8 lakhs for cottage industries. This is only for the work of the Cottage Industries Board. I plead that the Government should take the matter urgently in hand and see that the Board begins work immediately and greater sums are granted for the improvement of cottage industries.

Shri B. P. Jhunjhunwala (Bihar: General): From the speech which the honourable Minister for Industries has delivered this morning I find that he has given a very optimistic idea of what will happen in the future but his speech is conspicuous by absence of anything which we can achieve immediately with the available resources, available industries and available other materials in the country. The Minister has said that he has got many big schemes in view, e.g., Steel, Penicillin, Telephone and oil making from coal and other things. He said that for these we shall be expecting plants from abroad and then we shall be manufacturing all these things here. One big example and performance of our Government he has given is that of the Sindhry Factory. While discussing the Industrial Policy of the country, one criterion was taken in view and that was that whether it is a nationalised industry or private industry, that the industry runs economically and with the best efficiency possible. If that criterion is absent from any of the industry, be it nationalised or be it private, I think that industry should not receive any encouragement from Government. Sindhry Factory was conceived by the previous Government. It was in 1946 that this scheme was taken up and at that time it was said that there will be production in 1948 of fertilizers. The scheme which was taken up in hand was according to the report of the Technical Mission, to cost us 10,53,00,000 for erecting the factory, building, machinery and everything and this will produce 3,50,000 tons of fertilizer every year. It is now 1949. Uptil now we don't see a pound of that fertiliser. We are importing every year worth 5 crores of fertilisers from foreign countries and if we take that into account, we have imported uptil now 20 to 25 crores' worth of fertilizers.

That is twice the cost of the Capital, Block money required for the Factory, but then Sir, it is the time factor that is the most important one in our country at the present time when we require increased production of foodstuffs, and so fertiliser was of great immediate importance, but this project here has exceeded the time limit very much.

Now let us come to the expenditure that has been incurred. A question was put regarding this and the honourable Minister for Industry in his reply in June 1948 said that till now 4.01 crores of rupees were spent, out of which Rs. 0.54 crores on buildings, and Rs. 1.02 crores on machinery. That means, Sir that a total of Rs. 1.54 crores has been spent on capital goods and construction. What happened to the remaining sum? 2.5 crores was not accounted for.

[Shri B. P. Jhunjhunwala]

We do not know how or where it has gone, or how it has been spent. No further report has been given or placed before us. The point I am trying to bring forward is that this report of the technical mission said that fertiliser could be supplied at half the cost at which we are importing it from abroad. But even now how much it will cost, we do not know. We do not know what will be the production cost. At the time when the site for this factory was selected at Sindhri, near Dhanbad, there was no question of bringing gypsum from as far away as Jodhpur. Just look at the enormous cost we have to incur in bringing it all the way from Jodhpur to Sindhri and then distributing the fertiliser all over the country.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: At that time the idea was to get gypsum from even a greater distance, from West Punjab.

Shri B. P. Jhunjhunwala: Then Sindhri was a very wrong selection. I should say.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: For that we are not responsible.

Shri B. P. Jhunjhunwala: Even if you are not responsible, still a sum of two or three crores of rupees was not much in view of the running cost and consequent increase in cost of production, a different site could have been selected.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: That is a different question.

Shri B. P. Jhunjhunwala: No, that according to me was a very important question. Well, Sir, I was saying that there were other proposals also before the Government at that time, proposals which could have led to production of fertilisers within two or three years. But all these proposals were rejected and this one scheme was taken up. A wrong selection was made in the matter of site for the factory. The cost of production is certain to go up. If our industries are going to be run in this way, our nationalised industries, I do not know where we shall stand.

In the beginning I was saying that there was nothing tangible by which we can say that we shall have production soon in this country. As has been said by so many speakers, the small industries, the cottage industries can produce a lot of things. Indeed there is nothing in our day to day necessary consuming of goods which they cannot produce and which are produced by the big industries. Go to the many resettlement and re-employment sections and areas and you will find people there employed in making so many different things. All sorts of tools and tackles and all materials necessary for small scale industry are being produced there. Our Industry Minister said that there was a conference of the Provinces, and they discussed this matter at that conference. I had expected that apart from the fact, that we had appointed this board and that committee, that in view of the fact that there is so much demand for greater production of consumers goods and in view of the fact that if we had turned our minds towards cottage industries and production on a small-scale decentralised system, we could have placed before the country and before the provinces concrete suggestions, with some such plans and shown to the provinces how to organise small-scale industries. The immediate problem before the Industry Minister should be how to organise these small-scale industries, and produce more and that has not been done.

Shri B. L. Sondhi: That is a provincial matter.

Shri B. P. Jhunjhunwala: But if the provinces do not organise these industries, then the Centre should show them the way to do it, and also, if necessary, take up the small-scale industries. That will not be interfering with the provinces at all. The Centre should tell the provinces and give them the target that this much should be produced in your province and ask them why it is not produced there. To say that it is a provincial matter and sit idle is, I am afraid, shirking the responsibility of the Centre. Sir, I was just saying that the immediate problem before our Industry Minister should be to see how small-scale industries can be organised in the different provinces. Let him give the provinces the names of these industries, and how they should be started, and how the products should be stocked and marketed and all that. There are many people—middle-class people—who are employed in these small-scale industries. They must be given financial and other encouragement. If this is done, the production is certain to go up. During the war time, it is not through big industries alone that the Government was able to meet the requirements. So we must not be satisfied only with these future big schemes. We have to take recourse to the small industries which can give us immediate results and have to see that the existing industries be they private-owned or nationalised give the maximum result.

- श्री आर० एल० मालवीय: मैं एक ऐसे क्षेत्र से आता हूँ, जहाँ कोयले की खानें ज्यादा हैं, और इन कोयले की खानों में मैं इंडियन नेशनल ट्रेड यूनियन कांग्रेस (Indian National Trade Union Congress) के कार्यकर्ता की हैसियत से पिछले दो सालों से काम कर रहा हूँ। कोयले की खानों में जैसी हालत है, उसको देखते हुए यह जरूरी मालूम होता है कि मैं वहाँ की दिक्कतों हाउस के सामने रखूँ, और माननीय मिनिस्टर साहब के सामने वह दिक्कतें पेश करूँ, ताकि वह दूर हों। यह कहने की जरूरत नहीं है कि कोयले की उत्पत्ति हमारे देश के लिये कितनी जरूरी है। जहाजों, रेलों और कल-कारखाने सब उसके बल पर चलते हैं। मगर यदि हम देखें, कि उत्पत्ति कितनी हुई है और इन कल-कारखानों को पूरा कोयला मिला है या नहीं, तब हमें पता लगेगा कि हमें इस बात की बड़ी जरूरत है कि कोयले की उत्पत्ति बढ़े, और कल-कारखानों को पूरा माल मिले, जिससे हमारा उद्देश्य कि देश में हर एक चीज की उत्पत्ति बढ़े, पूरा हो। मैं इस रिपोर्ट के ३२ आइटम्स (Items) में से केवल तीन-चार आइटम्स बतलाता हूँ, जिनसे पता लगेगा कि कारखानों की मांग कितनी थी और इनको कोयला दिया कितना गया है। रेलों की मांग एक करोड़ सात लाख चौतीस हजार चौरानवे टन थी, और उनको मिला है अठासी लाख नौ हजार तीन सौ सैंतीस टन। स्टील इंडस्ट्री को (allot) किया गया था ११ लाख चवालीस हजार छैं सौ टन और उसको मिला है पच्चीस लाख पच्चासी हजार सात सौ इक्कीस टन। कपड़े की मिलों के लिये मांग थी उन्नीस लाख अड़तालीस हजार आठ सौ चौबीस टन की और उनको दिया गया है सोलह लाख अठानवें हजार अठारह टन। इसी

[श्री० आर० ए०० मालवीय]

तरह से सीमेंट फैक्टरीज की मांग थी नौ लाख दस हजार दो सौ टन की और उन्हें मिला है छे लाख सात सौ चौतीस टन। इससे साफ जाहिर हो जाता है कि कल-कारखानों को जितनी जरूरत थी उतना कोयला उन्हें नहीं मिला है, जिसकी वजह से उत्पत्ति कम हुई है। इसके साथ ही साथ मैं एक बात और मिनिस्टर साहब के ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूँ। और वह यह है कि कोयले की खानों में जो concessions और जो सुहूलियतें गवर्नमेंट ने मजदूरों को दी हैं वह सुहूलियतें शायद किसी दूसरी इंडस्ट्री को नहीं हैं। जितना ज्यादा रेट बढ़ाया गया है, मतानों की अच्छी सुविधा दी गई है, और welfare fund खोलकर जीवन की और दूसरी सुविधायें दी गई हैं, उतनी सुविधायें किसी दूसरी इंडस्ट्री को नहीं मिलीं, इस पर भी हम यह देखते हैं कि कोयले की खानों में आये दिन strikes हुआ करते हैं। सन् १९४७ में strikes से एक करोड़ सतालीस लाख और ४८ में स्ट्राइक से ६९,३६,१५३ दिनों का नुकसान हुआ था। मैं यह नहीं कह सकता कि इसमें कोयले की खानों की हड़तालों से कितने दिनों का नुकसान हुआ, मगर जनाव मेरा कटु अनुभव है और मैं जानता हूँ कि कोयले की खानों में हड़तालें हुई हैं और उनसे देश का बड़ा भारी नुकसान हुआ है। अब इसके सबब की तरफ मैं हाउस का ध्यान आकर्षित कराना चाहता हूँ। गवर्नमेंट ने सन् ४७ में बिहार और बंगाल के लिए Conciliation Board बिठाया था और (C. P.) सी. पी. के लिए (Fact Finding Committee) बिठाई थी। इन दोनों ने मजदूरों को जो सुहूलियतें दी थीं, इनकी वजह से कोयले का रेट भी निश्चित किया गया था और बिहार में साढ़े तीन रुपया फ्री टन व मध्यप्रान्त में तीन रुपया फ्री टन कोयले का रेट बढ़ा दिया गया था। कोरिया के क्षेत्र में जहां से मैं आता हूँ व जहां कोयले की खानें हैं, वहां यद्यपि गवर्नमेंट की खानें हैं, वहां भी एक रुपया दो आना फ्री टन की तरक्की दी गई थी। मगर इतनी तरक्की मिलने के बावजूद हम यह देखते हैं कि वहां strikes हुआ करते हैं। इसका सबब क्या है? इसकी वजह यह है कि खानों के मालिकान जो एवार्ड्स (awards) कन्सिलियेशन बोर्ड (Conciliation Board) ने या फैक्ट फाइन्डिंग कमेटी (Fact Finding Committee) ने दी है और जिनको कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया ने ऐप्लाई (apply) कर दिया है, उनको वह ठीक तरह से नहीं मानते। मैं अपने क्षेत्र की बात जानता हूँ कि कन्सिलियेशन आफिसर व इन्स्पेक्टर आफ माइन्स (Conciliation Officer and Inspector of mines) ने मालिकों को बड़ा

समझाया और उन से एवार्ड्स (awards) को मनवाने की बड़ी कोशिश की है। मगर उनके बहुत कोशिश करने पर भी उन्होंने मानने से इन्कार कर दिया है और कई बातें ऐसी हैं जो उन्होंने नहीं मानी हैं। मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि ऐसे बड़े बड़े लोगों में जो एवार्ड को नहीं मानते हैं, कर्मचन्द थापर और विरला जैसे आदमी हैं। मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जितनी कोशिशें मजदूरों की तरफ से एवार्ड मनवाने के लिये हुई, उस में से एक भी कामयाब नहीं हुई। उसका सबब यह है कि उन एवार्ड्स में कोई ऐसा बन्धन नहीं है, कोई ऐसा provision नहीं है जो कि इन मालिकों को मजबूर कर सके, इन एवार्ड्स को मनवाने के लिये। कन्सिलियेशन आफिसर (Conciliation Officer) जाता है, इन्स्पेक्टर आफ माइन्स (Inspector of Mines) जाता है, वह सिर्फ उनसे अर्ज कर सकता है, समझा सकता है। इसके अलावा वे और कुछ नहीं कर सकते, और नतीजा यह होता है कि मालिक मानने को तैयार नहीं होते। मुझे कहना तो बहुत था, सभापति महोदय, मगर घंटी बज चुकी है। इसलिये जल्दी-जल्दी दो-तीन बातें मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। मुझे असली शिकायत और सब से बड़ी शिकायत चीफ माइनिंग इंजीनियर (Chief Mining Engineer) के आफिस से है। चीफ माइनिंग इंजीनियर का दफ्तर कलकत्ते में एक सरकारी दफ्तर है, मगर मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जितनी वेत-रतीबी इस दफ्तर में है, वह किसी प्राइवेट दफ्तर में भी नहीं है। लोगों के हिसाब वर्षों के पड़े हैं, हिसाब तय नहीं होते। छोटे-छोटे कन्ट्रेक्टरों के हिसाब तय नहीं होते। ठेकों की मंजूरी महीनों नहीं आती। ग्रेन शाप में जो चीजें मिलनी चाहियें, उन चीजों की Sanction ठीक-ठीक नहीं आती और इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि मजदूरों में असंतोष है और वह हमेशा हड़ताल के लिये तैयार रहते हैं। मैं आपको एक उदाहरण बतला दूँ। अक्टूबर सन् ४८ में ऐसी परिस्थिति आ गई थी कि कोरिया के क्षेत्रों में, गवर्नमेंट की कोलरीज में कुली सरदारों को बन्द कर दिया गया। इसकी वजह से मजदूर हड़ताल करने पर तैयार हो गये। मैंने जब चीफ माइनिंग इंजीनियर को २ अक्टूबर को एक तार और तारीख ४ अक्टूबर को एक चिट्ठी भेजी। उनका आज तक जवाब नहीं आया। और यह तार व चिट्ठी मैंने छत्तीसगढ़ कालरी वर्क्स फेडरेशन के सभापति और इस हाउस के मेम्बर की हैसियत से भेजी थी। उसका भी कोई जवाब नहीं। मैं नहीं जानता कि दूसरों के खतों का क्या होता होगा, दूसरे

[श्री० आर० एल० मालवीय]

जवाब पाते हैं या नहीं, मुझे तो नहीं दिया गया। मैं यह अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ कि यह हालत है कलकत्ते के चीफ माइनिंग इंजीनियर के दफ्तर के अफसरों के कारण। उन्होंने उस दफ्तर की हालत दिवालिये की दुकान जैसी कर दी है। न तो वहाँ कोई हिसाब देने वाला है न कोई ठीक वक्त पर बात सुनने वाला है, न देखभाल करने वाला है नतीजा जो इसका होता है उसका पुता श्राइक के रूप में लगता है।

एक बात आखिर में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ और वह मजदूरों के लिये है। मजदूरों को जो सुविधायें दी गई हैं उनका नतीजा यह होता है कि जो रकम उन्हें ज्यादा मिलता है, उसका उपयोग वह शराब में करते हैं, या जुआ में और या दूसरी-दूसरी वदमाशियों में। मैं यह अर्ज कर देना चाहता हूँ कि लेबर वelfare फंड (Labour Welfare Fund) की आमदनी जो कोयले के (Less) के रूप में काटा जाता है, उससे सोशल एजुकेशन (Social Education) के लिये भी खर्च किया जाना चाहिये। अभी तो वह मलेरिया आदि में खर्च होता है। इंडस्ट्री और लेबर दोनों को मिल कर इसके लिये कोशिश करनी चाहिये।

(English translation of the above speech.)

Shri R. L. Malviya (C. P. and Berar States): I come from a place which is predominantly a coal-mining area; and I am working in the coal-fields as a functionary of the Indian National Trade Union Congress for the last two years. Keeping in view the conditions prevailing in the coal mines, I feel duty-bound to place before the House the difficulties existing there and explain them to the honourable Minister so that, these may be removed. It is needless for me to emphasize as to how far the production of coal is necessary for our country. Ships, Railways, and all industrial undertakings are run with coal. But if we see as to how much quantity has been produced, and whether or not, the coal requirements of these industrial undertakings have been met with, then we will find that we are faced with a dire necessity to step up coal production, and make available to the industrial concerns adequate supply of this commodity, and thus achieve our object to increase the production of every article in our country. Out of 32 items of this Report, I would refer to only three or four from which it would be found as to what was the demand of the factories *vis-a-vis* the quantity of coal actually supplied to them. The demand put forth by the Railways amounted to 1,07,34,094 tons, against which 88,09,337 tons were supplied to them. The Steel Industry was allotted 30,44,609 tons but actually 25,85,731 tons were supplied to them. The demand made by the Textile Mills was 19,48,824 tons, whereas these were supplied 16,98,018 tons. Similarly the Cement Industry demanded 9,10,200 tons but actually 6,00,734 tons were supplied to them. From this it is quite apparent that the industrial undertakings were not supplied the same quantity of coal that was required by them and on account of which there has been a fall in production. Along with this, I would like to mention one thing more for the information of the honourable Minister and that is that the concessions and facilities which the Government have provided to the labour employed in the coal mines has not perhaps been granted to any other industry. Despite the fact that the wages

have been considerably increased, more housing facilities afforded and other social amenities provided by starting the 'Labour Welfare Fund', and that no such facilities have been given in any other industry, there are still frequent strikes in the coal mines. During the years 1947 and 1948, 14,717,303 and 6,936,153 man-days were lost respectively on account of strikes. I cannot say as to how many man-days were lost on account of strikes in the coal mines, but, Sir, it is my bitter experience and I know that there have been strikes in the coal mines which have adversely affected the country. Now I would like to draw the attention of the House to the causes leading to such strikes. During the year 1947, the Government had constituted a Conciliation Board for Bihar and Bengal and in the case of C.P. set up a Fact Finding Committee. After taking into account the facilities which were given to the labour as a result of the recommendations made by these two Committees, the price of coal was fixed, and it was increased at the rate of Rupees three and a half and Rupees three per ton in Bihar and C.P. respectively. Even in the case of the Korea mining area from where I come, the rate was increased by Rs. 1/2/- per ton, although the Government have got their own collieries there. But in spite of all this increase in the wages, we find that still there are strikes. What are the reasons for this? This is due to the reason that the colliery-owners have scant regard for the awards given both by the Conciliation Board and the Fact Finding Committee which the Government of India have accepted and made applicable. I know the case of my own area where the Conciliation Officer or Inspector of Mines tried his best to impress upon the Colliery-proprietors the necessity of compliance to the award. But in spite of their best endeavours, they refused to accept it and there are so many other things to which they have not agreed. I am constrained to say that big persons who do not honour the Award are men like M/S. Karam Chand Thapar and Birla. I would like to submit that none of the efforts so far made by the labourers to get the award implemented have fructified. This is due to the reason that these awards do not envisage any compulsion nor do enjoin upon these proprietors to accept the provisions thereof. Both the Conciliation Officer and the Inspector of Mines approached them. They can only stress upon them and beyond this they cannot do anything, and ultimately what happens is, the proprietors are not amenable to accept this. Sir, I had to say a lot but the bell has rung. Therefore, I would like to say two or three things hurriedly. The most genuine and serious complaint which I have got is against the Office of the Chief Mining Engineer—which is a Government office located at Calcutta. But I am deeply pained to say that the chaotic state of affairs which prevails in this office will not perhaps be found even in any private office. The accounts of private persons are pending for the last so many years—these are not settled at all. The accounts of petty contractors are not settled. The sanction to the contracts is not communicated for months together. The sanction to the supply of authorised commodities at the grainshops is also not properly accorded. This consequently results in discontentment among the labourers and they always keep themselves in readiness for going on strikes. I would quote an instance. During October, 1948, a situation had arisen in the Korea mining area—where the Government have got their own collieries—when the system of the appointment of Cooly Sardars was abolished; and as a result of this the labourers threatened to proceed on strike. I sent a telegram to the Chief Mining Engineer on the 2nd October, and subsequently wrote to him a letter on 4th October, but no reply to this has been received as yet. This letter I had written in the capacity of the President of the Chattisgarh Colliery Workers Federation and a Member of this House. No reply to this even has been given. I am not aware as to what actually happens with the letters addressed by other persons—whether they get any reply or not—at least I was never given any reply. I would like to submit that this is all due to the Officers working in the Office of Chief Mining Engineer, Calcutta. They have reduced the condition of that office to that of a bankrupt's shop. There is none there who can render the accounts

[Shri R. L. Malviya]

or look into the matter at the proper time and exercise proper supervision. All these factors culminate in strikes.

Lastly, I would like to say one thing more, and, that is, in respect of the labourers. The concessions which have been given to the labour often result in their spending the additional amounts thus received by them in drinking, gambling and indulging in other vices. I would suggest that a part of the contributions made towards the Labour Welfare Fund which are recovered in the form of a levy of Coal-cess should also be spent for the social education of the labourers. At present this is being spent on Malaria operations only. Both the Industry and the labour should make joint efforts in this respect.

Shri C. Subramaniam: High compliments and in my view well-deserved compliments, were paid to the honourable Minister for Industries to-day. May I tell you, Sir, the secret of his success and popularity? He took care to consult the Standing Committee attached to his Ministry in all important matters, whether it be a matter of policy or the implementation of a policy. Even before a matter went to the Cabinet for decision, he called us and had our views on the matter, so much so it could not be said later on that the Cabinet had come to this view and therefore we are unable to change it. He has had as many as fifteen meetings of the Standing Committee during the current year, which I think is a record for any Ministry.

The enunciation of a policy, however important and necessary it might be is a comparatively easy matter. But the achievement of a Ministry lies in the implementation of that policy. Viewed from that aspect, the Ministry of Industry and Supply is a grand success. That is my view, having come to know intimately the affairs in that Ministry, being a member of the Standing Committee attached to that Ministry. To-day the control of the Government extends to the entire field of industry. There is control on the import of machinery, there is control on the procurement of raw materials, there is control in the distribution of various essential articles and there is control of prices. But if these controls are to be worked effectively and expeditiously in the industrial field I would commend the suggestion made from various quarters to the honourable Minister, namely the formation of a high power development board consisting of men trained in business and in management. The Civil Service, however efficient it might be, with its training and tradition in red-tapism, in my view is not equal to the task of tackling industrial problems. It is only persons with experience in the industrial line who would be able to deal with the day to day problems which arise in the field of industry.

The next point I wish to touch on is about the working of the cloth control. Even the honourable Minister agreed that there was a certain amount of stagnation of goods in the mills. Sir, I come from a town which is a centre of the textile industry in South India. When I was returning from Madras last week representations were made to me that in one particular mill alone whose paid up capital was about 6 lakhs or so, Rs. 35 lakhs worth of yarn was lying unmoved. That was the case in various other mills also. On an average in Coimbatore about ten weeks of production is lying unmoved. There is the difficulty of finding the finance and not only that they have to meet the insurance charges. Further there is the question of storing them properly. They have to meet all these expenses and they are finding it a great strain. The honourable Minister said that it has now been ordered that if the goods are not moved within a month the millowners could sell them or distribute through other trade channels. But there is a certain lacuna in this. When a certain allotment is made there are various varieties and some varieties could be sold at a profit and some only at a loss. As far as the agent is concerned, the agent who has been nominated by the provincial government, takes the most profitable variety and leaves the variety which would prove a loss to him. Therefore when a millowner is asked to nominate an agent later on, to take those unmoved goods

that agent would have to take delivery of the variety which would sell at a loss. I do not know how this difficulty could be met. Perhaps the only way to meet this would be to ask the Government agent to take over the entire allotment or leave it. Of course in the working of this policy there are likely to be some difficulties. For that matter we would find difficulties in any scheme or system.

The cloth control has to be looked from another aspect, viz., control of cotton. You would have seen from the papers that the millowners of the Textile mills at Coimbatore have already given notice that they would have stop production, at any rate they will have to stop one shift at least and give the labourers a partial holiday for want of cotton. This is a very serious matter. In fixing the price of cotton also there has been many inequities. The millowners of Coimbatore say that even at the existing yarn price they could pay Rs. 100 to 115 more than the ceiling price per candy for the local cotton available there.

There is one other aspect which is to be considered: when cotton is controlled, the *kapas* is not controlled, so much so the mills which are unscrupulous can go into the market and purchase *kapas* at any rate they like. That means that the control of cotton price is effectively circumvented and that puts the law-abiding mills at a disadvantage.

The next point which I would like to mention is about the handloom industry. Thanks to the control system, at every remote village cheap mill cloth is made available. Therefore the handloom industry is finding itself at a disadvantage. If we want to protect that industry—and that is an industry in which about 2½ million workers are involved and about 10 million are dependent upon that for their living—the only course is to allow that industry to export its products without any restriction. They have a good foreign market but on account of the restrictions imposed they are unable to export the cloth to foreign countries. I know a time limit has been fixed during which unrestricted export could be made but even after this period unless the handloom industry is given unrestricted scope for export, I can tell you, it will not be able to survive.

There are only two more points and then I am done. With regard to the disposals many complaints have been made that there is a lot of stagnation. But if we take a realistic view of it we will find that it is mainly due to the fact that the entire goods have been frozen by the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry. I was surprised to find that not only goods which would be useful for them but even aircraft, wireless transmitters and parachutes were frozen—I do not know for what purpose; and they were not allowed to be sold. It took sometime to release even those things. Unless the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry acts expeditiously and releases goods we cannot blame the officials. We cannot blame the department saying that there is stagnation and that nothing is being done.

In this connection I would like to make one suggestion. The goods have got to be classified into categories—useful articles, likely to be useful articles and articles which would not be of any use to us. Articles which would not be of any use to us should be disposed of expeditiously whatever be the price, because the longer you store it the greater the expense incurred on it. Besides deterioration takes place in those articles. As far as articles likely to be useful are concerned an investigation should be made as to what are useful and those that will not be useful should be disposed of. In fact I know that there is some such scheme in the offing but a decision should be made on the scheme very soon.

The last point is about match factories in the South. About 121 factories in Tenkasi in Tinnevely District have closed down and I also hear that the Mysore Match Factory is following suit because of the competition in the industry and export of this article to Pakistan is banned. Unless as in the case of cement zonal distribution is arranged it would not be possible for the industry to survive.

I hope the Honourable Minister will take these points into consideration and give the necessary reliefs.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (C.P. and Berar: General): It is certainly true that the Honourable Minister's speech has removed the edge of criticism or the pointedness of it and it is no wonder that my honourable friend Mr. Tyagi found the wind taken out of his sails. None theless when we hear profuse compliments being paid by a man like Mr. Homi Mody the House and the country gets a bit suspicious.

My first complaint Sir, is with regard to the inadequacy of time to deal with a Ministry of these dimensions. There are so many committees, there is the work they have done and then in addition there are so many boards. If you look at the report copies of which have been provided to us you will find that there are as many as 26 development committees. And these do not coincide

with or include the Silk Board, Coffee Board, the Tea Committee, the 4 P.M. Tobacco Committee the Cottage Industries Board, and other bodies that have been set up. It is difficult within the time allotted to us even to make an adequate preface to a discussion of an important Ministry like the Industry and Supply. But even so I must to the task. I can imagine how difficult it must be for the honourable Member faced with the work of these committees and all that they stand for to evolve a really co-ordinated plan which will be put forth and executed in the shortest possible time. Having gone through the whole material presented to us I feel I can but barely state my conclusions and my final views about it. I feel that there are far too many committees, for too many boards and there is lack of forceful action about which some of us feel like complaining. I, for one feel that the complaint is justified. An instance has already been given by my honourable friend Mr. Jhunjhunwala as to how a factory like the one at Sindhri has taken inordinately long to come into existence. I also feel that there is no proper co-ordination between the various Ministries. The Honourable Minister told us that some of the Ministers meet occasionally and that although there is no Planning Board or the Planning Commission in existence they always try to co-ordinate their plans. I think there is much room for improvement in this direction because I find there are schemes worth crores of rupees—hundreds of crores of rupees in fact—which some of the Departments and Ministries are busy formulating and trying to give effect to in an independent and isolated manner. I have not been able to find much trace of the fact that all these schemes are co-ordinated. For instance I may just mention that there is a scheme for land reclamation being formulated by the Ministry of Agriculture. That scheme is likely to cost near over Rs. 150 crores. There are schemes with which our Honourable Minister for Works, Mines and Power is busy. They are also estimated to cost crores. There are electrical factories, tractors, fertiliser machinery, fishing boats and what not that is required. And it appears to me that all these things are going on not as part of a concerted plan of development but in their own fashion unrelated to anything else. Nor is there the intensity of effort or the driving force behind them which it is absolutely necessary there should be. Although after hearing the Honourable Minister's speech one feels that he is earnest about his work and that he has been able to put in considerable energy into the process of industrialisation of India yet I feel it is possible to intensify the work and achieve better results. I would like him to bear in mind that "reconstruction and development are a war in the reverse gear; they should be worked on the very same principles". I am sure nobody in the world is going to wait for our industrialisation. If we delay and take more time than is necessary we will be faced with the same problem as we are faced with in other industries, namely, we will have to maintain our industries at the cost of our people. We will have to ask our people and force them to buy only Indian things even if the foreign things are available for one-fourth or one-eighth of the price. This sort of calamity, Sir, should not be permitted to overtake us. If we want to encourage our own effort and production—we may and should give the Indian effort as much protection as possible. But the necessity for such protection should be minimised by intensified effort and by taking quick action. (Shri B. Das: 'Like

sugar.') My honourable friend is perfectly right. That was exactly the instance I had in view but I wanted to save time and it was for this reason that I had omitted the mention of it. There are so many things I would have liked to point out. But for want of time all that I can do is to merely summarise what I feel and what I wish to suggest.

I would like now to take up the question with which I am most familiar and which intimately concerns us the residents of Berar; and that is the price of cotton and the cultivation of cotton. I can assure the Honourable Minister that if he can decide forthwith that the price of cotton will be economical to a cultivator and will be such as to make it worth while for the cultivator to grow cotton that many of his difficulties will disappear. (I can promise him that the deficit with which he is confronted will never be there at any rate not so baffling. The Central Provinces and Berar where I come from is principally a cotton growing area. Provided the agriculturist is assured that he would get a proper price there will not be so much need of importing so much cotton. At the present time the Honourable Minister knows that statistics have been given by no less a body than the Indian Central Cotton Committee itself that the present prices of cotton are unreasonably low. The Indian Central Cotton Committee have passed the same resolution twice, but the Government has yet to awaken itself to the needs of revising and arising the prices. Secondly Sir, is no earthly proportion between the prices of textiles and the prices of cotton. This has been demonstrated with facts and figures which are borrowed from none else but the government departments themselves; and yet I regret my honourable friend has not been able to take steps to increase the prices of cotton. Actually the merchants are paying more than the prices fixed by him. If that is correct and no merchant is a fool that itself shows the true position, viz., that the textile prices are proportionately much higher as compared with the prices of cotton. The textile industry as every body knows, is not running at any loss although my honourable friend Sir Homi Mody might have certain suggestions to make on behalf of that industry. I am sure textile industry is on its proper legs now. We do not want to harm it. At the same time we do not want them to be faced with a lack of supply of cotton. This should be remedied by taking necessary remedial action immediately. If this action is not taken then my honourable friend will I fear not even get the cotton that he is getting this year. He will get much less. In fact, the Berar agriculturist, as I had mentioned before, is absolutely on his last legs and if you do not assist him in the right way by giving him good seed and manure free of cost he will be ruined. If you do this you will get more cotton and there will be no necessity of importing any cotton on such a large scale. We are importing cotton at a rate which we are not prepared to pay to our own people. That is the tragedy of the whole situation. We are importing at an enormously high rate from outside. Our own cultivators are complaining that this is not a rate at which they can grow the stuff and yet, Sir, we have not awakened ourselves to the need of increasing the prices.

My friends tell me that so far as coal is concerned the price has been fixed instead of there being a ceiling price. There is a suspicion, I may tell my honourable friend quite frankly that this fixed price policy in the case of coal has been brought about to protect the Bengal coal which is said to be of inferior quality. I would request my honourable friend to look into this matter.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: The prices were fixed long before I came.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Then it is time to revise them. Coal in these days of scarcity of fuel has become a necessity of the common man but we find that it is sold in Delhi at Rupees seven per maund. That was at any rate the price I found in the Bengali Market. I thought that at least the Bengali Market would get a lot of coal from Bengal at a cheaper rate.

[Dr. P. S. Deshmukh]

I wanted to refer to a lot of other questions, for instance the question of private enterprise *versus* nationalisation. So far as our present state of industrialisation is concerned I feel there is ample scope both for nationalisation as well as private enterprise. In respect of large scale industries for which private enterprise is not prepared to come forward Government should make haste and establish them. While the smaller and medium sized industries may be left entirely to private enterprise. There is also said to be a conflict between cottage industries and industrialisation. Here also I feel there is a lot of room for co-ordination and adjustment. At the present time when we are in need of so many articles of daily use there need not be any fear that our cottage industries will go down or that industrialisation will annihilate them. There is ample room for production through cottage industries and it should be possible for my honourable friend, as indeed he has in mind, to encourage the growth of cottage industries along side the establishment of large scale industries.

I wanted to say a couple of words about the Disposals Policy of Government. Whatever explanation my honourable friend has given I must say frankly it does not satisfy me. Either he or the Defence Minister must stand guilty so far as the disposals policy is concerned. Otherwise they must be subscribing to a tenet that by keeping goods longer they improve its quality. There are tons and tons of food stuffs that have gone waste. My honourable friend said when we were asking supplementary questions that there was no inefficiency in his Department, no waste and no loss. I would like to ask him how many tons of food stuffs have gone waste simply because of the disposals policy and in not disposing it in the proper manner and at the proper time.

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (one of the Panel of Chairmen).]

The whole marget is full of them when it is utterly spoilt. They should have been the first articles which should have been disposed of. Similarly about textiles. What to speak of vehicles? There was a time a couple of years back when there were no vehicle available. The whole country was clamouring for cars and buses. And yet we found thousands and thousands of vehicles standing in the rain year after year with nobody to look after them. Even if the two Honourable Ministers who sit near each other had given these vehicles to some people or the other they would have served a highly useful purpose without detriment to any one. And if this Government did want them they always have the power of taking anything from anybody. They have recently taken over for the Hyderabad crisis motor cars and jeeps that belonged to private individuals because they wanted them for the necessities of the State; they could have done absolutely the same thing so far as all these vehicles standing in Deolali and elsewhere were concerned. They could have been put on the road and could have been utilised by the people and they could have been utilised by the Defence Ministry or the Industry and Supply Ministry if and when they needed them.

Sir, I am afraid I do not like the way in which democracy or parliamentary Government is being worked by us. I feel very strongly that there should be more time and better opportunity to ventilate the peoples grievances so that the feeling may not grow that those in authority are themselves the public opinion and therefore there is no use of listening to anybody. It is necessary in order to educate public opinion that there should be more time for Members to speak; otherwise before we come to the point, the time is over. You are in a haste. Of course, Sir, it is not your fault. Probably it is nobody's fault. But the fact remains. There is also a somewhat humorous suggestion made by some of our friends. The suggestion is that—we are now speaking only according to the list and we have to wait for our names to be called—but in days to come the Chief Whip will give us only transcribed manuscript to read out and then ask us to go home.

Shri Sita Ram S. Jajoo (Madhya Bharat): I offer my heartiest congratulations to the honourable the Minister of Industry and Supply. His morning speech was so lucid, clear and impressive that it has disarmed most of the criticism against his Department. A young man like me feels much gratified and elated when he hears a national Minister of his country give him a picture, in which not only for the day but for the future also, he shows a very bright and rosy picture and says that we have turned the corner, and that our industrial that we can be proud of that achievement. As a representative from an Indian progress is put on right lines so that we will be industrialised very soon and State, I feel all the more that we must make haste in that direction.

We people in the Indian States are much grateful to our honourable the Deputy Prime Minister for his great achievement of consolidating and unifying the Indian States. By achieving that great task he has brought the down-trodden people of the Indian States on par with the provincial people or on par with other people living in this vast country. But when we see that there is a little lack of co-ordination, lack of such treatment which we expected so far as the industrial policy or other economic policies are concerned, we feel a little constrained that we must in all humility complain to you that this way it does not help us in the Indian States.

I would like to say a few words on quotas. As regards the allocation of quotas from the Industry and Supply Department, we feel that a fair deal is not being meted out to the Indian States. I come from Madhya Bharat and in Madhya Bharat since the formation of the Union, that is the 18th June, 1948, we have not received the cement quota nor have we received the iron and steel quota. Whatever used to be the iron and steel quota for all the 22 States individually, in the Madhya Bharat it has been not allotted to us now. Whereas formerly the quota used to be 650 tons now only 495 tons have been allotted. On the one hand our great Deputy Prime Minister has consolidated our States and allowed us to take the advantage and share the benefits of our joining the Indian Union, on the other hand we see that even our due quota is reduced! The reason given is lack of co-ordination in certain Departments of the Government of India, particularly the Transport Department. The reason is lack of wagons. But here too I have got a confession from a Government officer who says that whereas private individuals can get the wagons the Government officials cannot. Any way, most humbly I would like to draw your attention to this fact with the confidence that this will be remedied very soon.

I am further glad that much has been done or is being done for the improvement of the handloom industry. But I would like to point out that the handloom industry can be divided into two parts; one which utilises the hand-spun yarn and the other which uses not the hand-spun yarn but the mill made yarn. In this respect I would request you to be very careful about one thing that the yarn is distributed in the rural areas according to their needs and that it does not go in the black-market.

As regards controls, according to the dialect in my part of the country, control is called *kanth rog* which means disease of the neck. I agree corruption is there in controls but one thing can be done and that is that the human touch which the honourable Minister possesses in abundance can be imparted to some extent in the control authorities there; if this is done I think 70 per cent. of the troubles will be removed and only 30 per cent. will remain. For that too, if a little industry is put in the officers there and a check is put on the evil practices there, I think that 30 per cent. also can be removed.

As regards salt which is an essential commodity of human consumption and we struggled hard against a foreign Government for the removal of the excise duty on salt under the leadership of the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhi, and other leaders like our present Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister. But today we find ourselves in a very difficult position that salt

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has become scarce in the rural areas. I would request the honourable Minister to allocate a certain quota for rural areas just as he has done in the case of iron and steel where he has allotted a certain quota for agricultural purposes. In the rural areas salt is consumed by the cattle as well, but what to talk of the cattle when it is not given even for human consumption? Also, there is a huge disparity in prices on the border areas of one Union of States and another Union or a Province. You say that you have been doing all that is possible. I do not deny that. I have full confidence in you, but this is the only place and you are the only person to whom I can go and complain about; otherwise there is no use.

So far as the allocation of these quotas is concerned, you are following a policy of carrying coal to New Castle. If cloth is produced in one place, that cloth is not given to that region but is sent to some other region and another cloth is brought from other regions to that region. I will give you the case of cement. We are producing cement at Bamor in Madhya Bharat, but the Bamor cement is not given to Madhya Bharat but to some other region. Similarly in salt, salt produced in Dharangudhara in Saurashtra is not given to the neighbouring areas but to U.P. and Bihar and similar is the case with salt from Sambhar and other places. I can understand that this may be the policy chalked out not by the present national Government but by the previous foreign Government, but it is high time that it is revised in such a way that the disparity and inconvenience are removed as soon as possible. We see that our basic industries are being carried on towards nationalisation lines, but we see that chemical industry which is another necessity is not being developed in any way. Certainly sulphur drugs, penicillin and some other things are being developed here, but other things are not being developed in the same way. Medical aid is a primary necessity of human life and majority of people in India are from rural areas, so if a little attention is paid to the development of our Ayurvedic medicines, I think much will be achieved.

As regards controls, I wish to point out that in regard to iron and steel and cement the stockists are not nominated by provincial or State governments, but are nominated by the Controller at Calcutta. He does not know the antecedents of the local dealers and these people do not care for the provincial or state governments because they are appointed by him. I think in that respect a little more co-ordination and consultation with provincial and state governments is necessary.

As regards coal, we see that because we cannot supply coal to the general people, vast jungles are being cut down and the wood is converted into charcoal. We hear that forests are our wealth and they must be preserved at all costs, but due to lack of attention in this matter these forests are being wasted and destroyed.

As regards disposal, I would say that the criticism going on in the public is too much. But I am sure that the honourable Minister for Industries and Supplies is himself conscious of the defects and shortcomings of this branch of his Department and he has stated in his speech that he will look into these things and mend them. I have every confidence that this will be done.

As regards cotton, there are restrictions on its movement from one part of the province to another and also from one province to another province or one Union of Indian State to other Unions. On account of these things, there are very great difficulties in developing industries.

One thing more, and this is an important thing on which I would like to lay stress. There are so many potentialities and chances for industrial development in the Indian States. The British Government for their own political purposes did not give due attention to this subject. I expect, not

only I expect but feel confident that our National Government will try to explore ways and means and send their technicians and experts to the States to look into their industrial development and what possibilities there are. I know of places where cement industries can be started easily and also places where cotton grows in abundance but there are no mills. There mills can be installed and many things can be done.

Shri R. K. Sidhya: I have very little time at my disposal. So I will hurriedly give some figures relating to disposals which are very interesting in this connection. When the British left they left with us Rs. 233,73,70,572 worth of goods—book value. We know how scandalously managed was the disposals under the British Government. They took away the best machinery, best aeroplanes, best motor trucks, best motor cars, for a song. I have been putting interpellations on this subject and this session it was disclosed that one plane was sold for Rs. 25,000 whereas its value was Rs. 2 lakhs, and an European who was responsible for it has absconded. In another transaction the British Government sold away 3,000 motor trucks worth about Rs. 7,500 each for Rs. 2,500. Now what is the position? Up to January 1949 we have made sales of Rs. 154,43,23,375. That leaves a book value balance of Rs. 49,30,47,002. But what is the actual position? While book value sale is Rs. 154 crores, the actual cash sale is Rs. 85,06,82,043; in other words, a definite loss of Rs. 69,36,41,527. I do not know what remedy the Minister has got for this loss of Rs. 69 crores brought about fraudulently by the British Government in the book value. This is as far as the British goods are concerned.

As regards the American surplus, I really cannot understand what the total amount is. The honourable Minister in his booklet supplied to honourable Members says that up to end of December 1948 we have disposed of goods worth Rs. 64 crores, but he could not enlighten us about the amount actually left by the Americans. It however appears that it was something like Rs. 224 crores—book value. There is one consolation in the American goods. I find that under an agreement with the U.S.A. up to 50 million dollars, value of goods sold, come to us; there will be no charge to U.S.A. Over and above 50 million dollars, half will remain with us, and the other half would not be claimed by U.S.A. but will be disposed of according to the decision of Government of India. I will quote the speech made by the honourable Minister in the last session. This is what he says:

“In fact, the agreement reached between India and United States is, whatever is sold up to 50 million dollars will remain with India. The U.S.A. will have no claim whatsoever up to 50 million dollars. Whatever is sold beyond 50 million dollars, half of it will go to U.S.A. and half will remain with India. Now the value of the half which will go to the share of the U.S. Government will not be taken to U.S.A. but will be spent on some purpose which will be beneficial to India in consultation with the Government of India.”

“We have already sold American stocks worth more than 50 million dollars and my information is that the share due to U.S.A. is somewhere between 5 and 6 crores of rupees in other words, this amount which is bound to increase in the months to come is available for use in India for a certain beneficial purpose.”

Now I want to know from the honourable Minister as to what beneficial measure—betterment of industry or labour—he has devoted this money for. Where is that money shown? I have seen the Budget receipts and I do not find any entry, except perhaps if it is included in “Miscellaneous”. I should like to know where this money is credited and what happened to it. What are the beneficial items on which it has been spent and how much has been spent or has it been kept in reserve. What is the position? I want to know the exact position. At least as far as this matter is concerned, I may tell him that we are spending 1,10,44,000 Rupees on the salary of the staff of the Disposals Department. I would urge on him, if we are to go on in this manner, where will this lead to. I can tell him there are thousands of

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articles in Bombay which are unsaleable. There are thousands of scarfs which were meant for military purposes whose book value is Rs. 3-2-0. They cannot be sold for even two annas. There are neck ties, thousands in numbers whose book value is Rs. 3 and I am told they cannot be sold for even few annas each.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: No one uses neck ties nowadays.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: Yes, in that case it is better they should be disposed of soon. Why do you keep them? Why are you keeping them and incurring overhead charges? If you keep them, you have to have a godown and keep a number of men to look after the goods and pay them salary. My complaint is that there are so many articles which are unserviceable. I can give the instance of the naval articles which the naval people do not want. I mention the instance of electrical goods which are of 110 volts, and commercially they are not wanted. There are millions of buttons which the naval people do not want. Dispose them so that heavy overhead charges which are growing every day would be saved. I would therefore suggest to the honourable Minister to fix a date for closing this department; say, before the end of 1949, all these goods must be disposed of.

As far as the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry is concerned, I do not know from where my friend Mr. Shiva Rao brought the figures the other day that it was only a few thousands Rupees of goods that the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry purchased. My information is that from October 1947 to January 1949, the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry has purchased goods from the Disposals of the value of 1,13,84,000 Rupees, of which textiles alone account for 76 lakhs of rupees. I think that information was not correct. The Defence has purchased goods worth Rs. 20 crores. There is a ban that before disposing of any goods, the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry should be consulted, that the Defence Ministry should be consulted and that the provincial Governments should be consulted. My point is this. They take a lot of time in answering the enquiries. I would request the honourable Minister to screw them up that they must give their decision without delay. Unless he fixes the time limit, these people will never come to any decision. We know their wheels move slowly. I would like the honourable Minister to see that a dead time line should be fixed for the disposal and this sum of Rs. 1,14,00,000 spent on staff, should at least be saved. Whatever be the book value and whatever be the sale value of the goods, and whatever the loss: at least dispose of all materials, so that this sad chapter be closed once and for all. As I said already, I would like to know the latest position with regard to the receipts from disposals, that I have raised, where the money has gone, is it credited somewhere, or is it reserved or earmarked.

About the manufacture of salt, several of my friends have spoken. I have also received a copy of the representation which has been presented to the honourable Minister that the Darangadhra Salt industry is now producing large quantities of salt, that some zonal region has been fixed and that about 50,000 tons of salt is lying in stock since long, but no arrangement is made for removal. These people used to supply to Bihar and U.P., that they have now been asked to supply to different places with the result that neither Bihar nor the other people are getting the salt and the salt is lying there.

Another factor, Sir, a representation has been made by the Gandhi Irwin Salt Manufacturing Association in Tuticorin a copy of which has been sent to me which is really worth considering. It says that under the Agreement and under the recent communique issued by the Government of India in April

1948, anybody who had only ten acres could manufacture salt in pans or by boiling brines. I understand that another communique has been issued recently whereby this concession has been withdrawn. I would like to be enlightened whether that is correct. The communique says, "with reference to the press note dated 23 April 1948, it is further clarified that if more than one small factory of less than ten acres are grouped in a particular area and the total acreage exceeds ten acres, the manufacturers shall have to get a licence before they can go on manufacturing salt in the said area and they will be subject to the regulations governing the licensing of factories." Formerly, no licence was issued for 10 acres and under; nor did they come under the Factory laws. I would like to know if this is true. It would be breach of the arrangement that had been arrived at.

I should like to refer to one point before I sit down. I fail to understand why there should be dearth of salt. I have some knowledge of production of salt in Karachi. It is a very simple process of manufacturing. A canal from the sea has to be constructed and in a natural process in pans, it could be manufactured by ordinary persons. Karachi was producing best white salt. Every fortnight a chartered steamer used to carry that salt to Calcutta. We have got miles of sea shore in Bombay, Kathiawar and Madras. No heavy expenditure is required for the manufacture of salt. Why not introduce this simple process and produce salt at once? This simply surpasses my comprehension. I do not know where the difficulty is. If we had no sea shore, I can understand. Madras has got a very long sea shore; similarly Bombay and Kathiawar. I would request the honourable Minister to bear this in mind and see that sufficient salt is produced and not depend upon imported salt.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: I am thankful to the members of the House for the general support extended to my ministry. I welcome the criticisms which have been made. Many of them are based on insufficient information. I am sure if I had the time, I shall be able to satisfy the members with regard to most of them.

With regard to some of the matters which have been raised, I would like to take them together instead of dealing with each point individually. I shall take first Mr. Jhunjunwala's remarks about Sindhri. This is one of his hardy annual. I thought from what I had said this time, at any rate, there will be some appreciation from him if not from anybody else. Now, what is the position with regard to the Sindhri factory? When we came into office on 15th August 1947, the progress of construction made at Sindhri—I have calculated—came to about one-fortieth of the total project. Today, we may claim that we have completed about three-fourths of the construction. If Mr. Jhunjunwala, in spite of this, says that this being an industrial undertaking directly under Government, Government have failed to produce any results, I can only feel sorry for him.

With regard to the actual cost of construction, obviously, it has gone up by nearly about six or seven crores on account of the increased cost of plant and machinery and also the general rise in the cost of living. Today, we are importing fertilisers and we are paying about Rs. 300 per ton. Even taking into account the higher cost of production, which has become more or less inevitable, I expect that we will be able to sell fertilisers from our factory at the rate of Rs. 200 per ton, which will be Rs. 100 less per ton than the imported price, which comes to five and a half crores a year.

With regard to gypsum, undoubtedly, the area was fixed by the previous Government; we are not responsible for the site. But I do not want to be unfair to the previous Government either. I have gone through the records. It appears that various considerations were taken into account. There was the question of availability of coal, of power, of gypsum. Taking all things into consideration, apparently, the previous Government decided to situate it in some part of Bihar. Of course, whether

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it could have been sited elsewhere or not, is a matter which is very difficult for me to answer. I have invited Mr. Jhunjhunwala that he should personally visit that area and see how the work is being done and if there is anything which is open to objection, where improvements could be effected, I shall be the first person to accept suggestions coming from any quarter. I hope it will be possible for Mr. Jhunjhunwala to accept my invitation, at least before the next budget discussion takes place.

Next, I shall take up the Disposals. I thought I had explained the position sufficiently clearly. We did pass through very difficult times since 15th August, 1947. I am not blaming the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry; far less can I blame the Defence Ministry. Circumstances took such a turn that a ban had to be imposed on the sale of goods. That ban has now been withdrawn and I have said that according to our present calculations, we will be able to dispose of at least 75 per cent. of our stores in the course of 1949. Mr. Sidhva asked about the huge amount of money which is being spent every year—1-1/2 crores. Perfectly true, but he being a master of facts and figures, why did he not take the care to inform the House that since we came to office, the expenditure has been reduced by nearly a crore of rupees. It used to be 2-1/2 crores and now it is 1-1/2 crores. I feel it stands, at any rate, to the credit of this Government that we have reduced the annual expenditure by a crore of rupees. That would have been a complete statement of facts to which we are accustomed from Mr. Sidhva. Mr. Sidhva rightly drew the attention of the House to the arrangement by which India retains the first 50 million dollars of the proceeds of American Disposals and half of whatever is realised in addition. That is perfectly true and the statement which he read out is entirely correct. The five crores I mentioned would represent the total divisible sum after we have taken the 50 million dollars. About two crores of this has already accrued and that is kept in Suspense Account. Neither the Finance Minister nor myself have transferred it to any other Banking Account. It is there in the coffers of Government.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: What about the 50 million which was given free to us?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: That, I believe, has been swallowed by the Finance Minister and it has been added to our revenues. A separate item has been shown with regard to this sum in the Suspense Account. The amount due to the U.S. Government will be spent by them in India for beneficial purposes in consultation with us. The utilisation of our share is a matter on which we have not come to any decision and it will have to be considered not by my Ministry alone but by the entire Government. And speaking for myself and without committing the Government in any way which I have no right to do at this stage, my proposal would be to transfer the entire sum which is at our disposal for the development of cottage industries in India. Instead of frittering this away for various purposes in different parts of the country, we can straight off start a fund which will be exclusively devoted to the development of rural areas; particularly through cottage industries.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: In fact we have absorbed three crores.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: So far as the position of handloom is concerned, we are fully aware that some help has to be given to this industry. Now we decided that we would allow free export upto end of June 1949 to all countries except Pakistan. With regard to Pakistan we fixed it at 50 million yards provided it came out of the total quota allotted to Pakistan. I received representations from various parts of the country that on account of this restriction it has not been possible for any handloom cloth

to go to Pakistan because Pakistan is not prepared to take anything within its allotted quota of mill-made cloth. For this reason we have now decided that this 50 million yards of handloom cloth will be allowed to go to Pakistan outside the quota fixed for that country. But here I would sound one note of warning. I have told the representative organisations of Handloom industry and particularly I have impressed upon Professor Ranga who has very often discussed this matter with me that while no doubt Government will do everything possible to allow export of handloom cloth in sufficient quantity, we must now evolve a scheme whereby more of handloom cloth may be produced which will be usable in India. It is no use the handloom weavers saying that they can produce only *lungis* which will be usable in Pakistan. After all this country also wants cloth. We are having cloth shortage in many parts of the country and it will be desirable for the handloom industry not to come to us every year and say that there is a large accumulation of cloth which is unusable in India and therefore we should allow it to be exported. We should devise the scheme in such a way that while some quantities will be exported in any case, a larger quantity should be available for use by the people of this country.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Will anything be done towards production of *Khadi*?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: So far as *Khadi* is concerned, in the new Textile Advisory Board which I have appointed I have included representatives of producers of *Khadi*, and I have suggested to them that they might give us a scheme which will enable Government to make an experiment in some selected areas so that production and distribution of *Khadi* may be popularised. But of course as the honourable Member knows the difficulty is, that this production is not economical, and without some sort of subsidy you cannot compel people—unless they voluntarily wish to use *Khadi*—to purchase it. But I have asked them to give me a scheme which I shall be prepared to consider at any rate for the purpose of making an experiment with regard to particular areas.

Now with regard to cotton Dr. Deshmukh has rightly spoken about the serious position. But here I would ask the honourable Members of the House to bear one thing in mind. No doubt those who have spoken have spoken genuinely in the interest of the cultivators but we often find much crocodile tears being shed for cultivators by middlemen and exploiters who made crores and crores during decontrol period. Now what is the position today? We have not fixed any price for *kapas*. *Kapas* is completely decontrolled. Even in C.P. and Berar *Kapas* is selling at a fairly high price. I am told it is selling at 300/- whereas the price of cotton which we have fixed should not justify its sale beyond 250/-. The control price relates to cotton which after being ginned is sold by the merchants. Here there is no central control of cotton. Under the present law the Central Government cannot issue any legal orders. We may request the provincial Governments to pass uniform laws in relation to all provinces. That is a very unsatisfactory state of affairs but unfortunately that is the constitutional position. With the approval of the provinces, we propose to come up before the next session of the Constituent Assembly for amending the Constitution and making cotton a centrally regulated commodity. But meanwhile we have suggested to provinces that they should pass cotton licensing orders and believe me it has taken the Central Government nearly three months before all the provinces could be persuaded to pass one kind of law which will be applicable throughout India. My young friend spoke for the Indian States. I quite appreciate his anxiety and enthusiasm but there were States which declined to pass these orders and only after I could get pressure to be put upon them by the States Ministry, they came and passed the orders.

Shri Sita Ram S. Jajoo: I want that there should be no pressure from the States Ministry but your own pressure should be there.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: Sometimes my pressure is not sufficient and Sardar Patel's is necessary. With regard to the provinces, to-day I got a telegram from Pandit Shukla that C.P. has promulgated the licensing order which will come into force from 15th March. Now the various provinces in India and the States have the jurisdiction to requisition cotton from merchants wherever they consider such requisition necessary. But we cannot say that whatever was done, has very much touched the cultivators. Mr. Karimuddin has gone away, but he also shed crocodile tears about the sad plight of cotton cultivators. He also said that production of cotton has gone down because of control order. That is a most amazing statement. It could not have gone down. There was no control previously and then cotton was selling at exorbitant prices. The cotton available now was sown long before the control order was promulgated. I agree with Dr. Deshmukh that before the next session starts, the Government of India must finalise their policy. I intend to invite representatives of provincial governments, also merchants and cultivators so that after a full discussion we may fix a price, a reasonable price, which will be fair to the cultivator, and also will be just to the consumers in the country.

Dr. Deshmukh referred to coal prices. I am sometimes accused of many things. But I never knew till now that the coal prices fixed were benefiting specially Bengal. He may believe me that this is the first time that I learn, that that is the position. I have not fixed the coal prices. They were fixed long ago and on expert report. Now the position is that we have coal prices fixed at certain levels. They are not ceiling prices. There have been representations made to the Government of India with regard to coal for brick-burning—low-grade coal—suggesting that we should sell them at lower prices. There were certain collieries who are prepared to sell the stocks at lower prices. But that represents only about five per cent. of the total coal production of the country. So Dr. Deshmukh should understand—he is not easily misled—that this agitation is going to benefit no large portion of the industry but only five per cent. of it. We have also received representations from the smaller collieries that if we allowed coal to be sold at lower prices, the small collieries would go out of existence. I was at one time in favour of removing the fixed prices and turning them into ceiling prices. We discussed it in the Cabinet, and we decided that it is an unsafe step to take at present, when the whole future of the coal industry is under examination. The present level of prices is under examination. We are rather late in giving effect to the recommendations of the Indian Coal Fields Committee. We must have a National Coal Commission appointed which should be able to take complete charge of the coal industry. This is a matter which cannot be dealt with departmentally. For that purpose legislation is necessary. I am hoping that by the time the next Session of the legislature sits, we shall be able to place before the House a comprehensive Bill to regulate and control the production and distribution of coal in the whole country.

With regard to salt, I know that Mr. Sidhva is an authority on this subject. And without disclosing any secret I may say that I am going to appoint an Advisory Committee on salt and I am going to put Mr. Sidhva on it so that his knowledge and experience may be available not only to this House but to the whole of India. Now, with regard to salt, we have got a zonal scheme of distribution. This has come into effect from 1st January, 1949. This zonal scheme has been undertaken mainly at the request of the Transport Ministry which told us that unless we helped them to rationalise distribution of salt throughout the country, it was impossible for them to help. We consulted all the provinces. I did not want this scheme to come into operation without taking the view-points of the various provinces, and also the States. Practically all of them said that we should go ahead with the scheme. So we have

given effect to it for the last two and a half months. One net result of it is that to-day every day about 80 wagons or more of salt are moving throughout the country than what was the case before the zonal scheme came into operation. It may be that some merchants have been affected, or that there is some accumulation in some areas. But we are watching the situation very carefully, and next time when we revise the scheme, we shall certainly see to it that all the defects in it are removed. If there are large accumulations, say for instance at Dharangdhara or Bombay, some special orders should be issued for their proper distribution. I have not seen the Tuticorin memorial, but if the Tuticorin people are the friends of Mr. Sidhva, I may tell him that much of Tuticorin salt is bad, and people refuse to accept it. That salt ought to be improved. I have said that instead of importing salt, I shall give preference to salt manufactured in India, and we are prepared to do so, provided the salt is acceptable to the consumers. It was remarked that we have not made any progress since last year. In salt alone, I may tell the House that production has increased by more than twenty per cent. from 1947 to 1948, and I thought some appreciation would be forthcoming. But probably the gentlemen do not eat Indian salt and so do not appreciate the result achieved. It is the policy of Government to see that India should be self-sufficient in salt by the year 1951. We are going ahead with our schemes. We have already got two interim reports and I hope to have the final report also ready very soon. Members of the House know that India on an average consumes less salt, than other progressive parts, in the whole world. We used to consume *per capita* 12 lbs. But now we have increased it to about 14 lbs. We hope to supply much more, if the transport position improves.

Some suggestion was made by Mr. Das, "Why not do something for manufacture of salt in Bengal?" Here, I should like to impress one matter on Members of the House. They cannot expect the Government of India to take up every industry throughout the country, either finance it or organise it. On the one hand, there is the cry, do not nationalise. On the other hand, Government are asked to do everything. We cannot have it both ways. Government are prepared to give every possible help. I have told the West Bengal Government that they should set up a concern with the help of experts for the purpose of producing large quantities of salt in Midnapore area. Last time when I was there, I found certain schemes had already been evolved, and I hope something will be done in that respect soon. So far as the States are concerned, I agree that we should be able to give equal treatment to their requirements just as we are doing with regard to the Provinces. In future we will consider the point of view of the States in arranging the allotments. Of course, there are difficulties like transport, and distribution arrangements into the details of which I do not propose to enter here.

One question was raised, and that was about our import and export policy. That is a matter which will be dealt with by my honourable friend the Commerce Minister when the debate on Commerce Budget takes place. But speaking as the Minister in charge of Industry, I would just say one thing. It is the duty of the Government to see that the import policy does not operate in such a way as to hit hard or kill Indian industries. But at the same time, Indian industries will never be able to develop if they continuously desire to rest on artificially restricted imports. Some one mentioned the difficulties of bicycles. So far as bicycles are concerned, I gave the figures some days ago. We produce in India to-day only about ten to twelve per cent. of the total requirement. The prices of imported bicycles are much higher than those manufactured in India. If even then it is said that we should not allow the import of bicycles, that obviously is a matter which it will be very difficult to accept. One other point has been accepted, and the honourable the Commerce Minister will no doubt explain it in greater detail. Whenever any protection is asked for for any industry, it should be referred to the Tariff Board.

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After there is a full enquiry made by the Tariff Board it will be the policy of the Government, wherever possible to act in accordance with such recommendations. If during the interim period it is felt that without waiting for the Tariff Board's recommendation some positive steps should be taken, even then the Commerce Ministry and Industry and Supply Ministry will sit together and consider each case on its merits. We are constantly re-examining and revising the lists and I am sure with the co-operation of the Commerce Ministry we will be able to evolve a system which will be to the good of the industry as a whole.

Shri H. V. Kamath (C.P. and Berar: General): Firstly, may I ask, whether the Hindustan Aircraft Factory, Bangalore is going to work under the joint control and co-ordination of the Industry and Supply and Defence Ministries in view of the importance of aircraft for defence; and secondly, whether there is a proposal to effect economies in this Department by shifting offices like the Directorate of Statistics and similar offices from Simla to Delhi?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: My friend has taken me in one breath from Simla to Bangalore. But I shall try to answer him.

So far as the Hindustan Aircraft factory is concerned, certain useful suggestions were made by Mr. Krishnamoorthy Rao. There was one mistake in his statement.—At present the number of workers who are engaged to-day is not 3,000 but 6,000. We have been able to increase our total output of work and we have been able to engage more hands. We expect to receive larger orders from the railways for the building of railway coaches. We have acted according to programme. I just asked Dr. Matthai, who was then the Railway Minister, whether any announcement was made that 300 coaches would have to be delivered last year. That is not correct. We had orders of 100 only. We manufactured them according to programme. Even now there is some idle capacity left and the question is how to utilise it. One possibility may be that we will allow small industries to grow up in the place, but experts who have visited the factory have spoken against it. They say that our object should not be to start small things and thus compete with others. Our object should be to concentrate on producing aircraft and also some big subsidiary things, like railway coaches. I may tell the House of one scheme which I have in contemplation, namely, the building up of motor-bus bodies. We are in touch with some big manufacturing firms in England, and I believe we shall be able to utilise much of this idle capacity for producing motor-bus bodies and if we get an additional order from the Railway Department, that will absorb much of the idle capacity.

So far as Shri Kamath's question is concerned, there is no question of placing the factory under the joint control of the Defence Ministry and the Industry and Supply Ministry. That factory is now being controlled by a private company, of which the two shareholders are this Government and the Government of Mysore. The representatives of the Government of India are Mr. J. R. D. Tata and myself; and the representative of the Government of Mysore is Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar. There is no question of the Defence Ministry coming in. But we have two technical committees there. We have a committee consisting of representatives of the Railway Ministry, of the Communications Ministry and of the Defence Ministry, who examine the programme which we make and give us a report as to the progress made. Separate to that, we have a special technical committee, represented mainly by the Defence Ministry. In fact, the Defence Ministry has sent a special officer who is sitting there at the factory, and he is watching the progress of the work. They are constantly in touch with its activities and whenever necessary I myself meet the representatives of the Ministries concerned in Delhi. In this way we are trying to co-ordinate our activities.

With regard to the offices in Simla, the office of the Director of Statistics, we have suggested, should be brought down to Delhi because it interferes with our progress of work. The Economy Committee has made a similar recommendation, but there I shall be in the hands of my friend, Shri Gadgil. I shall have to make him agree before it can be accepted.

I shall only say a few words about the point raised by Mr. Sahu. The fact that I called the first meeting of the Cottage Industry Board at Cuttack showed that I was anxious that a smaller province like Orissa should be given prominence. Mr. Sahu complained about want of cloth in Orissa. He may be surprised to know that Orissa is one of the Provinces that has been asking me month after month not to send mill-made cloth.

Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu: I was complaining about imported cloth.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: That is really a factor which does not count. India is producing 4,000 million yards of mill-made cloth and 1,500 million yards of handloom cloth and we are importing only 50 million yards of cloth. So there is no question of imported goods coming in and being dumped to such an extent that our indigenous industry may disappear.

Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu: I was talking of the rehabilitation of the weavers in Orissa.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: So far as that is concerned, I have offered, and I offer here again as much yarn as Orissa may want, which I shall arrange to be sent to Orissa from Coimbatore and other places. But Orissa is not able to absorb more than it can digest.

I shall conclude by saying this. I have heard some compliments from Mr. Mody and also I have heard some compliments from others. But I would like to say that the policy which the Government of India have accepted is not a policy of sacrificing India's economic or industrial interest to any section of the people. We have not sacrificed the interests of the country to the industrialists. Those who spread such statements outside, either do so deliberately or through ignorance. The policy that we have adopted envisages complete and full control by the Government of India with regard to all the important industries in the country. My friend, Mr. Mody, spoke of the draft Bill which has been prepared. It stands to the credit of industrialists like Mr. Mody, Mr. Birla and Lala Shri Ram, and also to Labour leaders like Mr. Khandubhai Desai and Mr. Ashok Mehta whom we invited to get the benefit of their advice, that they felt that in this national crisis it is the Government and the Government alone who should be vested with those wide powers for the good of the people as a whole. When the Bill comes to you, you will see that the powers the Government propose to take are of a drastic nature. No industrialist need be afraid so far as the present Government are concerned. We do not wish to exercise those powers to the detriment of any section of the people provided they play the game. Why is it that the industrialists have a bad name? It is because of the fear which is in the minds of the people that they may profiteer more than they are entitled to do. But today that question of making larger and larger profits is receding into the background. Many industrialists find it difficult to carry on. If Government are satisfied there will be no undue profiteering, and if labour gets what is its due, if a standard of fair wages is adopted, and if production goes up with the mutual co-operation of all, I am sure there will be none in this country who should object to the policy of the Government of India. We are passing through a period of transition which is truly critical. We do feel that the only solution that lies before us is to increase our production. We may talk about inflation, but unless we can produce more and distribute equitably at reasonable prices so that the mass of the people may be benefited, this Government will have no right to exist as a

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Government. We are proceeding towards that end. And with that end in view we venture to ask for the co-operation of all industrialists, labour people belonging to all political organisations and also the public generally. Undoubtedly it is not the Government of India alone that can work miracles. We have to work with the machinery which we have in our hands. That machinery needs remodelling. That machinery is not suited always for exercising those large powers which Government desire to take upon themselves. We have also to work through the machinery of the Provincial Governments. When people talk about control, and about blackmarketing, obviously it does not depend only on the officers of the Government or on Government agencies only. It depends also on the standard of morality and the outlook of the people themselves. If there is a determination on the part of people, whatever their politics may be, to act fairly and justly, if we want to, save this country in this crisis and do not want to see repeated here China, Burma or Malaya, the only way in which we can act is to maintain industrial truce and to carry on vigorously the policy which we have enunciated, which I feel is fair, just and equitable to all concerned and is intended to serve the best interests of our motherland.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23, 57,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Industry and Supply'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,91,95,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Industries and Supplies'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,20, 50,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Salt'."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 10th March, 1949

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) DEBATES

(PART II—PROCEEDING OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

Thursday, 10th March, 1949.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11-45 A.M.

CRIMINAL LAW (REMOVAL OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATIONS) BILL

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (Minister of Home Affairs and the States): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the removal of certain existing discriminations in favour of Europeans and Americans in the criminal law of the Provinces of India.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the removal of certain existing discriminations in favour of Europeans and Americans in the criminal law of the Provinces of India."

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

MERCHANT SHIPPING LAWS (EXTENSION TO ACCEDING STATES AND AMENDMENT) BILL

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy (Minister of Commerce): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, and to provide for the extension of the laws in force in the Provinces of India relating to merchant shipping to Acceding States and for certain other matters.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to amend the Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, and to provide for the extension of the laws in force in the Provinces of India relating to merchant shipping to Acceding States and for certain other matters."

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*contd.*

SECOND STAGE—*contd.*

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up the Demands for Grants in respect of Works, Mines and Power. I shall therefore place those Demands before the House.

DEMAND No. 8.—IRRIGATION (INCLUDING WORKING EXPENSES), NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS MET FROM REVENUE.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,15,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Irrigation (including Working Expenses), Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works met from Revenue'."

DEMAND No. 23.—MINISTRY OF WORKS, MINES AND POWER

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,05,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Works, Mines and Power'."

DEMAND No. 44.—GEOLOGICAL SURVEY

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 36,65,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Geological Survey'."

DEMAND No. 45.—MINES

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,38,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Mines'."

DEMAND No. 69.—CIVIL WORKS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,95,30,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Civil Works'."

DEMAND No. 73.—STATIONERY AND PRINTING

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,88,84,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Stationery and Printing'."

DEMAND No. 99.—DELHI CAPITAL OUTLAY

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,50,50,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Delhi Capital Outlay'."

DEMAND No. 100.—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON CIVIL WORKS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,06,18,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Civil Works'."

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil (Minister of Works, Mines and Power): Mr. Speaker, I am giving as briefly as possible a review of the activities of the Ministry over which I have the honour to preside. I am also giving very briefly what the Ministry proposes to do in the course of the next financial year.

This Ministry is essentially concerned with development, and as such it has to deal with large numbers of men and a large amount of material. This Ministry has a number of sections, such as, the Central P.W.D., the Geological Survey of India, the Indian Bureau of Mines, the Petroleum Division, the Central Electricity Commission, the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission, the Central Board of Irrigation, the Damodar Valley Corporation, and Stationery and Printing. These are some of the main divisions which are under the control of this Ministry. It will be only appropriate if I begin with the Central Public Works Department's activities.

I know, that this Department has somehow or other been associated in the opinions of the public with corruption and occasionally with inefficiency. Having worked in this Department for eighteen months, I can honestly say that to the extent possible for any human being, inefficiency has been largely and substantially curtailed. As regards corruption; I should claim a fair measure of success in putting it down.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar: General): Is it so?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: When we hear all round in the House and outside responsible public men criticising not only the officials but citizens it is a matter for deep consideration, not because it particularly affects a section of the community, but as a matter of fact it is the whole community that is being condemned. Therefore, as I said, as much as was possible in this connection had been done, and if some honourable members in the course of the discussion in the afternoon raise any particular issue or emphasize this, I am prepared to detail the steps that have been taken, and I shall also state what success has followed these measures. But at the same time, I would just appeal to honourable members to consider whether it would be in the best interest of progress to continuously hammer at these people who have been working, most of them honestly and loyally: or whether it would not be better to appeal to their better judgment and their patriotism, and at least occasionally to utter a word of cheer and appreciation, so that they may also enlist their energy and effort in the progress of this country.

I do not want to give full details of what this Department has done, but I will take out two instances in which the Central Public Works Department has distinguished itself very well. I will refer to the construction of sixty-five miles of road from Pathankot to Jammu. It was an achievement and as such it has been appreciated all round not only here in India, but those from abroad who know something about road-building and engineering have also appreciated what the much abused and much maligned Central P.W.D. has done. Out of these sixty-five miles of road, nearly fourteen miles were causeways, bridges and culverts. There were innumerable cuttings: and if I had only to give you some idea, you would be surprised to learn that dozens of special trains were ordered, about 96 bulldozers were working, and at one time 40,000 workmen were employed day and night.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (C. P. and Berar: General): Was not this done only by the Defence Department?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Just wait and see! In this particular task, there was another feature, and very welcome too, namely the co-operation of two Departments. Two companies of the Defence co-operated in the matter of assembling three bridges, but the rest of the work was done by the Central P.W.D. If it is the intention of my honourable friend, Dr. Deshmukh, to take a little from the credit of this Department, I am prepared to make the whole of it as a present to him, because ultimately we work on the principle of collective responsibility.

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Now a high military engineering authority, when I visited this work—and I visited it several times in order to put cheer into our officers and men—told me, 'well' your boys are rather too optimistic and will not be able to complete this work by the 30th June, 1948. I told him that I had ordered them to see that everything was ready and I must get the telegram on the 30th June evening that the car has passed from Pathankot to Jammu and I did get that telegram.

Another example of how things were done fairly, quickly and efficiently was the construction of the Kurukshetra Camp and also the construction of the refugee camp at Jammu. I do not want to give further instances but I am only pleading that if you give the officers a little appreciation they will do much more and in the course of this speech I propose to show that they have done wonderfully well also in other matters.

In the next year's programme the most important matters which this Ministry proposes to undertake are the development of 200 acres of land in the south-west part of New Delhi for allotment to foreign missions in Delhi, laying out of a park and erecting a memorial at Rajghat, a new Telephone Exchange building at Calcutta, Reconstruction work in the Andamans, preliminary work for an alternative road to Kashmir, construction of office and residential accommodation for the new press, the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission and the Central Electricity Commission, which are proposed to be transferred from Delhi and Simla to Nasik, the construction of the building for the Federal Court and additional residential accommodation for members of the Parliament at Delhi.

I know how keen are the members of this House to have fairly good accommodation for themselves. I know that the increase in the number of membership has made it somewhat difficult to find accommodation and good accommodation for all the members. I am quite aware of some inconvenience caused in the matter of maintenance and in the matter of adequate supply of furniture. But all I can tell honourable members at this stage is that as soon as the financial position improves all these complaints will be removed. Apart from this to the best of my ability and to the utmost extent of availability in the matter of accommodation I have given as much satisfaction to honourable members of this House as possible and also to those for whom they occasionally asked for accommodation.

The new construction for the members of this honourable House or rather the successor of this honourable House is based on the assumption that the new constitution will be working early in the year 1951 and the total membership of both the Houses of the Central Legislature would be about 750. For this purpose a new design has been approved, probably it may be called a design based on austerity standards on which all Members are very keen in these days of equality and democracy. I have therefore decided to live up to that ideal, anyway, so far as the houses for members of the legislature are concerned.

In connection with housing innumerable complaints have been made to me about the Estate Office but let me make one point clear, viz., that this Government has not accepted the obligation of giving accommodation to every government servant but short of that all efforts are being made by this Ministry to give accommodation to as many people as possible. At present there are just about 1,600 residential quarters and the number of applicants is 70,000. Before the war the position was with respect to office accommodation that the Central Government offices required just 8 lakhs sq. ft. but in 1948

the figure rose to 60 lakhs sq. ft. The total accommodation now available is just 57 lakhs sq. ft. As regards residential accommodation as I have said already there are at present 1,600 residential quarters and the number of applicants is 70,000. The corresponding figures in 1939 were 700 houses and 1,100 applicants.

The problem now that faces this Ministry on account of this acute situation about accommodation is either it must go ahead with building more or in the alternative remove certain unimportant or subsidiary offices outside
12 Noon New Delhi and the decision of the Government is that those offices which can be conveniently removed from New Delhi may be removed to such places as may be found suitable. In this connection certain places have been visited by our engineers. We have not yet finally come to any conclusion except in regard to three offices which it has been decided to shift to Nasik, which has got a very good climate. Another advantage from the point of view of cost in construction is that in Delhi you have to provide for air-conditioning and central heating, whereas in places like Nasik this expenditure can be avoided.

I have been asked several times the question regarding removing the capital from New Delhi to some other place. All I can say is that the race of Mohammed Bin Tughlak is not yet dead and there are some people who still ask for a change in the capital. But so far as the Government of India is concerned Delhi will continue to be the capital of this country.

An Honourable Member: We want an alternative capital.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Another sentimental appeal was that Delhi has been the grave of several empires.

Shri H. V. Kamath (C. P. and Berar: General): Cradle.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: For my own part I believe that those empires which were based on force and not on the consent of the people have vanished. This State is not only morally but legally based on the consent of the people and as far as I can see it will continue to prosper and prosper.

Shri K. Hanumanthaiya (Mysore State): What about the extremities of climate?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The extreme cold of Delhi in the winter is balanced by its extreme heat in the summer: so that gives a fair balance. Occasionally as a result of these two extremes some people lose their temper but on the whole I think if it has done good during the last thirty-six years it is bound to do good in the future also.

I shall now come to the next activity of this Ministry, the Geological Survey of India. In 1939 there were just 26 officers and now there are 160 officers. How important is this activity is fairly indicated by the fact that several questions are asked every session about this particular department. However, after the 15th August 1947 innumerable enquiries are made of this Ministry and requests have been received from the various provinces and states for surveys of particular areas, quantitative or otherwise. So great is this enthusiasm that very recently I received a letter from a Sadhu telling me that there is a hill called Hemagiri which contained quite a lot of gold and asking me to send an officer to investigate it. Probably the Sadhu was carried away by the name of the hill. On enquiry I found that the hill contained no gold but chalk. However, the point remains that here is an activity which must be expanded. In the United States of America there are 6,000 Geologists doing all sorts of work in the matter of exploration and mining. In Soviet Russia I am told the number is more than 10,000. Compared with that we are far far behind. However, new expansion is contemplated, and if

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the honourable members who are on the Standing Finance Committee take to this kindly and if what has been visualized by my honourable colleague the Finance Minister happens, I have no doubt the expansion will soon be undertaken.

Just to give an idea of what this Department did in the last year, besides attending to the work of geological mapping, the field programme of the Geological Survey of India for the current field season includes 211 special investigations. These relate mainly to prospecting for oil, coal in connection with the synthetic petroleum plant, Gypsum in connection with the Sindri Fertiliser Factory, investigations of dam sites, water supply and underground water, and prospecting for minerals like bauxite, iron ore, copper, graphite, mica etc. In the coming year on account of the increased strength of the Department, the Geological Survey of India will be able to undertake a still larger number of investigations. Although the staff had increased from 26 to 160 in certain branches of this particular Department we have not been able to recruit the right type of men. It is therefore necessary that we must find out foreign experts and some have been recruited on the principle that they will be here for a definite period and on terms which we think are reasonable.

Allied with this, in order to develop further the mineral resources of this country we have constituted very recently the Indian Bureau of Mines. Honourable members of this House know very well that in the matter of minerals the Provinces have got concurrent jurisdiction. In order to have some central policy it was decided a few months ago that central legislation should be undertaken and an Act was passed only last September. The Rules under the Act are being drafted. In fact they are ready, and after consulting the Provincial and State Governments they will be finalised and copies of the same will be laid on the table of the House as required by the provisions of the said Act. This Bureau has several functions from collection of statistics and giving information to laying down policy and giving direction, so that our position with respect to this will improve. I may mention to the House that roughly we can divide minerals into four categories: firstly in which we have a sort of world monopoly, secondly in which our minerals can stand a fair competition in the world market, thirdly in which we are self-sufficient, and fourthly in which we have to depend upon foreign imports. About 53 per cent. I am told, of the imports that we receive in this country are from materials which we send abroad. Here is a proposition worth considering. When we lay down a policy it must be such that instead of sending raw materials abroad and importing finished and processed commodities it would be far better that we should develop corresponding industries in this country so that export trade of manufactured articles will increase. In short this Bureau will supply the necessary information, guidance and direction for other Departments as well as for Provinces and States. In connection with this activity this Ministry has also to look after the Indian School of Mines and Applied Geology at Dhanbad. Originally the intake of boys here was just twenty four. We went into this question, appointed a Committee, and the Committee recommended sixtyfour. Immediately we have arranged to take forty-eight and the classes have already started. Here again there has been some difficulty in recruiting the right type of men, and with great difficulty we have succeeded. Our greatest headache is that we cannot offer more than what has been recommended by the Central Pay Commission and the Finance Department very rightly would not allow us to do that, with the result that private concerns and even private colleges and educational institutions compete in this field. As it happens in many of the cinema companies where the stars are abducted from one company to another it has happened

in the case of some of the institutions conducted by the Government also. Here is a proposition worth considering whether there should not be uniformity of pay scales not only in the Governments of Provinces and the Centre but also in private enterprises if we have already accepted the principle of controlling the activities of many of the industries.

In this connection I might state that there is what is known as the Petroleum Division. This division was started during war time and it has continued up till now, and it is necessary that it should continue hereafter also. This division deals with the supply of petrol and petroleum products. We have done our best to secure adequate supply, but there are difficulties such as the non-availability of dollars. But more than that the present position is that we will have enough supply although our demand in this has increased nearly by ninety per cent. in relation to our demand before the war. The only difficulty is about transport. Here again with the co-operation of the Transport Ministry a plan has been drawn by which in the course of the coming eight or ten months about 200 tank wagons from Canada and other countries and about 300 locally manufactured ones will be in commission. When that is done there will be no complaint about inadequacy of supply.

Another small activity of the Ministry is the Explosives Department. I do not think I should take the time of the House with that.

The next of the most important activities is the Central Electricity Commission. Formerly there was the Electricity Commissioner and the Central Technical Power Board. They were combined into one and the present organisation is the Central Electricity Commission. This Commission has to advise the various Governments on the administration of electricity legislation, to assist Provincial and State Governments in the investigation, survey and preparation of schemes, to prepare when required by the Central Government project reports outlining electric power development schemes and to execute them if so directed, to review and lay down for the whole of India standard voltages and practices for generation, transmission and distribution of electrical energy, to conduct experiments researches and propaganda, to collect, maintain and publish statistical data.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Would it not save the time of the House if those matters which are detailed in this Report are not repeated by the honourable Minister? I think that will give some more time for the other honourable members to speak.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: That is a good suggestion if the assumption that it has been read by all the members of the House is correct. If the honourable Dr. Punjabrao has been as attentive as he apparently seems to be he would have found that a considerable portion of the matters referred to by me in my speech is not covered by this Report.

This Central Electricity Commission does planning and looks after utilization and also the commercial aspect. Everybody is aware that if India is to industrialise more and more, what is needed most is power, and if power is needed there must be some organisation commissioned with the work of direction and research, and planning and execution, wherever necessary. This is exactly the function the Central Electricity Commission is expected to perform. In the course of the last year, Central Electricity Commission did work for the Damodar Valley Corporation and many other projects but what is more important is that two schemes prepared by the Central Electricity Commission in the matter of rural electrification have received approval all round. One is for the C.P. and Berar, for the progress of which I think Dr. Punjabrao is greatly interested.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Yes, Sir.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I may point out to him that an area of 1,608 sq. miles containing 800 villages with a population of 9 lakhs will be covered by this scheme which has been accepted by the Central Provinces and Berar Government. Another scheme which was prepared for Assam has been now finally revised and accepted. This will cover 57 towns and important villages in an area of 1,209 sq. miles. It will cost Rs. 45 lakhs initially and Rs. 110 lakhs by the end of the construction. This is what has been done so far as rural electrification is concerned.

Load surveys have also been undertaken and the honourable members of this House know very well that unless there is some plan and some co-ordination there is bound to be lopsidedness one way or the other. So, in order to take a review of the whole position, very recently a conference of power engineers was called and this wider question was thoroughly gone into. We visualized what will be available and what will be the kind of material available, and in terms of resources and technical skill a concrete plan has been drawn so that whatever is uneconomic will be avoided and whatever will be most paying and most urgent will be undertaken.

Another activity of this Department is what is carried on by the Central Waterways Irrigation and Navigation Commission. The honourable members of the House know very well that this organisation is of very recent growth but in the course of the last two or three years I should say unhesitatingly that it has done very good work. Not only does it carry out preliminary investigations, but in one case—in the case of Mahanadi and the Hirakud Dam—it has undertaken the construction of the whole project on behalf of the Orissa Government. I also understand that the Government of Bombay proposes to engage this organisation for the construction of a barrage near Surat and some other projects. These matters are under consideration.

The main line of activity of this organisation is that we go on investigating several projects. When the investigations are complete and the stage for construction has come, those projects are taken which can be adequately financed and the whole idea is that at no time should the country find that it has money but no plans are ready. Investigations are going on continuously. I may inform the honourable House that at present there are nearly twelve projects which are under investigation and the idea is that no Province should be left without a fairly big project. Fortunately for us, the river system in this country is so well dispersed that there is no area which cannot be reached by some appropriate project near about. How huge, our potentialities are may be guessed from the fact that today out of the water resources available, we only use 6 per cent. If some of these schemes which are under construction and which are under investigation are completed in the course of the next 20 or 25 years India will be producing 40 million K. W. of power. Today India produces a little less than 2 million K. W. and out of this nearly 50 per cent. is absorbed by four towns.

Shri B. L. Sondhi (East Punjab: General): In the report you say the total production is half a million K. W.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I am talking about both hydro and thermal power. The figure half a million refers to Hydral power.

Nearly half of the present power production is absorbed by industries and people living in the four towns of Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Calcutta and Bombay. Our idea is that in the future development, the needs of the rural areas must

be given their due share. If as I said all the schemes which are now under construction and investigation are completed, they will be generating 40 million K. W. of power and all these schemes are multi-purpose schemes—water will be available for irrigation, and I think we will be in a position not only to supply enough food even for the growing population of this country, but also we will be in a position to export.

As regards some other schemes such as the Rampadsagar, there has been some criticism in this House. I can only say at this stage that it is not the intention to delay any one of them indefinitely but as soon as the financial position improves those schemes which do not give quicker results but which are ultimately beneficial—on that there is no dispute—will be undertaken.

As regards the Damodar Valley Project which is entirely managed by the Damodar Valley Corporation, I will briefly state that considerable progress has been made. An order for 2,00,000 K.W. Thermal plant has been placed. Designs for the construction of 3 dams, Tilaiya, Konar and Maithan are fairly complete. Preliminary engineering work is also going ahead. Some road survey and other matters have also been completed. Geological survey of a considerable portion has also been made and reports submitted. On the whole, I think things are moving as expected and as has been said very often, this scheme will be completed within the scheduled time.

Another activity is about printing and stationery. Government of India has five Presses. The work has increased so much and especially when the Constituent Assembly or this honourable House is sitting, the work is so much that we have to take help of private presses. In fact, last year work to the extent of Rs. 24 lakhs was placed with the private presses. However, in order to cope with the increase in work, new press machinery has been ordered and we are getting delivery of the same part by part. It has been decided to locate this Press at Nasik.

That sums up the activities of this Ministry. This is just a prosaic account. I know that what has been achieved may not be much in relation to what has been aspired. However, I should say the achievement is a fair dividend on effort undertaken. (*Prof. N. G. Ranga: 'Question'*). There is more in promise than in performance. I do not want to overstate the activities, but at the same time, it would leave me sad if what my Ministry has done is not appreciated. This is the Department connected with the development of power for industry, water for irrigation and employment all round. When the Mahanadi project is completed, it will be the incoming of *Mahalakshmi* in that province. When the Damodar Valley Project is completed, it will not be Bihar alone that will be prosperous, but I always believe and I have always believed that prosperity is indivisible. When at last these two schemes and the Nangal and Bhakra schemes in Punjab are completed, I have no doubt the whole economy of this country will change. With the experience that we have gathered in the past, with the efforts that we are making in the present, and the high aspirations for the future—when they are all combined, I have no doubt we will give you the results that you expect of this Ministry. Sir, I have done.

Shri B. Das (Orissa: General): Sir, out of evil cometh good. The Atlantic Charter, though it was drawn up by Roosevelt and Churchill, though it is not a recognised Charter and is dead politically, it gave birth to the policy of Western countries including America and England particularly, how they would exploit Asian countries, how Asia would produce the raw materials and England and America would supply capital goods and luxury goods. That was the conception of 1945, but in 1946 the then bureaucratic government here created two Ministries, one the Ministry of Works, Mines and Power and the

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other the Ministry that we discussed yesterday,—Ministry of Industry and Supply. They will add to the prosperity of this country if both the Ministries properly work in the spirit which my friend the honourable Mr. Gadgil envisaged.

Sir, it has been talked often in the lobbies that the honourable Member's Ministry should be known as Ministry of Fuel and Power and the other one should be known as the Industries Ministry, not Industry and Supply Ministry, because supply has a bad odour during the years from 1943 to 1946. Whether my honourable friend's Ministry is known as the Ministry of Fuel and Power or as Works, Mines and Power, it has the supreme control to co-ordinate all our resources in power—water power, coal power or fuel oil power—it has also the control of the Geological Department and Mining Bureau whereby those resources may be worked not for the benefit of foreign exploiters but for our own benefit. In the past, the name of the Geological Survey stank in our noses, because everything that was discovered was known first in England and decades afterwards Indians had to know it. Today, it will serve one great purpose, namely, how India's resources can be utilised for the prosperity of India.

My honourable friend is in charge of Corporations and multi-purpose schemes. I thank him for mentioning that *Mahalakshmi* will spread in my province of Orissa when the Mahanadi Valley Project is completed. But I have to offer some criticism; some diffidence on the part of the public exist about the rate at which the grand ideas are coming out from his Ministry every now and then and the slow way these are being given effect to.

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao (one of the Panel of Chairmen.)]

All ideas are good. Multi-purpose projects are good. But at the same time I hope that they will be executed properly, economically and efficiently to scheduled time so that some benefit will accrue to the general public to which my honourable friend and I belong. Twenty five years is no attraction to me, or that twenty five years hence India will export food outside has no charm.

I will refer mainly to certain financial aspects of the budget of this Ministry: In the explanatory memorandum of my honourable friend Dr. John Matthai, one line gave me cause for alarm. In reviewing the position of expenditure on Printing and Stationery Department, he says that while the Budget estimates on purchase of paper alone was rupees one hundred and eighty five lakhs the revised estimate is Rs. 314 lakhs. I am a little confused. My honourable friend the Finance Minister has provided that rupees one hundred and ninety lakhs will be spent on purchase of paper in the next year (1949-50). This inflated expenditure of paper is no doubt due to the inflated staff in the Secretariat. If you reduce the strength of the staff you will consume less paper and other articles of stationery.

While I am on this subject I would like to refer to page 218 on the Final Estimates where provincial recoveries are not shown under Stationery. Recovery was estimated at 143 lakhs and it grew into 181 lakhs. In the coming year it has been estimated to be 139 lakhs. This figure does not include somehow the provincial withdrawals on the Central Government. This leads one to think that the extra expenditure on paper—the huge sum of one crore and fifteen lakhs—is due to the lack of proper control in all the Departments of Government. While I congratulate my friend the honourable Mr. Gadgil

that he is going to have a Central Printing Press at Nasik, I must say that I see no reason why every Ministry should have a pocket printing press. All printing and publication should be centralised. While the Information and Broadcasting Department has its own printing establishment the Agricultural Ministry is utilising the whole machinery of the Survey of India at Delhi and Dehra Dun for printing in lithographic numerous publications and statistics. If all printing is done under one agency there would be great saving under this head.

The Statistical Department of the Government of India is not centralised and therefore each Ministry brings out its own statistics to suit its own purpose. I will discuss this issue in detail and various other aspects of over-budgetting and multiplication of expenditure when the House will discuss the Ministry of Finance on the 16th instant.

Regarding the Damodar Valley Corporation, I would say it is a bold conception. But I must point out that the way the details of expenditure have been furnished is unhelpful. You have not shown the progress of expenditure in the current year. We have got a Financial Adviser there. But as he came from Burma he does not know the manner in which financial control is being exercised in India. This Damodar Valley Corporation finances should not be compared with that of the Railway Board. Accounts of the Railway Board are properly maintained and audited and we have full financial control over the Railway expenditure. I hope in the next year's Budget details of the progress of expenditure on Damodar Valley will be shown.

I come next to the Delhi Central Electric Power Authority Corporation. This history of these corporations is interesting. When the old bureaucrats realised that we were going to get political power, they somehow managed to have corporations of this kind started in order to be outside our financial control. As the report shows, they paid 82 lakhs for taking over dilapidated assets and forming that corporation with a capital of two crores of rupees. The Government issued bonds and stocks over two crores, but the management did not come into the hands of the Government completely and the Parliament exercises no control. I was surprised to find in the Balance Sheet of 1948 that there is a cash balance of seventy lakhs of the Corporation lying with the Imperial Bank. That cash balance does not merge into the General cash balance of the Government.

In this respect I must congratulate the honourable Minister for Works, Mines and Power who has provided under Section 29 of the Damodar Valley Corporation Act that funds advanced to the Corporation should be deposited in the Reserve Bank. The result is that any cash balance merges into the general balances of the Government. Let me quote, "Incidentally, as provided for in Section 29 of the Act, this whole amount was deposited with the Reserve Bank of India in a personal ledger account operated in accordance with the needs of the Corporation so that, under this arrangement, the benefit of the undrawn balance accrues to the Government". This is not the case with cash balance of Delhi Central Electricity Corporation. Government derive no benefit from this huge cash balance nor our ways and means budget is benefited. The Finance Ministry must examine this anomaly and end it. All cash balances of such Corporations, State Industries must merge into Government cash balance. Referring again to the Delhi Electric Supply Corporation I would suggest to the honourable Minister to appoint a high power committee to examine the assets thereof. I am certain that the assets have been overvalued purposely to pay huge sums to the European management concerned.

Delhi and New Delhi are the constituency of Shri Deshbandhu Gupta. New connections for the supply of electricity are difficult to get here. The Chief Commissioner does not allow new connections on the ground that

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no power is available. But if you take a stroll into Connaught Place one evening you will find the numerous shops almost flood-lit with hundreds of powerful lights all round. The New Delhi streets are over-illuminated. I would suggest that if this wastage of electricity is stopped in an emergency like this, a lot of supply can be made available for household purposes. I hope my honourable friend will consider this suggestion.

Sir, I had hoped that my honourable friends the Minister for Works, Mines and Power, and the Minister for Finance will sit together and devise ways of controlling corporations of the type I have named and also the Hindustan Air Craft Factory at Bangalore and the other State Industries controlled by the Ministry of Industry and Supply, it may be possible to reduce our borrowings.

Sir, I am not satisfied with the progress of expenditure in the Capital Budget of the Central P. W. D. on their multi-purpose projects. I congratulate the Minister for saying that the officers are honest. I cannot understand why the progress of expenditure has not been shown in the Budget. The Budget for huge expenditure every year and get financial sanction which they do not utilise. I know that the Central P. W. D. does work for the other Ministries such as External Affairs, Tribal Areas, Industry and Supply and so on. But I wonder why they provide for works in the Budget when they have neither the material nor the requisite staff to execute such works during the budget year. We have no method of carrying forward balances of capital programme in building till next year. Such over-budgetting, whether capital or revenue, must cease and should be in future carefully examined in the Ministry of Finance. The only State Industry, the Ministry of Works, Mines and Power is concerned is the hiring out of certain electrical plants held in stock. I hope that such war time activities and war time ideas should be closed up so that if there is any war in the near future, we may have at least scope of free start.

Shri Kala Venkata Rao (Madras: General): Sir, I rise to support the demands moved by the honourable Minister. In a country like India in which we mainly depend upon agriculture, water is the primary need. It is said that in the world there is a race between food and growth of population and that population is winning and that food is losing. It is particularly more so in India. We have heard in this House many complaints about the need to have more food and grow more food in this country. We cannot achieve that object, unless we husband all our water resources in this country. According to the estimates, there are as many as 51 billion cubic feet of surface water flowing in this country and we are hardly using 6½ billion cubic feet of water out of that source. Therefore, I feel, Sir, that we should concentrate upon this subject if we wish that this country should prosper. Our aim should be two fold: one is that we should conserve all our water resources and put them to the beneficial use of society; the second is that we should repair and maintain the existing irrigation works in a manner that full benefit flows out of them. I am very glad to learn from the honourable the Minister that attempts are being made today to see that both these things are being done.

I must say that we should have a target and a working plan. In order to achieve both these objects, I would suggest that the old idea about irrigation projects must be given the go-by. What I mean by that is this. Till recently, the idea was that no irrigation work should be undertaken unless the return therefrom would be equal to the interest normally earned on Government paper. That is, unless any work yields out of its proceeds the market rate of the Government bonds, such a work should not be undertaken. But, now, Sir, I am very

glad that this policy is being gradually changed in all the provinces, particularly in Madras. I do hope that this is the policy of the Central Government also. Not only should we calculate the return on the investment, but we should also base our future plans on the possible benefit that will accrue out of that irrigation work to the society at large in the locality and to the country. On this basis, I think three criteria should guide our plans. Firstly the work should be able to give a normal supply to the area which it is envisaged to irrigate. Secondly, the soil in the vicinity must be amenable to the cultivation of wet crops; thirdly, the quantity of food raised on account of the construction of this work must be commensurate with the outlay. If these three points are satisfied, we may undertake that particular irrigation work and I hope that the honourable Minister will take this suggestion into consideration.

The honourable Minister has painted a rosy picture about the Damodar Valley Corporation, the Hirakud Dam, and a number of other projects which are being investigated just now. In this connection, I would like to lay stress on one aspect, namely that the "quicker results test" which is being applied by the honourable Minister should not be the only test that ought to be applied in such cases. I would like to illustrate my point by quoting the situation in Madras with which I am very familiar. In Madras, we have got three sets of irrigation schemes. One set is, the small schemes which number 300 of which 100 have already been sanctioned, for which we have to spend six or seven crores of Rupees. The Second set consists of the mid-term schemes which number 23, some of which are in progress, for which we have to spend 40 crores in the next five or ten years. The third set consists of the river valley schemes, the Tungabhadra, the lower Bavani, The Rampadasagar and the Krishna Pennar projects. In spite of the Grow More Food campaign and the crores of Rupees we have invested in the small schemes in order to get quicker results, I may state that we could bring under the plough under these schemes, only four lakhs of acres of land which are yielding only two lakhs of tons of paddy. Therefore, I say, if famine is to disappear from this country, if our population is to have nutritive food, we should also tackle simultaneously not only those quick result schemes, but also the long term river valley schemes. The other day, the honourable Minister said that for the Ramapadasagar scheme, it will take 19 years to complete. That is really so; I do not disagree with him. But, when is the first year to begin? Why not begin today? If we begin today, the results will be coming in at the end of 19 years. If we begin in 1955, the results will come only in 1974. Therefore I plead that these small schemes, the mid-term schemes and the long term schemes should be simultaneously undertaken. In this connection I would like to state that we are not going to meet these investments from out of the current revenues. The honourable Dr. John Matthai cannot provide the requisite amount from out of the revenue budget. It is impossible even in 1955 to provide the requisite amount from the revenue budget. Therefore, the amount must come from out of the capital budget. Capital budget means borrowing. I say why should we not borrow more and invest on these schemes. Then comes the other question as to whether we are not adding to the inflation in the country by doing so. This is a vicious circle.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai (Minister of Finance): Whether we can borrow at all.

Shri Kala Venkata Rao: That depends on the capacity of the Government. If India is so poor as she is not able to borrow at all, then, that is a different matter. We feel there is scope for borrowing. If the honourable Minister feels that there is no scope for borrowing, the whole developmental scheme which the honourable Mr. Gadgil has pictured to us will also fail. If there

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is scope for borrowing, my submission, is, do borrow and do invest because this would be a good sop for inflation itself. More production means less inflation. I think that the 1,200 crores of Rupee notes now in circulation in this country is not real inflation. In a country of this vastness and resources, we must have a circulation of not 1,200 crores, but 12,000 crores. More production means more wealth and not more notes. I know Dr. Matthai can order the printing of 400 crores of notes more and create more projects. But, if along with the printing of the notes, production also increases, it is not at all inflation. It is one of those important things in which we have to take a certain amount of risk, if we have to survive. Therefore, I would like to impress on the honourable Minister for Works, Mines and Power to look into this aspect in a broader perspective, have for a target more schemes and try to put them into operation and begin them in the near future so that the results may flow not only quickly, but more quickly and most quickly.

Then Sir, I would like to plead something more for these river valley schemes. The T. V. A. scheme which was the mother of all these conceptions was thought of at a time of repression when coffee seeds were being burnt and when wheat was being burnt in America but now we are in a different position. We have to produce more and more. Therefore all those schemes which integrate flood control, navigation and hydro-electricity must be given priority. I am glad that the Damodar Valley Project is now under way. In this connection I must plead for the Ramapadasagar Scheme about which the honourable Minister just now mentioned. It is a huge project. After all we know our deficit and unless some such big project comes into vogue, there is no scope of preventing famine and want in this country. For the Ramapadasagar Scheme the dam will have 234 ft. depth at bed level and it will rise 192 ft. above the river bed and the lake will be spreading over 587 sq. miles. It will be very useful. Not only will it produce food in about 1½ million new acres of land, but it will also give sufficient water to the existing areas in the Godavari Delta and Krishna Delta. If you give more water to the Godavari Delta then our produce will increase, by more than twenty-five per cent. From any point of view there is no point in postponing this scheme. It will solve the food problem of Madras and therefore I would very much impress upon the honourable Minister to undertake this at an early date.

Now I would like to mention only one more point about irrigation and that is about the Tungabhadra Project. It has been mentioned more than once that it will be finished in 1952. It is not going to be finished because that great engineer of Hyderabad who was in charge of it did not worry about laying bricks but he was busy with manufacture of arms for Hyderabad State till recently. Unless the Minister uses his whip hand from here, it will not be possible to continue the work on this dam. Therefore I would very much request the minister to look to it and realise that unified control alone will result in the early realisation of this scheme.

Regarding development of electricity, I feel that electricity alone will be able to change the whole organisation of technique of industry in this country. It will be useful in a number of ways. I would like to say that out of the 8356 million k.w. of energy that is available about sixty-three per cent. goes to industry and 3.73 per cent. only for irrigation. We have to make power more available for irrigation purposes.

The Electricity Act, of 1948, seeks to create a Provincial Electricity Board. In Madras we have invested ten crores in electrical undertakings and under the existing working schemes we have to invest twenty crores more. We are far

advanced towards nationalisation. That Board should not be made compulsory but Madras should have the option to proceed in its own way because it has already invested crores into the electricity producer concerns. Another thing is, Madras has sent here a bill about purchase of private licenses which number about 42 and whose capital is 2 crores. I know that many of these are rotten concerns and are not able to cater to the requirements of their localities even. Therefore I would request you to give favourable consideration to that bill and give your concurrence. As it is a concurrent subject and they want concurrence, I would again request you to examine this question in detail and see that it is concurred to, so that Madras may proceed further with its developmental schemes.

You want to establish a Heavy-power production Plant. I have to press the case of Avadi in Madras. The essential raw materials, needed for the electric products like mica, rubber, silk etc. are nearby at hand. There is and will be a very good local market for all your products.

One thing more. In former days politicians were getting votes by simply promising a post-office here or there. To-day we have to promise a new world and really we are out to create a new world in India because our Great leader promised Ram Rajya to this country. We have to achieve that ideal and have to create happiness for the crores of people in our country. We will have to work very hard for this purpose and must have a target and plan. I do hope, that the Honourable Mr. Gadgil, who is now practically the dynamo working here, will use a well planned high pressure drive and see that electricity, irrigation and navigation will prosper in this country and thus make this nation a self-sufficient one.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half-Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

Shri Arun Chandra Guha (West Bengal: General): The demand for this Ministry covers a wide range of activities. It has so many ramifications and branches, that it is something like a labyrinth for a new man like myself. Sir, there is an adage that "Charity begins at home" and in keeping with that I should like my criticism to begin with things at home. That brings me to the housing accommodation with which in addition to the members of the general public, as Members of the House we are also interested. After the war it has become a problem all over the world but in India we see the problem has become so acute that it has become something like a national scandal. In the report of the Ministry it is stated that in the Centrally administered areas, and perhaps in Delhi alone, there are 70,000 applicants on the waiting list, and their accommodation is only for 16,000. If, Sir, this is the position, I think I need not say anything more on this point. This figure itself reveals the whole picture.

As for our own accommodation, apart from the paucity of accommodation, the little amenities that are provided in our accommodation are very niggardly supplied. Even an electric bulb when fused cannot be replaced even in weeks or in a month's time and that after repeated reminders.

The honourable Minister himself has admitted that the Central P.W.D. or the P.W.D. in general has not much of a reputation as regards efficiency, and integrity also. But I am ready to accept the assurance of an honoured colleague like Mr. Gadgil that this department is coming out of that stigma, and I hope he will be able to clean the Augean Stable and put it in good order. But, Sir, I must endorse the statement of the Minister that in spite of its drawbacks and its reputation for slow movement, this department deserves our

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heartily congratulations for the way in which they have completed the Jammu-Pathankot road, and the way in which they have completed the refugee camps. I should say that really this department has shown some quickness and some efficiency which is not generally associated with this department in these two matters. I hope, therefore, that they will maintain this reputation in other matters also.

In this connection, Sir,—perhaps that may not belong to this department—I should also mention another road, the road on the Zo-Jila Pass, over 12,000 ft. high. It was really an engineering and military feat, for which this Government deserves hearty congratulations from the country and from the House. In the Defence Budget debate that item ought to have been mentioned and whether it be the Defence or the Public Works Department that is concerned I give my congratulations to this Government for that piece of work also.

Then, Sir, as regards the general development of the country, much depends on this department. Its sphere of activities starts from supplying some harmless articles like stationery, paper, pens, ink and adhesives to the control of high explosives. It has within its jurisdiction irrigation works, controlling and marshalling of water power as well as furnishing furniture and printing. To start with the most harmless thing, printing, I endorse what my honourable friend Mr. B. Das has mentioned, that all printing of the Government of India should be put under one department. It would save a lot of overhead charges on behalf of the Government of India. It may not be within the jurisdiction of the Minister for Works, Mines and Power, but I hope the honourable Minister for Finance will take note of this so that each Department may not have printing arrangements of its own but there should be one printing department for the whole of the Government of India. The chief activity of this ministry centres round what is called the CWINC of course not the famous ink by that name. It is shorter form of the Central Waterways Irrigation and Navigation Commission. This department is in charge of a very important section of our national life. In the post war or post-independence reconstruction of this country, this Department is invested with a responsibility which is unparalleled and which no other department of the Government has in its jurisdiction. The natural resources of the country should be utilised and exploited and that depends practically entirely on this Department.

As regards our food supply there has been a debate recently and almost every day the food questions come up in a large number in the House during the question hour. Day before yesterday during question hour there were 22 questions regarding food and agriculture and I was rather sympathetically looking at the honourable the Food Minister when he was answering series of questions and innumerable supplementaries. The food problem cannot be solved unless we can improve our irrigation, unless we can control and marshal our water powers and unless we can electrify the country. For electricity there is another body under this department. It is called the Central Electricity Commission. I do not know what is the utility of having so many separate bodies. I think the Minister might look into it. I do not know if the Economy Committee set up by the Government have considered the question of having so many separate departments, which means extra overhead charges for every one of these boards and commissions.

Shri B. L. Sondhi: Do you want amalgamation of this? With what department?

Mr. Speaker: The honourable Member should address the Chair.

Shri B. L. Sondhi: I am addressing the Chair, Sir.

Shri Arun Chandra Guha: After the Russian Revolution there was a famous saying of Lenin, that Soviet *plus* electrification is Communism. That was a slogan given by him simply to stimulate the work of electrification. I should say that similarly for our Government, electrification should be the first charge or responsibility.

I now come to the Damodar Valley Corporation. The budget that has been supplied to us is too vague. That body has been set up as an autonomous body and it should be allowed to work as such but at the same time the Act has provided ample scope for control and supervision by the Central Government. The budget that has been supplied to us should have contained more details. This autonomous body should be allowed to work as quickly as possible, so that the country may derive the benefit of the money that the nation is going to invest in it as quickly as possible.

I must say something about my own province of West Bengal, which is the most industrialised province in India and it is so much over-populated that it has to be industrialised still more, if it is to maintain its population. Its density of population now is 800 per square mile and there are possibilities of its industrial development, which this Department can undertake. The Ganga Barrage should receive better attention of the department. The partition of India has not only partitioned the country but has partitioned our rivers also. Almost all the rivers of India that is in northern India have become international rivers. The fear that Pakistan may intervene and come in should not deter us from exploiting the resources of these rivers. Ninetyfour per cent. of the water flowing down these rivers go to waste and only six per cent. is used for irrigation and other purposes. Then in the Duars side there are immense possibilities for exploitation of mineral resources. I think the Minister should have a geological survey conducted there soon.

In this connection I might mention some of the tribal areas of Assam also.

As regards electrification, rural and urban, from my experience in Calcutta I would draw the attention of the Government to the fact that the suburban railways in Calcutta should be electrified so that the congestion in Calcutta would be relieved. With more electrification there would be proper industrial development of Calcutta and West Bengal also.

With these few remarks I commend the sanction of these Demands.

चौधरी रणवीर सिंह : सभापति महोदय, हमने अपने देश को हमारे माननीय नेता, महात्मा गांधी जी की लीडरशिप में लड़ते हुए आजाद कराया था। इसलिये उनका ध्येय हमें हमेशा अपने सामने रखना चाहिये। वह हमेशा डीसेंट्रलाइजेशन के हक में रहे। वह पावर या इकानामिक पावर के एकीकरण के खिलाफ रहे और कांग्रेस के झंडे के अन्दर जो चर्खा है वह भी डीसेंट्रलाइजेशन का प्रतीक है। सभापति महोदय, हमारे नेता पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू और सरदार वल्लभ भाई पटेल ने हमारे देश के रास्ते में जो बड़े बड़े पहाड़ व रोड़े थे उनको साफ कर दिया है। हमारे देहात में एक मिसाल है कि जब कोई खेत बोया जाता है तो उस खेत के बोने से पहले उसमें सूड़ करना होता है यानी कूड़ा करकट को साफ करना होता है। हमारे देश के रास्ते में बहुत सारा कूड़ा करकट था। सरदार वल्लभ भाई पटेल ने उसको साफ कर दिया। लेकिन हमारे देश का भविष्य और

[चौधरी रणवीर सिंह]

हमारे देश की तरक्की हमारे आनरेबिल मंत्री श्री गाडगिल जी के महकमे के हाथ में है। उनका महकमा बेसिक महकमा है, वह हिन्दुस्तान की तरक्की के लिये बुनियादी महकमा है। अगर हमें बापूजी के सवक को कार्य रूप में लाना है, तो हमें इस बात की तरफ ध्यान देना होगा, जिस की तरफ कि आज प्रातः हमारे मंत्री महोदय ने थोड़ा सा इशारा भी किया था, अर्थात् रूरल इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन। जिस वक्त उन्होंने रूरल इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन के बारे में कहा कि हमें उसको इम्पार्टेंस देना चाहिये तो मैंने उस वक्त अपनी जगह से एक आवाज लगाई कि यह टाप-प्रायरिटी की चीज होनी चाहिये।

आपने देखा होगा कि हमारे मंत्री जी के कार्य के बारे में जो कागज दिये गये हैं उनके अन्दर एस्टेट आफिस का एक महकमा दिया गया है और उसमें बतलाया गया है कि कितनी हजार एप्लीकेशन्स गवर्नमेंट सरवेंट्स की उनके पास अभी तक बाकी हैं जिनके लिये वह कोई मकान का इन्तजाम नहीं कर पाये हैं। यह मसला रोज दिन ब दिन बढ़ता जाता है। मगर इसका कोई हल है तो यही है कि देहात का इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन किया जाय और देहात के अन्दर बहुत रेजीडेंशियल हाउसेज हों। आज लोग देहात में क्यों नहीं जाना चाहते, क्योंकि न तो वहां बिजली है और न पानी का नलका है। अगर दिल्ली के देहात में श्री आनरेबिल गाडगिल साहब बिजली का इन्तजाम कर दें तो यहां के गवर्नमेंट सरवेंट्स की जो प्राब्लेम है, मकान की, वह उनके सामने बाकी नहीं रहेगी। वरना गवर्नमेंट को उनके लिये मकान बनाने पड़ेंगे और बड़ा भारी खर्चा उनको इसके लिये उठाना पड़ेगा। अगर रूरल इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन हो जाय तो हर एक गवर्नमेंट सरवेंट दिल्ली के देहात में जाकर बसना पसन्द करेगा क्योंकि वहां जीवन इतना कीमती नहीं है जितना की शहर के अन्दर कीमती है। तो इसलिये मैं रूरल इलेक्ट्रिफिकेशन के लिये अपनी पुरजोर मांग करते हुए इसके साथ ही साथ आगे जो दूसरी चीजें मंत्री महोदय के हाथ में हैं उनकी ओर ध्यान दिलाता हूं।

यह देश एक कृषि प्रधान देश है और कृषि प्रधान देश के लिये नहरें बहुत जरूरी हैं, खास तौर पर ऐसे प्रदेश में जहां पर कि बारिश बहुत थोड़ी हो, राजपूताना और नारदन इंडिया में इनकी खास तौर पर जरूरत है। मैं ईस्ट पंजाब का रहने वाला हूं। एक वक्त था कि हमारा प्रान्त तमाम देश में अनाज देता था। लेकिन जब देश में आजादी आई तो बदकिस्मती से हमारे प्रान्त की तकसीम हुई और हमारे प्रान्त का जो गेहूं देने वाला इलाका था वह पाकिस्तान में गया। अब अगर आप चाहते हैं कि देश के १३० करोड़ रुपया सालाना अनाज के लिये दूसरे देशों में

न भेजे जायें तो उसका हल एक यही है कि आप इरीगेशन प्रोजेक्ट्स को ज्यादा से ज्यादा तरक्की दें। पिछले सालों में बड़ा जोर था और बड़ी बड़ी स्कीमें देश के सामने रखी गयी थीं। लेकिन मुझे डर है कि जिस वक्त उन स्कीमों का वक्त आया तो हमारे दूसरे भाई, जिनको दर असल आगे चल कर फायदा होता, उन्होंने उसके खिलाफ आवाज उठाई कि देश के अन्दर इनफ्लेशन के कारण बलबे हो जावेंगे और इस तरह डरा कर इरीगेशन की स्कीम में बहुत हद तक सुस्ती पैदा कर दी। अगर देश को दर असल किसी चीज की जरूरत है तो वह इरीगेशन स्कीम्स की है और देश में सही मानों में फूड प्राडक्ट्स और खुराक ही की कमी दूसरी चीजों की कमी की वजह है। कोई चीज आप ले लीजिये, इंडस्ट्री लीजिये। अगर आप रूरल एरिया को इलेक्ट्रिफाई कर दें और वहां पर नहरें थोरह चलवा दें तो इंडस्ट्री के समान खपाने का भी कोई मसला नहीं रहेगा। इसलिये मैं इस बात की प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूं कि आप देश की इस जरूरत को ध्यान में रखते हुए जैसे कि अब तक आप इसमें समय व ताकत लगा रहे हैं उसी तरह बल्कि उससे भी ज्यादा दें।

एक और चीज मैं इस सिलसिले में कहना चाहता हूं और वह यह कि हमारे यहां काम्युनिकेशन्स का महकमा है। उसके लिये एक डिप्टी मिनिस्टर दे दिया गया। लेकिन इस महकमे में जहां कि एक नहीं बल्कि कई मिनिस्ट्रियों की आवश्यकता थी उसके लिये कोई डिप्टी मिनिस्टर नहीं दिया गया। मैं समझता हूं कि अगर हमारे देश के भविष्य को बनाना है तो जो बेसिक चीज है, जिससे कि देश की तरक्की होने वाली है, और जिस महकमे पर सारे देश का भविष्य निर्भर है, उसके लिये एक नहीं बल्कि कई मिनिस्ट्री पृथक पृथक होनी चाहियें। मैं तो यह चाहता हूं कि इरीगेशन प्रोजेक्ट्स के लिये एक अलहदा मिनिस्ट्री होनी चाहिये और जो दूसरी चीजें हैं उनके लिये अलहदा मिनिस्ट्रीज बने। लेकिन अगर ज्यादा मिनिस्ट्री आपको नहीं बढ़ानी है तो कम से कम काम्युनिकेशन्स जैसे महकमों के बजाय यहां आप डिप्टी मिनिस्टर बढ़ाइये ताकि गाडगिल साहब को जो भी समय मिले और वह देश को ज्यादा से ज्यादा और जल्दी से जल्दी खुशहाल बनाने वाली स्कीमें तो तय्यार करा सकें।

मुझे कहनी तो बहुत सी बातें हैं और कई एक शिकायतें भी मैं मिनिस्ट्री से करना चाहता हूं लेकिन समय बहुत थोड़ा मिलता है। मेरी इच्छा तो बड़ी थी कि उन्होंने जो कार्य किये हैं उनके में गीत गाऊं, क्योंकि आप जानते हैं कि मैं तो एक किसान हूं और जब हमें यह खयाल आता है कि भाकरा डैम तकरीबन जल्दी ही कम्प्लीट होने वाला है जिससे कि सब खुशहाल होंगे तो फिर उनकी कृतज्ञता प्रकट न करना तो मैं समझता हूं कि बहुत ही बुरा है, मैं तो चाहता था कि उनके लिये कृतज्ञता

[चौधरी रणवीर सिंह]

प्रकट करने के लिये काफी देर बोलता। लेकिन चूंकि समय निश्चित है तो ज्यादा समय उधर न लगा कर मैं कुछ बातें और भी कहना चाहता हूं जिनको मैं महसूस करता हूं।

आपका महकमा इस देश के लिये बड़ी बड़ी चीजें बनाता है। जिन लोगों के पास मकान नहीं हैं उनके लिये मकान देता है। लेकिन क्या आपने कभी यह भी सोचा है कि कुछ ऐसे भी आदमी हैं कि जिनके घर और खेत उजाड़ दिये जाते हैं दूसरे लोगों को बसाने के लिये। एक वक्त था कि आज से कोई बीस पचीस वर्ष पहले जहां हम आज बैठे हुए हैं वहां कई देहात बसते थे। पचीस बरस हो गये होंगे लेकिन आज तक वे गरीब अपने नये घर नहीं बसा पाये। यह कहना कि साहब आपको मुआवजा दे दिया गया सध शान्ति कर लेते हैं। लेकिन मैं आपको इस सिलसिले में इतनी बात कहना चाहता हूं कि खेती करने वाले के लिये कोई सिला नहीं कहा जा सकता जब तक कि आप उसको जमीन के बदले में जमीन न दें। अभी हाल में यहां दिल्ली के करीब विदेशी राजदूतों के लिये कोठियां बनाने के लिये कहा गया है। मुझे डर है कि उसमें बहुत सारे बदकिस्मत देहाती घर शायद उजाड़ दिये जायेंगे और उन लोगों को बेघर होना पड़ेगा। (एक आवाज: नहीं होना पड़ेगा)। अगर ऐसा है तो मुझे खुशी है।

आज ही दोपहर के वक्त मेरे पास एक भाई आये थे। उनका गांव है पसोड़ा, यहां से कोई आठ नौ मील पर है। वहां एक हवाई अड्डा बनाया जा रहा है और उसकी वजह से उनका गांव जहां कोई चार हजार की आबादी है उजाड़ा जायगा। हालांकि अगर वहां से एक फरलांग हटा कर अड्डा बनाया जाय तो इधर से उधर करने में किसी को बेघर नहीं होना पड़ता। वह लोग दूसरी जमीन देना चाहते हैं। लेकिन वह चीफ इंजीनियर से मिल कर आये। उन्होंने कहा कि किसी न किसी को तो उठना ही पड़ेगा। उस बेचारे ने बहुत ज्यादा समझाने की कोशिश की कि अगर आप मेरी बात मानेंगे तो किसी को भी नहीं उठना पड़ेगा। लेकिन उनका कुछ ऐसा माइंड बन जाता है कि वह अपने आफिशियल डम के ढंग से ही सोचते हैं। तो मैं आपसे यह नम्र निवेदन करता हूं कि देश की आप तरफ की कीजिये, देश के लिये आप नये नये डैम बनाइये और बिजली पैदा कीजिये और जो बेघर गवर्नमेंट सरवेंट्स हैं उनके लिये मकान बनवाइये। लेकिन मैं इसके साथ साथ आपसे यह भी प्रार्थना करता हूं कि जहां आप किसानों को बड़े बड़े हवाई अड्डे बनाने के लिये बेघर करते हैं या और दूसरी स्कीमें बनाने के लिये बेघर करते हैं तो उनकी तरफ आप ज्यादा ध्यान दीजिये। और उनको बसाने के लिये भी अवश्य प्रयत्न करें।

(English translation of the above speech).

Ch. Ranbir Singh (East Punjab: General): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we liberated our country fighting under the leadership of our venerable leader Mahatma Gandhi. So we must always place his ideals before us. He was always in favour of decentralization. He was always opposed to the consolidation of economic power. The charkha in the Congress Flag also symbolises decentralization. Mr. Speaker Sir, our much respected leaders Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel have removed the great obstacles and rubbles that were in the path of our country. There goes a proverb in our villages that when a field is to be sown then before sowing seeds that field has got to be cleared of all the rubbish and waste matter. Much rubbish lay in the path of our country. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has removed the whole of it. But the future of our country and the prosperity of our country lies in the hands of the honourable Shri Gadgil's Department. His is a basic Department and forms the foundation of the future progress of India. If we have to give practical shape to the teachings of Bapuji then we will have to turn our attention to that matter, about which the honourable Minister dropped a small hint today morning, that is rural electrification. When he mentioned about rural electrification and said that we should give it due importance then at that time from my seat I called out in a loud voice that this ought to be a thing of top priority.

You must have seen that in the report describing the work of the honourable Minister, a Department named Estate Office is also mentioned, and it is given out in the report as to how many thousand applications of those Government servants are still lying with them for whom the Estate Office has not been able to make any arrangements for residential accommodation. This problem is getting bigger and bigger every day. If there is any solution to this problem, it is only this that rural areas be electrified and a number of residential houses be constructed in rural areas. Today why people do not want to go back to villages, simply because there is neither electricity nor water pipes. If the honourable Shri Gadgil were to make arrangement for the electrification of the rural areas of Delhi then the housing problem of the Government servants will not remain before him. Otherwise the Government will have to get houses constructed for them and will have to bear a great deal of expenditure on this count. If rural electrification is done then every Government servant would like to go and live in the rural areas of Delhi because there the living is not so costly as it is in the city itself. So besides making a strong demand for rural electrification I wish to draw the attention of the honourable the Minister towards those other things as well that lie in his hands.

This is mainly an agricultural country. For an agricultural country canals are of great importance and specially for those areas where the average rainfall is less. The necessity is specially felt in Rajputana and Northern India. I belong to East Punjab. There was once a time when our province used to supply food-grains to the whole country. But when independence dawned upon India then unfortunately our Province was partitioned, and our wheat producing areas went over to Pakistan. Now if you wish that annually 130 crores of rupees belonging to this country may not be given to foreign countries for the purchase of food grains then the only solution of this problem is that you give maximum advancement to irrigation projects. During the last few years a great stress was laid on this and a number of grand schemes were presented before the country. But I fear that when time came for the implementing of these schemes then our other friends, who really would have been benefited in the long run, raised their voices against these schemes, saying that riots will break out as a result of inflation; and thus frightening the Government caused a great deal of slackness in the irrigation schemes. If our country does in reality require anything it is the irrigation schemes, and in fact the

[Ch. Ranbir Singh]

scarcity of food products is directly responsible for the scarcity of other materials. You may select any thing, say industries. If you electrify the rural areas and get canals etc. made there, then there would not arise any problem for finding a market for the industrial products. Therefore, I beg to submit that you, taking into consideration this dire necessity of the country, go on paying more and more attention in future also as you are doing today.

I wish to submit one more thing in this connection. To the Department of Communications a Deputy Minister has been appointed but for this Department, where not one but more than one ministries were needed, no Deputy Minister has been given. I think if we have to keep in view the future of our country then for this basic Department upon which depends the progress and the future prosperity of our country, instead of only one, several separate ministries should be set up. I do wish that a separate ministry be set up for irrigation projects and for other things also separate ministries be set up. But if you do not wish to increase the number of ministries then at least instead of departments like Communications etc. you should appoint a Deputy Minister in this department, so that whatever time Shri Gadgil may get he may utilize the same for devising at the earliest quick prosperity schemes for the good of the country.

I have to submit many things and I also want to make certain complaints to the Ministry, but time at my disposal is very little. I had a strong desire to harp upon the works he has done, because you know that I am an agriculturist and when I think that Bhakra Dam Scheme is to be completed in very near future whereby everybody would become prosperous, then it would be a sacrilege I think not to express gratefulness. I wished to have spoken for a length of time in order to express my gratefulness for him. But as the time is fixed so instead of spending more time in showing gratefulness I wish to submit some more things that I think necessary.

Your Department constructs huge structures for this country. It provides houses to those who have none. But have you ever thought that there are some such persons whose houses and fields are demolished in order to rehabilitate other persons. Some twenty or twenty five years ago there was a time when a number of villages existed at the place where we are sitting today. Twenty five years have lapsed but these unfortunate people have not yet been able to set up their new houses. We feel contented that adequate compensation has been paid to them. But in this connection I wish to submit before you that no compensation can be called adequate to an agriculturist unless you give him land in exchange of the land taken from him. Quite recently it has been given out that here in Delhi a scheme has been drawn up to lay out a diplomatic colony. I fear that for this perhaps a number of houses belonging to unfortunate villagers will be demolished and they will have to become homeless. (An honourable Member: "No, they will not have to become homeless"). If it is so then I am really pleased.

A friend came to see me only at noon today. His village is Pansoda. It is at a distance of about eight miles from here. There an aerodrome is being made and for this reason his village which has a population of some four thousand will be demolished. The fact is that if the aerodrome is shifted a furlong away no one has to become homeless. The villagers wish to offer an alternate site for the aerodrome. They went to see the Chief Engineer who told them that after all some one will have to become homeless. The poor fellows tried their level best to make him understand that if their scheme is approved nobody will be homeless. But the official mind becomes so set that it always thinks in manner of officialdom only. So I very humbly beg to submit that you work

for the advancement of the country, construct new dams for the country and generate electric energy and get houses constructed for the homeless Government servants, but besides this I also beg to submit that you should pay more attention and do not render peasants landless and homeless by making aerodromes and by launching new schemes. You should make special efforts for their rehabilitation also.

Sri Jut Kuladhar Chaliha (Assam: General): Sir, the Honourable Mr. Gadgil has presented us this budget in such an unobtrusive and quiet manner that you can hardly find any fault with him. But he must hasten slowly. Sometimes some suggestions have been thrown that we should go ahead with the schemes and the money should be provided for the purpose. But I see there is a danger and the Finance Minister should be careful about advancing schemes by printing notes. If you cannot control prices, as we have not been able to control in our country, I think we will be in a dangerous trap. So the suggestion should not be carried out unless you can control—and control is impossible in India with our present psychological background. I therefore suggest that when we launch on any scheme we should hasten slowly. I do not say that we should not advance any schemes but in our present context, in our present economic condition and in our present situation we should be careful about investing money where the return will not come back.

Our economic transport and industrial structures are so built up and are based entirely on oil and coal. Have we been able to produce all the oil that is wanted? The only oilfield is in Digboi and there was one in Kohat in West Punjab which we have lost. I do not know whether in Central Rajputana we will find any oils. The production in Digboi oilfield used to be 17 million gallons, but the production has gone less and less there and we are getting only 14 million gallons as was revealed the other day in an answer to a question.

We ought to find out the causes that have led to this decrease in production. Certain other areas also which produced oil have dried up and are not being worked. In Iran when they reached a depth of 5,000 feet the stopped production, but the American engineers went to 10,000 feet and found perpetual springs from which they could get a large supply. So, here you have gone up 3 P.M. to 5,000 feet; should you not go up to 10,000 feet so that you may have more oil? But to do this we must have a proper geological survey and I request the honourable Minister to see that we should have a full geological survey throughout the country and we should have more drilling. Near about the Naga hills oil was found and we must explore its further possibilities. If we do not do all these things, the whole industrial structure will fail. Your aeroplanes, your navy and your engines, everything depends on oil and if we cannot produce it I think we will suffer immensely. There will be a time when we may be cut off from Iran. Therefore, we ought to take time by the forelock before it is too late.

We have also got oil fields at Massimpur but we have not done much to explore them. Patharia is another place where there are possibilities, but Patharia is a place for which a Commission has been appointed—on which my honourable friend on the right is represented—to get it back from Pakistan. We made a mistake in giving it to them. We are trying to get it back as if in a court of law, but we may not get it. Areas near about Jorhat and Bandarsalia also need exploration and proper geological survey.

Assam possesses coal in various parts. We have got coal at Mawphbing and Cherro near Shillong, and at Pynasulla, it is also found in the Mikir hills where you have not done any geological survey, though I think very long ago there was a party which surveyed it. Mikir Hills produce coal which is supplied to the Assam Railway; the total output is five per cent. of Assam's requirements. But if you tackle the Mikir Hills near about Dimapur, I think this

[Srijut Kuladhar Chaliba]

coalmine can be worked very well. Of course the question is linked up with roads which can be tackled with Defence and with Transport Ministries. In the Garo Hills, as I stated during discussion on the Railway Budget, you have got coal but then you are cut off by Pakistan. Unless a road is run from Garo Hills to Pandu—about 150 miles—I do not think this valuable deposit of coal and other minerals could be tapped. Sir, we want these facilities and I trust the honourable Minister will take note of this.

Further, you will be surprised to hear—possibly it will be news to you—that Assam has gold as well. It is found in the Subansiri River. We find a reference to it as early as the Kautilya's Arthashastra where it is mentioned in Book Two, Chapter XI that gold dust was sold near Kamrup at Suvarnan Kudya (Sonkoriha). We have to wash the gold sands and with the present high price we can wash it after getting it from the Subansiri River. It is up the hills and we must go to the source of the hills where from the sands are washed down. I suggest a geological party should explore this.

An Honourable Member: Why do you not form a company?

Srijut Kuladhar Chaliba: Yes, if I had money like you. Then you will be surprised to hear that platinum is found in the sands of this river; this was confirmed by a survey made by a geological party. I don't know what percentage is found and whether it will be possible to extract this valuable metal in a commercially paying way, but I think it should be tried.

Silver also is available in these hills. It is available near about Pataki Hills on the Burma-Assam border. Amber also is available. Of course amber will not be useful to the Works, Mines and Power Ministry, but it will be useful for ornaments for people like my honourable friend Mr. Jhunjhunwala and others of our party. It is very valuable and I think it should be worked.

Will it be still more surprising if I say that iron is also available in some quantity. It is called dojara in our part of the country and is used in metalling roads. With the present high price of iron, we should try and see whether this can be extracted and smelted. I do not say it should be done at once but experiments should be made. It is near about Mekir hills.

Sir, I thank the honourable Minister for Works, Mines and Power for giving us a little gift in the shape of the Assam electrification project. He has given one scheme near Kamrup District costing about Rs. 101 lakhs, but there was another scheme. The Pussighat scheme which is as big as the Tenessy Valley Scheme and it should be worked properly and taken in hand in the near future. It will be as big as Hirakud or Damodar and the whole of the Province can be electrified. We have so many tea estates there that electric power can be supplied to them even and oil and other fuel can be saved. I hope the honourable Minister will look into that as well.

As regards geological scholarships, I think you ought to give more of these. Your requirements are so much that you have not been able to put in the proper number of officers. We want the entire country to be surveyed. We are spending our energy on political matters, but I should request the House through the honourable the Speaker that they should divert their energy to finding out these valuable minerals and bringing them to the notice of the House. The honourable Minister will do well to send out more young men to foreign countries for geological knowledge and bring it back to our country.

Sir, with these words I conclude and in doing so, thank the honourable Minister for presenting an optimistic report.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: I thank you, Mr. Speaker. I succeeded in catching your controlled eye. I request you not to agree to any proposal to curtail the speeches of honourable Members. I do not mind it, if I am not allowed to speak. I think that ten speeches of 20 minutes duration may be preferable to 20 speeches of 10 minutes duration each.

Mr. Speaker: I entirely agree with the honourable Member. But I find that everybody is so anxious to speak and feels a sort of disappointment if not resentment actually if he is not given a chance. The honourable Member himself remarked that he was able to catch my eye, though controlled. There has been nothing of any kind of control. But he can make room for other people by giving up his right to speak on this occasion.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: I congratulate my honourable friend Mr. Gadgil for his frank speech. Sir, he was rightly called by Mr. Venkata Rao that he is a dynamo. I agree with him.

Sir, in the beginning of his speech, my honourable friend referred to the old notoreity of the Central P.W.D. for corruption. He assured us that there is some improvement. Sir, if there is improvement I congratulate him and the Department. But I tell him that, so far as my information goes, things have not improved. I assure him and the other Members of the Cabinet that it is no pleasure to talk of corruption among our own countrymen. We hang our heads in shame when we have to talk of these things. So, if at all we refer to such things we do so only with a view to bring about purity in the administration. Everybody knows that unless there is purity in the administration of the country no public good is possible. But there appears to be some misunderstanding. Our friends in the Cabinet want us to thank them for what they have done. We can do that, but at the same time we should be allowed to criticise them for what is wrong with their department. They want us to support anything and everything that is done in every Department. We congressmen have captured the machinery of Government and sent some of our men to control that machinery for the good of the country. They can so control the machinery of Government only when they take our co-operation. But what we find is that our friends appear to have identified themselves with the Departments and with the help of the Departments want to control us. This is misunderstanding the position. This process would not do and this will not help the cabinet or any of us here.

I thank Mr. Gadgil for what he has done with regard to the Damodar Valley scheme. The Corporation has begun the work in the Damodar Valley and we have begun to receive reports to the effect that the people who have been occupying the lands in those regions have been asked to vacate entire villages without notice, without proper acquisition and without compensation and all that. I may remind my friend Mr. Gadgil that when the project was hatched, there was agreement arrived at among all the Governments concerned that the people who will be ejected from lands will get lands for lands and that those people who will be displaced from their homes will get homes elsewhere.

Sir, in the Budget presented to us, there is a reference to model villages. I am very glad to hear that. But here the position is that those people who are to be displaced altogether from the villages that are to be submerged by the dam are to get lands and value of lands in advance in order to enable them to erect new houses. It is only after the erection of model villages and after the occupation thereof by the people that they should be asked to give up their lands and houses for the purpose of the dam. This should be strictly adhered to if you want to do justice to the people.

[Babu Ramnarayan Singh]

Then in connection with this dam construction there is a report that as this is a national concern all people through out the country should get representation—in its services. At the same we have to see that one community does not predominate over others in the construction in the concern. The construction of the dam is a national programme. We welcome it. The people of the locality and all of us are ready to co-operate. But justice has got to be done. My honourable Friend in answer to a question on the subject said that he will enquire into the matter and later said that the enquiry has already begun. I thank him for all these, but I ask him to see that nothing illegal or unlawful is done there.

I have just received a copy of the *Indian Nation* of Patna dated 8th March.

Mr. Speaker: The honourable Member has two minutes more.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: I request you to give me a few more minutes. I have to refer to two or three matters.

Mr. Speaker: I have no objection; but the other members will have to be denied the opportunity to speak.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: This paper contains a resolution of the Bihar Provincial Congress Working Committee. They are coming on deputation to the honourable Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. They have to thank the Central Government for what has been done, but they have to regret the hopeless slowness with which the Government is moving in the matter.

Sir, there is flood almost every year in Kosi and it has been ruinous and devastating to crops, to cattle and even to trees. And human suffering is indescribable. Of all the projects which the Government can take up this is the most important from a humanitarian point of view. I wish that the honourable Minister sees to it that this project is also expedited.

Sir, I have one or two points more and I have done. In Delhi, we have got the Rent Control Act. This was meant to give relief to the poor tenants against unscrupulous landlords. I do not think it was meant to discourage people from building houses. I do not think it was meant to extend to areas which are altogether undeveloped till now. There is an area called Sarai Rohilla, which is not yet developed. When want of accommodation was felt keenly in the town, there was an appeal from the leaders to the people to erect houses. In this business, even people of ordinary means also come forward to invest their money to afford people accommodation. I hear that there is an instruction from the Department that rent will be allowed only at six per cent per annum. This is simply ludicrous. It is difficult to build a house in these days which will fetch an income of six per cent only. It is said that there was a conference between landlords and tenants and by way of agreement this has been arrived at. Sir, this may be right and proper for the old investments; but this cannot do well now. I think my honourable friend will see to it.

There is shortage of accommodation in this City. High Government officials, and even members of this House are given accommodation in the Constitution House, Western Court, Patandi House and some other Government hotels. This is well and good. At the same time, the boarders are forced to take the meals provided there. There is a suspicion that this is by way of help to big contractors. In the hotels, meals are provided in a stereotyped manner. Sometimes, the meals are not good. Why should the boarders be forced to take meals provided by the hotels? Government give the accommodation all right. At the same time, it is only proper that they must not be forced to take the meals provided by the hotels.

I thank you, Sir, you have given me time. I have got much more to say I think the points referred to by me will be considered by my honourable friend Mr. Gadgil and that he will see that the Kosi project is begun at once. I may say this. If the Government is kind, good, just and humanitarian, this project must be taken up at once.

Prof. K. T. Shah (Bihar: General): On occasions like this, when honourable Ministers come before the House presenting their Grant Estimates for expenditure, congratulations are so common that any word of lack of it will not, I trust, be misplaced.

I have, indeed, come here as Mark Antony said long ago, "to bury Caesar and not to praise him". Therefore, it is not for me to raise any old difficulties which may sound a note of lack of harmony in this admirably constituted mutual admiration society, in which congratulations and compliments are the order of the day, and any word of censure is only dismissed as destructive criticism. I am afraid in this case, however, I am not going to make my remarks entirely unsavoury. If an occasional grain of sugar creeps into my observations, I trust the honourable Minister will not suffer from indigestion from taking up the sugary stuff.

For, I confess, when I remember the performances of other days, and see how rapidly, how eloquently, how recklessly, how courteously we pass in a couple of hours estimates running into 12 or 150 crores, with hardly a word of criticism for one minor point here or there. I cannot help commending the modesty of the honourable Minister for Works, Mines and Power, in asking us only to pass a budget of 12 crores in two hours,—or it is going to be three hours,—I do not know. After all, this House passing four crores or forty crores an hour does not lend itself to any close scrutiny, of detail, to any suggestion of economy or retrenchment, or even for the matter of that, a close examination of policy which is involved in matters of this kind.

Sir, the honourable Minister has told us that he has been satisfied with the measure of efficiency his department has achieved, and that he is also satisfied that there is a "fair measure" of honesty in his department. I wonder if 'fair measure,' is an official euphemism for something quite contrary. At any rate, in common parlance, P.W.D. which is now transformed into W.M.P. used to be regarded as a Public Waste Department, and it may now be regarded as Waste, Mistakes and Profusion Department. While I do not agree with this, I do confess that these initials, which have become a perennial plague in the language of public affairs are confusing. One is liable, without ever intending to do so, to be betrayed into a misconception from the very initials in which these things are presented. I wish to point to, however, only two or three important matters, so that I might not only economise in my own time, but also in the patience of the House as well.

In the first place, as I have just stated, the various grand schemes comprised in this Budget are large projects spread over in time and in space to such an extent that men's minds forget, their brain loses sight completely of the details involved in it. The honourable Minister has presented such a fancy picture, in such wonderful rainbow colours, that one looks and marvels at the colours only, though it may be all empty behind. I am not suggesting at all for one moment that the projects that the honourable Minister has presented before us are lacking in any substance. But I would most humbly draw his attention to the fact that these are bound to be spread over ten or fifteen years until they are completed and that in the meanwhile there must be some guarantee of sticking to the original aim and purpose, for which any such project is taken in hands; and that any deviation from that is likely to cause difficulties which we may not be able to correct.

[Prof. K. T. Shah]

Ministers have told us again and again that they are creatures of circumstances. If these circumstances affect in the course of a year or two or three the whole outlook radically, then, I suggest that a period of ten or fifteen years is sufficient for us to take heed; and that from the start we bear in mind and take steps to see or give guarantee that eventually avoidable mistakes may not occur; and if they do occur, their effects are minimised.

To illustrate my point, there is an extremely great need of co-ordination, not only as between the several projects, and the several purposes for which the various projects included in this ministry's Budget are concerned, but also as between the over-all, comprehensive National Plan in which these are integral parts so to say. Yesterday, we had the very wonderful spectacle of being called upon to pass another substantial estimate, in which the illustration of the Sindhri project was mentioned. Ministers are very ready to take credit for projects which have been taken in hand or thought of long before they came to office; and the Sindhri project was one of that. Even granting that this is a human frailty—after all, and that, the present Ministers are only the successors of the same form of Government, for the spirit of Government has hardly changed even though the personnel may have changed since August 15, 1947, I would like to say that when one comes to hear that the Fertilisers manufacturing industry is situated, let us say, in Sindhri, that the raw material has to be got from Jodhpur, that it would require about 200 railway wagons to go 800 or 1,000 miles, I wonder what co-ordination is there between the transport system, the raw material system, the wastage of time involved in sending hundreds of empty wagons back from Sindhri to Jodhpur if they have no traffic to carry backwards.

I am told—I do not speak on my own authority—that it would be a marvel of speed and economy if a goods train metre gauge of 200 wagons could accomplish even a 100 mile a day. If even that much, it means you will have 1600 wagons on the road at any given time for carrying this traffic in raw material to the seat of manufacture, and if you consider that these will have to be all coming back in another eight days or ten, you will have something like 3,000 wagons devoted to this matter alone. Would anybody give any attention to the co-ordination of this matter? Has any body considered that this is to be reconciled mutually?

Shri B. L. Sondhi: Is the honourable Member in order in discussing things that were discussed yesterday? The honourable Minister is not there to reply.

Mr. Speaker: The honourable Member may continue his speech.

Prof. K. T. Shah: In this particular case, for instance, there are claims of several purposes, there are claims of several provinces, there are claims of various articles which are expected to be produced by these various projects. There is power, there is industrial growth as consequence of easily accessible and cheap power, there is food growth as consequence of better water supply and irrigation, there is navigation or transport facilities. All these would come out of this Ministry's very great projects.

There is also the mines and the untold wealth of minerals in which this Union is very rich. But at the same time if the honourable Minister told us correctly, we are still not absolutely self-sufficient in the matter of mineral requirements either of peace or of war. If all these are to be mutually co-related, if there is to be a co-ordination between these—and I am not suggesting that the honourable Minister has not tried to give it some kind of co-ordination

at least within his own Ministry, then only will you be able to reap the fullest fruits of these very grand projects, which, in their entirety, when they are completed, will cost you several hundreds of crores perhaps.

At each stage you go on creating new problems like, for instance displacement of people whose lands you take up for purposes of building barrages or reservoirs or otherwise, and they are unable to use that land for the time being. How are these people to be resettled or rehabilitated? how are these people to be re-employed? how are these to be compensated? how are these to be given some alternative places of residence and work? These are problems which are insuperably inter connected. I hope the honourable Minister will agree with me that these are integral matters that need to be co-ordinated as carefully as the other illustration I gave about which my friend is so very sensitive. The point, however, is that in the budget as we see it, in the various items—very imposing as they are—we lose sight of the ultimate aim that ought to be a careful integration of all these considerations.

Take again the establishment of industry in all these regions where such ambitious projects are constructed. There has been a cry from almost every corner of this House that if you generate such large quantities of power, how are you going to utilize it, if the rural areas or villages don't benefit. How are the villages going to benefit from abundant energy? If it is the intention that the benefit will be in the form of, let us say, electric traction, or electric agricultural machines for cultivation, then I am afraid, the present agrarian economy of this country is such that it would be very difficult for us economically to employ these means.

Then again take the need for small industries, the so-called cottage Industries. There, again some honourable Member might become sensitive that the Minister is not there and that, therefore, I cannot even mention 'Industry'. I am afraid I cannot help. These industries are possible to be developed by means of decentralized power—somebody used this expression; and decentralisation is a factor which has to be properly appreciated not merely in word, not merely by verbal sympathy, but by actual translation in the economy of the country. There is a great possibility of our scattered small economic cottage producers who only need to be organized, who only need to be equipped, who only need to be financed and advised properly and given every facility in marketing, all the shortages of supply that we see to-day will be wiped out within a very much shorter time than these projects will take time to fruition.

In this connection if you will pardon my saying so,—it is not a bee in my bonnet if I point out that all these arguments tend to one central fact viz., the necessity of having a planned economy, that is to say, not one item but every item, every Department, every activity of the country should be co-related and integrated into a single pattern with definite objective and definite stage and definite norm fixed by which we can judge from year to year the progress we are achieving.

Secondly I repeat that when several Ministries as they come before us we do feel so important and I find that we do lose sight of the ultimate aim. I hope that all the planning commission that is being talked about and the promises that are being made of, some day a national plan will be presented. While planning that I cannot help warning the Ministers that there is a great danger of their being too much absorbed in the very beautiful plans that they create for their own Departments or for single items for which they may be responsible and run the risk of overlapping the over-all picture of the nation's progress which I hope, we are all striving for.

Shri C. Subramaniam (Madras: General): Sir, in the Government of India there are two Ministries which have got to play a vital role in the progress of the country, in the development of the national wealth. The first is the Ministry of Industries and the second is the Works, Mines and Power. I am not stating this in the order of importance. Looked at from a certain aspect, the Ministry of W.M.P. is more important and has got to play a more important role. For the industrialisation of the country, the development of power is the basic requirement and it is only by the extent of development of power the pace of industrialisation has to be set. Therefore the progress of the country very much depends upon the working of this Ministry. According to the data available now, we find our supply of coal is very much limited and supply of oil is also very much limited in our country. So the only form of power which we should develop is electricity. Perhaps in the distant future or perhaps even in the near future, this energy may be replaced by atomic energy. When that would come we don't know. Therefore our attention should be focussed on the development of electricity and I am glad to find very many schemes have been taken up, hydro-electric schemes, river valley schemes which would produce electricity, necessary for the development of our country. But if we want to utilise the energy so produced in these projects, it is necessary there should be a certain amount of co-ordination—not the general co-ordination which the previous speaker was referring to but co-ordination between the Ministries of W.M.P. and the Industry and Supply.

[At this stage, Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by **Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao** (one of the Panel of Chairmen)].

When electricity is produced, it has to be distributed throughout the country to the villages. Now a situation has arisen in Madras. There is electricity available and there are very many villagers who are prepared to take electricity for pumping water from their wells. But we find that there are no materials available, neither transformers, nor the poles, nor the wires, nor the switches, nor any other material. Because of the shortage of these materials, they are finding it impossible to supply electricity to the rural areas. Therefore, alongside with the development of these schemes for the production of electricity, there should be co-ordination with the Ministry of Industry for the manufacture and production of electrical machinery, the machinery which would be required to distribute this energy to the various nooks and corners of the country. That should be the first point that should be taken note of by the Government.

Speaking of electricity, I wish to mention about the position in Madras, to which my honourable friend, Mr. Kala Venkatarao referred to in the morning. He pointed out that in Madras the main producing concerns are State-owned and State-controlled and there are a few small concerns situated in urban areas supplying electricity to certain municipalities. They are private-owned and their machinery has also become almost obsolete. They are unable to replace it. Therefore, there is a proposal by the Provincial Government of Madras that these concerns should be taken over by the Government and the entire system of production and distribution of electricity should be a State concern.

My honourable friend, Mr. Sondhi, when speaking on the Budget at the time of the general discussion, said that in spite of the promises and assurances made by the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister while in Madras, that there would be no nationalization, the Government of Madras is defiant in this matter. He was referring to an answer given by the honourable Minister of Public Works in Madras in connection with the taking over of these few electricity concerns that whatever might have been said by the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister it did not apply to these concerns. That answer

has been misrepresented and a charge was laid on the floor of this House that the Government of Madras was flouting the instructions from the Centre in spite of the fact that the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister himself gave this assurance in Madras. I wish, Sir, Mr. Sondhi, before making this charge against the Madras Government that they were flouting the instructions from the Centre, had taken care to find out what the honourable Minister of Public Works was referring to when he said that the remarks of the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister did not apply to these concerns.

One other matter I wish to refer to and that is with reference to the development of Greater Delhi. We find that one crore of rupees has been asked for, for the development of Delhi and for the construction of quarters there. Before launching upon this project and taking up building activities here, I wish to say that we should come to a decision whether we are going to have the capital of India permanently in Delhi. I know that whenever this matter is mentioned it is brushed aside. It is not that I want that a decision should be taken here and now, but it is a matter which has got to be thoroughly gone into and a decision taken at the proper time. But before that, let us not commit ourselves. Let us not spend too much here in Delhi, so that at a later date it may not be said we have sunk so many crores in this place and how can we leave it. It has been said by the honourable the Prime Minister that this Government is a caretaker Government. So let us not tie the hands of the future Government that they should continue in Delhi as the capital.

Apart from this there is another aspect of the matter. We find that certain departments attached to the Ministry of Works, Mines and Power are to be shifted to Nasik and the honourable Minister has stated in the report submitted to us that he has consulted other Ministries of the possibility of sending some of their departments to other places. It is not only a matter for the decision of the various Ministries, but it should be a decision of the Government itself as far as possible to disperse the various departments in the various parts of the country so that there may not be overcrowding in Delhi. For example, we have been asked to sanction Rs. 5 lakhs for the building of the Federal Court. Where is it to be located? Is it to be located in Delhi or in any other place? As far as I can see for a Supreme Court of Appeal Delhi is not the proper place. There is not even a proper bar here. So we have to come to a decision before we make this grant regarding the place where this building has to be constructed.

I hope the Government will take a decision soon on this point, and if any decision has been taken by Government, they will let us know it.

Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri (Assam: General): They say that "Charity begins at home". I shall therefore first of all touch on the Estate Office. I do not know how the honourable Members of this House have offended the Estate Officer. But it seems to me that we are, on account of faults which we have not committed, or on account of things which we have omitted, *persona non-grata* with him. Take the amount of money which is taken by that department for the Assembly quarters. If the honourable Members of the House, placed in my position, sometimes scan this Bill, they will find that a certain amount is taken as the rent every month. Then about Rs. 25/- per month is taken for the use of the furniture. Then Rs. 2/8/- is deducted for flowers. As a matter of fact the amount of flowers you get from the flower-bed in the whole year will cost only Rs. 2/8/-, but we have to pay Rs. 2/8/- every month. Then there are garden charges of Rs. 7/- per month. I have hunted several times to find that garden in the Assembly quarters but I have not been able to find it and yet Rs. 7/8/- per month is taken from me as garden charges.

[Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri]

Then, Sir, we are given some furniture for which we have to pay Rs. 25/- per month. It requires four persons to carry outside one of the chairs from the drawing room. You cannot carry it out alone so that your friends may be able to sit down. That is the position of the furniture.

As regards the bed, after using it for a few months, even after putting a mattress there, and though you may use it as a single bed, the whole thing crumbles down to the ground. The bed simply touches the ground after use for four or five months.

An Honourable Member: After four or five days.

Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: I used it as a single bed and still it did it.

There is another very interesting item which beats every thing else,—viz., Rs. 25/- for other services. We have to pay separately to the municipality for electricity, then we have to pay separately to the municipality for water, we are not given any *durian* or any servant. What are the other services for which we have to pay Rs. 25/-? There is no bed tea served, nor breakfast and still they take Rs. 25/- for other services. I do not know what are the other services rendered for which they take Rs. 25. (*Shri H. V. Kamath: "Charity"*).

Your rent is deducted every month by the Legislative Assembly Department during the session. Then after four or five months after one has forgotten every thing there is a call for the payment of arrears for four or five months. In 1948 you have to pay the arrears for 1946 and in this month you may have to pay the arrears for last October or November. Why should not the sum be recovered during the same months and why should the arrears be charged after we have forgotten all about it. I am speaking on behalf of all the members in this House and I hope they support me.

Shri B. L. Sondhi: From Rs. 123 it has gone up to 200.

Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: I come now to the C.P.W.D. (Central Public Works Department). It used to be said that C. stands for corruption, P. for partiality, W. for waste and D. for delay. As the honourable Minister has assured us that there is no corruption automatically with the going of corruption partiality also disappears. Then will the honourable Minister be pleased to admit and agree with me that waste and delay still continue.

I would first of all refer to the refugee houses in Delhi. I have seen them. I do not know whether the idea was that a refugee family after all the casualties they had suffered in the Punjab and elsewhere should comprise more than two or three persons, including a baby. If the houses had been built on that idea I could understand it. But as we all know there are families with 7 or 8 members and even then a small house where only two persons can live is allotted to them. If my honourable friend the Minister and I go together we will find it difficult to enter the house. These small houses fit for the accommodation of two or three people only have been built at a considerable cost and they will be of no use later on. So all this waste has taken place in the construction of those refugee houses. These houses have a small open latrine adjacent to the kitchen. They are so near each other. Then there is a drain which drains nothing and the water stagnates round about. Is it fair to compel the refugees to live in that kind of houses. If you build houses for the refugees you should build them in a way so that families can live in common decency and free from danger to their health.

Now I shall speak about electricity. I could not follow my friend Mr. B. Das when he complained that there is too much light in the Connaught Place, that there was too much electrification at the cost of some other areas in the town. Does my honourable friend and his companions who accompany him to the Connaught Place in the evenings mean that they illuminate the whole place so much that no more *lighting* is necessary? My friend Mr. Das has been here for the last twenty five years and knows the kind of fashionable people who wander about the place and probably from his own experience he would prefer the Connaught Place to be a little more under dark shade and should not have too much of light. So far as the poorer sections of the people are concerned who buy their goods from the pavement shops they would like to have a little more light there. I do not advocate the policy which my friend Mr. Das has advocated that you should cut down the lights in one place to provide more light elsewhere. On the other hand you must improve the supply of electricity so that everyone can get equally. Some months ago we noticed that on the Ferozshah Road the lights on one side, including the place where the Chief Whip resides, went out but the lights on the other side were working. I brought this matter to the notice of the Government by way of a question.

Sir, I wanted to speak about the aerodromes in Assam. Air service has been going on regularly since the last year and still the aerodromes are in an uncared for condition. It was said that the regular aerodrome would be built shortly but so far nothing has been done about it. There is a lot of delay in constructing the aerodromes in Gauhati and other places also.

I have only one more point to make. There is a road in Bengal which connects Darjeeling with Tibet through a place called Gantok. Why not a similar road be constructed to connect Assam with Tibet, so that the traffic will be diverted on to that road.

As regards petrol Nemesis has overtaken the Government. Petrol is drying up in Assam, because Assam has never been given the quota to which she is entitled. The province never got her quota for the year and therefore the oil wells are drying up. Even though the budget has not been passed, the Government has allowed the petrol depots to charge Rs. 2/9/- per gallon even from now on. In anticipation of the budget being passed they are already charging Rs. 2/9/- per gallon.

Shri B. P. Jhunjhunwala (Bihar: General): Sir, as far back as 1869 the project of the Kosi valley was investigated. The ravages wrought by the river on the people living in its catchment area can better be seen rather than described here in a few minutes. The story of the people there is a pathetic tale. When the floods of the Kosi come they take away whole villages together and converts the whole area into a sea and later on into a desert. This project which was first conceived by the old Government was not at all mentioned by my honourable friend Mr. Gadgil this morning. I was looking forward to hear that something might have been done and was being done to remove the calamities of those people. It is an area of about twenty-three thousand square miles where the ravages of this Kosi river spread, and it affects about one-third of the population of the whole of Bihar. As I have said, I do not know what is being done regarding this Kosi project. As has been pointed out by my honourable friend Prof. K. T. Shah, before taking up these big projects there must be some plan thought out as to how the people who will be affected by these projects will be rehabilitated, how the power which will be created by these projects will be utilised, whether it will be utilised in a centralised way in the form of big industries or by distribution in the form of small industries—all these things should not be allowed to be done in a drifting

[Shri B. P. Jhunjhunwala]

way, but a clear plan should be thought out from the very beginning before any such project is taken in hand. Lakhs and crores of rupees are spent in making these projects. Preliminary investigation is made, then other investigations are made and then reports are published. Still the reports, when they come out, are defective in the sense that they have no well organised plan as to how all these things will be co-ordinated when the scheme succeeds. So far as Damodar Valley is concerned of course a part of Bihar is affected by that. But if you will consider the question of the ravages caused by the

river Kosi with any other dam, the ravages done by the river Kosi are far greater than those done by any other river. If that fact is taken into consideration, namely the ravages caused and the consequent agonies and miseries to which the people are put, it should have been the first concern of this Government to take up this Kosi project and see, apart from getting something which we hope to gain by other projects in the future, that at least the miseries and the agonies to which these people are put every year are removed; this area of 23,000 square miles is first flooded in the form of sea and then it is converted into a desert as stated above. I do not want to take the time of the House. The only point which I wanted to stress upon the honourable Minister was regarding the Kosi project. It was in 1947 that the honourable Minister Mr. Bhaba who was in charge, had gone to the site of dam. He had also gone to the other places where the ravages are done by this river and there was a great public meeting in Nirmati. It was a sight to see how those people were first anxious and then felt relieved when the Minister drew up a picture as to what will happen in the future—when this project will be fulfilled all these areas will be electrified, all these areas will look green with green crops and all the people will have their houses electrified! But when I was hearing the speech of the honourable Minister naturally I felt anxious not finding the mention of Kosi. As I have said, I have to request and impress upon the honourable Minister that if the whole project is not going to be materialised due to any reason, looking to the miseries and agonies and the pathetic tales of these people, funds at least should not be the consideration for this Government. Bihar is a poor Province in its revenue income; though it is rich in everything but it is undeveloped. All the big revenues from income-tax on profits made in Bihar go to other provinces under the present arrangements.

Shri B. Das: How are you poor?

Shri B. P. Jhunjhunwala: Because we are not given back what is taken in the form of income-tax and other things; we are given very little share. So it is not possible for us to take up the scheme ourselves.

I shall again invite the attention of the honourable Minister to this aspect that if that big scheme due to any reason is not taken up, I shall beg of and impress upon the honourable Minister at some other means of opening up big canals or putting up small dams here and there should be taken in hand immediately to give relief to the people.

Shri Satish Chandra (U.P.: General): Sir, the honourable Minister has given an overall picture of the work that the Government have done and propose to do in the near future, explaining the nation-building activities of his Ministry. Many people may imagine that the work has not gone with the speed with which it should have gone. But considering the nineteen anxious months that have passed after the attainment of freedom—including tragic days of bloodshed and violence—I think that the schemes are making satisfactory progress.

Prof. K. T. Shah has, a few minutes before, referred to the existence of a 'mutual admiration society' in this House. I am proud of being a member of that society. But I think that the name that he has given to that society is rather incorrect, because we who shower praises and admiration on the Ministers do not receive them in turn. After all what admiration do we get, and how is it 'mutual'—I fail to understand. But if we praise our Leaders and Ministers I am equally prepared to praise my learned honourable friend Prof. Shah for his ability, integrity and great knowledge—theoretical knowledge—of economic affairs.

Sir, reverting to the subject, I only wish to make one or two brief remarks about the work of this Ministry. An influential honourable Member from Madras, Shri Kala Venkata Rao, and my two honourable friends from Bihar Shri Ramnarayan Singh and Shri Jhunjhunwala, have advanced the claims of Rampadsagar project and the Kosi dam. I, on the other hand, think that the main difficulty—why work is not proceeding satisfactorily—is that too many projects have been taken in hand at one and the same time, and cannot be executed speedily with the material and resources that are available to us. Only a few days back I was told by an officer of the U.P. Government with a technical knowledge of these matters, that various schemes in the United Provinces are held up not on account of the lack of finances of the U.P. Government which are available in plenty, but due to lack of material and due to lack of technical skill in the country. He told me that the U. P. Government's plans which are scheduled to be completed in ten years will take 200 years to complete if material is made available to them at the speed with which the U.P. Government obtained them during the last year. I, however, imagine that the pace of the projects will gain momentum as they make progress and that with the disappearance of our present difficulties we shall be able in future to speed up those programmes. After all, most of our leaders and workers in the field have been telling the peasants that India shall be a country of plenty and prosperity in ten or fifteen years time. Let us see that whatever schemes we take up, whatever schemes we announce and publicize are completed within the scheduled time so that there might not be a feeling of frustration if they could not be completed. Let us see that false hopes are not raised which may not materialise within a reasonable time.

Therefore, Sir, I think there should be greater co-ordination between the Centre and the Provincial Governments because after all the Central Government have taken up only a few big schemes like the Hirakud Dam or the Damodar Valley Corporation's multipurpose river-training project. But equally important schemes—though they might be slightly smaller in size—which will generate lakhs of kilowatts of electrical energy and which will be useful for flood control and in other ways, should not suffer simply because the Central Government's attention is diverted to a few projects under their own direct control. There should be an overall planning which not only incorporates the central schemes but all such schemes under the central and the various Provincial Governments.

Sir, there is a huge shortage of petrol in this country. While we are going ahead with schemes for civil aviation and have to depend more and more on motor transport, I really wonder what we have done so far, or how far the Geological Survey has paid its attention to finding out sources of petroleum in this country. After all, petroleum is a product for which we cannot at all times depend on foreign imports only. In this connection, I would say that in U. P. we have got power alcohol plants with an installed capacity of 55 lakh gallons per year, but the actual production is hardly half of this figure. Some research work should be carried on to improve the quality of the power alcohol which may to some extent gradually replace petrol. Moreover, there is a type of coal found in Sangroli in Mirzapur District from which—it has been claimed—petrol can be very easily manufactur-

[Shri Satish Chandra]

ed. I do not know if any steps have been taken so far to manufacture petrol out of that coal, or whether experiments have been carried out in other parts of the country and if so with what results, but it is surely a field for investigation.

In the end, I would only say that the nation-building activity is a long process the foundations of which are being laid now. I am sure, a magnificent superstructure shall be raised and raised quicker than many of us imagine, and that the standard of living of the common man shall be considerably raised.

Shri O. V. Alagesan (Madras: General): Mr. Chairman, I do not think this Government suffers from want of opposition as Prof. Shah would have us believed. First of all, there is the opposition by the Party itself as was witnessed during the General Discussion on the Budget. Again, when Professor Shah is there, who can say that there is no opposition to this Government? He constitutes the intellectual opposition to this Government, and coming down, Mr. Naziruddin constitutes, if I may say so, the grammatical opposition to this Government. The role that our Ministers have to play is a difficult one. They have first of all to carry the bureaucratic machinery with them, to make them do the work they want out of it, and they have also to carry the non-official supporters with them. Sir, this, everyone will admit, is a difficult task. It is not dissimilar to that of a man with two wives. But I can say from my experience of the honourable the Minister for Works, Mines and Power that he has done his task with consummate skill and the success of his Department is not a little due to that.

The honourable Minister mentioned the construction of the Jammu-Pathankot Road. We all rejoiced that there has been a happy consummation of the Kashmir fight. There has been a cease fire on the 1st of this year. It is not a little due to the construction of this road, which helped our military in its valorous deeds to a very great extent. This House should appreciate the good work done by the department.

More than one speaker spoke at length on the river valley schemes. These schemes are romantic schemes: they raise before our mind's eye a very prosperous picture of our country in a few years, say in ten or fifteen years. So everybody is dazzled by these schemes. It is but natural that provincial and regional claims are put forward. As one coming from Madras, I would certainly ask that the Ramapadasagar scheme should be taken up as early as possible. The projects that are on paper have to be translated in terms of materials, plant and machinery, personnel and other equipment. The difficulty of the job will be known only when this is attempted. Many Members advocate the taking up of new schemes. In Madras the Tungabhadra project has been already taken in hand and excavation work has been completed. But masonry work has been held up, I read in the papers yesterday, for want of cement. There will be such maladjustments if you do not prepare an overall plan for the execution of these attractive schemes spread over a number of years.

Whenever a project is taken in hand most of the fruits of it go to the industrialists. As my honourable friend Sri Kala Venkata Rao pointed out this morning, only 3.7 per cent. of the electricity produced goes for irrigation purposes now. This process should not be continued. More electricity should be made available for agriculture and for other irrigation purposes. Thousands of wells were sunk in Madras under the 'Grow-more-food' scheme. If electricity could be made available for pumping water from at least half the number of such wells, the food situation would have very much eased in Madras. So the honourable Minister should see to it that he does not give all the electricity to Mr. Mody, but that a considerable portion of it is given to Professor Ranga also. This should be borne in mind when power projects are taken in hand.

This Department is one of the major spending Departments and so I do not think it will be out of place if I now touch on the economy aspect of it. In the Budget papers circulated to us there is an item called 'Other charges'. I am told that this single item covers many a sin. What are these 'other charges'? Nowhere do we find an explanation of them. This morning there was mention of staff cars. I do not deny that some Ministries may require staff cars. But a scrutiny may be made into the use of these cars and the number restricted to bare necessity. If this is done I am confident that the honourable the Finance Minister will be able to save about 15 lakhs. It appears that these 'Other charges' also include touring charges. There are tours and tours. When you can go by train, you may travel by plane and when you can go by a service plane, you may charter a plane and go. All these lead to unnecessary expenditure and extravagance which should be cut down and the amount saved made available for more useful purposes. I believe that the Finance Minister will have a scrutiny made into these items and thus reduce the deficit now found in the Budget.

گیانی گورمکھ سنگھ مسافر : سبھا پتی جی ! میں وقت تھوڑا ہونے کے باعث کسی تمہیری بات یا رسمی مبارکباد کے بغیر ہی اپنی بات کو جو کہ میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں شروع کرتا ہوں۔ اور میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہمارے ورکس مائنس اور پار کے ملٹری مبارکباد کے اتنے محتاج بھی نہیں ہیں۔ جو کچھ انہوں نے اپنے کام کی رپورٹ میں لکھا ہے اور جو کچھ انہوں نے آج صبح اپنے بھاشن میں بتایا ہے اس سے ظاہر ہے کہ انہوں نے اپنے محکمے کو ترقی دینے کے لئے بہت کام کیا ہے۔ جیسا کہ میرے بہت سے ساتھیوں نے کہا ہے۔ یہ تھیک ہے کہ ورکس مائنس اور پار کے ڈیپارٹمنٹ (department) کے کام پر بہت سی باتوں کی ترقی کا انحصار ہے۔ میں اس وقت بولنے کی زیادہ ضرورت نہ سمجھتا، اگر جو باتیں میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں ان کو کسی اور ممبر صاحب نے کہہ دیا ہوتا۔

اس وقت پنجاب کی حالت بہت ہی زیادہ توجہ کی محتاج ہے۔ پچھلے دنوں ہمارے قبیلی پرائم منسٹر سردار یقیل جی نے انبالہ میں پنجابیوں کو مخاطب کرتے ہوئے کہا تھا کہ پنجابیوں نے بہت کچھ کھویا ہے اور اب انہیں ایسٹ پنجاب میں اسے بلانا ہے۔ تو ایسٹ پنجاب کو سب سے زیادہ ورکس مائنس پار کی منسٹری کی توجہ اس وقت زرخیز بنا سکتی ہے۔ یہ تھیک ہے کہ باکھڑا دام کی اسکیم کو عملی شکل دے کر بہت کچھ کام ہو رہا ہے اور گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا سے مدد مل رہی ہے۔ مگر جیسا صبح مانلیہ ملٹری نے کہا اس وقت انکی ایک درجن سے زیادہ پروجیکٹس (projects) چل رہی ہیں۔ تو جس رفتار سے کام ہو رہا ہے اس سے پنجاب کی حالت کے متعلق مجھے ایک فارسی کی مثل یاد آتی ہے۔

تا تریاق از عراق آوردہ بود

مار گزیدہ مردہ۔ بود

یعنی جب تک عراق سے دوا آئے گی تب تک سانپ کا کاٹا مر جائے گا۔

[گیانی گورمکھ سنگھ مسافر]

دوب موئے نوکا ملے
کت کام نہ آوے۔

جس دھنگ سے کام ہو رہا ہے اس طرح تو پنجاب کو سات یا آٹھ سال تک ایبری گیشن (irrigation) اور بجلی سے کوئی فائدہ حاصل نہیں ہو سکتا۔ اس لئے میں ایک چھوٹی سی تجویز کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔ کہ پنجاب میں ایک چھوٹا سا دو آب کا علاقہ ہے اس کی زمین بہت زرخیز ہے اور اس میں بہت اناج پیدا کیا جا سکتا ہے مگر پانی کی کمی ہے۔ وہاں ایک چھوٹی سی ندی ہے جسکا نام ہے دہریلی۔ اگر اس ندی کا ایک چھوٹا سا پراجیکٹ بنا لیا جائے تو اس سے بہت سا علاقہ زرخیز بن سکتا ہے اور وہاں اگر جلد کام کیا جائے تو اس سے پنجاب کے ایک حصہ کو بہت جلد فائدہ پہنچ سکتا ہے۔ کیوں کہ پنجاب خستہ حالت میں ہے اور وہاں ریست پنجاب کے لوگ اچھی اچھی زمینیں چھوڑ چھوڑ کر آئے ہیں۔ اس سے ان کو بہت شانتی ملے گی۔ اور میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہندوستان کی بھی بھلائی اسی میں ہے کہ پنجاب خوش حال رہے۔ اور اس میں آبپاشی کے انتظام بہت جلد کئے جائیں۔

دوسری بات جسکی طرف میں خاص طور سے توجہ دلانا چاہتا ہوں وہ سڑکوں کی بابت ہے۔ جو بات میں نے ریلوے بچت کے وقت کہی تھی وہی بات میں پھر کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس وقت ایسٹ پنجاب کی بھی پوزیشن ہے جو کہ یونائیٹڈ پنجاب کے وقت میں ریست پنجاب کی تھی۔ ریست پنجاب میں خاص طور پر اچھی سڑکیں بنائی گئی تھیں۔ لاہور سے ہی یہ اچھی سڑکیں نکلی تھیں۔ اگر آپ لاہور سے پشاور تک اور دہلی سے امرتسر تک سفر کریں تو آپکو پتہ چلے گا کہ دونوں میں کتنا فرق ہے۔ اُس طرف سڑکیں بہت اچھی ہیں اور ادھر بہت خراب ہیں۔ امرتسر۔ فیروزپور اور گورداس پور جو تین بارڈر کے ضلعے ہیں ان کو ملانے کے لئے کوئی روڈ لنک نہیں ہے۔ جس طرح کہ کوئی ریلوے لنک نہیں ہے۔ اسلئے اسٹریٹجک (strategic) نقطہ خیال ہے۔ کمرشل (commercial) نقطہ خیال ہے اور ایبری گیشن کے خیال سے۔ سڑکوں پر توجہ دینا بہت ضروری ہے۔

تیسری بات میں اس محکمہ کی افی شینسی (efficiency) اور کوالٹی (quality) آف ورک کے متعلق کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ میرے دوست چودھری روہنی کمار جی نے مزاحیہ لہجہ میں اس کا ذکر کیا ہے۔ اس لئے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اسے کہیں مزاق ہی نہ سمجھ لیا جائے۔ میں چاہتا ہوں کہ میمبر صاحبان ان کوارٹروں کو دیکھیں جو کہ پوسا روڈ پر رفیوجیز کے لئے بنے ہیں۔ میں عرض کروں گا کہ وہ اگر انکو دیکھیں گے تو اسی نتیجے پر پہنچیں گے کہ نہ وہاں سینی ٹیشن (sanitation) ہے۔ نہ وہنٹی لیشن (ventilation) ہے اور نہ

اکوموڈیشن (accommodation) ہے۔ اور نہ دیوریشن (duration) ہے۔ یعنی ان مکانوں میں کوئی بھی خوبی نہیں ہے۔ وہاں اگر کوئی خستہ حال سڑک پر پڑا ہے تو اسکو سر لکانے کے لئے جگہ ہے۔ اور وہ مجبوراً وہاں آ گئے ہیں۔ مگر دراصل وہاں روپیہ برباد ہی کیا گیا ہے۔ میں منسٹر صاحب کی خدمت میں عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ پانی پت میں جو کوارٹر رفیوجیز کے لئے بنے ہیں ان کو دیکھیں کہ وہ کتنے اچھے بنے ہیں۔ اگر وہاں اچھے مکان بن سکتے ہیں تو یہاں بھی بن سکتے ہیں۔ میں یہ مانتا ہوں کہ یہ کام تھیکہ پر کروایا گیا ہے۔ ہمارے پنجاب میں ایک مثل مشہور ہے کہ جو لوگا یا لڑکی خوبصورت ہوتا ہے اس کو کہا جاتا ہے کہ ایشور نے اسکو اپنے ہاتھ سے بنایا ہے اور بد صورت کے متعلق کہا جاتا ہے کہ یہ تھیکے پر بنایا گیا ہے۔ تو ان تھیکے پر بنائے گئے مکانوں کی حالت اتنی خراب ہے کہ اگر ایک چارپائی بچھا لی جائے تو کوئی باہر نکلنے کی جگہ نہیں دھتی۔ کوئی سینٹیشن کا انتظام نہیں ہے۔ پچھلے دنوں جب بارش ہوئی تو میں نے دیکھا کہ بارش کا پانی اندر بھر گیا تھا۔ اور سب لوگ گھروں سے باہر تھے۔ ان کے پاس جو سامان تھا وہ بھی بہت خراب ہو گیا تھا۔ لوگوں میں یہ خیال ہے کہ رفیوجیز کو دہلی میں برداشت نہیں کیا جا رہا ہے۔ میزا کہنا یہ ہے کہ اس طرح کے مکان دیکر اس خیال کو پکا نہ کیا جائے۔

چوتھی بات میں لیبر ریکشن کے بارے میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ ہارڈنگ ایوی نیو کیسپ میں جہاں کہ پہلے ملتری کے افسر رہتے تھے اب وہاں رفیوجیز رہتے ہیں۔ وہ کرایہ بھی اتنا ہی دیتے ہیں۔ وہاں پر پہلے چالیس سویپرز (sweepers) صفائی کا کام کرتے تھے۔ اب آٹھ دس ہیں۔ پہلے وہاں ۲۵ چوکیدار تھے۔ اب ۷-۵ چوکیدار رہ گئے ہیں۔ اس سے سینٹیشن خراب ہو گیا ہے اور چوری کا اندیشہ ہے۔ اس تھوڑی سی لیبر کے گھٹانے سے محکمے کو کوئی زیادہ فائدہ نہیں ہو سکتا۔ اگر کسی بڑے افسر کو کم کر دیا جائے تو اس سے ساری کمی پوری ہو سکتی ہے۔ میرا مطلب یہ ہے کہ لو پیڈ آدمی کے گھٹانے سے بچت کم ہوتی ہے اور نقصان زیادہ۔

آخری بات میں سبھا پتی جی کی وساطت سے اپنے منتری جی سے یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اٹانامکس (economics) کے پلندوں کی ہندوستان کے متعلق یہ رائے ہے کہ: "India is a rich country with poor people" تو یہ ہمارے مانلیہ منتری جی کے ہاتھ میں ہے کہ وہ اس خیال کو بدل سکتے ہیں۔ قدرت نے ہندوستان کو دو چیزیں دی ہیں۔ پانی اور معدنیات۔ ان دونوں چیزوں کا استعمال ورکس، مائنس پارور کے منسٹر صاحب کے ہاتھ میں ہے۔ پانی سے بجلی بنانے کا کام تیزی سے کیا جائے۔ معدنیات کے استعمال کے بارے میں لمبی باتوں کو چھوڑ کر۔ میں ایک ہی مثال لیتا ہوں۔ ہندوستان میں بہت سے معدنیات ہیں۔ ان میں سے

[گیانی گurmukh سنگھ مسافر]

ایک کو خاص طور پر نظر انداز کیا گیا ہے - وہ ہے مائک یا ایوک - اس کا استعمال ہم اوگ کسی اور تہائی سے کرتے ہیں - مگر جو اس کا اصلی استعمال ہے اس پر ہماری توجہ نہیں گئی ہے - اس کا کوئی سبستی ٹیوٹ (substitute) نہیں ہے - جسکی وجہ سے اسکی قیمت بہت زیادہ ہے - جب تک ہمارے بجلی کے پراجیکٹ پورے ہونگے اور یہاں بجلی کا سامان تیار ہوگا تب تک یہ مائک موجودہ رفتار میں ایکسپورت کرنا ختم ہو جائے گا - اس لئے میں منسٹر صاحب کی خدمت میں یہ پیش کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس پر کچھ چیک لگانا چاہیئے - ہندوستان میں دنیا بھر کے آگے سے زیادہ مائک پیدا ہوتا ہے - اور ہر سال دو کروڑ روپیہ کا یہ ایکسپورت (export) ہوتا ہے - ہمیں اس دو کروڑ روپیہ کی خوشی میں اس کی دیش میں ضرورت کو نہ بھول جانا چاہیئے - اور اس کی سلہال ہونی چاہیئے - ایسا نہ ہو کہ جب ہمارے ملک میں بجلی پروڈیوس (produce) ہونے لگے اور الیکٹرک گودس تیار ہونے لگے تو مائک ختم ہو جائے - اس طرح جو اس قسم کی اور معدنیات ہیں انکے بارے میں بھی کہا جا سکتا ہے مگر وقت نہیں ہے - ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اپنی اسپیچ کو ختم کرتا ہوں -

(English translation of the above speech)

Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir (East Punjab: Sikh): Sir, as the time at my disposal is short, so without any introduction or customary thanksgiving, I begin to submit whatever I have to say in my speech. I know that our honourable the Minister for Works, Mines and Power does not stand in need of any thanksgiving. From what he has mentioned in his report and what he has told in his speech this morning it is clear that he has done a lot for the advancement of his Department. As many of my honourable friends have said it is true that on the working of the Works, Mines and Power Department depends, to a great extent, the advancement of many things. I would not have felt the necessity of making a speech at the present, had some other honourable member submitted the things that I want to submit.

The present condition of Punjab deserves a great deal of attention. Some time back while addressing the people of Punjab at Ambala our Deputy Prime Minister the honourable Sardar Patel, had said that the Punjabis have lost much and now they have to re-build the same in East Punjab. So a prior and careful attention of the Works, Mines and Power Ministry can now make the East Punjab prosperous. It is true that a good deal of work is being done by giving practical shape to the Bhakra Dam Scheme, and help is also being received from Government of India. The honourable Minister said this morning that at present more than one dozen projects are being carried on. Keeping the Punjab in view the speed with which the work is progressing reminds me of an old Persian proverb:

تا تریاق از عراق آورده بود

مار گزیده مرده بود

(By the time the medicine could be had from Iraq the snake-bitten man would die.)

(If one gets a boat after he is drowned it is of no use to him).

By the manner in which work is being carried on then Punjab cannot get any benefit in respect of irrigation and electricity for seven or eight years hence. For this I wish to make a small suggestion. In Punjab there is small doab tract, the soil of which is very fertile. Much food grains can be grown there, but the tract is deficient in water supply. There flows a small river called Reni. If a small project is made of that river, then with its help a large area can be made fertile, and if work there is expedited then it can prove beneficial to one part of Punjab at a very early date. Punjab is in tottering condition and there have come those people from West Punjab who have left behind very fertile lands. This would give them a great deal of relief. I think that the welfare of India depends upon the prosperity of Punjab and so speedy measures may be taken for intensifying irrigation projects.

The second thing, which I wish to draw your attention particularly, is about the problem of roads. I wish to repeat all what I said at the time of the Railway Budget, that at present the position of East Punjab is identical with the position that West Punjab had in the time of United Punjab. Good roads were specially made in West Punjab. All these good roads diverged from Lahore only. If you travel from Lahore to Peshawar and from Delhi to Amritsar then you would come to know how much they differ from each other. There the roads are very good and here they are very bad. There is no roadlink connecting the three border districts of Amritsar, Ferozepur and Gurdaspur, in the same way as there is no rail link between them. So from the strategic point of view, from the commercial point of view and from the irrigation point of view, it is very essential to pay more attention towards the roads.

The third thing I wish to submit about the efficiency and the quality of work of the department. My friend Shri Chaudhuri Rohini Kumar has referred to it in a humorous way. I think lest it may be considered a piece of humour only, I wish the honourable Members may see for themselves the quarters that have been built for refugees at Pusa Road, I would submit that if they would see them they would come to this very conclusion that there is neither sanitation, nor ventilation, nor accommodation, meaning thereby that there is no convenience in these houses except that they provide only a roof to those unfortunates who were lying on roads in the open, and have occupied these houses out of sheer helplessness. In fact money has been wasted there. I wish to submit to the Honourable the Minister that he may go and see how nice are the quarters that have been constructed for the refugees at Panipat (East Punjab). If good houses can be constructed there then they can surely be constructed here also. I agree that this work was got done on contract basis. In the Punjab there is a proverb which means that the children who are beautiful that God has made them with his own hands, and about ugly ones that they have been made on contract basis. So the condition of these houses, made on contract basis, is so bad that if a cot is placed therein, then no passage for exit is left. There is no arrangement for sanitation. When it rained a few days back I saw that the rain water had collected inside the houses and all the people came outside their houses, and whatever goods they had were all soaked and spoiled. The people think that the refugees are not being tolerated in Delhi. I wish to submit that these surmises may not be strengthened by giving such houses to them.

The fourth thing I wish to submit about labour reduction. In Hardinge Avenue Camp, where previously the military officers lived, now live the refugees. They pay the same amount of rent. There previously 40 sweepers used to do the conservancy work but now the number is only 5 or 10. Previously there were 25 chowkidars, now only 5 or 7 chowkidars are left. For this the

[Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir]

sanitation has become bad and there is apprehension of thefts. The department cannot gain much benefit by reducing this small amount of labour. If the services of one high placed official is terminated then by this all the deficit can be made up. I mean to say that by reducing low paid labour the saving is always less but the inconveniences increase.

With your permission Sir, the last thing that I wish to submit to our honourable the Minister is that the expert economists hold this opinion about India that, "India is a rich country with poor people". So it is within the power of our honourable the Minister that he can change this opinion. The Nature has given to India two things—water and minerals. The operation of these two things lies in the hands of the honourable the Minister for Works, Mines and Power. The work of generating hydro-electric power may be speeded up. As regards the utilization of these minerals, leaving aside tall talks, I wish to submit only one example. India has a number of minerals. One of them has been expressly disregarded, and that mineral is Mica. We use Mica in quite a different manner, but about its fundamental utility we have paid no attention. There is no substitute for Mica and for this reason its price is very high. Till the time our electricity generating projects would be completed and electrical goods manufactured here, then, at the present rate of export, our supply of Mica will be exhausted. Therefore, I wish to submit this for the kind consideration of the honourable the Minister that some check must be placed on this. India produces more than half of the world output of Mica and every year Mica worth 2 crores of rupees is exported. In sheer joy of getting 2 crores of rupees we must not forget the needs of our own country and so care should be taken to retain it. It may not so happen that when electricity begins to be produced in bulk in our country and electric goods are manufactured the supplies of Mica may be exhausted. This can be said about such other minerals, but there is no time at my disposal. With these words Sir, I finish my speech.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Mr. Chairman, thirteen honourable members have participated in the discussion this day. I shall deal with the various points raised by the honourable members; but before I do that, I would like to refer to the general observations made by the honourable Member Prof. K. T. Shah.

He described this House as a mutual admiration society. At least I was present in this House on the 3rd, 4th and 5th of March and I did not carry that impression and the impression that was carried by the public tallied with mine. I am surprised that the House should be described as a mutual admiration society. When I hear from my socialist friends that there is no party of opposition in this House, it may be true in a formal sense, but substantially, every proposition, every Bill is considered here on merits irrespective of party affiliation. This only shows how eminently we are fit to run a democratic Government.

The honourable Prof. K. T. Shah rightly referred to the absolute necessity of having an over-all plan so far as the industrial development of this country is concerned. I agree with him that in any planned economy, there must be complete integration between the various resources, that there should be target fixed in terms of time and that they should be realised by adequate agencies that may be evolved by the Government of the day. I do not think that the Government is unmindful of this fact. As a matter of fact, when there was some financial difficulty, the Government appointed a Priority Committee and the respective merits of every project were considered, not only the projects

of this Ministry, but projects which were sponsored by the Ministry of Industry also, and a proper integrated plan has been evolved. At the same time, I appreciate his anxiety and I have no doubt the Government will give this particular aspect due consideration in course of time.

Another general observation that was made by my friend Babu Ramnarain was about efficiency and corruption. Efficiency has been described as a process which secures optimum result with minimum resources in terms of time, space and material. Judged by this test, I am hopeful that what this Ministry has done will be considered to have been done with a fair measure of efficiency. The other point which was referred to by my friend Babu Ramnarain was about corruption. I may point out to him that all possible efforts are being made to put down corruption. Every complaint whether it is signed or unsigned, is enquired into. When I feel that there is a *prima facie* case, the matter is referred to Special Police, prosecutions have been launched, disciplinary actions have been taken. With all that I feel after nearly 18 months that after all fear is not a state of mind which would give me the required constructive approach to the solution of my problems. I have therefore made some slight changes in the approach to this problem. I have since sometime been appealing to the finer instincts of the officers and in one of the meetings I said "If you only believe that we are partners in a great co-operative enterprise and none of us is insignificant and at the same time none of us is indispensable, we will have a fair and a balanced view of our own duties" I still feel that by an appeal to the finer instincts of our officials we will get better results. At the same time I do not propose to give up the other approach improved cases or in cases where there is *prima facie* evidence. That I propose to take all the steps I have mentioned already. I have already placed before them the ideal of industry, integrity and anonymity and my experience is I should say that I have received full co-operation from the Secretary down to the sweeper engaged in the Ministry. Not that they don't generally partake of those movements which are abroad occasionally, they are lethargic sometimes, they don't work sometimes, they threaten to strike but so far as dealing in a manner which is somewhat unorthodox is concerned, it has given me good results. I have introduced what is called the Whitley Council system in our Ministry. Every month the Head of the Section meets the subordinates, then the Heads of Sections meet the Departmental Head and the Departmental Heads meet me every month. It is a sort of informal gathering where no individual complaints but problems which relate to conditions of work and efficiency are discussed and anything said in these meetings is never taken into consideration against him and never prejudices the chances of any particular officer. After all we may describe Government as a machine but it is not the machine—not the mechanics of it, but it is the personality of the worker that is important and unless you give that personality a fair chance to expand and show initiative and show constructiveness, you cannot expect any progress in the country.

Now taking the point made by several honourable Members, my old friend Mr. B. Das made certain remarks about certain items in the budget. I may tell him that so far as the Delhi Electricity Authority is concerned, the amount is deposited with the Reserve Bank and as against that orders are placed. The other precautions which he urged in connection with the framing of the budget of Damodar Valley Corporation are welcome and they will be passed on to the appropriate authorities. So far as the budget estimates that have been presented by me a few days ago, I can only say this is the first time and the year started not exactly on the first of April but somewhat in the middle of the normal financial year. I now go to points raised by my honourable friend Kala Venkata Rao. He made two points, one was with respect to the right

[Shri N. V. Gadgil]

approach to such problems as irrigation and power. I entirely agree and he must have noticed not merely from what I have said often but what we are doing and in the way we are doing that we look upon expansion of irrigation facilities not in terms of dividend or profit but we feel that it has an insurance value and it is a matter which must be done. Just as in the matter of defence of a country, financial considerations are irrelevant and invalid, and the country has to be defended I think in the matter of food, equally all considerations of finances or economic considerations must be similarly irrelevant. It is with that definite view we have decided to go with these multi-purpose projects. When I said that I am concentrating attention on those which give me quicker results, it did not mean that I am going to neglect or postpone indefinitely any other project which are under investigation or which are complete so far as the investigation stage is concerned. He is rightly worried over the Ramapadasagar Project and questions that have been asked in this House also show what great interest at least the members from the South take in this particular project. I said in 1942 on Dussehra Day when I was in the Yeravada Jail and when we gathered together to celebrate it in spite of Jail Manual, 'I am so confident of ultimate success that although I was born in a slave country, I am going to die in a free country. On the 15th August 1947 not only I found myself in a free country but by a singular stroke of good fortune I found myself included in the first cabinet of this country, I said somehow or other my words are like those of the old Rishi—

ऋषिणाम पुनराधाम् वाचमर्थोर्नुधावति (Meaning follows the words uttered by great sages.)

Let me make another prophecy and that is 'I shall die in a prosperous country' and I pledge every moment of my life, every ounce of my energy that I shall spare neither in pushing those schemes which are going to make my country prosperous and full of everything we need. With that determination not only I am proceeding but somehow or other I have been able to inject that enthusiasm in my officers and if anyone of the honourable Members care to visit while they are working in the Secretariat or much more on the projects, we will find how conscientiously, how courageously they are fighting the forces of nature and carrying out plans which it is their duty to do. When I said that I am preferring schemes which will give quicker results, it was with this object. For we have been spending over 100 crores round about on the import of food annually and the sooner I am in a position to produce more food in the country the better. Rampadsagar is going to be one of the wonderful engineering feats. If the Taj Mahal represents the highest watermark in art, Rampadsagar, if and when completed will represent the highest watermark in engineering skill. But what my country needs today is not an engineering record, but solid actual facts which will give me quicker results. With that object in view, if I have delayed it, it is not only in the interest of Andhra but also in the interest of the whole country. I repeat my assurance that when financial circumstances improve, I shall certainly do my best to push this scheme also. A friend of mine suggested that this should be taken section-wise. But these schemes are such that they cannot be divided. You cannot take one section after another. Either you take up the whole or you do not take it at all.

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Madras: General): The engineers have said so!

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: You are going to commit the country to an expenditure of Rs. 130 crores for a scheme which will take seven years for the filling up of the foundation, 12 years for the irrigation aspect, 19 years for complete development, absorbing in its wake all the engineering staff of

Madras and all the steel and cement that is made available for Madras. I have now to judge between these two alternatives—whether I shall go in for the Ramapadsagar scheme or delay it for some time because the interest of the country requires that I should concentrate more on something else. The House will agree that while on the one hand I am not prejudiced against the Rampadsagar scheme, on the other hand I am doing something which is entirely in the interest of this country. If there is anything that can be attributed to me, it will be an error of judgment but there is no *mala fides* on my part.

Then, Sir, my honourable friend Kala Venkata Rao suggested certain financial proposals in order to finance big schemes. I am not an indifferent economist but on this particular point I do not want to venture any suggestion, because a greater authority is present in the House, and I am sure at some due moment the honourable Dr. John Matthai will deal with it. But let me state briefly that if we follow these suggestions we will only meet with disaster and nothing else.

Shri B. Das: Specialists will follow it!

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Then, Sir, a reference was made by my honourable friend, Babu Ram Narayan Singh and Mr. Jhunjhunwalla about Kosi. As a matter of fact, I am not only not neglecting it, but my officers had to fight several times in order to get some amount sanctioned for the continuance of investigations which are going on and for the ensuing financial year. Rs. 20,26,000 have been sanctioned.

Shri B. L. Sondhi: But this is all that you wanted!

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Honourable Members who are from Bihar naturally feel very keenly about it. I share their keenness. I know nearly 20,000 square miles are affected as well as 3,00,000 acres of good land. But at the same time how difficult is the problem will be realized if honourable Members know that this whole area is in the earthquake region. Where shall I put the dam? Suppose I make the slightest mistake and spend about Rs. 75 crores over this project, and if by some freak of nature the whole thing topples, not only I lose Rs. 75 crores but the consequential damage will be still greater. Therefore, I am taking the most expert advice available and also seeing things for myself. It may interest my honourable friend from Bihar that I am leaving for Kosi tomorrow afternoon. All that I want them to know (Shri H. V. Kamath: 'Take them with you!') is that the Government is not neglecting this scheme. Government propose to go ahead with investigation and when the investigations are complete the results will be submitted to a high expert committee. As I said I do not want to take a chance nor any risk with such huge financial commitments.

My honourable friend, Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri, in his inimitable way said something about furniture and other matters. As a matter of fact, furniture is designed according to the normal size of a person that would occupy them. If some calamity happens in odd circumstances surely the P.W.D. is not responsible for it! He enumerated several charges. I am just thinking whether to justify the past criticism of my department I should offer, if not free boarding at least free lodging to the Members of the House and in case I do that I am sure to carry my demands unanimously (Honourable Members: 'No, no').

Shri B. L. Sondhi: We are not selfish!

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I want to recover fair rent. Those charges which he has mentioned are with respect to the chaukidar, maintenance and the garden. At any rate, when I was staying in one of the Ferozshah Road bungalows there was something like a garden: of course, not like the one in the Governor-General's House!

Shri R. K. Sidhva (C. P. and Berar: General): The Ministers!

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: However, if there is any particular grievance, I promise I shall look into it and I am sure the experience of the honourable Member has been that whenever any complaint has been made, at least on my part I have tried to remove it promptly.

A point was made by my honourable friend, Mr. Chaliha about the possibilities of finding further oil in Assam. I have already stated on several occasions that it is the intention of this Government to tap further sources but all that is conditioned by the supply of officers that we have in our Survey of India Department. At present one party is already working in Assam. We hope to succeed in expanding our staff, so far we know that Assam is the place where oil is likely to be found in abundance, and there is one consideration that the province is not combustible like Bengal. So more attention will be paid in future, and all those places which only an Assamese can pronounce have been somehow or other taken down by me—I do not know with what correctness—and they will be just looked into and forwarded to the Geological Survey Department.

A reference was made to rent control and the housing problem. Let me repeat that this Government has not accepted fully the obligation of housing all the officials. So far as housing for the general non-official public is concerned, no definite obligation has yet been accepted by the Government. The only obligation is to accommodate refugees and some houses have been built.

A complaint has been made in this House that those houses are not all that they should be. But they have been designed by the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry and my Ministry is only the construction agency. At the same time, I have visited those houses and I feel that they may not be palaces but that they are fairly good and they are meant for the time being to meet the immediate demand and not to be the solution of the long-term housing problem.

About rent control and building of new houses, the complaint seems to come not very much from the bottom of the heart of my friend, Babu Ram Narayan Singh. It seems that somebody has communicated to him something and he has placed that complaint before the House. I want to assure him that this Government is very anxious to encourage building programmes on the part of non-officials because to that extent the trouble will be less for me individually.

But I may say that if new houses are built. I am determined that the landlord shall not exploit the tenant.

On that make no mistake and the agency for determining the standard rent is there and it is drawn up according to the provisions of the law. 5 P. M. If any particular landlord satisfied the authority that he has spent so much then in terms of that amount the standard rent will be fixed. If there is any particular grievance of any individual I am quite prepared to go into it and recommend such just action as may be appropriate in that case.

Sir, I have come to the end of my speech. Brick by brick and dam by dam these projects are being completed and I should say that brick by brick we are building up the Temple of Prosperity. It has been given to this generation to put its best efforts, so that when the results come they will be available to the generations that will follow us. I am sure that in this task we shall all co-operate whole heartedly. We shall do something and not remain mere spectators, for I feel that if you want to bring in a classless society, which undoubtedly is the object of the party to which you and I belong, it is only possible to have that classless society if we create conditions in which there will be abundance

and not scarcity. It is only when there is plenty there is prosperity: it is only when there is abundance there is less of those vices which come up before criminal courts. If we are successful in creating those conditions we will be creating a classless society and we would be, I should say, translating the dream of Mahatma Gandhi into actual reality.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,15,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Irrigation (including Working Expenses), Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works met from Revenue'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,05,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Works, Mines and Power'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 36,65,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Geological Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,38,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Mines'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,95,30,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Civil Works'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,88,84,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Stationery and Printing'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,50,50,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Delhi Capital Outlay'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,06,18,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Civil Works'."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 11th March, 1949.

**CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)
DEBATES
(PART II — PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)**

Friday, 11th March, 1949

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

—45 A.M

THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—contd.

SECOND STAGE—contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now proceed with the Demands for Grants in respect of Commerce. I shall place the Demands before the House.

DEMAND No. 21—MINISTRY OF COMMERCE

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 60,72,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of the ‘Ministry of Commerce’.”

DEMAND No. 36—PORTS AND PILOTAGE

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 42,73,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of ‘Ports and Pilotage’.”

DEMAND No. 37—LIGHTHOUSES AND LIGHTSHIPS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,32,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of ‘Lighthouses and Lightships’.”

DEMAND No. 62 —COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND STATISTICS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 59,65,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of ‘Commercial Intelligence and Statistics’.”

DEMAND No. 64—JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,57,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of ‘Joint-Stock Companies’.”

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy (Minister of Commerce): Sir, honourable Members have been furnished with a set of papers which give a brief account of the various responsibilities that are included within the duties of the Ministry of Commerce. I venture to think however that they do not give an adequate impression about the enhanced responsibilities that have been

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cast on this Ministry and the complex problems that it has to deal with as a result of the attainment of independence by the country. Today for the first time after centuries we are contacting the rest of the world, as a free nation, in the field of international trade and commerce. For the first time our ships flying the national flag are riding the seven seas and reaching different quarters of the globe laden with Indian merchandise, thus reviving the rich memories of India's glorious past. It is a rare privilege to be associated with the Ministry that has been charged with the duty of bringing into fruition such cherished dreams of the nation. Conscious as I am of my own shortcomings I venture to hope that the House will give me its full support and co-operation. The whole world, ravaged by the war, is trying to readjust its economic affairs and as we are coming into contact with the rest of the nations of the world we are bound to be influenced one way or another by the forces that are in operation in those countries. We cannot afford to plough a lonely furrow in the economic field. That is a matter that has got to be taken due note of by this House and the country while making criticisms of any policy that we may have to adopt in pursuance of international trends in the field of trade and commerce.

Sir, difficult as are the problems that have arisen due to these world trends, our difficulties have been enhanced by the partition of the country as a sequel to the attainment of independence. It is no reflection on any one to say that perhaps the economic effects of the partition were not fully foreseen. Perhaps partition was inevitable and whatever its price, it had to be paid. But the fact remains that apart from the political consequences that followed, with which I am not at the moment concerned, trade which was in the nature of an internal trade between different parts of a country whose economy was an integrated one became overnight foreign trade and people who looked upon each other as brothers one fine morning faced each other as foreigners. Customs barriers were imposed; quotas were adopted and all the paraphernalia affecting foreign trade was in evidence. Sir, one need not try to emphasize the absurdity of it all, and if I may express my own personal hopes and ambitions I would say that I should, if possible, like to ignore the partition so far as the trade between the two Dominions is concerned. It may perhaps be taken as an earnest of that ideal that we have within the last few days considerably liberalised our export policy so far as Pakistan is concerned. Honourable Members may have noticed two Press Notes published in quick succession which indicate the various commodities in respect of which all the cramping rules and regulations that were in operation are mostly to be withdrawn. I was somewhat distressed to find in the present Budget of the Pakistan Government certain proposals of taxation which are calculated to affect Pakistan's trade with India and prejudice the interests of our country. I am gratified to learn however that the Pakistan authorities are fully convinced of the necessity for intimate and whole-hearted co-operation with us in the matter of promoting internal and external trade and that they are agreeable to an early conference for the purpose of taking a comprehensive view of the problems that are likely to arise unless their proposals are materially modified.

The partition itself has been responsible for an accentuation of our food deficit and the extent to which food dominates our policy in the field of external trade is due to the partition. As I said, food dominates our policy today, and whatever the difficulties that we may have to face in the next few months it will be, I hope, a temporary phase and that when this time next year we come to discuss the policy of our foreign trade we will be able to present a more favourable and pleasing picture of the situation. But for the moment it is rather a gloomy picture that I have to draw.

I should like first of all to give a brief idea of our foreign trade position in so far as available statistical information goes. Our imports and exports have shown a steady upward trend ever since the end of the war, and the trend has been further accentuated during the current year. During the nine months ended December 1948 our imports by sea amounted to Rs. 356 crores as compared with Rs. 299 crores during the same period of 1947-48. Our exports by sea during the first nine months of the current year were Rs. 319 crores as compared with Rs. 295 crores during the same months of 1947-48. The increase in imports was much greater than that in exports with the result that we had an adverse balance of Rs. 37 crores during April to December 1948. For a fuller appreciation of the position however we need to look at the figures not merely for the aggregate import and export trade but also the import and export trade with particular currency areas. Recently I had occasion to supply the House with a statement showing the picture of our balance of trade. I may briefly recapitulate the facts as emerge from the statistical statement that I laid on the Table the other day. During the period April to October, 1948, our imports from dollar and other hard currency areas were sharply reduced to Rs. 73 crores as compared with Rs. 86 crores during the corresponding period of 1947. Our exports to those areas on the other hand increased from Rs. 64 crores to Rs. 67 crores between the same periods. The increase of exports to dollar and hard currency areas, combined with a sharp decline in imports from such areas, resulted in a substantial decrease in the adverse balance of trade with those areas, from Rs. 22 crores in the first seven months of 1947-48 to Rs. 5 crores in the same months of the current year. I cannot be too sure that this improvement will be maintained because in recent months exports to hard currency areas show a tendency to fall off. Again, it is not an improvement in any real sense because the reduction in the adverse balances has been achieved largely by a drastic cut in imports from those areas and the cut has to be maintained and further increased.

The adverse balance of trade with the medium currency areas also declined from Rs. 6 crores in April to October, 1947, to Rs. 3 crores in April to October, 1948.

In contrast with the decrease in imports from hard and medium currency areas, imports from soft currency areas showed a substantial increase rising from Rs. 146 crores in April to October, 1947, to Rs. 190 crores in April to October, 1948. The increase in imports was not balanced by a proper expansion of exports, the corresponding figures for exports being Rs. 154 crores and Rs. 170 crores for the first seven months of 1947 and 1948 respectively. The result is that while the balance of trade with soft currency areas was favourable to the extent of Rs. 8 crores in the first seven months of 1947-48, it became adverse to the extent of Rs. 20 crores during the first seven months of 1948-49.

We may endeavour to meet the deficit in balance of trade in several ways: by increasing exports, by reducing imports, by drawing upon accumulated exchange resources or by borrowing.

So far as exports are concerned, honourable Members will see from the figures first quoted by me that our export drive has yielded results which could be regarded as gratifying. Our exports to all the three currency groups—hard, medium and soft—have shown varying degrees of expansion, the expansion of exports to the soft currency areas being the greatest. Part of the increase in exports is undoubtedly due to the rise in prices, but judging from the figures for a few selected commodities, it is evident that there has been a fair increase in the quantum of exports also. The relatively large increase in exports to soft currency areas is only natural because many of our principal markets lie in soft

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currency areas and absorb more than 60 per cent. of our total exports. During the current year, our export drive had to contend with a great many difficulties.

Our export capacity in respect of several commodities like jute, cotton and hides and skins has seriously dwindled on account of 12 NOON partition. The need for increased food production entailed a diversion of acreage from commercial to food crops and this has also reduced the exportable surpluses of such crops.

Inflation has further added to our difficulties. Buyers in the foreign markets are already showing considerable resistance to the high prices being charged for our exports. In October last we decided to remove the export duties on castor seed and castor oil but owing to rampant cornering and profiteering even this measure has failed to produce the desired effect. In the Budget proposals it has been proposed to take off the remaining duties on oil seeds and vegetable oils and I hope the result of this will not be nullified by a further rise in internal prices.

Sir, I should like to come now to an examination of our import and export policy. So far as imports go, the controls are an abiding feature of our policy. Controls have continued so long that many of us have begun to think that controls are an essential part of our import policy. But I should like to remind the House that import control was imposed in the beginning only for the purpose of conserving foreign exchange and also the limited shipping space then available. When the war terminated, there was a great demand for the supply and importation of plant and machinery and other essential commodities needed for the resuscitation and repair of industries that had been overworked during the war-time and for meeting the needs of new industries that had been planned. As a result of this demand the import policy was liberalised in 1946. The liberalisation was not confined to the needs of the indigenous industry, but in view of the then prevailing inflationary situation a very large amount of consumer goods of various types were also indiscriminately allowed to be imported in the year 1946-47. Later, when the situation was reviewed by the then Government, it was decided to modify the import policy and in July 1947 the import policy became closely linked with foreign exchange control and balance of payment problems. A highly restrictive policy was introduced in July 1947 and by July 1948, that is to say even by the year following, the evil effects of such a restrictive policy began to be prominent. As a matter of fact, when the delegation from India headed by Mr. Shanmukham Chetty went to England to negotiate the payment of sterling balances, one of the embarrassing factors they had to contend with was this, that instead of our being able to spend whatever allocation had then been made from the sterling balances, we had piled up a sterling surplus out of our own current earnings. In response to these circumstances, the import policy had to be liberalised early in July 1948. I have an impression that during the last autumn session of the Assembly, honourable Members were in a somewhat angry mood that the Government's policy had not enabled the country to fully utilise the sterling allocations that had been made in the past. In September, while the Assembly was still in session, the Congress Party appointed a Sub-Committee to deal with the inflationary problems then facing us.

And in the course of their report the Special Committee of the Congress Party recommended a liberalisation of our import policy so that the allocation of sterling available be fully utilized. Sir, as I said we had already liberalised our policy—rather started liberalising our policy in July 1948. In November 1948 a further liberalisation took place which took into account the desire expressed not merely by the Committee of the Congress Party in the

Assembly in this behalf but also of the opinions expressed outside by bodies interested in trade and commerce and economists of repute. Now the liberalisation which took place in November 1948 resulted in virtually freeing all commodities which were needed for indigenous industries from control so far at least as the soft currency areas were concerned. In addition in November 1948 certain luxury goods or semi-luxury goods were added to the list of commodities which came under the operation of the Open General licence as a result of this liberalisation. In regard to the luxury and semi-luxury goods, the House will remember that the import duties were at the same time substantially enhanced and I might tell the House that this method is recognised to be a legitimate method of fighting inflation *viz.*, allowing importation even of what might be called non-essential commodities and by imposing on them high import duties so that while making these goods available to the consumers, their extra purchasing power could be mopped up. It serves therefore two different ends, one fighting inflation and two, increasing the revenues of the State.

Sir, so far as the dollar imports are concerned, they are strictly limited to essential commodities. On analysis of certain statistical figures that are available to us, the approximate position appears to be as follows.

The importation of capital goods and machinery has gone up from Rs. 4 crores per month in 1947 to 5½ crores per month in 1948. These categories of imports now account for nearly 15 per cent. of our total import trade *viz.*, capital goods and machinery. In addition industrial goods comprising of raw materials and semi-manufactured articles which are needed by our indigenous industries account for 40 per cent. of the total import trade, *i.e.*, 55 per cent. of our total imports may roughly be said to represent the needs of Indian industries. The percentage of imports of plant, machinery and industrial goods from dollar areas are about 16 and 46 respectively of the total imports from these areas. Essential consumer goods of which foodgrains are the most notable, account for 37 per cent. of the dollar import and 44 per cent. of the total import trade. Imports of what may be termed luxuries or semi-luxuries being almost exclusively from non-dollar areas, are negligible, being only in the neighbourhood of two per cent. of total imports.

Now I should like to say a few words about the procedure followed in the selection of commodities for being placed on what are called the Open General Licence. There is an impression abroad that we in this Government function in compartments but I should like to assure the House that so far as the selection of commodities which are brought under such liberalised import policies is concerned, it is done as a result of inter-Ministerial consultation and particularly with the concurrence of the Ministry of Industries and Supplies. It can thus be claimed that the legitimate interests of indigenous industry are fully borne in mind while any action is taken in the direction of liberalisation of all import policies. Sir, I should like to assure the House that the Government stand committed to protection of the war-time industries. Indeed a declaration was made in this behalf some time ago by the previous Government and as a result several industries which came under that description have already received protection as a result of Tariff Board recommendations. If there are any more that need such protection, the usual procedure is certainly open to them to avail of. Now while on this point I should like to remind the House that there are industries and industries. In a recent article in a recent Special Number of a well-known finance journal an impartial observer, a well-known economist makes the following observations:

"It is obvious that many of these war industries which appeared in the vacuum created by the rigid import and shipping restrictions incidental to a total war may not deserve prolongation of an artificial existence. Many of them had a makeshift basis of production and were

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able to start production without any kind of quality control under the stimulus of protection afforded by either total stoppage of imports or the guaranteed war demand. In many cases plant and equipment were so designed as not to outlast the period of the war, for it was expected that the removal of domestic controls and import restrictions would sweep these industries out of existence. But since the transition from war to peace has been virtually a prolongation of the war period so far as the distortions of the economic life are concerned, these industries have continued their troubled existence."

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Madras: General): Does he give instances?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: It is not my intention to belittle the claim of industries generally to protection. What I intend to convey is that each case will have to be examined separately and there is no justification for prolongation of the import trade controls as a sort of blanket protection for all industries, good, bad and indifferent. As I said before we will be ready and willing to make a reference to the Tariff Board the moment we receive any application for protection from any industry that may be affected by the liberalised import policy and I may tell the House that we have recently expanded the Tariff Board itself so as to enable it to handle this additional work with expedition. Sir, a few words about our export policy. It goes without saying that the principal feature of our export policy is to attempt to increase our exports to hard currency areas. I cannot claim that we have succeeded to any very large extent in this effort but we are making constant efforts for the purpose of improving the position of the export trade so far as dollar and other hard currency areas are concerned. Now apart from that, I might briefly indicate the policy that I should like to see adopted with reference to the manufactured goods of indigenous origin. As I have already indicated certain industries have been complaining that they are hard hit because of the liberal import policy that we have adopted. My intention is and this is only my own personal opinion that the moment we place an article on the O.G.L. for purposes of import, that very moment we should place the corresponding article of indigenous manufacture on the O.G.L. for purposes of export. There may be certain special considerations that may have to be borne in mind in regard to selection of these commodities because in some cases we have to import raw materials for some of these indigenous articles even from dollar areas but subject to these precautionary measures, I should like to liberalise our export policy so that our manufactured commodities may secure a market in the other parts of the World, particularly in the Asian region.

Naturally our export policy is more liberal and unrestricted in the case of exports to hard currency areas than in the case of soft currency areas but however much we may like to divert our trade from soft to hard currency areas, we must bear in mind the supreme necessity of maintaining the markets that we have established by the efforts of centuries and because certain countries fall within the soft currency areas, their needs should not be neglected and we had been trying to meet their demands as far as possible but there is another aspect also of this matter. Whenever we allow export of jute which is in demand particularly in soft currency areas, we take care to see that as a *quid pro quo* we get from the countries concerned such of the essential commodities that we need. A sort of bargaining goes on. Even though the agreement that results from such agreements cannot be described as barter agreement, there have been barter agreements strictly so called with one or two countries. In all these cases we take care to see that we get sufficient supplies for our needs of imported articles before we agree to allocate our exportable commodities. To that extent I may claim that the essential feature of barter is present even though these agreements cannot be described as barter agreements.

The position of our exportable commodities has again been very much affected by Partition. As I said on a previous occasion, though undivided India was at one time an exporter of raw cotton and raw jute, India stands today as a net importer of raw cotton and raw jute. Therefore, so far as export markets for raw cotton and raw jute are concerned, we have lost considerably.

Now one feature to which I would like to make special reference is that, in spite of the fact that some of our commodities are still in demand in foreign countries, we are facing a great deal of competition from other sources of supply, particularly in the case of oils and oil seeds and it is really a surprising feature that wherever any other country is in a position to supply any commodity in competition with us, that commodity is found to be much cheaper than the corresponding commodity produced by India. These high prices which are complicating our internal economy are also responsible for a great deal of difficulty that we are meeting abroad in marketing our exportable commodities.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: There is no mention of efficiency.

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: As my honourable friend has mentioned that, I would like to say that even in the case of manufactured jute, apart from the fact that high prices of raw jute account for the very high prices ruling for manufactured jute, the fact remains that even the cost of production in relation to the output itself has gone up and I was told that the cost of manufacture of jute commodities in India is higher today than the cost of manufacture of jute in Dundee. I am saying this from a report that has reached me. I am not yet in a position to say whether it is correct or not. I am obliged to my honourable friend for suggesting this line of thought to me. These are matters which require serious consideration at our hands.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (West Bengal: General): You mean the processed jute?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: The cost of manufacturing jute goods in India is, according to one account I have received, greater than the cost of the corresponding process of manufacture in Dundee. My honourable friend Professor Ranga is interested in labour. This is a point which has special significance for him.

Shri B. Das (Orissa: General): Both for agricultural labour and other labour?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: I am not competent to pronounce an opinion on this, because I have not verified the information. War will take up this question in proper time.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar: General): Cannot you give the reasons for this high rise in cost?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: I may mention that there are two factors responsible for the high price of jute goods. One is the high price of the raw material which we get mostly from Pakistan. It also affects the price of raw jute grown in India. Unless and until therefore the Pakistan Government, in consultation with us and in co-operation with us, is in a position to take measures needed for the purpose of bringing down the price of raw jute, I am afraid there is no remedy available. But I want to make it clear that so far as the other aspect, namely the manufacturing aspect goes, it is done exclusively in India today. There is no manufacturing industry in Pakistan. Even the manufacturing costs have gone up in India. So much so, that according to the account I have received, the manufacturing cost of jute in India is higher than that in Dundee. As I said, this requires investigation and a proper remedy has to be found.

Pandit Laxshmi Kanta Maitra: What about the Inter-Dominion trade between India and Pakistan?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: I have already made a reference to that. The latest position is that they have expressed themselves as being agreeable to meet us at a very early date for the purpose of reviewing the whole position and making a comprehensive examination of our proposals and theirs in so far as they have a bearing upon the trade between the two Dominions. I hope that the result will be what we expect it to be.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): What is the difference between the costs?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: I am not in a position to give more details to my honourable friend. But the fact remains that due to the high price of manufactured jute, substitutes are coming into the field, particularly in the U. S. A. I have in my office certain samples of substitute jute bags got from the United States of America. They were shown to Members of our Advisory Committee. That is a menace which we have to face after we have ascertained the factors that go to raise the price of the manufactured jute apart from the high price of the raw material. This again stresses the necessity of having a joint economic policy between India and Pakistan. Because, if the ruling prices of jute continue to be as they are today, even Pakistan's interests will be seriously jeopardised. The ideal solution would, of course, be from many points of view an economic union. But, I do not know whether the time has arrived for considering that question. But very informally we, on our side, have started an investigation, study, so to say, very informally, as regards the possibility of a customs union between the two Dominions.

Sir, if the House will give me the indulgence of a few minutes more, I should like to refer to another question in which the House is greatly interested, and that relates to shipping. I had the privilege of serving as a member of the Shipping Policy Committee whose recommendations have been accepted by the Government. We stand pledged to carry out those recommendations. There have, however, been some factors which have stood in the way of a complete fulfilment of our ambition in that regard. But, it will interest the House to know that today on the coastal trade, the Indian tonnage exceeds the British tonnage for the first time in our history. Apart from this, so far as the overseas tonnage is concerned, before the war, Indian shipping did not possess even a single ship in the overseas trade. Today, we have 22 ships aggregating over one and a half lakhs of tons that are plying on India-America, and India-United Kingdom trade. Further, as the House is already aware, negotiations are proceeding about the establishment of the first Shipping Corporation in which the Central Government will participate financially. It is my hope to be able to make an announcement before the end of the session as regards the results of these negotiations.

One limiting factor apart from finances has been the inadequate supply of trained officers. So far, we were training 50 officers a year. Now, we have put in motion schemes which will enable us to train 150 officers each year for the Indian Mercantile Navy. The curriculum of training has been thoroughly revised in the light of developments in other countries.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Is it from all parts of the country?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: Yes. As I said, the pace of expansion has not been sufficiently rapid. There are certain limiting factors. First of all, there is the question of availability of suitable ships. We are finding it difficult to acquire the number of ships that we require. Even then, we

have made some progress in the matter and in anticipation of the first Shipping Corporation, negotiations for the purchase of two ships have almost been completed. One other factor that stands in the way of quicker expansion is the high prices that are demanded for these ships. We are hopeful that in the course of the next year, substantial progress will be made in this regard. If it falls to my lot to present a picture of the activities of the Commerce Ministry next year this time, I hope to be able to give an account of something of which the House may well be proud.

Shri Ramnath Goenka (Madras: General): Mr. Speaker, the honourable the Commerce Minister demanded full support for the policy of the Commerce Ministry. Let me even at the start say that he will have that support in abundance.

The net result of our import and exports has been an adverse balance of 33 crores against India, the figure just now given by the honourable the Commerce Minister. At a time when foreign exchange is greatly in demand, and the shortage is really acute, we should try our best to see that this adverse balance is wiped out, so that we have a favourable balance of trade.

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Shrimati G. Durgabai (one of the Panel of Chairmen)].

The honourable Minister mentioned that in 1946-47, the policy of imports was liberalised. Then, he said that in July 1947 it was restricted because the evil effects of a liberal policy were felt. Again he pointed out that in July 1948, the evil effects of the July 1947 policy were felt and so the policy was liberalised again. You will see, therefore, that in the course of two years, we changed our policy thrice. I would not have made a reference to the 25 member Committee of this House which went into the question of inflation had it not been mentioned by the honourable the Commerce Minister. Now what did these 25 members say? They did not approve of liberalising all imports from foreign countries. They did not say that the luxury commodities or every commodity should be put on the open general licence list. What they said was, that a careful control over imports and exports was essential; and that, in the case of imports, besides capital goods, consumer goods of utility, like bicycles, typewriters, sewing machines should be encouraged. They said that the import of essential articles should be encouraged, but not all articles of all kinds, whether necessary or unnecessary. Further on, they said that, in the opinion of the Committee attempts should be made to import gold and silver, particularly, the latter, that is silver, and sell it in the market as an effective means of absorbing the surplus purchasing power. They further said that the Government should so arrange the import programme that all available sterling under the recent agreement should be utilised for the above purpose, namely import of utility articles as well as gold and silver. In regard to exports, they said, that our export policy should be so adopted that only minimum quantities of essential commodities necessary for consumption in India should be allowed to be exchanged for other essential commodities. They also made a definite recommendation that it was desirable to immediately establish an Indian Commercial Corporation for undertaking the export and import of specified commodities other than food grains, to be decided by Government from time to time, in order to prevent inflation and to regulate the foreign trade of India. Therefore, what this Committee of 25 decided was that only essential articles should be imported and that a Commercial Corporation should be brought into existence. It did not decide that we might import all kinds of articles, whether required or not required in this country. That being the case, if we have got an adverse balance of trade of 33 crores, as a result of the import and export policy, we cannot congratulate the Commerce Ministry. But, there is one thing more. Now in September, 1948 the policy was

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liberalised: again in October the policy was further liberalised and from the statement of the Finance Minister that the foreign exchange position is really acute even in regard to the sterling area, are we going to change the policy again in 1949? From the speech of the honourable the Finance Minister one has the impression that it is necessary to change the policy again and this liberal import be one of restricted import in 1949. I will give instances one after one in which even from the dollar area commodities have been imported and where we have lost millions of dollars. One such commodity is caustic soda. Licenses for import of caustic soda from the dollar area were indiscriminately issued to all and sundry. The result was that people had lost crores of rupees in caustic soda, apart from the Government of India losing crores worth of dollar exchange in foreign countries. I can multiply these instances but within the time given to me it is not possible to mention all these facts. All that I can say is that the policy of the Government of India in regard to import and export is not permanent, and that is no policy as such. If the policy changes according to the exigencies of the situation, as indeed it must, then we must see ahead as to what is in store, but we have not been doing that. You will appreciate that on every dollar that we have spent today we are paying $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest. We have no dollar balances in America, and since we have no dollar balances, we have to go to the Monetary Fund with a beggar's bowl in our hands and ask them for a loan; and when we ask for this, they enquire: What are your assets? Why do you want the loan? And they ask all sorts of questions, convenient and inconvenient.

Shri B. Das: Why inconvenient?

Shri Ramnath Goenka: You wait and see. For every dollar which we have spent we have to pay $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest today. I would like the Commerce Ministry to adopt a policy in which at the time they spend a single dollar they will take not only the dollar into consideration in terms of sterling, but also consider the fact that from the day they use the dollar they are paying $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest on it, and as long as there is some favourable balance from the sterling areas I do not know how much we will be paying by way of interest charges only. It is easy for us to go and ask for a loan of 250 millions. But what does that mean? It means that we pay 10 million a year by way of interest. That is our position. Therefore, I will suggest to the honourable the Commerce Minister that as we discussed last year the House was unanimous, the Committee of the House was unanimous, the economists were unanimous—in fact nine economists who were consulted were unanimous—that an Indian Commercial Corporation should be brought into existence. The report of the Government economists was to the same effect and the labour leaders views, expressed by Mr. Ranga and Jai Prakash Narain were to the same effect. Except for the views of the vested interests—the industrialists—every one was in favour of bringing into existence the Indian Commercial Corporation to deal with the export and import trade of this country. But in spite of the views expressed by the Legislature, by the Congress Party and by the economists, they have done nothing in this direction to bring into existence this Corporation.

Now let us look into the various commodities. The honourable the Finance Minister had decided that the export duty on oil and oil-seeds should be abolished. I know today the honourable the Commerce Minister will bear me out that so far as ground-nuts are concerned, even in the sterling area we have a big margin of 15 per cent. between the price here and the price in foreign countries. Why then abolish this duty? The honourable the Commerce Minister expressed the hope that by abolishing this export duty on oil and oil-seeds the internal prices will not go up. As a matter of fact, the day on

which the announcement was made the internal prices did shoot up. This is but natural. I can understand various oils and oil-seeds in which the margin of profit between one and the other is very small or in those cases where we cannot compete in foreign countries at all, the export duty being abolished. For dollar areas to give a subsidy if you want: but where there is a lot of difference between internal price and the external price that policy will tend to inflate the price in this country. This is all due to the fact, and I should be excused if I say so, that the Commerce Department has not got their hand on the pulse of the commodity market of this country. If they could feel the pulse of the commodity market of this country such things would not happen. They would then know what are the oils and oil-seeds which cannot compete in the foreign countries and abolish the duty on those and not on those where there is a difference of 10 or 15 per cent. between the local price and the foreign price.

I would like to say something in regard to some other matters. Last year, as you will remember, we discussed framing a policy in regard to import and export. We made certain suggestions. In fact a small committee was appointed to go into those facts and figures, in regard to the policy of export and import. A lot of suggestions were made by the Committee. Then the Commerce Minister adhered to some of the Committee's suggestions but certain import and export licenses were given to people not in the trade, and this was against the policy laid down. This and various other matters of detail were brought to the notice of the Commerce Minister through the Prime Minister but to no effect. Madam, I will quote one instance because the time before me is limited. There was a merchant who had been given—whether the merchant existed or not, we do not know—a license for the export of a large tonnage of jute. When we wanted the matter to be investigated, we were told that the application was lost and was not available in the Commerce Ministry. When we probed further into it, we found that certain Secretaries of the Department had mentioned on the files that this application was there and that they had seen it but yet the application was not then available. We said the application might be in the Reserve Bank. A challan of Rs. 50/- must accompany every application and so we wanted to find out whether the money was deposited in the Reserve Bank and whether the challan was issued and whether that challan was deposited, because without the challan there would be no valid application. It is a pity indeed no action has been taken in regard to the matter at all. In fact, this Committee of the Congress Legislature Party complained that those who were not in the trade and to whom a license was given against the wishes of the Commerce Minister himself should not be encouraged and there should be a revision of the policy. As the then Commerce Minister himself agreed to this, but the present Commerce Minister, or his Ministry issued an order that those who got licenses in the year 1947 would automatically be entitled to licenses in 1948. Those people who were in the trade, who were outsiders and who had nothing to do with the business at all, rightly or wrongly, by some means or other, were able to obtain licenses. That was against the policy laid down by the honourable the Commerce Minister. Instead of rectifying that wrong, this Ministry issued a circular saying that all those who got licenses in 1947, whether established shippers or otherwise, whether old people or newcomers in the business would be entitled automatically to licenses.

Madam, I shall take only one minute more. What I say is that this is a department which has to solve our economic difficulties so far as foreign trade is concerned. This is one of the most important departments of the Government of India and in this Department we have got to be vigilant and see that nothing wrong happens and that the policy with regard to import and export is decided in the best interests of this country. We want to encourage the export of cloth but where are those people who had come into the business as newcomers? Are they to be found anywhere near us? They just came in and simply went out

[Shri Ramnath Goenka].

when there was no profit. So let us lay down a policy which will be in the best interests of the country and let me assure the honourable the Commerce Minister that the House will give him full support in any policy which he lays down as long as it is in the best interests of this country.

Shri Krishna Chandra Sharma (U.P.: General): I congratulate the honourable the Commerce Minister for his presenting a picture which is hopeful. It is a fact that we are in a difficult position and under the circumstances within human limitations much cannot be expected within a period of one year. As one reads through the report circulated to us two points stand out prominently among them. One is that a lot of money is being spent on food and the other is that this liberalised policy of import has brought in unnecessary luxury goods at the cost of capital goods like machinery or other essential goods of utility.

With regard to food as the honourable the Food Minister has said we cannot expect too much from land. With a growing population creating more and more difficulties it is time that we think of a standard diet. Less of grain is to be given to the consumer and it should be supplemented by vegetable and other things. With the population growing and with the slow progress in the production of food this deficit in our food supplies will remain and it will be difficult for us to make it up. The only solution is to devise a standard diet, reducing the import of foodgrains and producing commodities which can be exported in exchange.

So far as the liberalised policy of import is concerned, during the war due to the defence demand the consumption goods could not be imported and many new problems arose as a result. The industrialists had to contend with old machinery that required repair and replacement and our resources were limited. In the circumstances it would have been much better if the import of luxury goods had been stopped and capital goods like machinery had been imported. It may be argued that it is a recognised principle that to meet inflation we had to raise the duty and allow the import of luxury goods. At the same time we have also to secure a balance of trade. These two facts, should be taken into consideration at the same time. The balance of trade being more important it is high time that we find our place in the world market and have a favourable balance on our side. In view of this the import of luxury goods should have been stopped for the time being and more capital goods or machinery should have been imported so that the production in the country might have been improved. I therefore find much force in the criticism of my predecessor on this point.

The other point is the effect of this liberalisation of imports on the Indian industries and their products. Many goods which were produced during the war in this country are jeopardised for the simple reason that foreign products which are cheaper are imported. We have not got either the trained industrialists, the trained worker or the trained management. So to expect that we can either now or in the near future favourably compete with the foreign producer is an impossible proposition. By the very nature of things our labour is not trained, our industrialists are not trained and our management is not trained and there is not the established morality or trade in India. Under the circumstances we would be for some time at a disadvantage in comparison with the foreign producer or industrialist.

While you import many things that are required you should at the same time see that the new industries are not ruined. The only course open is to apply to the Tariff Board. But what the industrialists say is that there are difficulties when they apply to the Government. The Government recommends

the case to the Tariff Board but the Board takes a long time and by the time their report comes and Government begins to take some action the industry vanishes altogether. Our policy should be so devised that commodities which were produced here during the war and which industries are likely to progress further and stay in the country, import of those goods should be stopped. Cases referred to the Tariff Board should be speedily dealt with. At present the complaint of the industrialists is that things are allowed to be imported of which enough quantity is produced in this country. Take the case of biscuits. Foreign biscuits are cheaper and better in quality than our biscuits. The Indian companies producing biscuits have stopped producing them because they could not compete with the foreign industry, for want of trained labour, for want of goods and for want of cheaper production. In these matters Government should see that unnecessary imports are stopped.

The honourable the Commerce Minister painted a glowing picture of how our ships flying the Indian flag are taking all sorts of commodities abroad and they bring back before our eyes India's past glory. The glory is there but the world has changed. In those times we were exporter of things which nobody else could produce. But now even if you produce things which are not produced in any other country, in the course of a month or two the foreign industrialists will take up the very things or the substitutes and will compete with you. So the basic problem before our industry is that we should take foreign trained personnel for every industry and have trained labour and trained management. People get lot of money from speculation and black market and unnecessarily stand in the way of progress. The door is open only to the trained men if success is to be achieved. The misfortune is that the man gets his money by speculation, he starts an industry and puts in charge of it people who are not fit for the job. The man who supervises the labour and sits at the head of 5,000 people has no training whatsoever either in industry or in human affairs. So the greatest necessity is to get trained people. We have to ensure that our labour may be trained, that our management may be trained and that our industrialists may know something of the modern technique of industry.

Lastly I would say a few words about our shipping. It is a great tribute to the Commerce Minister that he has been trying his best to get the shipping changed into Indian hands and that he has succeeded in getting as much more tonnage in Indian shipping into our ports than even U.K. shipping has. I hope in the near future we would be getting greater number of ships and that our flags would be flying in the coasts of foreign countries; that he would succeed in getting more and more money for buying ships and getting better materials for those ships. Here we are placed in a disadvantageous position. We cannot dictate our terms, but certainly if we negotiate ably and with facts and figures then we would be able to get the material cheaper.

A word more about Pakistan and India. God placed us in one integrated whole, but we unfortunately fell apart. I hope with amity and good-will on both sides we would be co-operating with each other and would be commercially at least, one united nation and might be dealing with other countries to common advantage, to the advantage of India as well as of Pakistan. After all we were placed in one country and owing to circumstances perhaps beyond our control, or as a historical necessity, or according to superficial factors brought into existence by people who are not very favourably inclined towards us, we fell apart. But I hope that with good handling we would be able to come together and have a trade treaty which would benefit both our countries.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

Shri Ajit Prasad Jain (U.P.: General): The honourable Minister has given us today a factual speech on the activities of his Department. He has not raised too high hopes which very often end in frustration. That, I think, Sir, is an encouraging feature. We must take stock of the realities as they are and try to mend things where they are wanting.

The honourable Minister has referred to Indo-Pakistan relations. India and Pakistan are economically and geographically one. It was a very unfortunate thing, a thing which everyone in this Dominion deplores, that there was a partition of the country, a very unnatural partition. We all deplore its evil effects not only in the sphere of politics but more so in the economic sphere, and we look forward to the day when we shall realise the great blunder which we have committed. I join with the honourable Minister in the hope that sooner than later India and Pakistan will form some sort of a customs union whereby at least some of the difficulties which are at present confronting us will disappear. But so long as that union is not formed, we have to take stock of certain realities. Between India and Pakistan there is a big land border and I want to tell you that on that border every day smuggling on a very large scale is going on. Neither the customs officials nor the border police are in a position to check that border smuggling. Either we may have no customs restrictions—no customs frontiers—or, if we have then the restrictions must be enforced and strictly enforced. Every day the defiance of law that is taking place on the border of India and Pakistan is a very unfortunate thing. It lowers the prestige of law and I would therefore urge upon the House and upon the honourable Minister that we must take appropriate and adequate steps to stop that sort of smuggling.

The honourable Minister has given us a picture of the improvement that has taken place in the shipping position. That is very encouraging and for that the honourable Minister deserves our congratulations. The Indian coastal shipping today is more than the foreign coastal shipping. In international shipping also we have made improvement, and considerable improvement. He has made arrangements for the training of personnel and I believe that India will soon be one of the leading countries in the world in the matter of naval shipping. Let us hope and pray that the sooner we attain that position the better for us.

I would like to come to the position of the hard currency areas. The honourable Minister has defined the policy. He says that our policy in regard to the hard currency areas is to encourage export as much as possible, to send out the largest quantity of goods that are required there, and that simultaneously with it we should confine the use of our dollar and other hard currency resources to essential commodities such as capital goods and essential raw materials. He has also told us that there has been an appreciable increase in the import of capital goods and raw materials. But then, with all this policy, what is the picture today? The honourable the Finance Minister, in his opening speech on the General Budget, told us that in the first six months of 1948 the deficit was about 45 million dollars, in the next three months it was expected to be 48 million dollars. The net result is that with all that policy, today we are exporting less and importing more from the dollar areas.

Sir, with the partition of India and with the worsening of the political situation in the Far East, our food situation has worsened—in fact it has become almost precarious. We have got a smaller area and a smaller quantity of food

to our share than the proportionate population which has been allotted to us. Hence, the deficit in our food has increased. In the Far East, in Burma, Siam, Malaya and other countries, the political situation has worsened our import position. We are not importing as much of rice from those countries as we were doing before. Therefore, we have to rely more upon the dollar and hard currency areas. As we have to import the most essential of our needs food from the hard currency areas, I was expecting that the honourable Minister would tell us how he proposes to make up that deficit. It is all very good to detail and specify the difficulties. We all share his woes. We all want to help him to overcome those difficulties. It is not for me or for any member of this House to suggest a blue print within the few minutes that is allotted to us. That is the function of the Commerce Ministry and when the honourable Minister told us of the difficulties that he is meeting in the hard currency areas, I was expecting that he would give us some solution. Unfortunately, he has not given us any. I hope he will look into the matter and try to draw up a long-range programme as to how to meet the deficit that is growing every day.

I may also add a word about the import of food. Recently I was in Calcutta and I had the occasion to make some enquiries about the quality of food that we are importing. My sad experience was that it was not up to the quality and was mixed up with foreign matter, with dust and with pieces of stones. Sir, we are paying good money; we are paying in gold; we are paying by the sweat of our brow. We want the commodity that is imported to be at least up to the quality. What are our trade agents who go abroad to make these purchases doing? I would request the honourable Minister to pay a surprise visit to the ships which are berthed in the Hoogly and see for himself as to what I have just now said is an exaggeration, a reckless statement, or whether it is a fact. If he cares to make enquiries in Calcutta he will find that the foodstuffs imported are of a very inferior quality. That is one aspect of the matter to which I would like the honourable Minister to pay his attention.

The honourable Minister has also told us of the policy which Government have been following in regard to the import of consumer goods. He said that in 1946 there was a liberalisation in the import of consumer goods. In 1947 there was restriction. In July 1948 again the policy of liberalisation was adopted because of some arrangement with the United Kingdom. In November there was further liberalisation because the Committee set up by the Congress Party in the Legislature recommended that we must import more of consumer goods. My friend Mr. Goenka has read at large before this House extracts from the recommendations of that Committee. That Committee never said that goods—luxury or semiluxury goods—must be imported indiscriminately. It clearly stated that goods must be imported after careful scrutiny of what is actually required. Now what is the position? I had been to Madras and Calcutta. I do not know what is happening in Bombay but at least Madras and Calcutta are the two principal ports of import. There the slump has actually begun. There are plenty of goods in shops—chinaware, hardware, cloth and so many other things. But people have no money to buy. I believe, Sir, that a wrong policy is being pursued. Let us see who are the classes that have extra purchasing power and how Government is going to mop it up. It is either the big trader, the rich industrialist or the prosperous farmer who has got spare money. The middle class man who used to consume goods imported from foreign countries in large quantities has no capacity to buy. The rich man today is almost non-cooperative. He is afraid of your Income-Tax Tribunal. He wants to show you that he has no money. He wants to conceal it. Hence he is not investing his money in the purchase of consumer goods. The goods which you are importing from foreign countries are no good to the poor agriculturist. Consequently, the large quantity of consumer goods which you have imported have now caused a glut in the market; they have no

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customers; they have failed to mop up the extra purchasing power. Sir, I would, therefore, request the honourable Minister to look into this matter and to revise his policy.

Shri B. N. Munavalli (Bombay States): Sir I congratulate the honourable Minister for Commerce for having placed before the House a clear statement about the position of our foreign trade and commerce. From his speech we came to know that the manufactured goods in India will be more costly than those imported from foreign countries. If the cost of production in this country is greater than that in foreign countries, it is a matter that the Government should soon examine.

Looking to the industrial policy of the Government, we find that the backward areas are being neglected. Though they are rich in natural resources. We have, therefore, to see that industries simultaneously grow up in these backward areas; because in these backward areas the labour is cheap and material is easily available. For example, our Bombay-Karnatak, though rich in natural resources has not been tapped. The labour there is very cheap. But I am sorry to say that the people in that area have been completely neglected. Neither the Provincial Government nor the Centre has been taking as much care as they ought to do. Karnatak grows large quantities of cotton. But unfortunately there are no sufficient mills there. The result is that cotton grown in that area is transported all the way to Bombay or Ahmedabad and after it is turned into yarn or cloth, it is brought back for consumption. So in these days of transport difficulties, if mills are established there and if the persons coming forward to open mills are helped by Government, it will go a long way for the economic development of the country. That is why I wanted to speak the other day and bring this fact to the notice of the Minister of Industries. But as a certain statement was made by the honourable Minister to-day about the cost of production of manufactured goods in India, I had to say something about the industries also. If we want to develop our trade, our industries must be developed properly; and if we do not produce goods at a cheaper rate, we will not have a proper export trade, and we will not have sufficient goods in order to export. So, on account of this, I am laying stress of this fact that our industry should grow in the backward areas as well, so that we can have cheaper goods in order to export. In order to meet the expenditure on all our imports we should export similarly a large quantity of goods to the hard currency areas. The honourable Minister has made it clear that he has made efforts in that direction although he has not been satisfied with the fruits of his labour. And as regards the O.G.L. in the matter of importing, that policy will really be destructive to India. It is true that by taxing the imports we will get ample revenue; but all the same we must look how our indigenous industries will grow. If we import every type of goods from foreign countries whether essential or non-essential, our indigenous industries will not be able to grow because they are in their infancy. If they are to develop, they must be given all sorts of protection. It is not possible under the circumstances to compete with the foreign countries which have made a very great advance in this direction. So I hope that the honourable Minister will take into consideration this fact, that hereafter instead of importing all sorts of articles, essential and non-essential, he should care to see that only essential articles are imported; and also those articles which are not produced in India or which are inadequately produced, they also may be imported. Now as regards the shipping, the advance made during the small period of 18 months is quite encouraging. It is really a pleasure to see that the expert committee has already recommended that there should be a major port at Kandla and also that the Government is going to undertake the work very shortly. The same committee has been asked to make a report about the western ports but I am

sorry to say that although we were told that a report from that Expert Committee was expected during last year, it has not still come up. If as was represented to the Committee Bhatkal be made a major port, it will help not only the industries to grow but also our foreign trade and commerce to develop. I therefore have no doubt that in the future our foreign trade will grow tremendously and bring to the country prosperity and plenty.

Shri Satis Chandra Samanta (West Bengal: General): Sir, trade and commerce is one of the avenues of prosperity of a country. Every country in the world is inter-dependent upon other countries as regards exchange, sale or transfer of commodities. Such is the position of the world. India had a glorious past as has been mentioned by the honourable Minister this morning. We know she had a glorious past. In the *Rigvedas* there are mentions of shipping, commerce and trade. There are mentions in *Kautilya's Artha Sastras*. We know during the time of Asoka, Akbar, Aurangzeb and others ships sailed from the coasts of India to other parts of the world. They took commodities from our place, like perfumes, silk, muslin etc. which were carried the world over and were sold there. Such were our commerce and trade going on. But with the advent of the British our natural source of trade and commerce went into their hands and we were handicapped. So when in the morning our honourable Minister gave expression that we have more ships than of the British Coastal Shipping I was reminded of the utterances of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, who wrote in *Young India* on 26th March 1931 as follows:

"Indian shipping had to perish so that British shipping might flourish. To talk of no discrimination between Indian interests and English or European is to perpetuate Indian helotage. What is equality of rights between a giant and a dwarf? Before one can think of equality between unequals, the dwarf must be raised to the height of the giant." The dwarf has out-heightened the giant. Now the number of ships in India is greater than the number of ships belonging to Britain in coastal Shipping. We are proud of it but at the same time while we are proud of our ships we are reminded of one subject which goes to our discredit. By those ships we are importing 130 crores worth of foodstuffs to the country which is an agricultural country. By our trade and commerce policy we are bound to import 130 crores worth of foodgrains. It is shame on us. This country never imported foodgrains. Rather it was self-sufficient or surplus in foodgrains. This country is now importing food. Had there been no such facilities for import, we would have shared the food we produced in the country and not depended upon imports from other countries. Had the Father of our Nation been alive he would have guided us in that direction. He would not have agreed to importing one pound of food from outside. In the matter of increasing our food production we make the same progress as a worm. Mahatmaji was trying to make us self-sufficient by getting us to produce all our requirements. We did not follow his teaching to the letter. Though his proud disciples Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel launched two ships *Jalausha* and *Jalaprabha* recently so as to give an impetus to our seaborne trade, the Cabinet in consultation with other Ministers should find a way for putting a stop to this importation of food grains from abroad. Of course we should keep pace with the other nations of the world. We Indians have lost Mahatmaji, but we must look to his teachings for our guidance and for shaping the destinies of this country. We must demand all these things from our National Government.

Referring again to ship-building, I am proud of the major ports that we have, such as Calcutta, Bombay and Vizagapatam. We have a number of ships owned by Indians, but they are not now all manned by Indians. For this purpose the necessary training institutions should be opened in India so

[Shri Satis Chandra Samanta]

that our nationals could go abroad taking charge of our ships. I hear that an institution for imparting officers' training in the ships is going to be opened in Bombay. I am glad about it. But I suggest that we should give training to our seamen, the ratings. We should have a nautical school in some place like Calcutta where our boys could be given training in seamanship. Non-Indian ships visiting our country take our boys as seamen. To facilitate our boys getting the necessary training, I would recommend to the honourable Minister the need for opening a nautical school.

I want to say something about our import licence policy. I feel that we should not import anything to the detriment of our own industry. I would give one instance to show how this policy is harming our own industries. In the year 1948 bicycles were imported to the tune of about 4 crores of rupees. In India we have a number of concerns manufacturing spare parts and accessories and these are hit by the present policy. These concerns should be encouraged by reducing the import of these articles as much as possible. Belting is another industry to which I wish to refer in this connection. During the war, belting was not imported from outside and belting factories thrived here. The products made here are not inferior to those got from outside. I therefore wish that this industry should be encouraged by prohibiting the bringing in of foreign belting.

I want next to refer to our commercial relations with Pakistan. Take for instance sugar. This is imported from outside and is found to cost less than the sugar produced in India. So Pakistan is importing sugar from other countries instead of getting it from us. We need jute and other things from Pakistan. Why should we not exchange sugar for raw materials from them? I hope this matter will be considered by the Minister for Commerce in consultation with the Minister for Industries and Supply. With these words I conclude my speech.

Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao (Mysore State): The industrial and economic progress of our country depends upon the efficiency, thoroughness and alertness with which the Ministry over which my honourable Friend Mr. Neogy presides works. Our coastal tonnage has increased from 92,000 tons in 1946 to 1,46,960 tons by the end of 1948. In the Budget there is provision for Rs. 3.98 crores for a Shipping Corporation, Rs. 1.92 lakhs for a Nautical College, Rs. 7.9 lakhs for schemes for State trading and 93 lakhs for loans to Major Port Trusts.

Looking to the performance of the Ministry itself our Delegates to the International Conferences have secured and protected the cause of under-developed countries, the use of quantitative restrictions for productive purposes, the treatment of foreign investment in accordance with the best interests of the country, the maintenance of *status quo* regarding our relations with South Africa. Trade agreements with foreign countries have been entered into; special measures for the export of tea and the increase of tea output, decontrol for export licences, etc. have been undertaken. The formation of an Import Advisory Council has been completed and a Public Liaison officer has been appointed to hear complaints regarding the issue of licences. A Port Sea Nautical Engineering College will be started. A residential Marine Engineering College is to be started. The formation of the Maritime Board Seamen's hostel and the War Risks Compensation Insurance go to relieve the difficulties of the seamen. There has been a remarkable increase in the tonnage of coastal shipping. A Shipping Corporation is out to be formed. Revision of the Mercantile company law is on the anvil. The integration of the Maritime States into the Indian Union has been brought about. Sir, I submit this record of work is really a proud record. Any Ministry in the world can be proud of such a

record and I heartily congratulate the honourable Minister on this achievement during the last year. But, I submit, that he should not rest satisfied with this achievement; there should be no place for any foreign shipping interests in the coastal trade of India. I hope by next year, the honourable Minister will present us a budget wherein he can proudly say, the entire coastal shipping is entirely in the hands of Indians.

As regards the sea-borne trade and also the passenger traffic, India must have its due share. In one of the recent speeches in Parliament, Sir Stafford Cripps made a statement that nearly ten per cent of the export value of the goods goes to freight and shipping charges. Our export and import trade with England runs to the tune of 800 to 900 crores. If we could save this ten per cent, we will be saving about 80 or 90 crores and the adverse balance will be wiped out. Every effort should be made even at the cost of borrowing from the International Monetary Fund to increase our shipping and to gain India's share of the sea-borne trade.

Regarding the policy of export and import, of course, the policy is inherently sound and intrinsically strong. But, the delay in granting licences should be avoided. I know of one instance where a licence for export of oil seeds was granted. Before the gentleman could get the licence, there were market fluctuations, prices had gone down and the exporters refused to buy or rescinded the agreement and the export licence was of no good. Such delays should be scrupulously avoided. The honourable Minister has said in answer to one of the questions on the floor of this House that he has been able to make a black list of the persons who misused the import and export licences. My submission to him is that he should cast his net wide and deep. Only the smaller fries should not be caught, but the bigger whales also must come into the net and corruption should be totally stopped.

Next, I attach very great importance to publicity work. Of course, the Commerce Ministry is doing good publicity work; but I submit it is not sufficient. As part of the publicity work, there should be a national commercial museum in Delhi and also in central places like Bombay, Madras, Calcutta. Today, business means advertisement. To every Embassy should be attached a museum wherein are exhibited our exportable goods. That would go a long way in increasing our exports. I would like to make a suggestion in this connection, that is starting a research organisation in the Commerce Department. In Britain, there is an organisation known as BETRO, British Export Trading Research Organisation. In America there is what is known as Product Research. Some technicians with commercial knowledge go about the country and also foreign countries where their export trade is mainly centred; there, they study the market conditions, study the tastes of the people and what the needs of the people will be three or four years hence. They report to their country and the industrialists take their cue from them and develop their industries. This sort of research work should be organised in India also. Of course, there is reference in the papers that have been circulated to us that there is a scheme to start such a research organisation. I hope the honourable Minister will, before long, bring this Research Organisation into being and help the export trade of the country.

Then, Sir, in the appointment of the Trade Commissioners, I should like that every Trade Commissioner that goes out should be a man of experience, knowledge, status and proper background. I learn that young men with no commercial knowledge have been appointed Trade Commissioners. I will be glad to hear that this is not correct. Whoever goes out to foreign countries as our Trade Commissioner must be an Ambassador of India. He must have a proper background. He must study the commercial needs of that country and also he must be able to properly assess them to the best advantage of our country.

[Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao]

While I was in England, I heard some complaints that the quality and standard of our goods were not up to the mark. In fact, some merchants felt reluctant to place orders with Indian firms. Every effort should be made to see that the standard and quality of the goods that we export are maintained at a very high level. Today, quality means proper price. If we want that our export trade should increase, if we want to get a proper price, then, the standard and quality of the goods that we export should be maintained. In fact there is a grave complaint that the oil that we export is not of the proper standard. I want to know from the honourable Minister what efforts have been made to maintain the high standard and quality of the goods that we are exporting.

Sir, the Tariff Board that has been appointed temporarily must be a permanent body. It must be the watch-dog of our industries. They must study the industrial development, what the defects and difficulties are, and what steps have to be taken to resuscitate them. There must be a Tariff Commission to protect our industries. I agree with the honourable Minister that there should be a closer customs union between Pakistan and India. After all, the economic prosperity of both these countries depends upon the smoothness with which the economic relations of these two countries are maintained. I hope the saner elements in Pakistan will rally round Indian opinion and bring about a happy customs union. There should be no customs or trade barriers between Pakistan and India. In fact, after the partition of the country, we have lost raw cotton and raw jute trade and also raw hides and skins trades. We have nearly lost 25 per cent. of the trade. Sixty per cent. of Carpet production has gone to Pakistan. On the other hand, Pakistan wants sugar, cloth and other manufactured articles. An agreement could well be entered into whereby these customs and trade barriers are removed and there is normal trade channel between the two countries. I hope the honourable Minister will before long be able to achieve that object.

I would be failing in my duty if I do not thank the honourable Minister for the help that he has given to the betel-nut industry in the country. I come from that part of the country where betel-nut is grown to a very large extent and I can say that nearly 90 per cent of the betel-nut gardens are in that part of the country where I come from. The imposition of an import duty on betel-nuts will go a long way in putting the betel-nut growers on their feet and also making the country self-sufficient in betel-nuts. Sir, one word about the match industry. In Madras and also in Mysore, the smaller factories are suffering because of inability to clear their stock. In fact, 121 Match Factories employing about 15,000 men have closed down in Sivakasi. I visited the Mysore Match factory—I come from the place where it is situated—and it is almost closing down because there is some trouble regarding export. In India WIMCO holds practically the monopoly for matches. Though 51 per cent. of the shares of WIMCO are in Indian hands, the management is in foreign hands and they have close relations with the Swedish cartel which holds the monopoly in the world's match trade. If export license is given on mere production basis, it is WIMCO that profit by it. If the export licenses are not given, they rush in matches from their other factories in other parts of the world. In this way it is the Indian manufacturers who suffer. Some help should be given to the Indian manufacturers to export their extra matches. Also, there is the transport bottleneck. In fact, why should not the Mysore matches or the South India Madras matches find a market in Northern India? I submit a zonal system of distribution, just as for cement and steel, should be inaugurated on production basis for the Indian match industry. These measures will go a long way to help the match industry, and I hope the Commerce Minister will consider these points and help the industry.

I once again heartily congratulate the performance of the Ministry: with these words I resume my seat.

Shri M. C. Veerabahu (Madras: General): From the written report that has been circulated by the Ministry of Commerce, I find a reference being made to the Indo-Ceylon steamer service that was recently inaugurated by His Excellency the Governor-General. As one in charge of the service, let me at the outset thank the honourable Minister and the several officers of his Department, who evinced an extraordinary zeal and promptness in acquiring the vessel for that service. It was not only the officers of the Commerce Ministry here but officers of the Trade Commissioner in London also were very pleased to help us and the promptness with which they were dealing with the question was almost a revelation to me. If officers in several other departments evinced such enthusiasm and zeal in spite of red-tape, it would be very helpful for the many of our nation-building activities. I find in the report also reference to the shipping corporations that are being newly established in this country. I feel that it is the first step in the nationalization of the shipping industry. Sooner or later, just like the railways, I think the shipping industry will also have to be taken by the Government of India. But, for the present, with a view to increase the tonnage, it would not be enough if we follow this shipping corporation policy alone. It has its advantages, but from the very nature of things it is impossible to afford relief on a large scale immediately. After several months we find that only Scindia's have come forward and the first shipping corporation is being floated. Most of the companies are reluctant to take advantage of this system. Therefore, my submission to the Ministry on this point would be to give a sort of financial assistance to the several shipping companies in this line for acquiring steamers. If only the Government of India advance 50 per cent. of the value of the steamers which they may undertake to purchase with the advice of the Ministry, in a very short time the tonnage can be considerably increased. The other additional facility that can be afforded by the Commerce Ministry will be to set apart a substantial portion of the dollar for the purpose of acquiring steamers. For the present, it is only from America we can secure good and many vessels and for that purpose dollar payment is essential.

Apart from these, the Commerce Ministry at the earliest possible time will have to think about having more dry-docking facilities in many other ports in India. As it is, one has to rush up to Bombay for everything and it is quite necessary that dry-dock facilities should be afforded at least in a place like Madras at the earliest possible opportunity.

Another important thing is the opening of marine engineering workshops. Those who are in the steamer line feel that large amounts have been more or less fleeced from out of the Indian ship-owners by these marine engineering workshops which are mostly controlled by Europeans. Therefore, it would be in the fitness of things that the Commerce Ministry undertook to open marine engineering workshops at several centres.

One other matter to which many honourable Members referred was the training of the Merchant Navy personnel. I find that a Nautical Engineering School has been started at Bombay, but that is not enough. With a view to expedite matters, if we can make some provision by which the existing steamer company owners are to be compelled to train at least a few in each of their steamers, it will expedite matters.

In view of the magnitude of the task and the importance of the subject, my suggestion will be that shipping as such be constituted as a separate portfolio in charge of a separate Minister for that purpose.

[Shri M. C. Veerabahu]

In thinking about the development of shipping, I request the honourable Minister for Commerce not to forget the country craft. As a Member of the Sailing Vessels Committee, wherever we went we heard only one tale of woe. The sailing vessels, or the country craft system is almost bordering on extinction and unless the State comes to their aid, the country craft system in our country will soon die out. Therefore, when thinking about the steamers, I wish the honourable Minister for Commerce also takes special care with regard to these sailing vessels.

Let me also refer to the export trade policy of the Government of India. I will chiefly mention about Ceylon, Burma, Siam and other close-by islands with which India was for a long time actively trading.

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Mr. Frank Anthony (one of the Panel of Chairmen.)]

Practically all the requirements of these countries were supplied by India previously but now one by one from the list are being taken away with the result that almost all things which they require are being imported from other countries. For example, taking Ceylon we find that onions and potatoes are imported from Holland and Port Said, coriander is being imported from Marseilles, garlick from Hongkong and so on. Practically all things which India was supplying to these countries are now being supplied by other countries and if we neglect the export policy of our country—we have almost lost these markets—we will not be in a position to regain them and towards that we liberalise our export policy. It is not a question of even liberalising but we must completely remove the restrictions, except with regard to foodstuffs,—for all these items. It will not only promote trade relationship but it will also promote other aspects of international relationship which are bound to develop between these countries. The psychological effect will be very great and I hope the Commerce Minister will give his due consideration to this matter also.

Reference was made to the selection of trade commissioners in foreign countries. I quite agree with the honourable Member who spoke just before me that those who are in touch with commerce will do well if appointed as trade commissioners. There is absolutely no use of relying solely upon the civil service men for all these purposes. In this connection there is an interesting thing which I noted which will be of importance if I mention it. To a vegetarian hotel keeper's association in Ceylon a license for 500 tons onions was granted with an apology that a license for more could not be granted. I was surprised when I went through that order. The vegetarians in the whole of Ceylon will not be even $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. and the quota for Ceylon which the Ceylon Government requires for them is 3,000 tons a quarter. Therefore for the use of this quarter per cent. of Ceylon's population and amongst these vegetarians even, only a fraction will be taking their food in these hotels—for such a negligible section of the population they wanted 1,000 tons and the Ministry here have granted 500 tons with an apology that they could not give more. On the face of it, it looked absurd. No section of the population could consume those 500 tons within a quarter and evidently interested persons got the license for their own trade purposes and this has passed through the Indian Trade Commissioner's office in Ceylon, it has passed through the Commerce Ministry, it has passed through the Food Ministry and none of them was able to see that on the face of it the application could not be a *bona fide* one. Any man who has got the least touch with the trade would have at once found that *prima facie* it was a bogus application. My submission to the honourable Minister would be to select the proper men from the mercantile community who could be utilised for such purposes.

Shri G. S. Guha (Tripura, Manipur and Khasi States): Sir, I have heard with very great interest the speech made by the honourable Minister for Commerce giving us an account of the various activities of his Ministry, and I would like to congratulate him on the large measure of success that he has been able to achieve in the various spheres mentioned by him. Most of the speakers who preceded me have touched on the important points mentioned by the honourable Minister. We have seen how he has been trying to help the different activities of his departments, not only of the departments but of the whole Ministry in every possible way. All such matters like foreign trade negotiations, international conferences, study of facts on tariff, trade publicity, commercial representation abroad and special missions or delegations to foreign countries—each of these things has received his best consideration. I think he has been particularly successful in the matter of international conferences, in spite of the effects of the partition of the country, which have been so well explained by him. In the Havana and Geneva international conferences our delegations tried their best to safeguard the interests of this country. For all this we are very much indebted to the general policy and the general initiative taken by the Ministry of Commerce.

I think generally the country will support the policy of the Government's export and import controls formulated by the Commerce Ministry. In view of the changing conditions of world trade however, it is necessary that the details of the policy should be varied from time to time, and this the honourable Minister has done to the greatest possible extent. With regard to the general policy of stimulating exports with a view to improving India's trade balances in order to enable the country to import essential capital and consumer goods and where necessary to encourage exports to hard currency areas, according to the papers we have been supplied with, the honourable Minister has done his best.

I particularly welcome the announcement of the honourable Minister regarding the prospect of having closer relations with the Dominion of Pakistan in regard to our mutual trade, and I hope he would be able to achieve the kind of economic union or customs union that he thinks would be suitable for both the countries. Assam as well as the bordering states of Assam like Manipur, Tripura and the Khasi States are very much concerned with this. I hope that better facilities for trading with Pakistan would be very much conducive to the welfare of those regions.

As regards shipping and other matters, I have got nothing more to say than what most of my predecessors have said excepting that as regards shipping I think efforts should be directed towards having seamen to our ships recruited from among Indian nationals. In the past most of the Indian seamen used to be recruited from the parts of the country which now comprise Pakistan. I am sure it is desirable that we should now try to encourage our own men in the Indian Dominion to come as seamen on our ships.

Among the various activities of the Ministry I also find that the honourable Minister for Commerce is trying to get the Company Law revised, and he has also been trying to do something about making the field of Accountancy much better than what it is at present. In the matter of Accountancy Law which is probably going to come before the Assembly this Session, I think every effort has been made to see that the best kind of auditing is available to the commercial firms of the country. In this connection I would like to request the honourable the Commerce Minister to see that the branch of Accountancy called Costing Accountancy may not escape his attention, because Costing Accountancy is very important in the development of industries. At present I do not think we have got any Costing Accountants with good qualifications in India.

[Shri G. S. Guha]

I again congratulate the honourable Commerce Minister on the excellent way he has tried to conduct the activities of his ministry.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena (U.P.: General): I have very carefully listened to the speech of the honourable Minister delivered this morning and I have also very carefully read the Memorandum which he has circulated about the activities of his Ministry. The first thing to which I want to draw his attention is that I wish that this Memorandum was more full of statistics. It is descriptive but it does not give us the details and the statistical data which would have enabled us to judge the results achieved by the Ministry. As an illustration I would like to point out that he has said that agreements have been concluded with Japan and Pakistan and with the Anglo-American Zone in Germany and that they have been enforced since June last. But we have not been told what are the terms of those agreements and what has been achieved during the first six months of the agreements. I would have very much wished if we had known the articles which we have imported and the articles which we have sent so that we could have got some idea as to whether our import and export trade is working in the interests of the nation.

Similarly I would also point out that when this Memorandum refers to the E.C.A.F.E. conference as well as to the activities of the Tariff Board we should have been given more data as to the results achieved. We would have very much wished to know what the E.C.A.F.E. has done for our country and what we hope to get out of it. Similarly in respect of the Tariff Board also a list has been given of the industries which it is examining and also the Resolutions of the Government in respect of certain industries. But the Memorandum does not contain even the substance in a nutshell of these Reports and so we cannot judge whether what has been done is what should have been done. I think that Members should be supplied with the details of all these achievements at least a fortnight before the annual debate.

Similarly I would also like to refer to the Commercial Delegations. Last year a friend moved a cut about our Trade Delegations abroad. This year also in paragraph 6 of the Memorandum a list has been given of twenty-six countries where our Trade Delegations are already functioning or are about to function. But nothing has been done to indicate what they have achieved and how far their work has been to our country's benefit. I would have wished that more details had been given so that we could know who is working there and what has been achieved.

Similarly there is an Economic Adviser and also a Director of Commercial Intelligence, but we have not yet been able to get any of the documents which they have published. I wish that these are made available to the Members so that they can know how matters are progressing. Without all these data it is very difficult to judge about the work of the Ministry. I hope that if the honourable Minister wants—as I know he wants—the constructive criticism of the House he should supply it with full data so as to enable it to pronounce its judgment. I hope next time he will take care that this is done.

Sir, I have listened to the speeches of my comrades this morning. Some have praised the honourable Minister and some have criticised him. But I am really at a loss to know what to do. It has been said that in our mercantile marine we have now so many ships, that so much has been imported—goods worth Rs. 350 crores or something like that. But I cannot really judge the work of the Commerce Ministry by these figures because I

do not know what the standard is with reference to which these achievements have to be judged. Unless there is some overall plan which will tell us what our country needs we cannot judge whether what has been imported will really be towards the betterment of our national economy. I have listened to the speeches made in the House during the last three days on Defence, Industry and Supply and on Minerals and I think the finest contribution to the debate was made by Prof. Shah yesterday when he said "that unless there is an overall plan and you can say that so much of the plan has been achieved you cannot really judge whether we are going in the proper way and with the proper speed". I feel at this juncture of development in our country speed is the most important. When I compare what has been done in other countries I am frightened; I feel that we are doing practically nothing. The other day the honourable the Prime Minister told us that our country is the biggest in point of population. He also hoped that we are developing all foreign contacts which are the signs of the independence of a great nation. But when I compare this greatness with what we are actually doing to justify it I feel that this greatness is hollow. I have before me an article on the Fourth Five Year Plan of the U.S.S.R. This gives us the amount of destruction in Russia during the war years. And it says that from 1946 to 1948 they have restored and reconstructed all that was destroyed in Russia during the six years of war. That is the speed at which they are going on and by 1950 when their present plan will be completed they would be producing about 35 per cent. more in almost every direction. When we compare our country with that and the speed at which we are going I think we are very very complacent. I do not say this by way of criticism, but I only wish to say that our Government must pay heed to what the rest of the world is doing, must see how our rivals are going forward and consider whether we can win in the race to be the greatest, and the most powerful and prosperous and the most civilised nation in the world.

The other day I read a speech by Stalin in which he said that their target was to produce 50 million tons of pig-iron, 60 million tons of steel, 500 million tons of coal, and 60 million tons of oil as soon as possible; only then would the U.S.S.R. be proof against any surprise. Russia hopes to achieve these targets in the next ten years. It is thus that nations can maintain their greatness. I heard yesterday that in our country we produce 9 million tons of steel—probably that includes iron also. Similarly, we only produce a very small quantity of coal. In fact our coal production is equal to what was produced in Russia in 1913 and our iron production is 1/4th of what was produced in Russia in 1913. Therefore, I say we have to make up great leeway, and speed is the most important consideration in our development. If we proceed at the present speed, we cannot even maintain our Independence.

Sir, this Ministry is responsible for importing machinery and other things which will make the country great. I want that imports should be so planned that we may be able to import the most essential materials. I wish our country would advance more rapidly in the production of steel. I heard one German plant was allotted to us as our share of reparations—I do not know what has happened to it, I do not know if any plant has been received by us by way of reparations from Germany. If we have that plant we could produce more steel and more machinery.

Sir, just now my friend Mr. Goenka told us that much of the imports are composed of goods which are not capital goods, which do not even come in the category of those goods which are meant to combat inflation. I wish that the honourable Minister will see that the money which he spends is spent on those items which are of the greatest need to the country and which will make us great and put India in line with the great Powers of

[Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena]

the world. I think that if that aspect is borne in mind and comparison of progress is made with what other countries are doing, it will help us. I especially draw the honourable Minister's attention to this article in the International Labour Review for July-August 1946 in which it is stated what Russians plan to do in five years 1946-50. I think that will help him to see how his imports and exports should be planned.

Coming to the question of hard and soft currencies, I am really very sorry that the sterling balances agreement has put us in this difficulty. Though our own money is lying there, we are not able to use it in the manner we want. I hope the honourable the Finance Minister will see, when they review that agreement, that though we cannot get all the money, at least we shall be able to spend whatever we get on what we like. We should not be starved of dollar resources. This great problem should be solved, otherwise we will have to waste a lot of our resources in purchasing something which we do not want.

About import and export controls. Controls probably are necessary in the prevailing conditions in our country and all that we can do is to see that they work properly. I am glad the honourable Minister has appointed a high officer to see that many of the complaints which were made in the House last time are removed, but I have been informed by my friends that many of the complaints which were made on the floor of the House last year have not been attended to. In fact, in his speech last year Mr. Goenka had made specific complaints about certain motor industries and companies and I am told that nothing has been done. This is also true in the case of other things. Probably among the oilseeds export license holders also there are people who have not fulfilled the terms of the Government. Sir, I draw your attention to these things to kindly see that those who infringe the rules of the Government are not allowed to go scot-free and to see that they are punished.

In regard to mercantile marine, I am very happy to learn that we have now got twenty-two ships in overseas trade and also that in our coastal shipping, our tonnage is larger than the tonnage of Britain. But I would not be satisfied until the coastal shipping tonnage is entirely our own; I know the honourable Minister himself wants it and I hope he will take all steps to see that it is achieved. We all wish that next time when he reports to us, he will be able to say that not a single British ship carries our coastal shipping. Similarly, Sir, I am happy that some 22 ships of our country are doing overseas trade. It is a good beginning, but our export and import trade is so great that we should have shipping proportionate to the amount of trade which we are handling and I hope very soon we shall be able to handle all our trade by our own ships.

In connection with mercantile shipping, the honourable Minister in his memorandum has said something about there being no proper trade unions of seamen. I am surprised to see this. I think these seamen's unions are very old unions; in fact, Mr. Aftab Ali was a well-known leader of this union; N. M. Joshi was also a leader of this union; and I myself am the President of the All-India Port and Dock Workers Federation to which these Seamen's unions are getting affiliated. Therefore, the information contained in the memorandum is not correct. But I say that the problem of the seamen, whose number is very large, should be properly tackled and should be solved. In fact, the dock workers also had the same difficulty and last year the measure which we passed here has helped these people considerably. Therefore, I think an Act for seamen also would probably be helpful. Similarly, about the other difficulties regarding these people. I am prepared to help the honourable Minister in any manner he wants in solving this problem.

About officers' training, I am very happy that there have been large increases in officers' numbers but even then probably they are not commensurate with our needs. In Russia they are proposing to build 600,000 tons of merchant shipping before 1950 in addition to what they have already got. I hope that the Ministry of Commerce will not only try to judge their achievement by the amount of work they do but will also relate it to what others are doing. Last year I moved a cut motion which stated that we should so plan our development that within the next ten years we may come to the level of Russia and America, but this is not the speed by which we can achieve that. Therefore, Sir, I hope the honourable Minister will take care to see that the way in which his department works is commensurate with the required speed.

Sir, I congratulate the honourable Minister for what little he has achieved, but I hope next time he will present us a record of achievement which is in consonance with the needs of our country.

Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri (Assam: General): Sir, Member after Member has praised the honourable Minister in charge of the Commerce Department. I would not swell their number because I do not, and he also knows it that he has not crossed that age when too much praise either from our group or the group led by Shrimati Durgabhi could spoil him. Sir, the name of the honourable Minister has been long associated with the Central Legislature and has almost become inseparable. He has been raised to the Cabinet and I believe, and I am told, that the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister has found him indispensable there. Having said that, I have, I regret to say, to bring to the notice of this House a piece of unkindness. On each of these days, Sir, we were presented with a brochure of the Ministry which was under discussion. They were printed ones and we delighted in going through them. My honourable Minister today has presented us with typed copies and we cannot properly decypher the whole of it. May be, Sir, that in a mood of anger, which is rather unusual with the honourable Minister of Finance, he has stopped the printing of these brochures. Anyway, Sir, I hope the system will be restored again in the next few days.

Sir, I am glad to find that the honourable Minister has restored or is going to restore our trade with Japan. As a matter of fact, a large number of our necessities were brought from that country and they were found useful and purchasable by the poorer sections of the population who had no much money to purchase costly imported commodities. But two things I should warn the honourable Minister to take care not to import. One is the vests which gets torn in the process of your weaving it. Even if it survives that process, it is sure to get torn when you take it off. I think that is the experience of everyone in this House and I hope he will take care to see that these are not imported. The other thing are cycles unless their quality has improved a good deal in the meantime on account of Japan's association with America. The Commerce Minister should see that cycles which are cheap, but which are not serviceable in India are not brought in any large quantities.

Then, Sir, I would also like to ask the honourable Minister, as he is going to liquidate the German firms in India, as to what he is going to do in regard to insurance companies. There are one or two insurance companies in India which are of German origin and which were under the management of the Custodians of Enemy Property. If these insurance companies are also going to be liquidated along with other firms, what will be the position of the insured persons. I hope necessary safeguards will be provided about them.

[Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri]

Sir, I had taken permission to speak on this subject with particular reference to Assam and I want to say a word or two with regard to that province. There has never been much of direct trade in the British regime between the traders of that province and foreign firms. But since after independence everyone aspires to better his lot, Assam would like to have a share in the import and export business. I know, Sir, to my misfortune that certain firms which had asked for permission to import cycle accessories were refused such permission, probably, for the reason that they had not dealt with foreign firms before. They had also applied for a licence to import motor parts. Although Assam is a relatively backward province, there is a large mileage of roads in that province and there are also a large number of motor cars and other vehicles. We have at the present moment to get our supplies from Calcutta. The traders of Assam would like to have direct dealings with foreign firms and the permission to do that has not been, so far as I know, granted. I hope the honourable Minister will take an early opportunity to redress these grievances.

Then, Sir, about trade with Pakistan. We had a natural trade with Pakistan, because these two provinces were associated and some portion of Pakistan was actually in Assam. We naturally expected that even after partition we would be able to maintain that trade channel, particularly with regard to the export of timber. Most of the timber, at least of the lower Assam districts, is re-exported to Pakistan area. Now that trade is at a stand still, because of want of facilities for exporting it. If this timber were to find a ready market elsewhere, we would not have grumbled; but unfortunately that is not so. I would, therefore, request the honourable the Commerce Minister to afford greater facilities for the export of timber to Pakistan.

Another point which I wanted to stress is about tea. I am not speaking in detail about it. But I want to take the earliest opportunity to remove the prejudice which seems to exist in this House against the consumption of tea. When I ask my honourable Friend Mr. Jhunjhunwala to take a cup of tea he says, 'I don't get sleep'. If only you think of the speeches we make in this House or Shri. Durgabai makes in this House before you go to sleep, you cannot get any sleep. I would advise them to take a strong cup of tea before retiring and see how they are lulled to sleep. Sir, I am laying particular stress on this question of tea because tea is the only commodity for which Assam can rightly be proud of.

Shri C. Subramaniam: (Madras: General): It is very easy to make money in trade. Perhaps it is equally easy to lose money in trade. Therefore in a Department which controls the entire, import and export trade of the country, it is not surprising that we find some abuses. But Sir, can it be said that it is only some of the officials who are solely responsible for these abuses? In a way, some of the publicmen also are responsible for these abuses. The Tamilnad Congress Committee has given a lead in this matter. By a Resolution it has laid down that no office-bearer of the Congress or a Member of the Legislature who has come on the Congress ticket should have anything to do with any trade or concern which requires a license. Not only that, but they should take care that they don't recommend anybody for any of these licenses or permits. If that rule is followed by many of us, perhaps these abuses would be very much reduced. Sir, when we talk of the abuses, it is only by taking strong action when we find out the culprits that this could be eradicated. When we find that companies, may be big or small, have been indulging in blackmarket or have been obtaining licenses and permits under false pretences, they should be scored out of the list of persons who would be entitled for permits. Last year a Committee appointed by

the Congress Legislature Party pointed out—that certain companies even though they were sister companies, did not disclose that fact when they applied for permits to export oilseeds even though they were bound to do so in their applications. This was pointed out, and I understand no action has till now been taken on that. It is not enough if we punish the culprits but wide publicity should be given about these blackmarketeers so much so in public they may not have any status.

Next I wish to refer to the export of oil and oilseeds. The export duty on oil and oilseeds has now been removed. I can speak with some authority with regard to groundnut. During pre-war days one bag of unshelled groundnut weighing about 80 lbs. was selling at Rs. 4 to 4/8. The price of the same bag is now Rs. 16/- 17/-. When the price has risen so much, is it necessary to remove this export duty. I feel this export duty could very well be absorbed by the producers and the middlemen. There is another aspect of it. We have removed the export duty on oilseeds to encourage the export of oilseeds to various countries. Is it good for our country—we have to ponder. When we export the oilseeds, we deprive ourselves of the cake which you get if that oilseed is crushed here for oil. We are complaining that there is no manure and we are importing fertilisers to the tune of 5½ crores or so from foreign countries; apart from this oilcake is said to be the best form of manure. Ryots run for it and if we export the oilseeds, to that extent we are depriving ourselves of the cake we would be getting by crushing the oilseeds here. I find here there is no co-ordination between the Agriculture Ministry and the Ministry of Commerce. In this way we will be making the ryots suffer for want of manure. Not only that. There are many oil-mills here crushing the oilseeds and we are depriving them also of their occupation when you export the oilseed itself without crushing it here. Therefore there should be a distinction made between oil and oilseeds. We have to encourage the export of oil and on the other hand as far as possible see that oilseeds are crushed in our own country so that the cake would be available here. It is said that we are exporting it to countries where we might get dollar exchange—to hard currency areas. It might be so. But that is only an illusory advantage. When you save the manure which is available by crushing the oilseeds here perhaps it would more than compensate the exchange we might get by exporting the oilseeds. I have not calculated it. Perhaps we will be saving some dollar exchange also as we may have not to import fertilisers to the same extent. When we want to regulate the export and import trade, it is not only from the point of view of the exchange it should be looked at but it should be looked at from the total benefit which would accrue to the country. Therefore I would request the Minister for Commerce and also the Finance Minister to look into this matter and find out whether a distinction could not be made between oil and oilseeds. If necessary—I don't know whether that would be discrimination—whether it could be made free of export duty in respect of export to hard currency areas and in respect of soft currency areas a small duty might be levied. In any event I would submit that there is a case for review of the case in respect of removal of export duty on oilseeds.

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: Sir, I am very grateful to my honourable friends for the appreciative observations which they have made with reference to the Commerce Ministry. I am also grateful to those friends who have offered criticisms. The criticisms have all been in a friendly spirit and I am sure I shall benefit immensely by those criticisms, because they will enable me to examine the shortcomings of the working of the Ministry itself. Sir, I should like to take up a few of the points that have been made and which are of a general character, complaint has been made that we have had no permanent plan with regard to foreign trade both import and export. I

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I am afraid the position is not fully appreciated by the honourable Members who indulged in that kind of criticism. After all this Government came to office just about 18 months ago, and for the first few months having regard to the circumstances then prevailing, it was not possible to think in terms of a general trade plan. Now, so far as I am concerned, I have been in charge of this Ministry for about 9 months; but there is one more factor which has got to be remembered and that is this that from July 1947 releases from the Sterling Balances were available every six months. We did not know what the amount to be released would be even for a year. Therefore our plans had to be drawn up on that ground alone on the basis of a six monthly estimate. It was only in July 1947 that the Sterling Balance Agreement covered a period of three years and it is on the basis of that three years agreement that we are now working. Apart from anything else, in the very nature of things, it is difficult to have a definite plan which can be expected to be given effect to for a long period of years.

The House is aware of the British Plan comparable to the plan which some honourable Members have in view. Now, a few weeks ago, speaking with reference to the British Plan, this is what Sir Stafford Cripps himself said:—I must first warn the House against reading too much into this Document. Sir Stafford said

“The preparation of an economic programme for so long a period ahead is, of course, fraught with the greatest difficulties, especially in time of political and economic uncertainty such as the present. In a country such as our own which is so largely dependent upon exports and imports, visible and invisible, for its prosperity, no one can foresee with accuracy the future course of economic events.”

I think these observations apply with equal, if not greater, force to our country. There are uncertainties and difficulties in the situation with which we are faced today which do not exist in the case of the United Kingdom. I might mention the difficulties born of Partition which actually have upset all our previous trade plans and it is only by acquiring experience that we would be able to see our way clearly in this matter.

Another point on which there has been a general sort of criticism of the policy of the Ministry is with regard to the importation of what are called luxury or semi-luxury goods or non-essential materials. On a previous occasion I pointed out to the House that we are not in a position to dictate to the rest of the world as to what type of goods they are to supply us with. In the first place, we want food from them; but we are not in a position not to take the other things for the purpose of obtaining food. In the second place we want capital goods and machinery from the other countries. Here again we are not in a position to dictate. But, apart from that, it so happens that in many instances the countries to which we are looking for the supply of important goods, essential consumer articles and machinery, make it a condition that we have to take some non-essential goods—non-essential from the point of view of some of my honourable friends.

Now I hold in my hand a telegram which reached me a few hours ago from Switzerland. There our representatives are engaged in trade talks and this is the telegram which I have got. I will give a few quotations from it. I want to remind the House that we expect some capital goods and machinery particularly from Switzerland and this is the reaction to that proposal. The telegram reads:

“The Swiss maintain that they could not contemplate any agreement which does not provide a reasonable off-take of such consumer goods as had been excluded from our programme.”

This is the report of our representative there. “The Swiss economy as so delicately balanced that it was incapable of sudden adjustment to new orientation necessitated by our programme.” Then again the Telegram reads:

“The Swiss delegation stresses the fact that all the countries which had concluded negotiations with them including the United Kingdom had recognised this position and had agreed to make substantial purchases of consumer goods with a view to enabling Swiss economy to retain its traditional productive pattern.”

Now let us take another country, Czechoslovakia. I mentioned this fact on a previous occasion also. We expected to get machinery and capital goods from that country. But that country allowed us such capital goods and machinery only when we agreed to import an amount of glass bangles. That was an essential condition of that agreement. So, we are not in a position to say: “Well, this is all we will take. We will not take whatever you are interested in”. We are not in a position to command the rest of the world in this matter.

Mention was made specifically of a few industries in the country. I do not know whether I will be able to deal with each one of them, as it may have been affected by the Open General Licence policy. Particular mention was made of the cycle industry. Now, the position of the cycle industry was gone into by my honourable Colleague the Minister for Industries and Supply the other day to a certain extent. But there are two or three points which I would like to mention in this connection. The Indian production which was estimated by the Tariff Board has not been reached. The production that is available represents only a fraction of the Indian demand. The price of the Indian-made bicycle is lower than the average price of the imported cycle and yet, before we ever thought of liberalising our import policy with reference to cycles, we were approached with a request to find out with the help of the Tariff Board as to why it is that in spite of the fact that the prices are lower than those of the imported cycles there was a big accumulation of stocks, unsold stocks of cycles in the factories. This matter was referred by us to the Tariff Board. So, assuming we revert to the same restricted position, how would it help the industry? I want again to repeat that this complaint was made to us at a time when the importation of cycles was strictly restricted. In those circumstances also they were not in a position to sell their product in the market. If we are to revert to that position today, how will it help the industry? We were doing only an injustice to the consumer in so far as it enabled the importer of the foreign cycles to charge black-market prices, because the number of cycles we were allowing to be imported was comparatively small and there was a big profit margin available for the trader in cycles. The consumers interests, I daresay, deserves some consideration at the hands of this House.

Reference was also made to the belting industry. Now, imports of leather belts are on the Open General Licence list. But hair and cotton belting, which is the only type of belting manufactured in India has not been placed on the Open General Licence List. The Indian manufacturers of this type of belting maintain that they have adequate stocks to meet all the demands in the country and that the imports should be stopped for at least the next six months. I might mention in this connection that the Tariff Board had occasion to enquire into the case for protection to this industry and they recommended that there was no case for protection beyond converting the existing revenue duty of 10 per cent. into a protective tax. That was all. But the

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demand put forward was that the importation should be stopped. But let it be remembered that there are consumers in India who need belting for the purpose of their factories. They themselves do not want many of them. I have had written representations from them that they do not want this type of belting. They have a greater faith in the imported belting. What is to be done? These are also Indian consumers connected with the manufacture of other articles. Meanwhile, the prices of belting have considerably gone up and it may be also the case that one element in the high prices of hair-belting is the fact that camel hair has to be imported from abroad. It is not as if we are self-supporting in the matter of raw materials for this industry. Now, in spite of all this, we have suggested a sort of round table conference of the representatives of hair-belting industry, the consumers' representatives and also representatives of importers. This meeting is going to take place in Calcutta very soon and we should try to find a solution of the difficulty with which we are faced in this matter. Mention was also made of the biscuit industry. It so happens that as a matter of policy, food articles like biscuits along with other food articles have been placed on the Open General Licence, because of the shortage of food in this country. In the case of biscuit industry in India, it is not a war time industry. It is rather a long established industry. It never came to the Tariff Board for protection as far as I remember. If it feels that its interests are being jeopardised, it is open to this industry to apply for an investigation by the Tariff Board into its case for protection.

Reference was made to a few other industries as well. I do not know whether it will be possible for me to give replies specifically with regard to each one of these industries. A reference was made by my honourable Friend Mr. Verrabahu to the licence which had been granted in favour of a Ceylon firm in respect of onions. So far as onions go, the Commerce Ministry has nothing to do in the matter of licensing; it is the responsibility entirely and exclusively of the Food Minister. I am not therefore in a position to say anything about this particular point.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: It cannot be said also that only vegetarians take onions.

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: I do not know. My honourable Friend Mr. Subramaniam said that there was no co-ordination between the Agriculture Ministry and the Commerce Ministry and that we were allowing the export of oilseeds to foreign countries which is against the interests of the country. I should like to tell him that we in the Commerce Ministry are not in a position to allow the exportation of oilseeds of any description without the fullest concurrence of the Agriculture Ministry. He can therefore rest assured that the interests of the cultivators in so far as they may need oil cake for manure are fully met. At least the Agriculture Ministry is there to look after their interests. In any case, our policy is to discourage as much as possible the exportation of seeds. We have done everything possible to encourage the exportation of oils rather than the seeds. As regards a definite demand from certain countries for seeds is concerned, if we expect the importation of any essential commodities from those countries, we have certainly to take a reasonable view of the matter, particularly in the present circumstances. As I said, the interests of the agriculturists are expected to be safeguarded by the Agriculture Ministry in such matters.

My honourable friend Mr. Ramnath Goenka complained that we had not taken action on some of the points that were raised in the course of the debate last year. I have gone through the various points that were raised on the last occasion and I find that we have given consideration to each and every one of them. It seems to me that there is a certain amount of misapprehension as regards the facts of some of these cases that my honourable Friend

had in mind, and also as regards the nature of the action which the Commerce Ministry had taken. First of all, I should like to deal with the point about the proposed removal of the export duty on oil and oil seeds. Here, we were impelled to put forward this demand to the honourable the Finance Minister in the light of the reports that were received from our Trade Agents abroad who maintain that it is because of the existence of these export duties that Indian products are finding it difficult to secure a markets in those countries.

Shri Ramnath Goenka: Have you checked the local prices?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: I have got a list of the prices. This statement is from a London Paper dated 29th January. I am giving the following price quotations:

		£.	s.	d.	
Linseed	Indian	58	10	0	per ton.
	Canadian	45	10	0	"
Groundnut	Indian	71	0	0	"
	Siamese	68	10	0	"
Castor seed	Bombay	58	0	0	"
	Brazilian	38	0	0	"
Niger seed	Indian	69	0	0	"
	Abyssinian	60	0	0	"
Linseed oil	Indian	141	0	0	"
	Uruguay and Paraguay	115	0	0	"
Ground nut oil	Indian	152	0	0	"

This has to compete with foreign rape seed and cotton seed oils, the prices of which are anything between 15 to 35£ per ton cheaper. Increased competition in respect of oils and oil seeds is coming from the following countries: Brazil, groundnut and castor; Argentina and Canada, linseed; British colonies in Africa, groundnut. United Kingdom and Australia have taken to growing linseed, the acreage under linseed in Australia this year being two lakhs acres.

It will be seen that it was not in a light-hearted manner that the abolition of the export duty on oils and oilseeds was considered by my honourable Friend the Finance Minister. Apart from that, on this particular point, we consulted the Export Advisory Council, the Standing Advisory Committee of the Ministry and the Economy Committee on which there are three or four distinguished members of this House as members. Their unanimous advice was that the export duty is bad and should be lifted as soon as possible.

About the complaint by my honourable Friend regarding the specific case where a person had obtained a licence without being able to prove that he had made the requisite deposit with the Reserve Bank of India, this case was fully investigated and the firm has been called upon to show cause why it should not be penalised for these irregularities. An application was received from this firm before we came to the conclusion that there was a case against this firm and a licence was issued firstly because we could not penalise the firm before it was at least *prima facie* held to be guilty, and secondly because the application for export licence was in respect of a hard currency area and this order had been supported by the Government of that country. This is the only case when he was given licence since this complaint was made. But, as the firm has now been called upon to explain why it should not be penalised, no further licence is proposed to be given to this firm.

Shri Ramnath Goenka: What happened to the officials who connived in giving this licence?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: I am not at all satisfied that there was any connivance on the part of any officials in my Ministry. My friend is proceeding on an assumption which has no foundation on fact.

Shri Ramnath Goenka: I say that what I say is correct; what the honourable Minister is saying is wrong.

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: So far as I am concerned, I make the statement on the basis of what I have found out the case to be.

Then, Sir, there is a case about oil exports. This case is under examination at the present moment by the Law Ministry and the point is whether there is a case for prosecution or not.

Shri C. Subramaniam: Have they been removed from the list of companies eligible for licenses?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: The whole thing will be judged after we get the opinion of the Law Ministry.

As regards the policy of granting licences particularly to certain people not in the trade, this matter was again placed before the Standing Advisory Committee.

Shri Ramnath Goenka: When?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: Very recently—about three days ago.

Shri Ramnath Goenka: How many days was it after the order was passed?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: It is up to me to pass orders if I feel that the order is justified, and then it is open to me to bring the matter before my Advisory Committee, and I am going to tell the House that the Advisory Committee has given me the fullest support in the action that I have taken. It was on the basis of a lengthy note that the Advisory Committee went into the matter and supported the action and they said there should be no change in the policy. Let me tell the House briefly what the circumstances were.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Is not the Advisory Council part of the House?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: Early in 1947, certain matters had to be considered by the previous Government in connection with the licensing policy to be adopted. The then Commerce Member found—and he was very right in what he found—that it would be inappropriate if for the purpose of issuing licenses a particular basic period were to be taken during which only a very few people were in the trade, because the war had intervened and had interfered with the normal channels of trade and with the normal pattern of trade. Therefore the problem before the then honourable Member was such—I do not want to justify what he may have done: I am trying to explain the circumstances that led him to the decision to which he came in this matter—that he found that it would not be right to take a period before the war, because it would be so far-off a period as not to constitute a proper test as many people may have gone out of trade. The intervention of war had interfered with continuity on the part of many of these people, and in some cases it was found that the people who were in trade before the war, or after the war, or during the war, were a handful; and in some cases in the case of certain commodities a handful of non-Indians. The question then arose as to whether the standard period on the basis of which licensing should be done should be a period where there was not a sufficient number of people—not a sufficient number of Indians

who were qualified for licenses. He came to the conclusion that he would allow a license to anybody who could produce a proof of a contract with a foreign country. The result was that many Indians came in. But I must admit that in some cases the proofs that were produced were not genuine or they could not perhaps be put to the test. But the fact remains that these people, whether they were in the trade before or not, they have since established themselves in the trade. Now the view that I took was this: that we must not have a caste system in international trade, and if these people did come into the trade on the basis of a policy decision taken by Government, may be the predecessor Government, then I have no right to turn them out of the trade and revert to the system where the trade would be confined to a few handful who constituted a class, and in some cases the non-Indians constituted a monopolistic class. I was thoroughly satisfied with the basic soundness of the case. I do not say that in every single case of every single licensee one can justify the granting of a license because of certain shady practices. But the test now is, not that they had a license then. The test now is whether the fellow who may have got a license in the past is trading now. It is not a question of giving a license to a fellow because he had a license before. The test is: has he undertaken a trade on the strength of that license? This is the test and I am perfectly satisfied that it would not be proper for us to turn these people out of the trade, because apart from anything else we are, in certain trades, every year, allowing new comers to come into those trades.

Shri Ramnath Goenka: Nobody suggests that you should not.

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: Even in the case of the newcomers the Advisory Committee said there should be no change. Am I to say that the people who are newcomers in 1947 should not be qualified for the purpose of coming into the trade, but that other newcomers should be qualified? These are considerations which should weigh with the House and I am fortified by the support which the Advisory Committee has given me in this matter.

Mr. Chairman: I would ask the Honourable Member to resume his seat as the Honourable Minister does not appear to be giving way.

Shri Ramnath Goenka: He is going altogether on a wrong basis.

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: But I have succeeded in convincing my Advisory Committee of the correctness of the decision taken.

Shri Ramnath Goenka: Without putting the proper facts before them.

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: The honourable Member alone is the repository of all rectitude and facts!

Prof. N. G. Ranga: If the Advisory Committee agrees, what is the objection? It is part of the House.

Shri Ramnath Goenka: But they are not the facts.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. The honourable Member must not talk like this.

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: The facts I have stated are sufficient for my purpose.

A reference was made to a German insurance company by my honourable Friend. Now we have kept alive the business of this company, and we are now consulting certain well-established Indian insurance companies for the

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purpose of finding out whether the business should not be continued in co-operation with some of them and we shall try to safeguard the interests as far as possible of everybody concerned in this matter.

Now I come last of all to the point about the Commercial Corporation. Here I may claim that we have undertaken what may be called State trading in some instances during these last few months. For instance, in our barter deal with Russia, the tea that we were to supply to Russia was purchased and supplied through the U.S.S.R. trade agent in India on Government account. Another deal with Russia also has been operated more or less on the same basis. A third deal is at present under negotiation. Moreover import of foodgrains—rice, wheat, maize, barley and millets, etc., is a Government monopoly. There again we are engaged in State trading in one sense or another. The Ministry of Industry & Supply imports steel on Government account. The Ministry of Agriculture imports chemical fertilizers and agricultural implements. The Ministry of Food is considering the export of ground-nuts to Canada on Government account. Over and above this, the Ministry of Industry & Supply is also in charge of a scheme under which cotton textiles have to be supplied to Pakistan. That is also dealt with as a kind of State trading.

Now I feel that having regard to these facts and also to certain other matters, about which I have been rather anxious—for instance, when you enter into bi-lateral trade agreements, and after entering into trade agreements we leave the trade to be operated entirely by private enterprise, we may not be sure that all we need is being imported, and all the materials that we have to export and which have a sort of bargaining value, are not being supplied without the corresponding value from the other side being made available to us. The system that we are following does not enable us to maintain a strict control in this matter. So from all these points of view we are anxious to have the question of state trading on the basis of a State Corporation examined in some amount of detail. It may be that as a result of this examination we might find it possible to have an organisation for the purpose of undertaking certain trades, trades in certain specified commodities with reference to certain specified countries. It is my intention to have a Committee set up as soon as possible and it is also my intention to associate certain members of this House with that Committee. More than this I am not in a position to say but as I have already indicated certain features which I have noticed in the case of our bilateral trade agreements seem to indicate the necessity of state intervention in some manner without leaving the implementation of these agreements entirely in the hands of the trade. I hope that it will be possible for me to make a definite announcement before the end of the present session on this matter.

Sir, I will not take long and I would like to add only a few words regarding the import of caustic soda. I have mentioned it earlier also. The position about caustic soda is that early in 1948 there was a considerable scarcity of caustic soda as well as soda ash in the country. It was also believed that appreciable quantities were sold at what may be called black market rates.....

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: What is black market?

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: The market which is not white.

An Honourable Member: Also not straight.

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: At that time exports from the United States of America were restricted by quotas but a number of shippers were able to send supplies outside this quota. With a view to relieving the scarcity of this material in the country it was decided early in 1948 to issue licences liberally both for dollar and non-dollar areas, provided the imports

were made within a stipulated price of Rs. 56 per cwt. A large number of licences were issued but as the U.S.A. Government had continued their control over exports it was not till about the end of August that any large quantities could be imported into India. By that time the American authorities had relaxed their export control and later on completely removed it for the export of caustic soda. That actually accounts for the large importation of caustic soda into the country. But I should like to mention that caustic soda must not be classed among the non-essential articles. It is an article which is most essential as a raw material for certain industries, particularly the soap industry. As a matter of fact the supply position at the present moment is very favourable for the soap industry and we are hopeful that it may be possible in the near future to build up an export market for our soaps, taking advantage of the availability, particularly of caustic soda, in such large quantities.

A point was raised as regards the question of training seamen. As the House is aware we have a Merchant Navy Training Committee which has submitted a few reports as regard the training of the officer personnel, both administrative and engineering. They considered the training of the officer personnel more important in view of the acute shortage of Indian officers in the Indian merchant navy. The Committee is at the present engaged in a study of the question of training a certain number of suitable young men for the sea career as seamen. As soon as the report is available Government will take whatever action is possible for the purpose of improving the training of seamen.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 80,72,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Commerce'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 42,73,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ports and Pilotage'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,32,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Lighthouses and Lightships'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 59,65,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,57,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Joint-Stock Companies'."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 16th March, 1949.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)
DEBATES

(PART II—PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

Wednesday, 16th March, 1949.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

11-50 A.M.

(See Part I)

THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*contd.*

SECOND STAGE—*contd.*

Mr. Speaker: The House will take up the Demands for Grants in respect of Finance. I shall, therefore, place these Demands before the House, and in doing so I shall take the respective heads; and mention the amounts under each head.

DEMAND No. 1—CUSTOMS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,46,74,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of ‘Customs’.”

DEMAND No. 2—CENTRAL EXCISE DUTIES.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,45,78,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of ‘Central Excise Duties’.”

DEMAND No. 3—TAXES ON INCOME INCLUDING CORPORATION TAX.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,87,06,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of ‘Taxes on Income including Corporation Tax’.”

DEMAND No. 4—OPIUM.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,04,77,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of ‘Opium’.”

DEMAND No. 5—PROVINCIAL EXCISE.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,30,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1950, in respect of ‘Provincial Excise’.”

DEMAND No. 6—STAMPS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,06,21,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Stamps'."

DEMAND No. 20—MINISTRY OF FINANCE.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 94,50,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Finance'."

DEMAND No. 31—PAYMENTS TO OTHER GOVERNMENTS, DEPARTMENTS, ETC., ON ACCOUNT OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF AGENCY SUBJECTS AND MANAGEMENT OF TREASURIES.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 18,73,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Payments to other Governments, Departments, etc., on Account of the Administration of Agency Subjects and Management of Treasuries'."

DEMAND No. 32—AUDIT.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,33,95,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Audit'."

DEMAND No. 66—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,69,37,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Departments'."

DEMAND No. 67—CURRENCY.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 92,22,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Currency'."

DEMAND No. 68—MINT.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,28,47,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Mint'."

DEMAND No. 71—TERRITORIAL AND POLITICAL PENSIONS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 22,72,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Territorial and Political Pensions'."

DEMAND No. 72—SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES AND PENSIONS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,40,46,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Superannuation Allowances and Pensions'."

DEMAND No. 74—MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 35,71,23,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Miscellaneous'."

DEMAND No. 80—GRANTS-IN-AID TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,25,00,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Grants-in-aid to Provincial Governments'."

DEMAND No. 81—MISCELLANEOUS ADJUSTMENTS BETWEEN THE CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 62,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Adjustments between the Central and Provincial Governments'."

DEMAND No. 82—RESETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,55,95,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Resettlement and Development'."

DEMAND No. 84—PRE-PARTITION PAYMENTS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,00,00,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Pre-partition Payments'."

DEMAND No. 91—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON THE INDIA SECURITY PRESS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 28,82,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on the India Security Press'."

DEMAND No. 94—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,14,62,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Industrial Development'."

DEMAND No. 97—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON CURRENCY.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,16,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Currency'."

DEMAND No. 98—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON MINTS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 87,95,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Mints'."

DEMAND NO. 101—COMMUTED VALUE OF PENSIONS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Commuted Value of Pensions'."

DEMAND NO. 102—PAYMENTS TO RETRENCHED PERSONNEL.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Payments to Retrenched Personnel'."

DEMAND NO. 104—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON SCHEMES OF STATE TRADING.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,89,60,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Schemes of State Trading'."

DEMAND NO. 105—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON DEVELOPMENT.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 33,41,56,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Development'."

DEMAND NO. 106—PAYMENTS TO GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN FOR UNIQUE INSTITUTIONS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 92,02,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Payments to Government of Pakistan for Unique Institutions'."

DEMAND NO. 107.—INTEREST-FREE AND INTEREST-BEARING ADVANCES.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,09,83,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Interest-free and Interest-bearing Advances'."

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai (Minister of Finance): Mr. Speaker, it is with a feeling of hesitation almost amounting to reluctance, that now-a-days I rise before the House to talk about financial matters. I have been in constant attendance at the House ever since the general discussion on the Budget began, and I have been present here also at the debate on the estimates of every Ministry. It has occurred to me that there is a marked difference between the attitude of the House to the great spending departments of Government and its attitude to the Finance Ministry which has to find the money. As I listened to the debate on the estimates of these spending Ministries, I found that the House throughout was in a very generous mood. I found honourable members making very generous promises regarding additional funds if they wanted them. And, Sir, when I come round with my

collection bag in order to raise the money required for implementing these generous assurances, the attitude of the House suddenly changes. The House curses me, swears at me, throws stones at me, and nearly chucks me out of the compound right over the fence. I have come to the conclusion that in any modern governmental set-up, the life of a Finance Minister, like the proverbial policeman's lot, is a very hard one and so he sits here in his little corner of the House, listening to these criticisms, subjected to these attacks, and looks for all the world like a maimed dog, licking his wounds all the time!

Sir, with this cheerful introduction, may I get down to the business of the day.

I do not intend this morning to refer to matters of detail relating to the Budget, or to matters of detail relating to our financial administration, because these are things which were very much under discussion during the general debate. I take it that many of these matters will come up for discussion again when the Finance Bill comes before the House.

I thought therefore probably the most useful way in which I could spend the time which the House has placed at my disposal, would be to draw the attention of honourable members to some of the bigger, broader problems which underlie the budgetary position of Government, so that the House may have an opportunity of expressing its views on these matters which otherwise might escape attention and discussion altogether.

The first of the problems to which I would like to refer is the problem of inflation and high prices, a problem in which, both the House and the country are so deeply and so vitally interested. Let me first give the facts as disclosed by the index numbers that we have.

If you take the wholesale index number prepared by the Economic Adviser to Government the position is that since November when our anti-inflationary programme had been put in operation, the general index number, taking the composite figure, shows a decline of somewhere about 10 to 11 points: that is to say, taking the latest index figure as compared with the index figure last November. Manufactured and semi-manufactured articles also show a fairly marked decline. Similarly if you take all the food articles together, not merely cereals but pulses and all food articles together, that also shows a decline. But when you come to food grains, and industrial raw materials, mainly agricultural products, then you find that there is a difference in the situation. As regards cereals and industrial raw materials and position seems to be still one of flux. Prices are still fluctuating and it is almost difficult to tell from these fluctuating figures whether any definite trend is discernible.

I would like to draw the attention of the House to one or two matters regarding cereals and industrial raw materials, because these are the things that concern us most today.

As regards cereals the position seems to be—and I say it from a fairly careful analysis of our index number—that but for the price of wheat probably cereals also would have shown a downward trend. As the House knows, the price of wheat at Amritsar has been showing a downward trend for some weeks now but the position has been different in the Hapur market and it is really the position of wheat in the Hapur market that is responsible largely for the fact that cereals so far have not shown a downward trend.

Regarding industrial raw materials I find on a similar analysis of the index number that the fact that there has been no decline is largely accounted for by the position regarding oilseeds. Oilseeds recently have been the subject of a great deal of speculation and the fact that, as the result of speculation,

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the prices of oilseeds have not merely been remaining on the whole at a high level but fluctuating at that level, is the reason, I think that the index of industrial raw materials has been disclosing on the whole a somewhat unsatisfactory trend. Now that is as far as the wholesale index number is concerned.

I would like to tell the House at the same time, that since more than 50 per cent of the cost of living index is represented by food grains, the position with regard to cereals in the wholesale index number is reflected in the cost of living index. Until we are able to find a solution for our food problem we are not likely to see any perceptible decline in the cost of living index. As far as the food position is concerned I have no doubt that my honourable colleague, the Food Minister, will deal with the matter in greater detail later. But I would like to say this and it is a point which I think I mentioned during the question hour a few weeks ago, I personally do not think that we shall find a downward trend in the prices of food grains until the *Rabi* harvest has come in, because although Government have resumed the policy of food control, that policy is not likely to be effective until the supplies are better ensured. In other words, when the *Rabi* harvest has come in and we are able to get more and more of the imported food grains which we are expecting, and as the procurement policy of the Provincial Governments shows better results, until that position is reached, it is not possible for Government to give full effect to the rationing policy to which they are committed. And, if I may venture a forecast, I think, it would be somewhere about the end of April that we shall begin to find a downward trend in the matter of food grains and personally I am rather hopeful that between May and the six months following May we shall find that the position has assumed a more satisfactory aspect.

There has been a great deal of criticism regarding Government's anti-inflation policy, mainly on the ground that the results have not been perceptible in a shorter time as the country would have expected. (*Babu Ramnarayan Singh*: 'Because of no active steps.') Now the policy of Government is what now throughout the world is generally referred to as a policy of "disinflation" rather than deflation—I do not like to use this kind of economic jargon—but the point of it is this: that at a time when prices are rising and inflation is almost what

12 Noon I may call of the galloping variety—and that is the sort of inflation that we had between January 1948 and August or September 1948—the right way of tackling it is not to try and bring about a drastic reduction but to try, in the first place, to put a stop to the rise, because if you are able to prevent a rise in prices and keep the prices at a fairly stable level for a short period, then you are in a better position to bring about a downward trend in prices. Inflation is somewhat like water: if you can check the flow of it, then it takes a direction quite the reverse: it cannot stand still. The reason why it is necessary to go rather slow with this process of bringing about a downward trend in prices is this. You must see to it at each stage that there is a proper relationship maintained between the level of prices and the level of costs. Suppose for example, in regard to agricultural produce—and that is the thing in which we are most interested—we are able by reducing the money supply in the country and thus curtailing the purchasing power, to bring about a sudden reduction. If that happens then it is going to react upon the agricultural producer in a serious way, because you can reduce the price of your food grains overnight but it would not be possible for the agricultural producer straightaway in the same period of time to reduce his cost. Labour is a very important item of cost in agriculture. The prices of food grains may be brought down but you cannot go straightaway and tell your labourer that he should accept wages at a lower rate. Failing this you are likely to bring about a situation where the producer would find it difficult to regulate his economy. That is what, in my opinion, is one of the most serious problems that we have

got to take into account. When people throughout the country, particularly in industrial areas, complain about the high level of agricultural prices and express great anxiety about bringing them down, to my mind, what they do not realise is that when they do that they are going to create a situation in which the position of the agricultural producer would be seriously disorganised. The same thing applies to manufactured goods. You can by very drastic measures, as some countries have attempted, bring about a drastic fall in prices. But if you are not in a position at the same time to bring down labour costs you are going to create disorganisation in the economy which ultimately would affect the position of supply and make inflation still worse.

We have been criticised for not taking active steps, for example, in regard to the money supply of the country. We consulted various sections of public opinion last year regarding the measures to be taken to stop inflation. They suggested some summary measures regarding the money supply of the country. They said "you freeze bank deposits; you demonetise currency notes; have a scheme of compulsory saving." Supposing we had done all that the result would have been in the first place a drastic reduction in the prices of manufactured goods and food grains without a corresponding reduction in the costs on which these are based. Apart from that, one of the considerations which weighed with us was this that if you freeze bank deposits and demonetise currency notes—and do things of this kind in a country which yet has got to get used to investment—there would be a feeling of insecurity which is going to affect ultimately the whole problem of production. And, I said in the course of my reply to the general debate we are already suffering from a state of acute stringency in the investment market. We cannot therefore afford to bring about any drastic reduction in the money supply available.

There is one point with regard to this question of food grains to which I would like to ask the attention of the House. One reason why we are not able to bring down the price as quickly as the House would like and the country would like is that we have fixed the procurement prices at a somewhat higher level than the prices which prevailed just before we abolished control. If you take the prices of December 1947 the procurement prices that we have now fixed are about 25 to 50 per cent higher than the prices which prevailed in December 1947. Therefore the control prices themselves are higher by that margin than the prices which prevailed before we went back on control. The reason for doing that is this. If you carefully examine the food position with reference to the control policy towards the end of 1947 you will find that where our control policy failed was in regard to procurement. At the prices which prevailed in December 1947 it was impossible for Government to implement its procurement policy on which the whole question of flow of supplies depended. We realized therefore that if you want to ensure a continuous flow of supplies you must be prepared to fix your prices at a level which would make it easy for the agricultural producer to bring his supplies into the market. So long as our procurement prices today are higher than the procurement price of 1947 there is bound to be a certain delay in the reduction of prices to the levels that we expect.

When we examine this question of the level of prices and of inflation I would like the House to realize that our economy is not an isolated economy. We are closely bound up with movements in these matters in other countries. Honourable members who have been following discussions in the press about the movement of world prices will have realized that there is a rather interesting phenomenon gradually developing in the United States of America. The United States have had a bumper crop in the leading agricultural products. In fact, I believe from such reports as I have seen, they have not had so large

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a crop for a period of ten or twelve years. There has been better production of food grains in other parts of the world also like Canada and Australia and even on the Continent of Europe. With all this large supply on the horizon there has been a definite downward trend in the prices of food grains in America. The problem whether this fall in prices is the beginning of a large downward trend which may amount to something like an economic depression of the kind that we had round about 1930 is one that is exciting the interest of American economists today; there is a great deal of discussion going on. On the whole the prevailing opinion appears to be that this is not the beginning of a depression; it is what might be called a process of readjustment. In fact they like to describe their policy also in terms of disinflation. In other words they would like to control and regulate the fall of prices, not to allow the fall of prices to get out of hand so that you are unable to control its consequences. Whatever may be the opinion which experts in these matters hold regarding the present price position in America I think it is wise for us to be prepared for something like a general decline in prices throughout the world. If that happens it is quite conceivable that that would react rather seriously on the level of prices in this country. If that happens, if we are having a very intensive anti-inflationary campaign in the country and if that coincides within a period of a year or eighteen months with a marked downward fall in world prices, we might find ourselves in a position where the situation might entirely get out of hand. I therefore think on the whole that while we should proceed with our policy of bringing about a gradual reduction in prices it would be wise on our part not to attempt anything like a drastic fall because we might get caught in world forces which will take the problem entirely out of our hands.

With regard to this question of inflation I want to make a reference to the budget because budgets and inflation are linked together. As the House will have noticed, throughout the country this year, both at the Centre and in most of the Provinces, Governments have tried to avoid a deficit. They have tried as far as possible to achieve a surplus and in any case to balance their budgets. That was done more or less in accordance with the policy which we at the Centre laid down in connection with our anti-inflationary campaign. Of course I am well aware of the uses of a deficit budget,—its uses under certain conditions. For example, if we are passing through a period of acute depression it is worth while providing for a deficit budget because that would mean putting more and more purchasing power into the country and raising the level of demand which is precisely what President Roosevelt did at the time of the New Deal. But in our country today when we are passing through a period of acute inflation it seems to me it is a dangerous matter to leave a deficit uncovered. We have proceeded on these lines. I therefore hope that the budgetary policy which both the Central Government and the Provincial Governments have adopted this year is a policy which will help in solving the problem of inflation.

While that is so the point may be raised: if you are going to achieve a balanced Budget by means of indirect taxes, then, while on the one hand you are following an anti-inflationary policy, on the other hand you are following a policy which probably will take you in a different direction. That is a matter which I have carefully considered. Whatever view the House might hold regarding the way in which income has been recently distributed in the country, among various sections of the community, it is certain that large numbers of people who have not been used to higher incomes have now higher incomes at their disposal, and one way in which you can mop up this purchasing power is by putting up the prices of commodities in which they are likely to invest their

income. Taking the particular point that has been raised in connection with our Budget here, for example the excise duty which we have proposed on coarse and medium cloth, the point might well be raised: Are you not thereby introducing into the country a force which is definitely inflationary? My answer to that is this. In the first place, as I pointed out in my reply to the Budget discussion, the incidence of this additional tax is about half or less than half the average incidence per head of the salt duty when that duty was in force. As the House probably knows, Government have under examination a reorganisation of the price structure of cotton textiles with reference to current prices of raw cotton. If we revise the prices of cotton textiles with reference to major factors like the price of raw cotton, ultimately it will be found that the extent to which this excise duty on coarse and medium cloth tells on the final price will be almost negligible; it will be hardly perceptible in the final prices that would result from a reorganisation of the present price structure. With regard to the sugar duty, my reply is that the excise duty does not touch *gur* which is the poor man's sugar, it does not touch *khandsari*, the cottage industry sugar. Therefore, so far as these main indirect taxes are concerned, I submit that the extent to which they are likely to nullify our anti-inflationary policy is greatly exaggerated.

There was a point which was raised over and over again with reference to the effect of our Budget on the present inflationary conditions. The point is while you have tried to achieve a balance in your revenue Budget, should you not achieve a balance in your capital Budget because there are about 134 crores which you have taken as a deficit on the capital side? As I explained to the House, this deficit would be met out of our balances. But these balances are unspent money remaining with the Government. If you take this money out of these unspent balances and spend it then you are introducing a certain amount of increased purchasing power in the country. If you will closely analyse the figures in the Budget statement, you will find that for the year 1949-50, if you take all our expenditure from revenue, from capital, and from cash balances, you will find that about Rs. 180 crores out of that is being spent not in this country but abroad. About 134 crores is the figure shown in our Budget statement as the amount which is being drawn from the cash balances. In other words, the position is: far more than what you draw from the cash balances is being spent abroad, the net result being that the amount of money, Rs. 180 crores, is being withdrawn from the country and being spent abroad, and therefore this so-called deficit in the capital Budget instead of being inflationary is really an anti-inflationary force; against 134 crores in the cash balances, you have got a little more than 180 crores expenditure abroad; all the money that you get from your cash balances and a little more is being spent abroad. Therefore, in the last analysis you will find it is not an inflationary force as it is supposed.

I would like, Sir, at this stage to make a brief reference to our borrowing programme because that also has a direct bearing on the inflationary position. I have fixed our borrowing programme for 1949-50 at what I called in my Budget speech a very modest figure. I did that because looking at the conditions prevailing in the money market at the time I framed the Budget, I found that if I fixed the figure at anything above 85 crores I would be giving the House a somewhat unrealistic picture of the situation. We provided for a much higher amount of borrowing last year, we were unable to reach the target. I said to myself, "The only way in which I can give the House a correct, honest picture of the situation is to fix my borrowing at a figure which will have some close relation to the realities of the situation". I have also another idea in mind. There is great stringency in the investment market. We want industries to develop, we want industries to find more and more money for financing

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their projects, and I thought to myself that on the whole if I were to leave enough scope for industries to raise capital, it would be better for me to reduce the demand that I make on the limited supply of capital available. Therefore the fact that Government has only a modest borrowing programme is a fact which is likely to help industries in their borrowing. But I want to make it perfectly clear that while I have fixed my programme for the moment at Rs. 85 crores, if conditions improve—and I cannot help thinking, scanning all the reports which have come to me during the past two weeks, that within a few months probably there would be an improvement in the conditions of the money market and if that happens, certainly it is my intention to go into the market and borrow more than I have provided in the Budget.

In regard to this particular matter, I would like to take this opportunity to make an appeal, particularly to the great institutional investors of the country, to do everything that they can to make the borrowing programme of Government a complete success. A great deal depends on the institutional investors of this country, like the insurance companies, banks, and so on, and I would like, therefore, to make this appeal to the institutional investors that in view of the improvement that is already visible in the conditions of the money market, both in their own interests and in the interests of the country, they should provide more in their investment portfolio in the form of Government securities.

Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar (Madras: General): Then why repay the loans?

Shri B. L. Sondhi (East Punjab: General): It may be reinvested. Why do you worry?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: My honourable friend Mr. Ramalingam Chettiar has raised a pertinent question. It is necessary, if Government is to achieve success as a borrower, that Government must be in a position to return moneys in due time. As a matter of psychology, I think it is better for Government to stick to their time schedule as exactly as they can because it helps in the end to enhance their Credit. I should like to make another point in this connection. If what I indicated to the House in the course of my reply to the general debate had any force in it, that is to say, if in 1950-51 onwards, we are going to find an improvement, and a marked improvement in our expenditure position, it ought to be possible for us, not merely to provide more for ration-building activities in the country, but it ought to be possible for us also to give more relief in the way of taxation. If we are able to do that, then it seems to me that the net income that investors are likely to derive from investments in government securities is likely to prove better as the years go by. The question has been raised more than once. I think my honourable members in the course of the Budget debate and also in the various press discussions of the Budget, as to what exactly is the Government's monetary policy. I would like to state our policy as far as I am in a position to do so at present. The fact that there is stringency in the money market, that is to say, that money from the investment point of view is scarce, is an argument for raising the rate of interest, in the same way in which, in regard to any commodity, if you want to increase its supply, you provide greater inducement by way of better prices. On the other hand, if you raise the rate of interest, then it means straightaway a decline in the market values of all existing securities. That is to say, while on the one hand you try to induce investors to put more and more money into Government securities in response to higher rates of interest, on the other hand you create a general sense of insecurity in the market, a feeling of depression, because of the reaction of the higher rate of interest,

on the values of existing securities. If I were to place myself in the position of the average investor, owing to the fluctuating conditions which prevail in the country today I would say, "now that the Government has raised the rate of interest to this level, who can tell whether they will stop there, or where they will stop. They may raise it a little further after a while. If that is so, why put the money in now?" You are placing the investors in a state of mental uncertainty. In my opinion, this rise in the rate of interest is not exactly a satisfactory course to adopt. I have discussed this matter carefully with the Governor of the Reserve Bank, and we have come to the conclusion that balancing one consideration against the other, the right course for Government to follow is to maintain its present policy.

I would like to say a word about capital formation, which to my mind, is one of the biggest problems that face us today. There is not the slightest doubt that capital formation in recent years has been badly affected in our country, and if we want to promote production, particularly industrial production, it is necessary that the process of capital formation should receive definite encouragement. When I say that it is necessary to encourage capital formation, I would like to make it absolutely clear that it applies not merely to private enterprise, but equally to nationalised industries, because whether it is Government-run industry or privately-run industry, for both you want capital. Whether the borrower is Government or a private agency, unless there is a firm foundation of capital formation, it is not possible for you to go forward. What really stands in the way of capital formation? Capital formation is the result of two things. First of all, people must be in a position to save. Secondly, when they have saved, they must be induced to invest that saving. It is a question, partly of saving and partly of investment. What is preventing saving today apart from the high prices, it is certainly the level of direct taxation today. There is no use burking the issue. We have to face the uncomfortable fact that the level of taxation today is definitely standing in the way of capital formation. What is standing in the way of investment of that saving? I should say, the general feeling of political and economic insecurity throughout the country. As far as political security is concerned, there has been a marked improvement. But unless, we can at the same time, also give a greater sense of economic security, even if you are in a position to promote savings, we will find it difficult to promote investment. I have from the beginning looked upon the Budget which I have had the honour to present to the House as a small first step in this direction, and I believe that although you are not likely to see any marked results in the immediate future, there are sufficiently promising signs to encourage one in the belief that we shall find better times in the near future.

In this connection, I would like to make a reference to the small savings movement. The small savings movement in recent months has shown better results than it has for the past two or three years. And I am hoping that by intensifying our propaganda, and by enlisting more and more non-official assistance, we shall be able to show even better results than we have achieved in recent months. And I would like, in this connection to make an appeal to the House. There is a great deal that honourable Members can do in the way of helping the progress of the small savings movement. Those with local influence can do a great deal to induce people to put money into Government bonds.

Sir, the position I have reached now in the matters I have placed before the House is that as far as Indian capital resources today are concerned, we have not nearly enough for all the purposes that we have in mind. In view of the big developmental projects that we are trying to promote, the amount of capital now available in the country is hardly sufficient. Therefore the question arises whether the time has not come for us to supplement our resources

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[Dr. John Matthai]

with resources from abroad. The whole question of foreign borrowing is now becoming very important, from the point of view of the country. I want to put one or two ideas in this connection before the House. It is not merely the fact that there is not enough capital available in the country that makes it necessary for us to consider foreign borrowing. We want not merely finance, we want plant, we want equipment, we want technical skill and experience; and all these can be got only from abroad. And if you want to get things from abroad, you have to find not merely money, but also exchange, and if you go in for foreign borrowing, you will be able to get not merely the finance that you require, but also the foreign exchange you require. That is a very important matter from our point of view today. Since the United States of America, in the matter of capital goods have a larger surplus capacity than any other country today, it is natural that we should look more and more in the direction of the United States of America. As I have told the House more than once, we have been in touch with the International Monetary Fund and with the International Bank. The International Monetary Fund lends for very short periods, entirely for the purpose of rectifying the maladjustment in the balance of payments, so that for the purpose of long term development, the International Monetary Fund is not likely to be of assistance. Therefore, we approached the International Bank for assistance, and as the House knows a Mission was here and examined the projects that we put before them against the general background of Indian economic conditions. I have not seen their report and it may not be ready for some time yet, but I believe that the Mission has done very valuable work. It has been a good discipline as far as our own officers are concerned, because the Mission has been able to draw their attention to the real problems that call for attention. But there is one thing that I would like to mention in regard to the International Bank, which applies equally to other institutions in the United States of America, which we might approach for assistance such as the Export Import Bank. I do not yet know what the final rate of interest is likely to be in regard to our loans, but the rate of interest generally suggested is of the order of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Now when you want to finance long term developmental projects on a basis of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest, you are going to accept financial assistance at rather a heavy cost. It is not merely that. If you get a loan from the International Bank, for a period of 20 or 25 years; it may be that while our developmental projects are still under construction, they may be induced to give us a short breathing space, a short moratorium, but the time will come when we would have to make annual equated payments against amortization of the whole debt, that is, not merely your interest but the principal in instalments and these payments would have to be made in Dollar currency. Therefore a time will come, if you go in for assistance from institutions of this kind on a large scale, when you find yourself burdened with a debt which might seriously embarrass you. If that summary of the position is correct, then it seems to me the only other source left, as far as foreign lending is concerned, is private investors in other countries. That is to say, if we have on hand a big industrial project, an industrial project in which there are people of experience, of acknowledged skill and reputation in other countries interested, if we are able to enlist their assistance in the sense of participation in the capital structure of the Indian concern, it might be possible for us to get foreign assistance in a less burdensome form. That raises a very important problem, and in my opinion, the House would be called upon, if not today, but in the very near future to face this problem squarely. The advantage of foreign participation in that sense is this. If you go to great lending institutions like the World Bank and the Export Import Bank, you get assistance first of all in the shape of fixed interest bearing loans and secondly

the interest is of a fairly high rate.) If we could get people to participate in Indian concerns on the basis of sharing the loss as well as the profit, the burden that would be imposed on industrial projects would, I think, be considerably less. I am raising this problem, because I think now that we are up against this question of foreign borrowing and all our developmental work is so closely bound up with that question it is about time that the House applied its mind to it. I do not want to say anything more about this because the matter is under Government's consideration and I expect before the session is out, the Prime Minister would be in a position to make a statement to the House on the conditions on which we consider it desirable to go in for foreign borrowing.

In this connection, there is one point that I would like to mention regarding our Sterling Balances. Honourable Members who have followed the discussions regarding the recent trend of economic events in the United Kingdom will have seen that they have various projects in hand for strengthening the position of Sterling. Recently there was a plan put before the Economic Recovery Administration in Paris by the Government of the United Kingdom. The plan was that in the course of about four years it ought to be possible for the United Kingdom to achieve a balance in regard to their international payments. There has been a great deal of criticism as to the accuracy and the validity of many of the figures and propositions in that plan. But if it happens that the United Kingdom is able in a relatively short period to achieve a balance in their international payments, then Sterling will become a much less soft currency than it is today, that is Sterling will become in that process a more freely convertible currency. That is entirely to our advantage, because if we have all these balances in Sterling, it is to our interest that Sterling should become available to us more and more in the form of an internationally convertible currency. The point that I am trying to suggest is this. On a careful consideration of the whole problem, it is necessary that we should as far as can co-operate with the efforts which are being made by the United Kingdom Government to strengthen the position of Sterling, because it is going to be definitely to our advantage. Having said that, may I also say this? I am not satisfied that the Dollar releases we obtained last year have been good enough. I think we were entitled to a larger release and as events have turned out the Dollar releases we have been permitted for the last year are a good deal less than our requirements warrant. Therefore I want to say with every sense of responsibility that while we are prepared to co-operate with the U.K. Government in every effort that they are making to improve the position of Sterling and their general economic position, we are not satisfied that the assistance that they have given us so far in the way of Dollar releases has been reasonable and fair. (*Hear, hear*). I propose to do all that I can in order to obtain a better and more satisfactory release of hard currency from the United Kingdom Government in regard to our next year's programme.

Sir, some reference has been made to the question of a general enquiry into our taxation structure. That is a matter which I have considered with some care. I want to tell the House briefly what the conclusion is that I have provisionally reached. I feel that it would not be possible for us to make satisfactory proposals regarding our taxation structure unless we have a clearer picture than we have today of what our national income is and how that national income is distributed among the various sections of the community. I propose, therefore, and my colleagues agree with me, that we should institute at once an expert committee of high-ranking economists—both Indian and foreign economists—to take up the question of the national income. I hope within a short period we shall be able to get at least provisional estimates of the national income of the country and its distribution on which a taxation enquiry could be based.

[Dr. John Matthai]

Just one last point, Sir. The House has taken very great interest in the question of economy in public expenditure.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar: General): Nothing of control?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: What control?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Control of prices.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: I will refer to it later. A great many questions were put to me, during the general discussion, as regards what we are going to do with the recommendations of the Economy Committee and I gave the assurance to the House in the course of my reply to the general debate that the Government would give its most earnest consideration to the proposals of the Economy Committee. What I want today to say is to how we propose to proceed with this matter. We are instructing all the Ministries to take up the proposals made by the Economy Committee at once with the Standing Committees of the Legislature attached to their Ministries and when matters have been clarified with the Standing Committees, the proposals would be put before a special meeting of the Standing Finance Committee so that they may have an opportunity of examining the proposals of the Economy Committee in the light of the Government's views thereon.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (C. P. and Berar: General): Will it be completed in five years?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: I knew that my honourable friend or somebody else would ask that question. I have in fact already circularised the Ministries in regard to the reference of these matters to the Standing Committees. I expect this to be done in the course of two or three weeks. Then I propose to have a special meeting of the Standing Finance Committee if possible before the end of this Session, but if that is not possible to have it shortly afterwards. I do not want more than two or three months to elapse before we come to a final conclusion.

Shri B. Das (Orissa: General): I am sure the House will join me in offering congratulations to the honourable the Finance Minister for the very lucid exposition of our financial position and the soundness of it in spite of the difficulties we are experiencing.

—Sir, the one thing that emerges from the speech I heard a minute ago is that the Central Government's finances are sound, but that we must have the co-operation of the industrialists and the workers. I am glad to see that my honourable friend Mr. Mody offered the other day full co-operation of the industrialists to our Government in financial matters. The Honourable the Finance Minister also wants the full co-operation and the sweet reasonableness of the labour element in India to be there so that production be raised and prices be brought down.

At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Shrimati G. Durgabai (one of the Panel of Chairmen).

We want co-operation of labour on the man-hour basis and not on the salary level basis. If that sort of co-operation can be had, we can expect India to take rapid strides forward towards our national prosperity. My honourable friend Dr. Matthai felt gratified that U.K. will have its national recovery soon. Sir, that is no solace to me, if India's national recovery is not in the offing. U. K. has been my *bete noire* during days of our subordination. U. K. is my *bete noire* even to-day. U. K. is responsible for all our troubles and miseries, inflation, high prices and financial stringency all are due to the policy of exploitation during the War. Nearly Rs. 4,000 crores worth of stores were purchased at pre-war controlled prices for U. K. and U.S.A. and hence the inflation in our currency and hence the high prices.

Today inflation is our main difficulty. I assess that 50 per cent of it is due to the exploitation by the United Kingdom administration and the absence of a National Government in our country during the war. They not only exploited

our country but during the war have frozen 600 million sterling that we had in the Bank of England. I feel ashamed that we have agreed to a further period of two years for facilitating their national recovery. We have to co-operate. I listened most respectfully to the speech of our Minister. I am not in a mood today to co-operate with the United Kingdom for its recovery, seeing that it forced us to tie down the rupee to the sterling. Of course I know that today we can delink the rupee. That is a question which requires very careful examination. I hear the honourable the Prime Minister will talk a few days hence on the matter of the investment of foreign capital in this country. I hope he will bear in mind the sufferings and the sorrows that India went through during the last 150 years. The House must also remember the Government of India Act of 1935, where safeguards were provided for British capital and British exporters. Bearing all these in mind the House should consider the proposals which the Honourable Minister will bring forward in the course of this month.

We hear a good deal about inflation. Professors, economists and industrialists all talk of inflation. All our shortcomings lay at the door of inflation. I do not come under any of these categories, I do not say that inflation is the root cause of all evils and that inflation must be done away with immediately. We are aiming at lowering the price level, but the thing cannot be done if the industrialists and the producers take it into their heads to raise the price of cotton piece-goods and sugar when de-control takes place. In this vicious circle I do not quite see how the price levels can be immediately reduced. I do not think that inflation can be done away with unless my honourable friend Shriji Homi Mody gives some hints as to how it can be done. My reading of the situation is that Government could have done away part of this inflation by exercising stricter financial control over the Budget expenditure. There is inflation everywhere. There are inflated numbers of Ministries and Ministers on the floor of this House. There are inflated staff in the Government of India Secretariat. The staff has increased in the course of five years five to six times and the salary level has also been raised to that extent. There are inflated demands on the part of labour—demands for more wages,—and people in the Railways want more dearness allowance, grain shop allowance, etc.—my friend Mr. Santhanam is not here—railway labour want all sorts of advantages. None of the labour leaders, I am surprised to find have thought that the production of the labour, be it on the railways or the industry, should be on a man-hour basis, they must produce so much minimum work, whereby production will increase and where by alone the high prices can be checked.

Pandit Harihar Nath Shastri (U. P.: General): What about 15 per cent increase in production?

Shri B. Das: Thank you, but the rise in salary has been 150 per cent. That is the greatest misfortune of a country struggling after it has been bled white by the foreign rulers and we cannot find our feet again as yet. I feel that we have no control over the detailed Budget expenditure. I pointed out the other day when I was talking on the Works, Mines and Power Ministry's Grants how there is no tendency in each Ministry to control Budget expenditure. The honourable the Finance Minister has not got Financial Advisers for each Ministry. He has divided it into five groups. One Financial Adviser cannot control half a dozen Ministries. Let each Ministry have one Financial Adviser. Then we would not have this inflated tendency of the Ministries and their way of always getting inflated by our creating so many new Ministries.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi (U. P.: General): They are working on war level.

Shri B. Das: I have watched the Budgets of the Government of India for the last twenty-five years. I have come to the conclusion that it is high time that the Finance Minister should have a Financial Adviser. He has divided his set-up into four compartments. But where is the co-ordination? Who

[Shri B. Das]

is to co-ordinate the policy of the different Ministries? It is not done today and it must be done; otherwise, we are going to have a back slide and it would not be national recovery but it will be some disaster which I predicted some two years ago when I spoke in the 1947 September session.

Why is there over-Budgeting? Why is every Ministry anxious to have more money than the situation justifies? I find Ministries like the External Affairs, Health, Education, even Defence and Works, Mines and Power have no financial sense. The Finance Minister said nobody sympathises with him. I do sympathise with him that he does not get sufficient taxation to meet the hungry children, the various Ministries of the Government of India. In respect of the External Affairs Ministry, the expenditure last year was Rs. 3.55 crores, this year it has been estimated at Rs. 4.15 crores. Education was Rs. 2.87 crores, now it is Rs. 4.77 crores. (Kazi Syed Karimuddin: 'Very good.') Yes, it is very good, but why are you resenting this taxation, why are you raising your voice against it? In the Budget discussion everybody resented one or the other item of taxation. If you want improvement, then pay for it but not pay for it by taxing such an item as opium of which my honourable friend Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhury is rather fond or the betelnut I am so fond of. Defence expenditure has not been criticised. We have supported our Defence Ministry. But simply for the reason that they have achieved some successes, that does not mean that the Defence expenditure should be Rs. 172 crores or something like that and that the expenditure should be put on the way the Britishers introduced. Capitalisation of Defence expenditure has little value for me. It would not be assessed like that in any international forum. I do hope that Defence expenditure must be brought down to Rs. 100 crores limit.

Mr. Chairman: I hope the honourable Member will be able to finish within five minutes.

Shri B. Das: I will try as far as I can.

I will speak again on the Finance Bill, but I do hope that our foreign exchanges could be improved through tourist traffic and by cottage industries. Dr. Mukherjee has earmarked rupees five crores got out of sale of American Disposals, but we are doing nothing to improve our Dollar position except by borrowing in the international market and going abegging to London to get a few thousand more Dollar and foreign exchange from the starving, shifty British people, who if they do not apply a moratorium to the £600 million sterling they owe us, would be bled to death.

There should be a production drive if we at all want to do away with inflation and reduce the price level. But for that, there should again be a tripartite conference consisting of Government, the industrialists and labour. I do suggest that Sriji Jai Parkash Narain has shown a spirit of co-operation by calling off the strike of railways. He as a labour leader has shown that he is anxious to co-operate. Why not call a conference with Sriji Jai Parkash Narain, so that labour may realise, labour may recognise the primary duty of working and producing, and producing on man-hour basis. That is my last suggestion.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

Shri K. Hanumanthaiya (Mysore State): Sir, I listened with great respect to the speech made by the honourable the Finance Minister. To begin with, he referred to the criticisms made against his Budget on the floor of the House. I really congratulate him that he has taken the criticisms levelled against his Budget very coolly and with great equipoise. He was speaking about the prices and the vagaries of the market. I very much wish that prices and the markets

followed his example in being steady, equipoised, and balanced. Before I come to the contents of the Budget, I would like to suggest a few unimportant things. It may be that they are unimportant from the point of view of the importance of the subject we are discussing, but these few suggestions would go a long way in making this House understand the Budget better.

I have had occasions to go through the Budget papers of some of the Provincial Governments and the Government of my own State, and I have also gone very carefully through the Budget papers presented to us by the Finance Minister, this year as well as last year. My impression is that the papers given to us in this Assembly give us too summarized a view of the matter. We need greater details and explanations. For example, there are items in the Budget papers like "Other Charges". There are several headings like that and each heading has several lakhs of rupees against it. There is also a heading "Miscellaneous". Headings like these when totalled would amount to crores and crores of rupees. Still we are not in a position to know how this money is being spent, or the policy that is being adopted in spending this amount. In regard to expenses as against administration, we would rather like to know how many Secretaries are employed in each Department, and how much money and allowances are being paid to them. That information is supplied to us in the Budgets of the Units. I have given only a few examples. It would be better if, from next year onwards at least, the Finance Minister gives us a fuller picture of the Budget in his annual statement of the financial condition of our country.

The second aspect is this. My impression is that the printing and get-up of the Budgets of the Units is also far better. I would like the Finance Minister to enhance, the prestige of the Central Government in being the first in the matter of get-up of the Budget.

The Finance Minister was explaining the question of "prices" and how prices rise and fall. He incidentally referred to agricultural prices. I would ask him, Professor as he is, Economist as he is, to fix agricultural prices on some basis and on some data: and not fix them arbitrarily as he has done, or as every Government up to today has done. It is not particularly the fault of the present Finance Minister. It is not the fault of this Government alone. It is the fault, in my view, of every Government in this country present and previous. So far as agriculture is concerned, they have fixed prices not upon data but upon what is so-called the "previous price". They take some price that used to prevail at a certain period prior to the fixing of the prices and fix it up by a certain percentage. If industrial production is determined on the basis of the production cost, and if the industrial labour is paid minimum wages, I would request this Government to show the same kind of consideration to agricultural production and agricultural labour.

If I criticized the Ministry in my Budget speech, it was because the peasants have been left alone by this Government, in spite of its being the first Government of a free country and in spite of its being the Government of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. I have to make this observation because I love and admire these two leaders very much. But I love the ryot, the agriculturist in a greater measure. If it is a question of who should have my allegiance, as well as the allegiance of many of us, it is the agriculturist and not the Prime Minister nor the Deputy Prime Minister. It is a pity that their attention has been diverted to other issues. The consolidation of the country has become the affair of the Deputy Prime Minister and foreign affairs has become the playground of the Prime Minister. But the ryot is cared for by none in this Ministry. The concessions that I want for the agriculturists

[Shri K. Hanumanthaiya]

is not pity, kindness or favour: it is a price based on data: it is a price that is fixed by the same considerations by which prices are determined in other economic fields.

I have had the privilege of listening to, and participating in the discussions on the Budgets of both last year and this year. Last year the Finance Minister made a fervent appeal to the industrialists and gave several concessions to them. The present Finance Minister has also repeated the same example. In view of world conditions I would respectfully request them to see whether this special appeal is not after all overdone. The cry of the common man has taken the form of Communism and is sweeping the world. It has already swallowed half of Asia and is almost at our doors. In spite of this phenomenon it is very strange that our Government is still wooing a few industrialists. Take, for example, super-tax. Honourable the Finance Minister has shown what is called a concession to the super-tax payers to the tune of 2.1 crores. I am told that this concession affects only about 400 people. If 400 people are to be given a concession of 2.1 crores, it is a gift that this Government makes of Rs. 55,000 and odd for each industrialist. Whether this concession, which is almost like ransom money, is justified or not I leave it to the House to judge.

I will now make only one point and close. The honourable the Finance Minister was speaking to us about foreign exchange. Gold may not be the sole currency in all countries but still gold happens to be the axis round which every currency system in the world rotates. Therefore in order to avoid this exchange difficulty I would request the Government of India to pay attention to this aspect of the matter. In the South, at least we have one gold mining company working and two other mines have been discovered. If the Government of India is earnest it can find in India many more gold mines. It would be profitable for us to take these gold mines as national concerns. If you are not able to take these gold mines as national concerns, at least I want the Government of India to purchase all the gold produced in India and keep it as government property, so that they may make use of it to facilitate foreign exchange.

श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण साहू: वाचस्पति जी, पहले अर्थ सचिव ने जो बातें कहीं हैं, उनसे यह सबक निकलता है कि उनको ज्यादा रुपये की जरूरत है, और हम लोग उनकी समालोचना करते हैं कि उनको उतना ज्यादा रुपया sanction होता है। लेकिन भारत देश भर में जब अर्थ सचिव ने पोस्टकार्ड और लिफाफे का दाम ज्यादा बढ़ा दिया, तो सब आदमी कहने लगे कि अर्थ सचिव हम लोगों के Shylock the Jew बन गये हैं। हालांकि यह बात जरूर है कि इसमें अर्थ सचिव का कोई दोष नहीं है, क्योंकि हम लोग रुपया चाहते हैं, और उनको रुपया देना है। मैं कहता हूँ कि रुपया कैसे आता है उसके बाद हम लोगों को सोचना चाहिये कि आदमी जब अच्छा होगा, तो रुपया बहुत मिलेगा। आदमी अच्छा न होने से रुपया ज्यादा नहीं मिलेगा। यह बात थोड़ा सोचने से अच्छी तरह मालूम हो जाती है। आज हम लोगों को देश में रुपये की कमती है, इसलिये जो आदमी हैं वह आदमी ठीक तरह से अभी नहीं रहते हैं, स्वास्थ्य उनका अच्छा नहीं है और उनको जो इन्डस्ट्रियल लेबर (industrial labour) में काम करते

हैं, सुभीता नहीं मिलता है, इसलिये वह ज्यादा पैदावार नहीं कर सकते, और जब पैदायश ज्यादा नहीं होती है, तो रुपया अर्थ सचिव को नहीं मिलता है। हम लोग अभी कम से कम मालूम होता है कि २५०० करोड़ रुपया ऋण लिया और इतने रुपये में से १५०० करोड़ रुपया तो हम लगा देते हैं, जिससे कि पीछे फायदा हो सकता है। २५०० करोड़ रुपये में से हमको मिलना है ३०० करोड़ रुपया पकिस्तान से। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान से जो ३०० करोड़ रुपया मिलना है, वह शायद मिलेगा भी या नहीं। और बाकी जो सात सौ करोड़ तक रह जाता है, वह तो एक दम हम लोगों का loss में चला जाता है। किस तरीके से हम लोग प्रवन्ध करें कि यह सात सौ करोड़ रुपये का जो हमारे सिर पर dead weight है, उसको कैसे हटायें। अर्थ सचिव ने इन्क्वायरी कमेटी (Inquiry Committee) बनाने की तरफ इशारा किया है, उसके सिलसिले में मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। हम लोगों का जो Rupee Ratio एक शिलिंग छः पेंस है। उसको ज़रा ध्यान में रखना चाहिये क्योंकि उससे हम लोगों का बहुत सा रुपया इधर से उधर होजाता है। एक बात और मैं अर्थ सचिव के ध्यान में लाना चाहता हूँ कि आज तक हम लोग Statistics पाते थे, अभी नहीं पाते हैं, वह अगर मिल जाये तो बड़ी अच्छी बात होगी। फिर एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ, वह थोड़ी शायद इस बात पर ठीक नहीं मालूम होती है, लेकिन मैं सोचता हूँ कि वह बात ठीक है। जब यह डोमीनिमन पार्लियामेन्ट है और हर एक यूनिट इसमें शामिल है तो हर एक यूनिट से एक एक प्रतिनिधि Cabinet में रहना चाहिये ताकि यहां का काम अच्छी तरह से चले। मैं बराबर देखता हूँ कि हर एक province का ख्याल यहां नहीं होता है, और एक बात हमारे अर्थ सचिव को यह सोचना चाहिये कि opium के cultivation के वास्ते जो हम लोग subsidy अदा करते हैं, उसको एकदम हटा देना चाहिये। जब ओपियम (Opium) के बारे में बहुत बहस हुई थी और हम लोगों ने कहा था कि यह जो Immoral रेवेन्यू है, उसको हमें हटा देना चाहिये। आसाम में देखिये क्या होता रहा है। कितनी कोशिश उसको बन्द करने की की गई, लेकिन वह बन्द नहीं होती है। अब स्टेट्स में जहां केवल ओपियम (Opium) ग्रो (Grow) की जाती है वहां भी इसकी तरफ हटाने की दिशा में कदम बढ़ाये जाने की सख्त जरूरत है। दुनिया में हर प्राविन्स, स्टेट और मुल्क में आदमी को अच्छा बनाने के लिये यह ओपियम (Opium) को हटा देना चाहिये, और दारू भी हटा देना चाहिये। गवर्नमेन्ट अक्सर यह देखा जाता है कि प्रोहिबिशन (Prohibition) पालिसी को slow कर देती है, यह बड़ी खराब बात है और इसकी तरफ हमें तेज़ी से ध्यान देना चाहिये। दुनिया आज जब इतनी तेज़ी से आगे भाग रही है, तो हम भी

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) [16TH MARCH 1949]

[श्री लक्ष्मी नारायण साहू]

उसके साथ मिलने के लिये, इतना रुपया लोन (Loan) ले लेते हैं, यह ठीक नहीं है। यह तो मामूली बात है कि 'One should cut his coat according to his cloth' हमको अपनी इन्डस्ट्रीयल एकोनॉमी (industrial economy) ठीक करने के लिये हमें कितना बाहर से लाना है, और कितना हम यहां कर सकते हैं, इस पर खूब गौर कर लेना है। मैं तो सोचता हूं कि आपने बिज़नेस वालों का पहले से इतना गला घोट दिया है, कि उसको बहुत डर हो गया है, इसलिये अर्थ सचिव को रुपया ज्यादा नहीं मिलता है। ऐसा उपाय करने से बिज़नेस पीपुल (business people) के हाथ में जो रुपया है, उसकी ओर हम लोगों को ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिये। हां एक बात है कि हमारे अर्थ सचिव जब अच्छा लेजिस्लेशन (legislation) कर सकते हैं तब उससे हमारा मुल्क अच्छी तरह से चल सकेगा। यह ख्याल हम लोगों का अच्छा होगा कि हम सब decentralise करें। मैंने उस दिन भी कहा था और आज भी कहे देता हूं, कि अगर हम सब इस तरह से सेन्ट्रलाइज (centralize) करते जाते हैं, तो हम हिनालय पहाड़ के मुआफ़िक ऊंचाई की जगह से नीचे गिर जायेंगे। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूं कि अर्थ सचिव इस पर ज़रा ध्यान देंगे कि हम इन्टरनल ट्रेड एन्ड कामर्स (internal trade and commerce) को जितना कन्ट्रोल करते हैं, उसको थोड़ा अब छोड़ देना चाहिये और छोड़ देने से जब नारमेल चैनल (Normal channel) में बिज़नेस में चलेगा, तो हम लोगों का फ़ायदा होगा, ऐसा मैं सोचता हूं।

और उड़ीसा प्रदेश की तरफ़ ज़रा अर्थ सचिव को ख्याल रखना चाहिये। हम लोगों ने सरकार से रुपये की मदद मांगी है और जो चालीस लाख रुपया हमने सरकार से subvention के तौर से पाते हैं, वह बहुत कम है, क्योंकि इन्फ़्लेशन (inflation) ज्यादा है, इसलिये उड़ीसा को ज्यादा रुपया देना चाहिये और फिर २५ लाख एबॉरिजिनलस (aboriginals) जो स्टेट्स के (merge) होने की वजह से आ गये हैं, इसलिये उनको बहुत ज्यादा रुपया देना चाहिये। इस लिये मैं चाहता हूं कि अर्थ सचिव इस पर ज़रा मेहरबानी करके ध्यान-पूर्वक सोचेंगे, और इस प्राविन्स को ज्यादा मदद देंगे। मैं और ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूं। अन्त में मैं अर्थ सचिव को वधाई देता हूं और अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूं।

(English translation of the above speech.)

Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu (Orissa: General): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is quite apparent from the statement made by the honourable Minister for Finance that he needs more money; whereas we people criticize him while sanctioning such a huge amount. When the honourable the Finance Minister raised the rates of letters and post-cards throughout the whole of India, all the people began feeling that he has assumed the role of Shylock the Jew. In fact the

honourable the Finance Minister is not to be blamed in this matter, for we need money and he has to provide it. But I would like to say how we are to get it. After that we are to consider that if the man is good, we may have plenty of money; and in case he is otherwise we may not get much. A little bit of thinking will elucidate it. Today our country is short of money, and for this reason its inhabitants are not living in a decent manner. They do not keep good health and those of them who are employed in the industrial labour are not afforded any facilities, and for this reason they cannot produce more, and when the production is less, the honourable the Finance Minister is unable to raise more money. It so appears that we have now borrowed at least 2500 crores of rupees; and out of this amount, we spend about 1500 crores which can yield some benefit later on. Out of Rs. 2500 crores, we are to get 300 crores from Pakistan. I would like to know whether we are likely to get back this sum of Rs. 300 crores from Pakistan or not? And the balance which thus remains amounts to about Rs. 700 crores and it is straightaway reckoned as a loss. How should we manage to throw this dead weight of Rs. 700 crores which we are carrying on our heads? The honourable the Finance Minister has given an indication towards the setting up of an Enquiry Committee and I would like to say one thing in connection therewith. We should devote some attention towards the exchange ratio of rupee which is at present 1s. 6d. because we have to sustain a good deal of loss by such transactions. Another thing which I want to bring to the notice of the Honourable Minister is that till lately we used to be supplied with statistics, but we do not get these now. It would be of immense use, if these are made available now. And one thing more I would like to say, although it is not perhaps quite relevant to the point at issue, yet I feel it has got some bearing on the subject. When this Dominion Parliament consists of representatives from each unit, it looks all the more logical that one representative from each of the Provinces should be included in the Cabinet so as to ensure smooth working at the Centre. I usually find that every Province is not represented here. And one thing which I would like our Finance Minister to consider is that he should immediately stop the grant of subsidy for the cultivation of opium. During the course of a lengthy discussion on opium we urged that we should cease to realize this 'immoral revenue' which is derived from the sale of this commodity. Take the case of Assam. What is happening there? In spite of all possible endeavours having been made there, its growth could not be stopped. Now it is the high time that some preventive measures in this direction are taken in the case of States also which grow opium only. In order to produce better men in this country, the use of opium should be banned in all the Provinces and States. Liquor too should be prohibited. It has generally been noticed that the Government slows down its prohibition policy and we should devote our urgent attention towards this aspect. It is not advisable that one should borrow such a huge amount simply to keep pace with the other countries of the world which are forging ahead with such rapidity. It is a common saying that 'one should cut his coat according to his cloth.' We should carefully consider as to how much we are required to import from abroad to balance our industrial economy and how much we can produce here. I think you have already throttled the business community and they have become considerably nervous. And for this reason only, the honourable the Finance Minister is not able to raise more money. We should devote more attention towards this aspect and devise some measures to obtain the money which lies in the hands of the business people. Yes, there is one thing and that is when our Finance Minister can evolve a wholesome legislation, our country will surely have a smooth sailing. This is a good idea that we should decentralize everything. I said that day and repeat today also that if we go on centralizing everything in this manner, we are apt to fall down from heights such as of the Himalayas. Therefore,

[Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu]

I would urge that the Honourable Minister should devote a little attention to this aspect and permit some relaxation being made in the existing controls regulating the internal trade and commerce. This would result in the business being conducted through the normal channels which would prove beneficial to our interests. This is what I think.

The Honourable Minister should devote some attention to the Province of Orissa. We people have approached the Government for the grant of some assistance and the sum of Rs. 40 lakhs which is paid to us in the form of subvention is quite inadequate, because there is much inflation and on account of this Orissa should be given more money. And, moreover, he should give adequate sum of money to cope with the expenditure to be incurred in respect of 25 lakhs of aboriginals belonging to the States that have since merged with Orissa. Therefore, I would submit that the Honourable Minister should carefully consider over this and give more help to this Province. I do not want to take much time.

With these words, I would congratulate the honourable the Finance Minister and resume my seat.

Kazi Syed Karimuddin (C.P. and Berar: Muslim): There is no doubt that the honourable the Finance Minister has delivered an admirable speech. Before I make any criticism I fully realise the tremendous difficulties that he has to face in running the administration and overcoming the economic difficulties of the country. It may be said and it is commonly supposed that the taxation policy that he has introduced is incentive taxation, that is, with a view to stimulate production in the country. In my opinion it is not incentive taxation but it is riding a horse in all directions. On the one hand there is relief to the industrialist with a view to stimulate production and on the other there is an indirect taxation on the necessities of life which will raise the standard of life of the poor. If there is no co-operation between these two factors, that is, the increasing purchasing power of the capitalist and the higher standard of life of the poor, if these two factors cannot be reconciled by more production, then my submission is that the honourable the Finance Minister will be faced with a very critical situation next year.

All the estimates that he has made, all the policy that he has enunciated today is based on the speculative system that production is bound to rise in case incentive taxation is introduced. I congratulate him for that, but if production does not increase considerably I have my own apprehensions that there will be a financial collapse. In my opinion one of the items that ought to have been accepted by the Finance Minister, as has been done in many European countries, was that alternatively there should have been an idle-money tax. Suppose the proposals are not accepted by the capitalists. We see the reactions of the market as reported in several papers—that the money market or the share market is not affected and that they have not accepted it very favourably. In that case the only alternative ideal is to have idle-money tax or hoarding tax. Without that it would be impossible to induce these people to go into the field of production.

Another point which I want to emphasize and give a warning about is regarding external public debt. It is an accepted principle in economics that external public debt is not generally good for the progress of a country unless a country is compelled to incur a loan. I realise and I fully appreciate the point of view held by the honourable the Finance Minister that there is a shortage of dollar. We have already incurred a loan of 92 million dollars but the purpose for which this has been incurred has not been fully detailed and the House is not aware as to how our needs have been met by incurring this loan. The

two defects of foreign borrowing as generally laid down in books of economics are firstly that the terms on which the foreign loan is incurred must not be to the detriment of the country and secondly the period for which it is incurred has to be a very long one, as has been stated by the honourable the Finance Minister. Otherwise, if the debts are tried to be realised by a foreign Government, if our political policy is not in keeping with Americanism, then our country will be faced with the very great difficulty of making a repayment or of giving raw materials or goods which are required for our own production in the country. The honourable the Finance Minister neither in the Report that has been supplied to us nor in the speech that has been delivered today has given any idea as to what conditions have been laid down by the foreign capital although he has remarked that in a subsequent statement by the Prime Minister we will have those conditions. But my submission is that every pie of loan that we incur in this connection should be in connection with our production, with the expansion of our industry and agriculture. But if the loan is incurred and there is no expansion of industry and agriculture, if there is a shortage of capital goods coming from the foreign country, and if these dollars that we are getting are spent towards our political needs, then I give a warning today that this will be to accept Americanism. There will be expansion of the American movement not only economically but there will be political domination and economic domination of America which is bound to be resisted by the people of India.

The second thing which I want to bring to the notice of the honourable the Finance Minister is I entirely agree with the reasoning he has given that the release of dollar from the Sterling Area, that is from England, is not satisfactory. One suggestion that I want to make is this. Why should we spend away our sterling in the capital repatriation of the Britishers in India? We can insist that before there is a capital repatriation there should be a release of dollars in favour of India and we should have greater amount of sterling released in our favour in order that capital goods may be imported from there. One complaint generally is—of course I have not any exact idea of it—that from England and America last year we had consumed goods which are luxury goods, goods which were not very necessary for the expansion of industry. If it is not true I will be happier, but I make a request to the honourable the Finance Minister that in the future, that is next year, goods which are not very useful or which are luxuries should be discouraged in satisfaction of the sterling balances or in connection with our borrowings from America.

The third thing which I want to impress upon you is the Bill that has been proposed in the Report submitted by the Finance Department about the Payment of Taxes. For the few Muslims who are now intending to go away from India we are going to have a legislation which will affect thousands of people in this country. The Government has already declared that Muslims are coming back in numbers and very few are going to Pakistan. For the few who intend to go you will be surprised to find that today Hindus and Muslims—everybody—is harassed by the Registration Department in regard to the clearance certificate. In his noble words the Speaker the other day expressed that it will give full scope for corruption. They are words which are weighty and as a lawyer I can say that it will give a very wide scope for corruption. The then Finance Minister, the Honourable Mr. Neogy, did not write on the file 3. P. M. but had agreed that it would be dropped. When one Finance Minister had agreed to drop it, I think special reasons should be stated by the present Finance Minister why he takes it up. As Sir Homi Mody said, it was an emergency measure and it was all right then, but in ordinary times I do not think people should be subjected to harassment. You will be surprised to find even today that people who want to get their properties registered or sold are harassed by the Registration Department which is open to great corruption.

[Kazi Syed Karimuddin]

Therefore, my submission is that when a promise had been given—on the floor of this House, Mr. Neogy had expressed that it was agreed to be dropped—there is no reason why the present Finance Minister should revive it. My submission is that, in view of the great harassment, in view of the great scope for corruption, and when a man of the experience of the honourable Speaker is of that opinion, the honourable the Finance Minister should drop that Bill.

Shri Moturi Satyanarayana (Madras: General): During the recent months whenever I had a chance to meet friends and discuss the problems connected with our finances, I always found that the people had very great apprehension that the Central Government's Budget was going to be a very deficit Budget, that we are nearing a situation when we will witness a very great crack in the monetary set up of the country. It looked as if it was practically true, before the Budget was introduced. I am very glad to say that the skilful handling of our finances and the great imagination and experience of our present Finance Minister has averted this crisis.

I have been listening to the speeches delivered on the General Budget and I found there was a lot of opposition mostly to the new taxes introduced; it has been already dealt with by a number of Members. I want to take a particular point of view about this Budget as it has been explained to us. The Finance Minister, during the last one or two years, has been fighting inflation and this Budget has got two important features, one to fight the inflation, and the other to get a better incentive for the purpose of capital formation and get capital for more production.

Sir, I find this inflation being discussed day in and day out, but where does it exist? It exists especially in the urban areas. If you just look at the figures supplied to us, during the last three or four years the figures have been going up and these figures have been creating a kind of nervousness among the urban population. I find from the figures that in a place like Kanpur the cost of living index has gone up by 508, Bombay 302, Calcutta 251, Madras 321, Delhi 180; probably it is much more but this is a little old figure. What does this show? This shows, as the Finance Minister explained to us in his introductory speech, that mostly these inflationary figures comprise the food stuffs. Who produces these food stuffs? The villager produces them. He is not willing to part with his food at a lower price and therefore he is demanding a very high price; that is why there is a great deal of inflation. The city man refuses to buy food at a high price and the village man refuses to part with his production at a low price. Therefore there is a tug-of-war between the city-dweller and the villager. Why? All these years, during the last 100 or 150 years, when the money economy had grown to play a very important role, the village man had been completely neglected and the urban man had prospered. The money was there in the city, the village man had absolutely no taste of the money. Thanks to the war and the cheap money policy of the Government, the Government has introduced five times more currency in the market, circulation has been going on like anything, and it has percolated in the villages. The villager now feels that he has got money, he will keep it and unless and until he is paid more price he is not prepared to give his production. The Government should, therefore, either coerce him to give it at a lower price or tempt him to produce more and more in order to relieve the inflation and give food to the cities. Instead of doing that if the Government gives a little more price and just reverses the economy from the city point of view to the villager's point of view, it is probable that in the course of one or two years we will be able to improve our money economy. Probably the only harassment or embarrassment that will be experienced will be by the city man, not the village man.

If we look at the national income, we find that out of the total income of this nation, 54 per cent is contributed by the villager, only 21 per cent contributed by the industrialists and industries, and the balance of the income is contributed by miscellaneous things. Our town population is only 20 per cent, our village population is 80 per cent. 80 per cent of the population contributes only 54 per cent and the city population of 20 per cent contributes 21 per cent. This proportion looks very anomalous. If you just look at the wealth, you will see that it is not the capital that matters, it is not the money that matters, it is not the industry that matters,—it is the huge population that matters. So many crores of people living in the villages, waiting for getting some work, and with able-bodies, with skill, with talent, capacity and energy, are not being given sufficient work and are not being treated properly; no resources are available to them for doing more work. If you are able to get 21 per cent of the national income from the cities by utilising the hands and bodies of only 20 per cent of the population, how much more can you get if you utilise the services of all the villagers by giving them the necessary facilities that are absolutely not available to them?

Therefore, I want to urge on this particular aspect, that hereafter our money economy as it is today should have a definite approach, the approach being the real approach as to how this money, as it has been introduced today, could be utilised for the purpose of employing the people and getting our wealth increased.

There is one particular point I want to say in this connection. Studies which I have made and discussions that I had with friends reveal to me certain factors that this circulation of money today is distributed throughout India. It is generally the impression that large amounts of money are in the hands of city people. My own feeling is that on account of high prices, on account of temptation for getting more money, there is also sufficient money in the villages—the money has percolated to a very large extent into the villages also. This money the villager is not willing to part with until and unless he is given some incentive. Supposing he invests in savings certificates or in any industry or in a Government Bond, what will he get? It will be for something with which he is not connected. Therefore, he must be told definitely and a definite promise given to him that whatever money he is in possession of today, if he is to part with it either for investment or for anything similar, it will go for a productivity in which he is directly interested. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary that if you want to have a savings campaign today it must be utilised for the villages and the rural areas so that you will be able to get sufficient money and use it for productive purposes.

I want to make a definite proposal in this connection. If it is possible for the Government, then it must immediately try to see that a kind of a campaign is conducted throughout India, especially in the rural parts, that a part of the villager's income—whatever his savings are either on the basis of the acres that he cultivates or on the income that he derives on the produce—say ten per cent of his total income should be saved for the purpose of productivity, which will be kept by the Government of India or by the Provincial Government so that this money at good time may be made available for a kind of capital formation which will be used for rural purposes. Elaborating this point a little further, I would say that we have today nearly a rural income of 2,800 crores. Government must evolve some suitable scheme for effecting a saving of say some 280 crores out of this income. They can base the scheme either on the total acreage under cultivation or some other basis. Today we have nearly 185 lakhs of acres under cultivation and either on the acreage basis

[Shri Moturi Satyanarayana]

or some other basis, some suitable scheme may be evolved by which within three years this saving could be effected. If we collect, say Rs. 10 certificates, it is quite possible that by propaganda and by making an appeal to the patriotic sentiment of our rural population, it is quite likely that we will be able to get Rs. 280 crores. And this sum should be treated exclusively as capital for the purpose of promotion of the interests of the rural areas, for instance a small scale project, an irrigation project, rural industries, electrification projects for the villages, credit facilities for housing rural populations, rural markets and warehouses. There are many other things for which the villagers are craving and this money should be made available to the rural population to enable them to get some of these things.

There is only one thing more I have to mention, within the short time at my disposal. Every villager must be made to feel that whatever money he saves now will be devoted for his benefit. And he should also be made to understand how the Rs. 10 he saves now, when the inflation influences go away, and prices come down, this sum of Rs. 10 will become Rs. 15. If he is made to understand the real position, and if we get his confidence, and when he feels convinced that it is for his benefit, he will certainly participate in the scheme evolved by Government. Therefore, I want for the stabilisation of prices, for the stabilisation of our whole economy the rural population must co-operate with us. We must win their confidence. We have been, by various methods wooing the capitalists and asking them to invest more and more. But when they actually invest, then there will be a kind of non-co-operation from the other side. Therefore we have to see that both the sections of the population properly contribute so that we may have a balanced economy and a balanced distribution of wealth and a balanced distribution of labour in this country so that all those who have able bodies may get a chance to work and that work will bring in enormous wealth.

In conclusion, I wish to support the honourable the Finance Minister, and again congratulate him on having brought forward a balanced budget. I request him to have this rural approach and try to work out some of the suggestions I have made.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): Sir, I whole heartedly support the proposals which have just been elaborated by the previous speaker. I too had similar proposals to make and since he has elaborated them, I do not want to take up the time of the House by elaborating them again. I have only to add that if we have bonds issued, and named after the projects which are to be initiated or developed in particular parts of the country, that will have a very good psychological value. For instance, in the East Punjab, they have got the Bhakra Dam project. They can have the Bhakra Dam bonds. Similarly they can have the Damodar Valley Bonds, and many persons who have benefited by the rise in the price of food grains will certainly contribute for these bonds. In this way large sums of money can be attracted into the Government's coffers.

As regards the capitalists, I want to submit one specific suggestion for the consideration of the Government. It has been said that in the money market, there is great stringency, and that capital is very shy; that Government floated a loan which was not fully subscribed. Also we know there are complaints that investments are not made on capital works now. What is the reason for all these things? One reason may be that there is no money in the country. The other reason may be that there are certain circumstances which made it very difficult for capitalists to bring out their money. I for one do not believe that there is dearth of money in the country. I do believe there is ample

money; but people are afraid and they do not bring out this money. A long time back, I read one novel named Zanon by Lord Lytton—it is a mystic novel—and in that novel a figure was depicted as a monster at the gate which would not allow any one but a particular class of people to enter the gate. Its eyes were so consuming and its look so compelling that no person who had not the requisite qualification could enter in. My example may not be very apposite, but I am afraid, at the same time, that the effect of this Investigation Commission is exactly the same as that of the monster in the novel. When we come to this aspect of the case, which I propose to elaborate further, I have to submit that we must consider all the circumstances which have given rise to this state of things. During the war, people made huge profits and they did not pay taxes. The income-tax department of the previous Government was absolutely inefficient. It was corrupt also. The whole Government was corrupt, and during the war when these huge profits were made, nobody cared to tax those profits, those contractors, etc. Thousands of people in the Supply Department made profits and they have gone away and they are not in India. Now these people who are here, feel that if they come out with their money, they may be taxed, and they might have to part with some of their illegal profits. If during the war, they had been asked to part with 66 per cent of their profits they might gladly have parted with it. But after the war, our country was in an awkwardly peculiar position. The interim Government came and Sir Liaquat Ali brought out his budget of 1947 and gave birth to this Investigation Commission. Now, this Investigation Commission was something like a still-born hybrid, because it had nothing but a skeleton. There was no power in it. For one year it went on and nobody looked at it. Afterwards, this egg of a crow was hatched by the cuckoo and our previous honourable Finance Minister gave it life and flesh and invested it with power. But even then, what do we find now? In his Budget speech, the present Finance Minister says no results have come out, and I do not think any results can come out of it, because when we invested it with powers, we invested it with wrong powers and made it simultaneously the complainant, the investigator and the final judge. Now the position is this. If any person brings forth money to invest it on a property or in a factory or in some such venture, the hounds of this Commission go to him and pester him and ask him, "Wherefrom have you got this money?" and that man is as a matter of fact, at the end of his wits. At the same time, Sir, the tax dodgers love their money very much and they are afraid that as soon as they bring out their money, they will be caught. This is going to be a vicious circle. When I look at the figures of the tax dodgers, I am certainly staggered. I feel that the arrears of this income-tax are so large and have been so large in the last few years that there is no wonder that people have not tried to pay their dues. With your permission, Sir, I will just give some of the figures.

On 31st July, 1948, 2,86,274 cases were there in arrears and there were 359 cases of 1943 and 1944 and earlier

In 1944-45	17,627 cases.
In 1945-46	37,923 ..
In 1946-47	77,121 ..
In 1947-48	1,54,344 ..

These are the arrears.

Now, Sir, if out of these people of 1944-45, when the War had not ended, if people made a good amount of money and their cases have not yet been

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

decided and there are still arrears, may I know the fault of the man who hides his money and does not want to pay the tax? Circumstances may have changed during these four years and a fair amount of money may have also been lost by him. The temptation for non-payment becomes too great and a person may even prefer to go to jail rather pay lakhs of rupees now. So the difficulty is that this mentality which we all condemn has been as a matter of fact abetted or at least brought up to a considerable extent by the inefficiency of the Department. What we should have done at the time when our National Government got into power was that they should not have pursued the course initiated by Liaquat Ali Khan i.e. Investigation Commission. They should have taken a bold course. Abnormal situations call for bold courses. After one year of the new Government coming into power the result is that the arrears are there and the Income-tax Commission has not brought forth any result whatsoever.

We find from the speech of the honourable the Finance Minister that they have taken to some other work. They have taken to the work of finding out how can evasion be tackled. I think it is a more fruitful work and perhaps they will do better there. The only promise that has been held out to us is that there will be a third Bill to amend the original Bill and after the third Bill of amendment is passed it may happen that if some powers are given to the commission for the purpose of making agreed settlements, it is possible some result may be shown. As a matter of fact we should have the courage of performing a surgical operation when the attempted cure by physicians have failed. We must dismiss this Commission or, take advantage of this Commission in some other way; they have amassed a wealth of material and from that we can take some advantage.

All the same, I beg to seriously propose for the consideration of the honourable the Finance Minister a proposal like this. You fix a date. I believe, Sir, that the honourable the Finance Minister has certainly heard of the Bran pie system by which the Police get hold of arms from those who possess them illegally. They fix a date and by that date every person who is in possession of illegal arms comes forward and delivers his gun and dagger in some place and then the Police take possession of them and the person, who delivers these arms is not penalized and in this way illegally possessed arms, are disgorged. In Delhi those persons who took possession of the Houses could not be evicted and their possessions were confirmed. Let a date be fixed and let a notification be issued that all persons who have not paid their taxes should come forward and file their returns on a condition that if they do so, they will get a 25 per cent. rebate and the rest will be recovered. If after that date, it is found that those persons have not behaved well, you can proceed under section 34. But I would proceed further.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: Will the same process be repeated next year?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: No, Sir. I am going to propose something more. If my honourable friend had just heard the whole scheme, then he would not have put that question. I want another Bill of a penal nature to be also passed saying that if any person is proved to have concealed his income or not given his true income to the Commissioner of Income-tax, then in that case he shall be punished with an imprisonment for seven years. This is what I want to suggest. After all, Sir, this is a position in which by our own conduct by not taking the tax as it ought to have been taken, we ourselves have brought it about by our own inefficiency. This is a proposal which I have discussed with certain friends and this proposal has been going round for a long time, and I submit this proposal for the consideration of the honourable

the Finance Minister for whatever it is worth. I for one think that in a matter like this when crimes are committed on a mass scale for the last four or five years, we should adopt other measures and not allow this humdrum Investigation Commission to proceed in this manner.

I wanted to say many more things, but I am sorry the time is very short and I will take advantage of the Finance Bill later on. With your permission, I will just submit two points more for the consideration of the honourable the Finance Minister.

In regard to the Investigation Commission's present report, the report is said to be confidential and I will therefore not touch the recommendations at this stage, but all the same, with all the emphasis that I can command, I very humbly suggest to the honourable the Finance Minister that the approach by the Commission in regard to the question of the Joint Hindu Family has not been fair. I received a questionnaire from that body in which they told me that they have to look at the question from the point of view of evasion and now I understand they have been pleased to report in respect of the liabilities of the Joint Hindu Family for taxation also. My feeling is that when they framed the particular question about Joint Hindu Family from the point of view of evasion only and said so in the note accompanying the questions they had no right to make any sort of proposal in regard to the Joint Hindu Family. Last time when this question was raised on this very date, the previous Finance Minister told us that he will consider the question. Now on every Budget occasion when I have been in this House, this question has been raised and every Finance Minister has always admitted that injustice has been done to the Joint Hindu Family and last time the previous Finance Minister said that he would look into the question but I do not think the question is going to be looked at. I have got some faith in the honourable the Finance Minister as I have seen him at work in regard to the Bill about which my honourable friend Syed Karimuddin spoke and I found then that he was not obsessed by the idea of getting more money from the public and approached the question at issue from the right point of view. If he wishes to inspire confidence in the public life should know **यथा राजा तथा प्रजा** (As the King is so the subjects are likely to be). If he keeps up this sentiment and acts up to this principle, I hope, he will be able to inspire confidence among the people and I also hope that he will look at this question from a dispassionate point of view.

And one thing more, I must submit for his consideration and that is this. I know from the report that he has circulated that the number of arrears was 3,85,000 and that he has been able to reduce it to 1,97,000 and his officers have worked well in 1947-48. Out of 38 crores which was the arrears in regard to completed cases it appears that he has been able to realize some thing like 15 crores. Though this amount contains some of the advances also, all the same I congratulate him for this work. There is one more thing about which I would plead respectfully. In all sessions and criminal cases three months is the period in which the case is to be finished and I want him to make it a rule that in every assessment of income-tax case not more than one year shall lapse. Unless he does make a rule like this, I do not think that the Income-tax authorities will take it seriously. I believe some such rule is necessary. I have to submit many more things, but I do not want to take advantage of your indulgence and, therefore, I sit down.

Shri Arun Chandra Guha (West Bengal: General): The honourable Minister for Finance has in his speech this morning placed his difficulties before the House. I think the honourable Members need not be reminded about the difficulties of the Finance Minister, particularly in a country like India at this

[Shri Arun Chandra Guha]

time. We have problems along with the general economic condition all over the world due to the post-war conditions; but over and above all these power having been transferred from alien rule to our own hands, we must have some development plans, some economic readjustments which also have given birth to new problems. Moreover, we have problems arising out of the Partition of India. I am glad that the Government of India have at last come to realise that the effects of partition of India are tremendous and that they are affecting every sphere of our national life. Coming as I do from Bengal, I feel the effects of partition more keenly than the Members coming from other parts of India. We have been asking our leaders for some sort of customs union or economic understanding with the Pakistan Government. At last I am glad to see that the honourable Ministers for Finance and Commerce have said something to that effect and that the Government have realised that some understanding should be reached.

Then there is another anomaly in our economic condition. During the last two years we have been talking of inflation and of fighting inflation. I would like to say that the honourable Minister for Finance has done some injustice to this House by not taking it into his full confidence.

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Shrimati G. Durgabai (one of the Panel of Chairmen)]

I would ask him to tell the House if the Budget for 1949-50 is an anti-inflationary budget or something else than that. In his Budget speech he has given us some vague warning. "In the economic life of the country today there is a deep underlying fear for the future". Sometime ago the Economic Adviser to the Government of India—I wish he was more discreet—told the country that the country had almost reached a stage of depression. We can see that there are certain symptoms in our economic life which may give some warning to that effect. Cost of living has increased; money is abundant in the commodity market; but money is stagnant when the question of capital investment comes. That is a sign which may be taken as symptomatic of depression. I hope the honourable the Finance Minister will take the House into confidence if he is really apprehensive that depression is coming.

On another point the Finance Minister has not been quite frank with us. We expected from him a clear declaration as to the economic policy of the Government for the coming year. Of course it will be premature now to raise the question of complete nationalisation. I have no quarrel with him to admit that private enterprise has yet enough scope in the country and that we need it. I would not grudge the honourable Minister giving some inducement so that private capital may come forward for increasing production in the country. But I would like to have a clear declaration from the Government as to whether we are going in for centralised economy or whether we are in favour of decentralised economy. This is a very vital problem for us. Every Congressman in the House feels committed to the doctrine of decentralised economy. This is not merely an economic principle. From the experience of the last war we have realised that decentralised economy is more suitable to meet the emergencies of war. Centralised economy can be very easily made the target of air attacks and things like that. We are living in a time when, I am afraid, nobody will be able to be free from anxiety and fear of war. So, apart from our personal economic convictions, from the standpoint of world conditions today, we should have a clear declaration that the Government of India are committed to the principle of decentralised economy.

As regards the question of effecting economies in the administration I wish first to point out that our national income has increased since 1938-39 by about 100 per cent. But our Government expenditure has increased by about 400

per cent. There should have been some parity between these two figures. Members of the House have been rather outspoken in their criticism of the services. We do not grudge them the pay if we get the required efficiency. In this connection I would like to remind the Government that the nation has treated the Services most generously. If any single sector of the national life has benefited by the transference of power, it is the services. And I must say that they have not contributed anything towards it. On the other hand they have fought definitely against the transference of power and yet the country and the nation have treated them most generously. The House therefore expects that they make some gesture in response of this generosity.

During the British rule, the services on certain occasions were made to impose a voluntary cut in their salaries. After the transference of power I think it is not too much to expect that these same services would make a similar gesture by voluntarily surrendering a part of their salary. We have been told in this House by our Ministers that it is a contractual obligation to pay the services the stipulated salaries. I would like to know if that is the attitude of services today. Do they want the full pound of flesh? If that is their attitude then I must say that they are not playing their role.

As regards inducing the capitalists to make more investments, if need be, I admit that there may be some inducement given to them. But last year also some inducements were given. But in this House sometime ago more than one Minister plainly told us that capital has not played its role. I only hope that the capital this time will accept the challenge of the honourable Minister for Finance and will play the game by responding in a generous way to the trust that has been reposed in them.

As for economy the Ministry of Finance has a very unpleasant duty to perform. It has got something like a censorial duty to supervise the expenditure of all Departments. There is a Standing Committee attached to all the Departments. Most of the expenditure has to be passed by those Standing Committees. I would like that there should be some liaison between these Standing Committees and the Finance Department, so that the Finance Department may know on what considerations the Standing Committees of those Departments have to pass those items of expenditure. Some of the members might have put forward some arguments against the sanction; some members might have said one way or another and the Department again might have their own arguments. If there is a liaison between the Finance Department and these Standing Committees, I think the Finance Department may know the mind of the members of the Standing Committee, why some of them might have objected to a particular grant or why some of them might have supported it.

Some of the articles of basic necessity are subjected to taxation at three or four points. It is something like a competition between the Centre and the provinces in taxing these articles. The cotton that is produced in C. P. as cloth goes to Bihar or Bengal or Assam via the Bombay and Ahmedabad factories; and in between these, from the producers of cotton to the retail purchasers of cloth, I think there are at least four stages of taxation and this is in fact a factor tending to inflate prices. I hope there may be some arrangement between the Centre and the provinces by which such articles should be taxed only once. Pakistan Government has centralised the sales tax. I do not know if the provinces here would like that, but there should be some arrangement by which this multiple taxation—something like a competitive spirit in taxation between the Centre and the Provinces, might be stopped.

[Shri Arun Chandra Guha]

Then, one question which affects my province most vitally is the allocation of the jute tax and the income-tax. The Finance Minister this time has put the revenue due to income-tax remission at rupees six crores less and he has consoled us that out of these, rupees three crores would come out of the share of the provinces. But that would simply increase their burden. Of course, the Finance Minister has given us a useful dictum, "A balanced national budget may and often does cover a multitude of unbalanced family budgets". That is no solution for those poor men whose family or provincial budgets have been unbalanced. I would say that the whole Niemeyer Award and the allocation of jute and income-tax duties should be revised. There is no reason why West Bengal, after having all those calamities, should be discriminated against.

Another point is that in the report of the Ministry of Finance, my honourable friend has mentioned, "A minor banking crisis developed in West Bengal towards the end of September". It is not at all a minor banking crisis, it is a major and a very major financial crisis in the province. If I am allowed to say so, it is something like the South Sea Bubble of the 17th century in England. It is something like that for West Bengal and I would implore the Finance Minister that he may take some drastic steps as regards those banks which have closed—not only those scheduled banks but other small banks also—so that their easily realisable assets may be pooled together and some Reconstruction Bank may be started and as far those men who are responsible for this disaster, even their personal belongings may be investigated and if their honesty be found wanting in managing those banks, then they should be prosecuted. In any case some drastic steps should be taken.

One thing I would like to place before him. Those men who have brought about this financial disaster in my province, they are now engaged in other forms of business and the Government and other banks are giving them banking facilities and accommodation. I would at least ask the honourable the Finance Minister to write to other banks of Bengal that these men should be stigmatized and should not be given any banking accommodation unless their conduct in regard to those banks have been clearly proved to be beyond any stigma.

Shri Khandubhai K. Desai (Bombay: General): I intervene in this debate at this stage in order to supplement certain suggestions which I made at the time of the general discussion. Of course, I must admit that the reply which the honourable the Finance Minister has made at the end of the discussion has carried certain satisfaction to me and to most of the Members of the House. Particularly, he has stated that he has got unfortunately to deal with a situation which has been made worse by the last three Budgets, and he has tried to bring in, according to him, a sort of normal Budget, and particularly his reference to the relief granted to the capitalist class I welcome, because he said that this is the last dose of relief that is being given and if they do not still play the game, something more drastic would have to be done and certain other methods and technique would have to be found but in order to plough in capital which is lying hidden.

This morning the honourable the Finance Minister has given certain explanations regarding the prices and inflation but I am not satisfied as there is no assurance of the concrete steps which he has in view for the coming year. (**Babu Ramnarayan Singh**: 'Nothing'.) The impression that has been left on my mind is only the assurance that the present process will continue, it has steadied, and you need not worry about it. He has not given us any assurance

of doing something which will bring down the prices, but I feel that he is somehow or other believing in the theory of "drift", I would say, fatality—something may happen in America and probably we will be out of our economic crisis soon. That is what he is thinking about. (**The Honourable Dr. John Matthai**: 'Certainly not'.) I think during the next year he ought to take some positive steps with a view to see that prices go down and the middle class, particularly those living in urban areas, will have a happy and easy time. (**Shri B. Das**: 'He wants your advice'.) I am really very glad to know when we were told this morning that the honourable the Finance Minister has got in view the examination of the taxation structure, and for that he is appointing a sort of high-power commission to go into the national income and its distribution among different sections and cross-sections of society, so as to evolve an equitable system of taxation. But I hope it will not be one of those Commissions which might take years to come to decisions. He must give a time limit and that Commission should report in the course of the next six or eight months, so that at the time of the next Budget he will be able to evolve his system of taxation on the basis of the data thus obtained, and with an eye on the capacity to pay.

Regarding the formation of capital, there is one thing which I would like to place before him. During the last ten years, there have been phenomenally abnormal profits throughout the country. One does not know where those profits have gone. They say that a certain amount has been taken out of those profits by way of taxation to the extent of 80 to 90 per cent. That money would have come to the coffers of Government. Again it would have gone out and from that very money again profits would have been made. So it was a continuous process of making profits and today in the year 1949, there should have been enough capital in the country for capitalising most of our industrial concerns, and developing new industries but the capital is not forthcoming. What must have happened is this. There seems to be something wrong somewhere because the capitalist would like to invest his money even at one per cent. instead of keeping the capital idle. So, while thinking over this, I came to the conclusion that a certain exemption was granted in 1942. A person who at that time lived in India and earned money in the State was exempted from paying tax. And since 1942 I find that in a large number of States were started quite a considerable number of mushroom banks. I feel that these banks must have been interested in these questions and most of the profits earned in India might have been shown as earned in the states. They may have been shown as earned in the States and even from the States this money might have been transferred from London or New York. This phenomenon has diverted the money from India.

There is one question on which I was giving some attention and it is this. This time the export duty on oil-seeds has been removed in order to earn dollars in the foreign market. I do not know whether the whole question has been examined thoroughly. For aught we know, there are duplicate firms working for the same interests, both in the States and in India. It is the same firm with different names and oil-seeds and such other articles being surplus in the States, they are being sold by one firm to the other firm belonging to the same interest for profit, and this profit, in my opinion may, according to the law, legally have been earned in the States and for which they will pay no taxes. So particular oilseeds may have been bought in a particular State for Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 and it may have been sold for the export trade for Rs. 22 making the profits of Rs. 10. But it is earned in the States and so they are not taxable and the prices at the port may be Rs. 22 but in the export market possibly they might be fetching Rs. 22/8. So all the tax you get is on eight annas only. This is a question which requires close examination and I should

[Shri Khandubhai K. Desai]

think that the Government of India now, after the integration of the States and the formation of Unions among States, should take adequate powers to see that such evasions, which may be legal technically, though morally they are evasions, do not take place. This is the technique by which capitalists managed to evade taxes throughout this period.

With these few words, I would place the last suggestion before the honourable the Finance Minister to take immediate action and take steps to remove the exemption granted in 1942.

Mr. Chairman: May I know what time the honourable the Finance Minister would require for his closing reply?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: This debate is in the nature of the whole House thinking aloud together on certain problems. I do not think I would weary the House with a long reply. If you give me fifteen minutes, that would suit me.

Prof. Shibban Lal Sakseena (U.P.: General): Madam, I very carefully heard the speech of the honourable the Finance Minister. There was some pathos in his declaration that while every Ministry which came up for supplies was generously voted their demand, he himself was censored for his proposals, when he went to collect the money for that expenditure. But that is natural. The country needs expenditure on all items. What really we criticised was that he being the custodian of the Finances of the nation should so arrange things that all the needs are supplied and that the country develops in a manner and with a speed which we all desire. It was only a difference of opinion on the method of raising the funds and not that we did not want to raise funds. He should therefore not feel that we are partial to some Ministers and not to him. We have a very high respect for him and we only wish that he only tried to recast his proposals in the best interests of the nation in consultation with this House.

He has dealt with inflation and he has delivered a learned speech and met many of the criticisms levelled against him in the press, in the House and elsewhere. But I feel that inflation cannot be met without more production. The ultimate solution of inflation is more production, both in the fields and in the factories. No amount of jugglery in financing or other methods can really solve the problem. Just now a friend pointed out that production this year has increased by 15 per cent. That is not satisfactory for a State like India, which is starving for want of sufficient food. This budget which the Finance Minister has prepared, in fact depends entirely on the goodwill of institutional investors and the capitalists and it is a sort of an abject appeal to them to come forward with their money bags to help him. I feel that his appeal is misdirected because these people will always see whether it is profitable to them to come forward or not, and national interests are hardly a consideration with them.

I feel that for production we must boldly plan and nationalise the key industries and have proper distribution. It is now too late in the day to deny that the capitalist system has failed, and that appeals to industrialists will not help our country. We have to plan, to nationalise the key industries as we have already decided, and ultimately to distribute the incomes in a manner which will promote the wealth, happiness and well-being of the country.

I am sorry that whenever it is suggested that the state should itself plan and start nationalised key industries, it is argued that capital will become shy. I think in our country there is so much field for new production that even if we do not nationalise a single one of the existing industries, the State can

plan and start any number of new industries and spend any amount of money upon them and leave private enterprise also to prosper and add to the wealth of the country. Even in Russia they did not nationalise everything at once.

In fact when we compare our production with that of other great countries ours is less than 1/100th of theirs. The other day I compared our production in iron and steel with that of Russia. Ours was nine lakhs tons whereas Russia is producing 45 million tons of steel and iron per year under the present five year plan. Russia is producing 45 million tons of both iron and steel whereas through private capitalists we are producing only nine lakh tons. There is not enough of iron and steel in the country and if the State also installs its plants it can produce more steel without injuring the existing interests in steel. The same is the state of affairs in regard to the production of coal and oil. In fact the argument dangled before our eyes that capital is shy and industrialists will not invest is quite superficial and utterly false. We have already declared that there is enough scope for private industry and yet nothing is done by the State in the matter of production.

In fact today those who have read the papers would have seen that in Russia they have reshuffled their supreme cabinet and the following are the industries in charge of separate ministries. There are nine ministries which are devoted to production. There is a ministry for forestry and the paper industry, another for light industries, a third for chemical industries, a fourth for the oil industry, a fifth for fisheries, a sixth for coal, production, a seventh for food stuff production, an eighth for industry and machine production and a ninth for metal production. You will see from this what amount of attention they pay to production. Let us compare their Budget figures of income with ours. Their income is 4,46,043 million roubles which comes to about 22,000 crores of rupees. In fact it is about 75 times our income according to the present Budget. How have they been able to get so much income? It is because they produce much more and therefore they can impose and collect more taxes. Only twenty years ago they were lagging behind our country.

The honourable Finance Minister will therefore have to give up his supplication to the industrialists and institutional investors. He will have to plan boldly and execute his plans boldly. He will have to nationalise key industries, not necessarily those already existing in private hands but he will have to develop new industries, so that our country may come into line with the other advanced countries. Unless he does that there will not be any solution for inflation or poverty.

As regards agriculture it is a pity that we have to spend 100 crores for importing food grains and also pay rupees 32 crores in subsidy. If that amount was spent in developing our agriculture I think we could have wiped out this import of food grains. I feel that we are not giving the same attention to the food production as we ought to. If we had done that I am sure this amount of four million tons of imported food grains can be produced in the country in a very short time. I therefore think that there can be a good deal of economy in this matter of import of and subsidy for food.

Apart from production which can give us more income, we must also economise our useless expenditure. I have seen the Budget estimates. I feel that the civil administration has become a white elephant. Comparing the figures for the last ten years, published by the *Modern Economist*, we find that in 1938-39 our civil expenditure was 10.90 crores. In this budget our civil expenditure for a partitioned India is 48 crores. Three-fourths of the 1938-39 expenditure which should be the proper sum for partitioned India's share is 7.5 crores but our present expenditure is 48 crores i.e. it is seven times as much. This is a very big increase in civil expenditure and much of it is due to the creation of more and more departments and high salaried posts. I think

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here there is great scope for economy. From 7-1/2 crores to 48 crores is something which requires serious attention and we can economise here by at least 18 crores. We must not spend more than 30 crores on civil departments. In fact I am surprised that while we are going on with retrenchment of petty employees we are creating more departments and spending huge sums on high salaried posts for absolutely new men. I want that all the existing surplus trained personnel should be employed in new departments and there should be no waste of the trained young men and new men should not be recruited so long as existing surplus trained personnel is available. Thus we shall solve both the problems of retrenchment and economy.

For Defence we have passed a budget for 157 crores. I am very happy that we are trying to be very efficient in Defence. But modern armies cannot be put into the field unless there is a very strong industrial structure in the country behind them. I therefore feel that instead of spending money on defence we should spend it on industries, so that industry may be able to supply the needs of the army. I want a cut of 37 lakhs under this head of Defence and this should be spent in developing more industries.

As regards food subsidies we should abolish them and instead spend about 15 crores of the money saved on the development of agriculture and we should see that not a single grain is imported. If we make that rule and make it stringent it is quite possible to meet all the needs of the country without importing any food from abroad and thus wasting huge sums of money. In this way we can save 75 crores in all.

Then there is tax evasion, which has been another white elephant on the exchequer. We should be able to collect at least 25 crores more in the existing taxes by stopping evasion and in this way we can save 100 crores of rupees with which we can develop our industry and agriculture according to a bold plan so that we may be able to meet all the needs of the country. Then in the course of a few years the budgetary position and the economic condition of the country will be much more sound.

Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava (Ajmer-Merwara): We heard an excellent speech from the honourable the Finance Minister this morning. There are certain features which I think will be welcomed from every section of the House. Firstly it has been announced that the Government of India intends seriously to tackle the problem of top heavy expenditure and that it is determined in the next few weeks to examine the report of the Economy Committee appointed by the Government of India in respect of the departments about which reports have already been submitted. I hope that the Finance Minister will stick to the policy that he has announced and the Economy Committee's recommendations which have been submitted after a great deal of labour will be given due effect and implemented at an early date. This matter has given a great deal of satisfaction to us, *viz.*, that this drive for reduction of top heavy expenditure is intended to be given a momentum by the Government. In fact as has been pointed out by previous speakers there has been an enormous expenditure rising to four or five fold. If you refer to the number of secretariat staff you will be staggered to see the number of Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, etc., rising from 46 to 334. The number of clerks have risen from 1,305 to 6,902. And the number of fourth grade staff—that is: chaprassis etc.—has arisen from 800 and odd to 3,000. (*Shri Mahavir Tyagi:* 'Scandalous!') This expenditure must be curtailed. It is rather surprising to find that even the very small token cut that was proposed in the last Budget by Shri Shanmukham Chetty could not be given effect to. I hope matters will improve this time.

Then the second declaration that has been made by the honourable the Finance Minister and which I think must have been welcomed by the House is that he realises that the Sterling Balances Agreement which his predecessor entered into with the Government of the United Kingdom was not to the satisfaction of India. If I have rightly understood him I think he has felt that there was absolutely no reason why the Sterling Balances Agreement should have been arrived at on such terms which in no way were beneficial to this country. This Agreement will hold good for three years, but on the lapse of three years I think the Finance Minister intends to revise the Agreement on more beneficial terms to this country than has been done in the past. In fact the foreign capital—the British investments—in this country are being rapidly liquidated at very very inflated prices and are being transferred from British hands into Indian hands; and it is rather strange that our Government has not taken any benefit of similar Agreements that were made by the United Kingdom with countries like Argentine, etc. If our Government had been more vigilant and if it would have insisted upon the purchasing of the British assets in India in liquidation of sterling balances, I think we would have fared much better. ♦

The third declaration that has been made is that the Government of India thinks it essential to make an enquiry into the national income of the country and to collect the requisite data and to take steps for the revision of the taxation structure of the country. It is absolutely essential because the taxation structure must be based on sound lines and the distribution of national income must be made equitably among all classes of people. But there is one thing.

As I have mentioned at the stage of the general discussion and which I reiterate today the approach of our Finance Minister to the conditions existing in India is of a very conservative and orthodox type. While the conditions existing in the country are not of a normal but of an extremely abnormal type the approach of our Finance Minister is not of a type commensurate with the exceptional conditions existing in the country. Our Finance Department has been taking a rather fluctuating course. Sometimes it recommends economy of a socialist type, at other times of a capitalist type. The Liaquat Ali Budget was framed on a socialist model. That policy has been reversed and it has been substituted by a policy of appeasement of our capitalist and industrialist—nay, the present budget is not only a budget of appeasement of the industrialist but in a way a budget of surrender to the industrialists and capitalists. Let us see how far this policy of appeasement succeeds and is likely to bring the result that is intended, that is, more money in the investment market. So far the reaction has been of a more or less disappointing character because not only there is satisfaction at the abolition of the Capital Gains Tax but the demand now is for the removal of the Business Profits Tax as also for the reduction of the Corporation Tax. How our economic structure will be able to bear this additional burden I for one am unable to understand.

Therefore it is not likely that the policy of calling for voluntary loans will have a greater degree of success than it had in the past. Last year only Rs. 55 crores out of a target of Rs. 150 fixed was subscribed. This year the target fixed is Rs. 87 crores but another debt that has to be paid comes to Rs. 67 crores and therefore the target is only about Rs. 20 crores. Will this small amount of loan satisfy the development programme, which is essential for this country? We have certainly attained political freedom but economically we must feel we are still under thralldom. Our country is dependent for everything, from a needle to the biggest machinery, upon foreign countries: nay, in a way our economic condition today is worse than it had ever been. In the past India had never been dependent for its food on foreigners. But now we are dependent on them even for food. Let us see what is the programme that our National Government and our Finance Minister has fixed for the next five

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or ten years to follow. Does their budget contain anything which assures that on the expiry of, say, a period of five or ten years this country will be economically independent and will be able to stand in the world erect unaided, unassisted and not dependent upon any other country? Suppose today a war comes—and the clouds of war are already hovering and nobody can deny the possibility of such a contingency—what will be the fate of India? For our food we will be dependent upon foreign countries. So far as our defence is concerned we are absolutely dependent: we cannot manufacture our aeroplanes. We cannot have our own fleet, air fleet or sea fleet. For everything we are dependent upon supply from foreign countries. Is it a state of things with which we should remain satisfied?

The only way in which you can tackle these problems which are by no means of an ordinary character is that you must undertake a bold and courageous financial programme, and a fiscal policy must be moulded not on a conservative and orthodox type but on a liberal type and in a way in which you may be able to successfully meet the abnormal requirements of your country. This is nowhere to be seen. As I have already pointed out, the response of the industrialist and the capitalist, upon whose mercy we depend as has been depicted in our budget, is poor. There is absolutely no sign that that response is going to improve in the future. Therefore, if you are not getting any money by voluntary loans, what is the alternative suggestion before the Government of India to have the money requisite for our development and programmes? The Minister for Industry and Supply and the Minister for Works, Mines and Power envisaged a programme which requires, say, at least Rs. 500 crores in the next three years. Wherefrom is the money to come? If the capitalist and the industrialist cannot be appeased and wooed to part with his money then I say that Government should either sit idle or admit its failure, or it must take a bold and courageous stand. That can be done only by way of raising money by compulsory saving process or by compulsory borrowing. In this approach alone we can counteract the evil and the monster of inflation on the one hand and at the same time bring into the coffers of our country sufficient money to meet the industrial requirements of this country. Unless such a bold and courageous policy is coming forth from our Finance Department, I think the future for this country is not very good.

Shri Krishna Chandra Sharma (U. P.: General): I congratulate honourable the Finance Minister for his lucid explanation of the different aspects of the situation. I feel one difficulty. Honourable the Finance Minister wants to meet inflation. Inflation is an evil and it has bad effects, but it is not an unmitigated evil—it has its good aspects as well. It has given employment to the people. It had given money to people who were always in debt, who were starving, who had no will of their own, who were leading the lives of the dumb-driven cattle; it gave some hope to such people.

When you meet inflation and contract the currency, the natural result would be that there would be less of employment. But the only way left of meeting inflation is by cancelling the currency or contracting it. High taxation is another way whereby you take away the money from the hands of the people. Their purchasing power should be lessened. The moment you lessen the purchasing power, the moment you take the money from the capitalist or the industrialist there would always be less of employment because when the prices go down overnight the wages will not go down and the natural result would be that many of the industries shall have to be closed down. What will you do then? This country has always been having a lot of unemployment and it cannot bear any further unemployment resultant on having the measures to meet the inflation.

My own solution is that you have given a long rope to the industrialists, you should expect them to rise to the occasion. The difficulty to my mind has been not that they do not have the good intention, not that they are the blackest people in the world, but the trouble has been that they have not been trained in the way the European capitalists are trained—they know the way to produce money, to earn income, to amass wealth in a way no capitalist in the world outside, and no industrialist in the world has ever done. The black-market as it is here in India has been unknown in the world. Under-paying the labourer, not marking him present, not paying overtime wages, are some things unknown in the world outside but they are going on here in mills and factories and many other things which beyond India have long ceased to exist. So, to expect from them that they would carry on with increased industrial output under the modern conditions is an impossible proposition. It is not the fault of the intention of the man, but it is the fault of the lack of training.

In inflation the fundamental trouble is that owing to the uncertainty and owing to the expectation of a rise in prices people do not send their commodities to the market. Take the case of a peasant. The general tendency in the past was that in the last week of April he would sell half his saleable produce in the market, another one-fourth would be sold before the beginning of the rainy season and whatever was left to be sold would always be sold in the month of October. After October it was difficult for the peasant to keep any extra commodity in the house as it was not likely to rise in price after October. But the present tendency is that they will not sell it for the whole year; they will keep it for the next year in the hope that the prices will go on rising and rising.

On the other hand, a man who wants the commodity for one month's expenditure, will go in the market and try to buy it for six months because he is uncertain whether the commodity will ever appear in the market again and whether he shall not have to pay higher prices. This situation creates trouble as it badly affects the people as a whole, especially the labourer or the man whose income is low.

As I said above, one compensatory factor of inflation is the rise in employment. By combating inflation you certainly lower down the average of employment and this country is not able to bear such large unemployment. My suggestion is that in order to have capital in your hand you should impose death duties, capital levy and have borrowing and cancel some of our currency. In England and in other countries there are duties on higher incomes to the extent of 65 per cent. Nature has given man dominion over his property for his life; beyond life nobody has any natural right to will as to where the property should go and where it should not go. It is a natural justice if we have this duty. You should take the earliest opportunity to have that duty levied so as to have money in your hand and then contract your currency a bit and also have a capital levy. By all these means you shall have a lot of capital in your hands. It is no use waiting and seeing how the capitalists move—how the industrialists move; they have never moved, they have been dragged on by the circumstances and now the circumstances refuse to drag them on. They cannot go their own way. So, it is much better and more in the fitness of things that you take the people's lot in your own hands, start your own State industries, have new avenues of finding production, starting new ameliorative measures, so that the people instead of looking to the accumulation of capital in the hands of the capitalists or the industrialists, would invest the money in the labour—you create better man, better labourer, better clerk, better manager, better Secretary in your offices, and better educated men in every part of life; a better citizen would make the lot of the country better.

[Shri Krishna Chandra Sharma]

Before I sit down I earnestly appeal that the time of orthodox balanced way of doing things has gone. You cannot flee from the incoming onrush of the circumstances or their result and run into the lap of a mother like a child; you cannot at the same time jump to action like the blind man; but the need of the situation is that of a creative genius, of judging the things present, by negotiating with them and boldly confronting them and going on to the future to create a happier and better country.

Shri Upendranath Barman (West Bengal: General): I do not propose to deal with the financial and budget proposals as such, but only with one subject which the honourable the Finance Minister dealt with, both in his Budget speech, and this morning. And that is as regards the monetary policy of the Government, so far as capital formation is concerned. It is the accepted view of this House that we need more production industrial and agricultural. Then the question arises that in our industrial development we want capital both in the hands of the Government by way of loans and also investments by private capitalists. This is again a proposition which is accepted by us. But in the speech of the honourable Minister, he raises some apprehension that the capital in the hands of private capitalists is stagnant, and that that is due to deep-lying fear about the future. That, of course, is in addition to the inflationary causes that he has given us in his budget speech, and in order to remove that fear, the honourable Prime Minister, the honourable Deputy Prime Minister and other Ministers also gave assurances times without number. In the last Budget, by the honourable Finance Minister's predecessor, similar assurances were given and some relief was also given in the taxation proposals of last year, all in the hope that capital will be forthcoming during the course of this year. But these hopes have been belied, and the honourable Finance Minister has again this year come with further proposals of relief. At the same time he says this is a challenge to the capitalists, and their spirit of enterprise. I am not in a position to controvert him in this proposition, and in his assessment of the facts. But at the same time we find in the same budget speech, in para 5 he has the following words:

"While there is obviously a large amount of money in the country competing for the limited supply of goods, the investment market has been stagnant and there has been little flow of money into Government loans or into industrial concerns."

Here the question arises whether it is due to the high taxation measures that capital is tied up or from the fear about future. The honourable Minister says that though there is enough capital in the hands of the capitalist it does not come either to the help of the Government or to the needs of the industry of the country. Therefore, the question may be asked: which of these two propositions is correct. If the statement of the honourable Finance Minister in para 5 of his Budget speech is correct, then the question of further concessions to capitalists, so that they may have more capital and more surplus money, to spend either on Government loans or in their own undertakings does not arise at all. Then the only question that can be asked is, if there is money enough in the hands of the capitalists, and yet does not come out, what are they doing with that capital?

The honourable Minister gives us the reply to this question also, when he says that they are competing for goods which are in short supply. In other words, they are more interested in doing unfair business, in black-marketing, than in honestly giving help either to the Government or to the industrial needs of the country. If that be correct, there is only one answer to this. Either Government must be up and doing, in checking black-marketing, or Government will accept defeat at the hands of the capitalists. No matter how much gesture it may show to the capitalist. This black-marketing

is the root cause. If a man has some capital, and if he finds that by investing it in black-markets or in doing unfair business, he gains more, then why should he come and invest his capital in Government loans or in private industrial undertakings, where your taxation officer will come and check his doings, and inspectors will disturb him? So this is the only question that looms very large in our minds, whether Government is tackling the matter strongly, so that this scourge on our lives, on Indian life may be scared away. This requires very strong measures, and no amount of gestures will do any good to the country at this stage.

It has been suggested by many concerns and by many private individuals also that it is not shyness of capital alone that is responsible for this short-coming in industrial investment or on government loans. Really in all big undertakings, the real investment, the bulk of the investment, came largely from middle or small-class shareholders. Now, this middle-class and small shareholders are so much upset with the inflated market that they have no surplus money at all to invest. It is only a very few capitalists—perhaps 20 per cent. or less than that—who really hold up this money from playing its part in our industrial life. How much of this statement is correct, it is for the honourable Finance Minister who has more facts in his possession to say. But my first proposition remains that unless and until we can deal with black-marketing firmly, there is no hope of the situation becoming better. Now we cannot wait till the capitalists are placated fully, and they come out with their capital to give us help. In the meantime, the country is suffering so much, that we cannot wait looking at the capitalists alone. My own view is that—and it is the general view—my view as a layman is that Government should no longer look to the capitalists, but should draw this dead line, that there should be no more capitalist formations in this country. We do not disturb the old capital investments. But henceforward, our Government should undertake to develop industry and agriculture from its own resources, and for that purpose, do whatever is possible. We have got sterling balances outside. We acquire some trade balances also in foreign countries. So, instead of inviting the private investors to form companies and purchase capital goods from outside and undertake industrial concerns, it is high time that Government should utilise all the resources that they have got to launch State concerns for these purposes.

Then another point is this. As regards agriculture, we may be dependent on others to some extent for indenting capital goods such as improved agricultural implements, tube-wells, etc., but it is only to a small extent. But on the whole we must depend absolutely on our own resources within the country and develop our agriculture. For that purpose I propose to the honourable Minister to finance all sorts of agricultural development undertakings in due course from our own resources and if our revenue resources do not permit them being taken up, then we should have recourse to our currency making powers that is the Nasik Press. What I say is this that when we find that any agricultural undertaking or industrial undertaking will give immediate results in the shape of goods produced out of that undertaking, there should be absolutely no hesitation in using our Nasik Press for financing it.

I have seen in my own province a renowned gentleman, Sir Daniel Hamilton, purchasing an absolutely barren land in the Sundar Bans area. He introduced a certain currency called *Gosaba* note. He utilised that note. Of course he had to purchase some food and other things to supply labour and when the grains were produced those notes were paid back to him. They were utilised as payments from the tenants to the zamindars and he gave rights in the lands to the tenants. Those dead notes which were absolutely valueless so far as they themselves are concerned were utilised in producing tons and tons of goods in the shape of food crops. This is some thing which we should consider in respect of our national economy in this crisis.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: I do not wish nor would the House wish me to reply to all the various suggestions which have been made in the course of the discussion. All that I would say is that it has been an extremely useful discussion. There has been a useful interchange of views on important questions and I have not the slightest doubt that all that has been said in the course of the debate will be of great help to me and to my colleagues in coming to correct decisions on these matters of great importance.

I would like only to make a few comments on some of the more specific matters which have been referred to by honourable members. I quite agree, as I said in my speech this morning and as I said also in my reply to the general debate, that there is probably no more important problem before the Government these days than to look for possible economies in every direction in public expenditure, but I think there is a general feeling in the House that there are more possibilities of economy in the direction of Civil rather than of Defence expenditure. I think it was my honourable friend, Mr. Das, who referred to the question of Defence Expenditure. I would like to tell the House briefly because I think the matter is important, what my own personal reaction is to the problem of Defence Expenditure. I agree when the country's security is in jeopardy, there can be no limit at all to the expenditure that we should be prepared to incur in order to make the country absolutely safe. But in normal times, I would like to say that an expenditure of 157 crores a year is a good deal more than the economy of this country can stand (*Hear, hear*). We can maintain an expenditure at this level only by maintaining taxation at an un-economic level and by denying the country essential nation-building activities on which the future welfare of the people depends.

Reference has been made to the Taxation Investigation Commission. I think that Commission...

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: What about the Civil expenditure about which you were also speaking in the morning?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: What I said about the Economy Committee has reference to Civil expenditure. I have already put the House in possession of my views as regards Civil expenditure.

Pandit Thakur Das referred to the question of the Taxation Investigation Commission. I do not agree with him regarding his views about the Taxation Investigation Commission. In my opinion, that Commission has already done useful work. The report that has been produced, I think is an extremely valuable report and I propose to examine that report at as early a date as possible and place legislative proposals before the House.

As regards the question of enquiry into the specific cases of evasion which have been referred to them, I think a few weeks ago in reply to a question in the House, I said that they had reached decisions and sent us reports in regard to four cases. Recently they have completed or very nearly completed six more cases, and as far as I can tell the total amount of revenue involved must be somewhere about a crore or more. The important point to remember is that you cannot deal with all these cases until the necessary spade-work has been done in regard to the general lines on which evasion has been practised. I believe the Commission has reached a stage now where it would be possible to expedite the work of enquiring into specific cases and speaking for myself, I am satisfied that the Commission so far has done a good job of work.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Will it deal with all the evasion cases 1,200 or 1,500 or more? Your predecessor said there may be only 12 or 13 cases and your reply to a question was there were 1,200 cases referred to this Commission.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: That was really the point I was coming

to. There are certain common features to all these cases and until these common features are sufficiently elucidated, you cannot make any progress, but once you are able to get a clear picture of the way in which evasion has been practised, the progress that you can make thereafter would be much quicker and I expect, therefore, the rate at which the work will be done hereafter would be expedited.

Shri R. K. Sidhva (C.P. and Berar: General): How many cases have been referred to the Commission?

An Honourable Member: 1,200.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: A little more than that. There has been a good deal of talk about the incentive which the Budget has gone out of its way to provide for the capitalists. I am not by any means capitalist in my outlook. I have had a good deal of examination done into this problem of capital formation. I have examined the distribution of capital in many representative joint stock concerns and I want to tell the House that I have been really surprised at the extent to which shares are being held in these concerns by people who belong to the middle income and the lower middle-income groups. In fact in many representative concerns that I looked into, if I could strike an average, if you take the total number of share-holders, somewhere about 90 per cent. would belong to the classes to which you and I belong. Therefore, when you say the investor is shy, it is the small man who is shy and necessarily so, because the small man with his limited resources would I think feel much more shy than the big man to risk his resources. He has got to take very much greater care and I think in these discussions that we are having about the investor, it is necessary to have a clear picture of this fact, namely the distribution of share capital in our joint stock concerns is such that the man who is mainly interested and mainly affected by it is the middle-class investor.

I think it was my honourable friend Mr. Moturi Satyanarayana who made a suggestion as regards what we ought to do with our loans and our revenues in the interests of the agriculturist. If, I am fortunate enough to be in charge of a Budget which discloses a considerable surplus, what I would like to do is not to reduce the level of indirect taxation, but to take the surplus that you can get out of it and spend it in a form which would make a direct appeal to the people in the country-side. What you have got to do is to provide him with services which will not merely be of interest to him but which would make an appeal to him. There is nothing that I would like better to do than to have a surplus at my disposal with which to constitute the nucleus of a national development fund from which, as occasion arises, it would be possible to finance schemes that would make directly for the welfare of the agriculturists.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava referred to the question of the Joint Hindu Family, a matter to which he refers almost every year. I cannot pretend that I have a clear understanding of the problems of income-tax in relation to the joint family. But this is a matter which has been discussed in the report of the Taxation Investigation Commission and I propose to go carefully into that report to see whether something can be done to relieve the position.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: That promise is also given every year.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: That may be so. But now that we have detailed information in this report we can apply our minds better to this problem.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: The Commission has not investigated the matters thoroughly. They did not invite opinions on this question and yet they have proceeded to give their recommendations conjecturally. This is wholly unsatisfactory.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: It is quite unnecessary for me to say, to such an experienced lawyer as Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava, that when you proceed to frame your proposals on the basis of the investigations made by a Commission, it does not mean that you are committed to the whole of the report. Since Government are committed to making legislative proposals in that matter, it would be possible for us to sit together in Select Committee and see whether a satisfactory solution cannot be arrived at.

The question of opium was raised by Mr. Sahu. He knows as well as I do since he was one of the deputationists that waited on me on this question that we are going to have a conference of the Central Government and representatives of provincial Governments on this question. As far as the Government of India are concerned, we have little revenue interest in this matter. So I approach this question with a disinterested outlook. I hope it will be possible for us, as a result of this Conference, to arrive at a satisfactory settlement of this longstanding issue.

I think my honourable friend Mr. Guha referred to the banking crisis in Bengal. I have been watching developments in Bengal carefully. The position at present is that the financial affairs of those banks are being enquired into by the Joint Registrar of Joint Stock Companies there. I believe he has completed his report. But since many of these banks have branches in Pakistan the registrar in Pakistan has also to make an enquiry and report. Meanwhile these investigations are going on. I cannot possibly take disciplinary action against those banks before getting the facts disclosed in the report. It will not be long delayed.

Shri Arun Chandra Guha: I have made another suggestion that those men who are responsible for the bank failures should not get accommodation from other banks.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: That depends on the financial and police investigations. I cannot proceed against people without evidence against them.

Shri Khandubhai Desai raised the question of States in regard to income-tax. He suggested that the existence of Indian States has been a means of evasion of tax by certain influential people. As the House knows, there is a committee which is now going into the question of the financial integration of States. I hope as a result of the investigation made by this Committee it will be possible for us to reach a satisfactory solution as regards this problem.

Then, I think my friend Professor Shibban Lal Saksena referred to the example of Russia in the matter of planning and increased production. I have been for some years a student of Russian economic problems. With regard to Russian planning, the figures quoted by him indicate the success of the planning. The success of that planning turns on a method of remuneration which is referred to generally as the Stakhanovite method. It is based on individual and private gains as an incentive to production. To say that Russia has eliminated the motive of individual gain is the very denial of facts. This fact is frequently overlooked.

I think my honourable friend Mr. Barman referred to Sir Daniel Hamilton. There was a stage in my life when I was associated to some extent with Sir Daniel when he was engaged in the task of reclaiming the Sundarbans. He devised a system of currency notes that was accepted by people because he had the reputation of being the wealthiest European in India. It was really his

personal credit that was at the back of his notes. If I start issuing notes on a large scale for our national concerns Government will not long retain their credit. I think I have covered the specific points raised. I will take into serious consideration all the suggestions that have been made.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: As regards the military expenditure, although the House was of the view that there should not be any curtailment in the Army, Navy or Air Force, the House desired that the Minister's vigilance should not be relaxed in the purchase of stores, supplies and items under the head miscellaneous.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,46,74,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Customs'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,45,78,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1950, in respect of 'Central Excise Duties'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,87,06,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1950, in respect of 'Taxes on Income including Corporation Tax'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,04,77,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Opium'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,30,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1950, in respect of 'Provincial Excise'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,06,21,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Stamps'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 94,50,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Finance'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 18,73,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Payments to other Governments, Department, etc., on account of the Administration of Agency Subjects and Management of Treasuries'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,33,95,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Audit'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,69,37,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Departments'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 92,22,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Currency'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,23,47,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Mint'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 22,72,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Territorial and Political Pensions'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,40,46,000 be granted to Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Superannuation Allowances and Pensions'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 35,71,23,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Miscellaneous'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,25,00,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Grants-in-aid to Provincial Governments'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 62,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Adjustments between the Central and Provincial Governments'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,55,95,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Re-settlement and Development'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,00,00,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Pre-partition Payments'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 28,82,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on the India Security Press'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,14,82,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Industrial Development'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,16,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Currency'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 87,95,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Mints'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Commutated value of Pensions'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Payments to Retrenched Personnel'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,89,60,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges of which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Schemes of State Trading'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 33,41,56,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Development'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 92,02,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Payments to Government of Pakistan for Unique Institutions'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,09,83,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Interest-free and Interest-bearing Advances'."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 17th March, 1949.

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)
DEBATES.

(PART II—PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS).

Thursday, 17th March, 1949.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11.45. A. M.

THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*contd.*

SECOND STAGE—*contd.*

Mr. Speaker: The House will take up Demands for Grants in respect of Home Affairs and the States Ministry. I shall therefore place these Demands before the House. I presume that there will be no special allotment of time in respect of each of these, but they will be taken as a common one.

The Honourable Shri Satyanarayan Sinha (Minister of State): We propose to take up the Home Ministry till 3-30 and we want to start with the States Ministry at 3-30.

Mr. Speaker: Then the arrangement is that up to 3-30 the Demands under the head 'Home Affairs' should be discussed and from 3-30 to 5 P.M. the Demands under the 'States Ministry' should be discussed. I believe the House is agreeable to that?

Honourable Members: Yes, yes.

Mr. Speaker: May I know if the honourable Minister is going to have separate speeches on both occasions or a joint speech at the beginning?

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (Minister of Home Affairs and the States): I should like to deal with them separately as was done previously.

Mr. Speaker: Then the time may be adjusted accordingly, so that the members may be left some time for discussion. So, I shall, therefore place these Demands before the House one by one.

DEMAND No. 10.—CABINET.

Mr. Speaker. Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs.12,55,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Cabinet'."

DEMAND NO. 13.—MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 54,97,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Home Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 34.—JAILS AND CONVICT SETTLEMENTS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Jails and Convict Settlements'."

DEMAND NO. 35.—POLICE.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 30,64,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Police'."

DEMAND NO. 63.—CENSUS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,00,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Census'."

DEMAND NO. 83.—CIVIL DEFENCE.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,74,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1950, in respect of 'Civil Defence'."

DEMAND NO. 85.—DELHI.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,85,73,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Delhi'."

DEMAND NO. 86.—AJMER-MERWARA.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 65,71,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1950, in respect of 'Ajmer-Merwara'."

DEMAND NO. 87.—PANTH PIPLORA.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 30,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Panth Piplora'."

DEMAND NO. 88.—ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,08,21,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Andaman and Nicobar Islands'."

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Sir, the House I believe has got the review of the Ministry of Home Affairs, as I believe the reviews have been circulated to the honourable Members. Now from the review, honourable Members will see that the activities of the Home Ministry consist of two parts, one being the establishment and maintenance of the Services, the I.C.S., the Indian Administrative Service, the Police Service, the Secretariat Service and the other part being the internal security of the country. So far as the internal security of the country is concerned, the direct responsibility of the Home Ministry is with regard to the Centrally Administered areas, namely, the Provinces of Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Coorg and one or two small areas such as the Andamans, but a large part of the activities of internal security, so far as law and order is concerned, vests in the Provinces. In the Provinces, the Centre can exercise its influence by way of giving them advice and co-operation and seeking also their co-operation. I am glad to inform the House that so far as the co-operation of the Provinces is concerned, the Central Government has met with a ready and full response from all the Provinces and we have no reason to complain. In several cases they have also gone out of their way and sought our advice. Our relations with the Provinces in this critical period have thus been very happy and cordial, and I have no doubt that we will continue to do so.

As regards the Services, I need hardly dilate at length on the necessity of maintaining their discipline and morale and keeping them contented; in no other circumstances can we get out of the Services loyal and efficient service except by trying to appreciate their difficulties and their work. We have often criticised the Services, which we have a right to, but Services, after all, are composed of human beings and unless we put ourselves in their place, we are not likely to appreciate their full worth. Therefore, in my speech on the last occasion when the Budget was presented, I had appealed to honourable Members of this House that it is our duty to see that the machine with which we have to work is kept in good humour and good temper. We are entitled to criticise them, but we are also bound to see what type of service we have got. This is a 'Service' which we had inherited from the past Government, which had created it for a particular purpose. It has served that purpose very efficiently and admirably. That Service has a reputation of efficiency and strength. Honourable Members of the House are aware that Service is considerably depleted and a large part of its main strength was taken away immediately on the transfer of power. Those who used to rule this country by their strength, by their power, by their capacity and by the resources of the Empire behind it, have all left. The increasing activities of the Government of India in several Departments and the creation of new Departments have also made larger calls on that Service. So we have the strength of the Service considerably depleted. That Service was known or styled as the Steel-frame. Whatever may be the meaning attributed to that name by which it was known, I have no reason to believe—and you will also agree with me—that if we know how to take work from that Service, there is no reason why they should not give better work than they gave to the foreign masters.

Now, there is complaint about corruption. I realise that there are cases of corruption and dishonesty and misbehaviour. We should all search our own conscience and ask ourselves, who amongst us has not erred, and then judge the extent and nature of these failings. We must allow for the ravages of war on men's morals and material resources. We must concede that what they get today is, in reality,—on account of the rise in the cost of living and the increased burden of taxation—only half to one-third of what they were getting before. I am sure if we allow for all these, we will find that, on the whole, despite their individual lapses and short-comings, they have stood us and the country well.

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in crises. In judging therefore the Civil Servants of any grade of Service, the House should bear in mind the difficult circumstances and the exceptional stress and strain through which the Services have passed and are, like the rest of us, passing, and must also appreciate the immensity and the heaviness of the burden that has devolved on them with their ranks terribly depleted, with their standards definitely lower on account of much quicker promotions and on account of all round discontent with the conditions of living and employment.

Now, almost the first question which I took up when I assumed charge of this Department was the securing of the liquidation of the Secretary of State's Services and their replacement by Indian or Indian-controlled services. I convened a conference of Prime Ministers of all the Provinces and held long discussions on this question in the last week of October 1946. I am glad to see that the timely and advance action that we took not only helped us in hastening the change over from European to Indian control but also to lay down the foundations of a new Service which the honourable Members will find described at length in the Review. It was after considerable discussions and much correspondence that it was possible to finalise the plans.

The House will re-call for instance, the long discussions I had with Mr. Arthur Henderson, the then Under Secretary of State for India. I am now confident that if we treat the new Services with the consideration and sympathy which the permanent services deserve, we shall go sufficiently far in promoting not only a unity of administration, but also a uniformity of administrative efficiency in all provincial units. The House will notice that we have also a plan to extend the Services of this type to all the States who wish to join in this plan. And I have no reason to doubt that there will be no State in India which will keep out of this plan. If, as I hope, all of them accept this plan, for the first time we shall have achieved the integration of key services in India on a country-wide basis and I am sure we shall have laid the sure foundations of an administrative structure which will be a great asset in fighting disruptive or fissiparous tendencies all over India.

We had also to deal with a shortage of man-power which was forced on us partly as a result of war and partly by the growing demands of expanding departments. To make up this shortage, we had to tap all available resources—the retired and superannuated personnel, promotions from amongst the existing personnel, and other services, and direct recruitment. Nevertheless, a substantial gap was still left in the various services for which we are now making an emergency recruitment by means of a special recruitment board which has

12 Noon toured the majority of the provinces and has sent in their recommendations. Some of these new recruits, in accordance with the recommendations made by this Board, have already come. We have been training them in our Training Schools and the reports that we get are very satisfactory. They have favourably impressed those in charge of the training and I am confident that when this deficiency is made up, we shall be able to settle down to our task of administration with greater confidence in its efficiency and high standard.

I know the House is considerably exercised over the question of efficiency of the Secretariat, the despatch of work and the improvement in the methods of work. The House will have seen from the Review that has been circulated that we have already undertaken some enquiries and that it has been possible to devise a scheme for the re-organisation of the Secretariat Services—a scheme which has already made headway in its implementation. We realise the need of despatch and of proper and efficient methods of work is great. The improvement of the Secretariat organisation in that respect is the subject of investiga-

tion by the honourable the Railway Minister on behalf of the Cabinet, and I can assure the House that, as soon as this report is received, Government will finalise their views on it with all possible despatch and see that it is implemented as soon as possible. In the meantime, we have made some improvements on the basis of previous reports and I can assure the House that the result of these improvements has been a somewhat better organisation and standard of work than we started with.

Now I shall deal with the complaints of corruption among Government servants. The House is aware that to deal with such cases we have employed a special agency called the Delhi Police Establishment, whose record of work the House will judge from the statistics furnished in the Review circulated. I think that, within the limitations in which it has worked and having regard to the staff employed, it is a fair record. But we wish to improve upon it and to enlarge its field of usefulness also. With that view we have indented for more staff and I have also appointed a Committee from among the Members of this House to go into the existing anti-corruption laws and suggest such changes to strengthen those laws as it might deem necessary.

The Ministry has also to deal with a large number of refugee employees and those who formerly served in Pakistan but opted for service in India. The House will observe that within a comparatively short period of 18 months, almost the whole of this huge establishment has been catered for. I realise that many are not so well-off as they were before and that many questions of seniority, fixation of salaries, promotions, etc. are still agitating the minds of these employees. But our first task was re-settlement so that these employees may not wander about for want of suitable jobs. We are gradually taking up other questions as well and finding equitable solutions. I am sure it is clear to the House that in resettling these employees and in dealing with other incidental questions we have to bear in mind that the administration cannot be at a standstill and its wheels have to be continually kept moving and that we must secure a balance between experience and ability of our existing employees and the need for giving a fair deal to the "refugee" employees without any appreciable loss of efficiency. If we bear this essential point in mind, I am sure we shall be able to appreciate correctly the worth of the work done by this Department.

I have also had for a long time under review the question of a large number of temporary employees under Defence and other Ministries—mostly those which have been newly created. I fully sympathise with them in the conditions of hardship which a temporary tenure imposes and the many disabilities under which they suffer. So to mitigate these and to bring their conditions of service on to a better standard I have reached certain conclusions which I have placed with the concurrence of the honourable the Finance Minister before the Cabinet. We hope shortly to finalise and announce those decisions and thereby hope to create a better feeling of contentment and stability among this important and useful class of Government servants.

The House will, I am sure, concede that there is no aspect of maintaining the efficiency and stability of the service structure that has escaped our attention and that we have taken many useful steps in building up the services of a free India. If the House will judge the task accomplished in the light of the difficulties and impediments in which it was done, it will be appreciated that a long stride has been taken to place the administrative machinery of the country on sure and steady foundations. I regard it as a privilege to have been associated with the modelling and planning of that structure and with devising its training on new democratic lines. I know the House is keen to see that the Services change their mentality and outlook. Already there are visible signs that the change is on. That change will come much quicker with sympathy and patience, with generosity and goodwill than

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with constant criticism and no praise or with lack of appreciation of the worth of their work. I plead for the indulgence and cooperation of honourable Members in quickening the pace of that change and in consolidating the gains we have undoubtedly registered in this sphere.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi (U.P.: General): They are not visible yet.

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: I shall now deal with the position relating to the maintenance of internal security and law and order. On this question, I have throughout been guided by two principles, namely, that the country must be rendered safe against any threats of internal peace from whatever quarter it may come and that it should be the exclusive responsibility of the police to deal with internal disorder leaving the Military free to deal with any threat of external aggression. I claim that in the implementation of these two principles we have had a very large measure of success and that except for the disorder that engulfed the East Punjab, Delhi and some other small areas immediately after independence, the country has steered clear through such threats of disorder as it was faced with. These threats have been both communal and communist. The communal threat has come principally from the R.S.S. and the *Akali Dal*. In regard to the R.S.S. our position has been made clear more than once. In so far as the R.S.S. might seek to bring about a regeneration of the Hindu community by peaceful and legitimate means, there can be—and need be—no quarrel with its activities. It is only when it seeks to achieve this object by spreading poison and hatred against other communities who are entitled under the law to equal protection from the Established Government and when it seeks to achieve its object by resort to unlawful or violent means then it pits itself against the forces of law and order. We cannot forget that it was partly if not largely the activities of this organisation that created psychological conditions which made possible the assassination of Gandhiji last year. If Government had not taken strong steps against this organisation when it threw a challenge against the established authority, it would have succeeded not only in spreading the communal virus, but in creating a situation in which it would have been impossible to maintain that balance between communities on which the existence of a secular State largely depends. None is more conscious than myself of the zeal and energy which lie contained in the youth of this organisation. I have made more than one appeal to the members of this organisation to give up their wrong methods and to follow constitutional means. The final reply to these appeals came in the form of the so-called *Satyagraha* movement of December last year. The House is fully aware of the subsequent history. I am glad that the Leader of the organisation accepted the suggestions made to him for the calling off of the movement. It now rests in his hand to retrace the steps which he has taken and to place the movement on cultural and lawful lines which would bring its activities within permissible limits. It is only then that we can satisfy ourselves that there has been that change and revolution in the mentality of the sponsors and followers of the R.S.S. movement which would make it no longer a threat to communal peace and security of the country. I should like also to acknowledge the assistance and co-operation which the general public have extended to us in dealing with this movement and to say that never did I expect our action to meet otherwise than with understanding and support from the general public.

So far as the *Akali Dal* is concerned, I have made my position quite clear in the speech which I delivered at Ambala and to which I would again invite the attention of the honourable Members. None can be more sympathetic to the claims of the Sikh community. None has done more to serve the cause of that community than myself. I have been their constant friend

and I am glad to say that they have been very considerate to me. I still recall with pleasure and gratitude the response that they made to my appeal at Amritsar at a very crucial time in the evacuation of mass populations between East and West Punjab. I fully appreciate their apprehensions and the disquiet with which they have to approach their position which has been so badly dislocated by the partition and its aftermath. I have nothing but admiration for the manner in which they have accommodated themselves to the new facts of geography and political history and to have settled down in the various spheres of life seeking new openings everywhere. It was, therefore, most painful to me that a section of the community was misled into putting their faith in a futile and harmful extremist policy of which Master Tara Singh was the exponent. We dealt with him and that section of the community with patience and forbearance and it was only when they took to overt acts of defiance of the law and became a serious threat to peace and security of the capital city that we had to take action. None would be happier than myself to see Master Tara Singh released but as I said at Ambala, the key to that lies in the hands of his followers. If they will convince him by their action of the utter futility and wrongness of the methods they are pursuing, it will not take long for Master Tara Singh to be released.

Perhaps I may say a word about the Muslims of India. Except for sporadic activities of their old organisations, such as the Muslim League and the Muslim National Guards, which I think they would do well to forget and give up in the light of present conditions, they have on the whole kept the peace of the country and have settled down, somewhat disillusioned but more or less willingly to their new loyalties. I can assure them that, so long as they behave as loyal citizens of this country, they shall have every protection to their life, property and religion, which this Government can extend to them. No better proof of this could have been given than by the steps we took to guarantee their safety in the City of Delhi itself. We willingly agreed to keep their houses vacant against the return of those who had fled to Pakistan, although a large number of homeless refugees were at our hands. The work of restoration of mosques, which has been virtually completed and the one-way traffic of the return of refugees from Pakistan, are sufficient testimony to the peace and amicable relations which prevail in this country. High posts, both in the Army and Civil Service as well as in public life, continue to be shared by them. Thus, the cause for which Gandhiji fasted and for which he had to lay down his life, has been fulfilled. In return for all this, the State does not expect from the Muslims anything more than what it demands from other communities, namely, a complete and unquestioned loyalty to their State. I feel certain that the more the Muslim community settles down peacefully and loyally the greater would be the impression that they would create on the majority community and their position would be much more secure and safe and free from any apprehension.

As regards the Communists, the House has already heard the statement which the Prime Minister made on the floor of the House the other day. I should like to assure the House that we do not seek to exterminate the ideology underlying Communism. Our quarrel with them is in regard to the methods which they employ, those anti-social and anti-national activities which they pursue with such ruthlessness and remorselessness. Their philosophy is to exploit every situation to create chaos and anarchy, in the belief that, in such conditions, it would be possible for them to seize power. We have seen, alas, only too well how their methods have been put into force with such violence in the neighbouring countries in the Far East. I have no doubt that the House will not in any way tolerate those methods in this country. We are wedded to constitutional progress and peaceful means.

[Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel]

It is open to the Communists to use those means to change the social order, or to change the Government, but if they resort to other methods or means, violent, treacherous and mischievous, then Government must take up that challenge and suppress them with all the forces at their command. I am glad that the country has solidly stood behind Government in dealing with this threat. Their attempts to stage strikes have generally been unsuccessful. Where we have dealt with such threats with firmness and determination, we have generally succeeded in achieving our object with popular support. I have no doubt that, if we continue to follow the same, as I hope to, so long as I am here, we shall be able to deal with this threat to internal security successfully and efficiently.

I know that another question has been agitating the Members of this House, namely, the question of Civil Liberties. Faced with the threats to which I have referred and the aftermath of partition, both Central and Provincial Governments had no alternative but to resort to the extraordinary powers which they have taken under the various Public Safety Acts. These Acts are temporary in duration and come up for review before their respective Legislatures from time to time. Even so, they have been designed for an emergency and are being treated as such. They have been used very sparingly. The number of persons detained, considering the size of the country and the magnitude of dangers that it is passing through, must be considered extraordinarily small. On the 15th February, for which statistics are readily available, the total number of persons detained for communal activities such as the R.S.S.S. was 1,400, and for Communist activities 1,611. The latter figure may have gone up as a result of the preventive measures taken by Government to deal with the threat of Railway strike. But I am sure the House will agree that, considering the dangers with which we were faced, these are comparatively insignificant figures. We have advised Provincial Governments that they should set up administrative tribunals to ensure that the actions of the Executive authority are properly scrutinised and confirmed. If these actions are scrutinised by a tribunal appointed as suggested by us, the danger of Civil Liberties being jeopardized unreasonably will be minimized. In the Centrally Administered Areas also, we have recently taken that step, and I hope the House will be satisfied that, whatever action we have had to take was dictated by a painful necessity, and that the moment the threats become a thing of the past, these extraordinary powers would also disappear.

As early as May 1947 I impressed on Provincial Governments the necessity for so organising their Police force as to render it unnecessary for them to call in the Army in aid of the Civil power. I am glad to inform the House that the Provincial Governments have generally accepted this advice and that they have made substantial additions to their Police force at not inconsiderable cost to the Provincial revenues. The result has been that the occasions for calling in the Army have been very few, and generally the new forces combined with the old ones have succeeded in maintaining intact the peace of the country.

I should now like the House to compare the conditions which existed on the 15th August 1947 and those that exist today. But before doing that I should also like to draw the attention of the House to the fact that I have not touched on the question of the possibility of the large-scale disturbances anticipated when we were compelled to take police action in Hyderabad. All those forebodings of friends and foes had been set at nought and we are glad to say that there was no untoward incident throughout the country during that period.

I was asking the House to compare the conditions that existed on the 15th August 1947 and the conditions today. Immediately after independence, we were engulfed in a period of turmoil and uncertainty of which there was no parallel. We were wondering whether we would be able to weather the storm. We lived through those troublous times. Hardly had we turned the corner, when we were faced with the greatest tragedy which has ever engulfed this country, or for that matter, any other, namely the loss of the Father of the Nation. We kept our body and mind together and succeeded in meeting that crisis as well. Then came the challenge of the R.S.S.S. and the Communists, which is also under control. We have thus reached a degree of internal stability, which no one would have dared to predict on the 15th August 1947. There are immense tasks ahead, especially in the economic field, and if Government is to succeed in improving the economic conditions in the country, it is essential that there must be complete peace and order. It is my desire, and it is my ambition, to produce those conditions, so that this country of ours can settle down to the tasks of peace with as much enthusiasm, single-mindedness of purpose and devotion to duty as the conditions demand. It would be idle to pretend that every thing is well with the country but I can make bold to say that so far as internal peace and tranquillity are concerned the country is not faced with any serious threat now. We can take the measure of our enemy and deal with him from whichever quarter he may come but I can assure the House that we shall not relax either our vigilance or our preparedness.

I have now given the House an account of the manner in which we have been able to maintain intact the administrative machinery and the peace and security of the country. I shall not be able within the short time at our disposal to deal with many other problems of a comparatively minor character in which the House may be interested. I can assure the House that it is our earnest desire to improve upon our performance and not in any way relax our efforts to place the country on a solid and sound foundation, so that it can by its own exertions carve out for itself a future of peace, prosperity and contentment. In achieving this goal the country will no doubt be faced with difficult and sometimes almost impossible tasks. But as long as we maintain our solidarity, sense of public service and self-sacrifice I have no doubt that we shall continue to march on the road to progress. The country needs today sustained efforts to exploit successfully the peaceful situation in which it finds itself. If we fail to avail ourselves of this opportunity we shall have none to sympathise with us and no one else to blame but ourselves.

I would now commend the grants for the Home Ministry for the vote of the House.

Mr. Speaker: In view of the shortness of the time at our disposal, I propose to place a time limit of ten minutes for speeches.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta (Delhi): Sir, may I request you to give at least 15 minutes so far as the Centrally administered areas are concerned.

Mr. Speaker: As I have very often said, I would prefer a smaller number but longer speeches but the desire of the House seems to be to have a larger number of speakers to express their views. In the circumstances, I have no alternative but to curtail the time limit of the speeches and I would therefore request honourable Members to restrict their remarks strictly to the time limit. I shall not be able to extend the time limit particularly today as the debate on this Ministry is to end at 3-30 P.M. and the honourable Minister would require 30 minutes for his reply.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: Sir, as the honourable Member comes from a place which is directly administered by the Home Ministry he may be given a concession in time.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (U.P.: General): Sir, I have given notice of certain cut motions. Are the cut motions to be taken up first or is this discussion of the cut motions to be followed by a general discussion?

Mr. Speaker: The honourable member is at perfect liberty to move his cut motions. As I have already called upon Deshbandhu Gupta to address the House I will allow the honourable Member next to move his cut motion.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I do not care when I am asked to speak but I should like to know as a matter of procedure whether specific items should be considered first and the general discussion should follow or is this order to be reversed?

Mr. Speaker: Unfortunately the honourable Member did not happen to catch my eye in the beginning, otherwise I would have permitted a discussion on the cuts in the beginning. But after Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta has spoken I will take his cut motion and then the discussion will go on.

لانا دیس بندھو گیتا : میں ہوم منسٹر صاحب کو انکے سندر بھاشن پر اس بیان پر جو سبران کے پاس بوجھا گیا ہے ہاروک بدھائی دیتا ہوں - حقیقت یہ ہے جناب سپیکر صاحب ! کہ جہاں تک ہوم منسٹر صاحب کا تعلق ہے جو نہ صرف ہوم منسٹر ہیں بلکہ سارے ملک کے مساء لیڈر ہیں اور اس میں ذرا بھی شک نہیں ہے کہ آج اگر ہمارا دیس سکھ اور شانتی کی نیند سو رہا ہے، اگر آج یہ ہوتے ہوئے بھی کہ ارد گرد کے دوسرے ملکوں مثلاً برما اور چین میں چاروں طرف آگ لگی ہوئی ہے اور بدامنی پھیلی ہوئی ہے ہمارا دیس ان مصیبتوں سے بچتا ہوا ہے اور یہاں امن چین ہے تو اسکا بہت بڑا فخر ہمارے ہوم منسٹر صاحب پر ہے -

جناب صدر ! انہوں نے جو باتیں کہی ہیں اور صحت کی خرابی کے ہوتے بھی اس ایک سال کے عرصے میں ملک کی بڑی بڑی کٹھن سسٹیاں کو سلجھانے کی جو کوشش کی ہیں میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ انہیں کا حصہ ہے - اور یہی وجہ ہے کہ اس میں ذرا بھی کلام یا سندیہ نہیں ہے کہ آج نہ صرف یہ ہاوس بلکہ سارا دیس ان کے پیچھے ہے - جو قدم نہیں نے دیس کے امن کی حفاظت کے لئے اٹھائے ہیں انکے پیچھے دیس کے ۳۵ کروڑ آدمیوں کی آواز ہے - اسلئے میں انکو ہاروک بدھائی دیتا ہوں - سروسز کے بارے میں جناب صدر ! انہوں نے جو کچھ فرمایا ہے اس میں شک نہیں ہے کہ سروسز میں بھی یتراشکتی تبدیلی لانے کی کوشش کی گئی ہے - اور بدلے ہوئے حالات کے ساتھ وہ بھی بدلے ہیں - میں ایسے لوگوں کی دل سے قدر کرتا ہوں، میں ایسے بہت افسران کو جانتا ہوں جو کہ رات دن اس اسپرٹ سے کام کرتے ہیں جس اسپرٹ سے ہمارے ہوم منسٹر صاحب کام کرتے ہیں لیکن یہ ماننا پڑتا کہ باوجود اس کے جہانتک سروسز کا تعلق ہے انہیں اتنی تبدیلی نہیں ہوئی جتنی کہ ہونی چاہئے تھی

جیسا میرے دوست مسٹر تیاگی نے ابھی کہا ہے - مجھے معلوم ہے اور میں سمجھتا ہوں مجھ سے زیادہ خود ہوم منسٹر صاحب کو اس کا احساس ہے کہ ہمارے پروسز میں جو دوسری قومیں ہیں وہاں کی سروسز کی اسپرٹ یہاں کی سروسز سے مختلف ہے جو لوگ ہمارے ہاں سے وہاں گئے تھے وہ وہاں سے یہ اثر لیکر آئے ہیں کہ وہاں کی سروسز کے لوگوں کی یہ دھن ہے کہ ہمارے ایک نیا قومیں بنانا ہے ہمیں پاکستان کو مضبوط بنانا ہے اور وہ اس کے لئے اڑھک کام کرتے ہیں - لیکن مجھے افسوس ہے کہ جہانتک ہمارے ہاں کی سروسز کا تعلق ہے یہ بات یہاں نہیں پائی جاتی، انکا دھنگ ابھی تک نہیں بدلا ہے - حالانکہ اسے بھی اب بدلنا چاہئے - آج اگر آپ سیکریٹریٹ میں جا کر دیکھیں تو پتہ لگے گا کہ بہت سے لوگ ایسے ہیں جنکے پاس پورا کام نہیں ہوتا - وہ خالی بیٹھے رہتے ہیں اور انہیں اس بات کی فکر نہیں ہوتی کہ آج انکے ایک ایک گھنٹہ کا بوجھ قومی خزانہ پر پڑتا ہے -

جناب صدر ! اب میں سنٹرل ایڈمنسٹریٹو ایریاز کے حالات کی طرف ہوم منسٹر صاحب کی توجہ دلانا چاہتا ہوں - جہانتک سنٹرل ایڈمنسٹریٹو ایریاز کا تعلق ہے پچھلے سال بھی جناب صدر ! میں نے نئی دہلی اور دہلی کے ساتھ اجیر اور گروک اور دوسرے علاقوں کی شکایات بیان کی تھیں - مجھے افسوس ہے کہ ابھی تک جہانتک ان علاقوں کا تعلق ہے اگرچہ انکے لئے نہ صرف ہوم منسٹر صاحب براہ راست ذمہ دار ہیں بلکہ دوسرے منسٹروں کا بھی ان سے تعلق ہے لیکن ابھی تک انہیں یہ محسوس کرنے کا موقع نہیں دیا گیا کہ یہاں کی جلتا کو بھی سوراچھ ملا ہے - آپ کو جناب صدر ! اس پورے دو سال کے عرصے میں کئی پولیٹیکل کانفرنسوں یہاں منعقد ہوئی ہیں - جن میں یہ پرسناؤ پاس کئے گئے کہ ان علاقوں کو بھی اپنی حکومت کرنیکا حق دیا جانا چاہئے نیز دہلی میونسپل بورڈ دہلی کی ایڈوائزری کونسل دہلی پراونشل کانگریس کمیٹی نے اور اسی طرف اجیر کی پراونشل کانگریس کمیٹی نے ریڈولوشنوں کے ذریعہ یہ مطالبہ کیا ہے جناب والا ! دہلی کی آبادی بھی اب بہت بڑھ گئی ہے اندازہ کیا جاتا ہے کہ یہ اب ۲۰ لاکھ کے لگ بھگ ہو چکی ہے حکومت کو اس آبادی کا بھی خیال کرنا چاہئے اور یہاں کے ایڈمنسٹریشن میں مناسب تبدیلی کرنی چاہئے - اس میں شک نہیں کہ اس وقت دہلی میں کئی اعلیٰ افسران ہیں خاص طور پر ہمارے چیف کمشنر صاحب بہت توجہ سے کام کرتے ہیں چنانچہ انکے انتخاب پر میں ہوم منسٹر صاحب کو مبارکباد دیتا ہوں لیکن سوال یہ نہیں کہ افسران کیسے ہیں بلکہ یہ ہے کہ کیا دہلی ایڈمنسٹریشن یا اجیر ایڈمنسٹریشن میں یہاں کی جلتا کی آواز شامل ہے ؟ جناب صدر ! یہ پمفلٹ جو ہوم منسٹری کی جانب سے سرکولر کیا گیا ہے - میں نے اسے غور سے پڑھا ہے، اس میں چیف کمشنر کی ایڈوائزری کونسل کے کام کا بھی ذکر ہے اسکو دیکھنے کے بعد میں

[شری دیوش بلھو گپتا]

بہت معافی چاہتے ہوئے جناب ہوم منسٹر صاحب کی سیوا میں عرض کروں گا کہ میرا دو سال کا ایڈوائزری کونسل کا اتنا تلخ تجربہ ہے کہ اسکی بناء پر یہ کہنے پر مجبور ہوں کہ یہ ایک مذاق (farce) ہے۔

اب دو سال کے قریب ایڈوائزری کونسل کو بنے ہوئے ہوئے ہیں لیکن اس کی حالت یہ ہے کہ اسکے سامنے وقت پر بھرت بھی نہیں آتا گورنمنٹ جو اہم فیصلہ کرتی ہے وہ ایڈوائزری کونسل کے سامنے نہیں لائے جاتے اور نہ انکے بارے میں ایڈوائزری کونسل سے صلاح لی جاتی ہے، نیز ایڈوائزری کونسل نے اب تک جتنے پرستار پیش کئے ہیں میرے پاس انکی لسٹ ہے جناب صدر! چہ آٹھ آٹھ مہینے تک ان پرستاروں پر عمل درآمد نہیں ہوتا۔ ایک نہیں جناب صدر! اس پرکار کی اب تک مثالیں دیتے جاسکتی ہیں کہ جن سے یہ ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ ایڈوائزری کونسلیں محض تھونگ ہیں۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ ہم لوگ پہلے دن سے یہ مطالبہ کر رہے ہیں کہ سنٹرل ایڈمنسٹریٹو ایریاز کی حالت کو بھی درست کیا جائے اور نئے دھلی کا انتظار نہ کرتے ہوئے جس کے بننے میں دو سال یا تیس سال کا وقت صرف ہوگا موجودہ ایڈمنسٹریشن میں ہی ایسی تبدیلی کی جائے کہ دھلی اور اجیمیر میرواز کے لوگوں کو بھی یہ محسوس کرنیکا موقع ملے کہ ایڈمنسٹریشن میں انکی بھی آواز ہے۔

جناب صدر! دھلی میں پچھلے دو سال کے عرصے میں حکومت کی طرف سے جو اہم قدم اٹھائے گئے انہیں سامنے رکھتے ہوئے میں یہ کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ اس عرصے میں کبھی بھی ایڈوائزری کونسل کے سامنے انہیں پیش نہیں کیا گیا۔ اور نہ ہی اسکے پرستاروں پر دھیان دیا گیا چنانچہ پچھلے سال ایڈوائزری کونسل نے پرستار پاس کیا تھا کہ دھلی میں سرکٹ کورٹ ہونا چاہیئے لیکن آج تک اس پر عملدرآمد نہیں کیا گیا بلکہ ہوم منسٹری کے پمفلٹ میں یہ کہہ کر ٹال دیا گیا کہ سرکٹ کورٹ مکان نہ ملنے کی وجہ سے نہیں قائم ہو سکتا۔ میں عرض کروں گا کہ اس بات کا خیال نہیں کیا جاتا کہ دھلی کے کئی لوگوں کو ہر مہینے شام کی پہاڑیوں پر جاکر اپنے کیمز کی پھرونی کرنے میں کئی تکلیف اٹھانی پڑتی ہے۔

دھلی کی حالت یہ ہے کہ اسے پنجاب کے ساتھ نہ ہی کر دیا گیا ہے دھلی کی سروسز پہلے پنجاب سے لیجاتی تھیں حال میں یہ فیصلہ کیا گیا ہے کہ ۵۰ فیصدی سروسز پنجاب سے لیجائیگی اور پچاس فیصدی یو۔ پی سے شاید ہوم منسٹر صاحب کو معام ہو کہ یہ فیصلہ بھی ایڈوائزری کونسل کے مشورے سے نہیں کیا گیا۔ آج یہاں کے تمام افسران پنجاب اور یو۔ پی کے ہیں اور دھلی والوں کا ان میں کوئی دخل نہیں ہے۔

میں مودیانہ عرض کروں گا کہ مجھے راجدھانی کی مشکلات کا بخوبی اندازہ ہے۔ میں ایک منٹ کے لئے بھی یہ نہیں چاہتا کہ دھلی کے ایڈمنسٹریشن میں کوئی ایسی کمزوری آئے جس سے کہ مرکز کو مشکلات کا سامنا کرنا پڑے۔ میں یہ بھی نہیں چاہتا کہ آئیندہ جو کانستٹی ٹوشن (Constitution) بنے اس میں بھی کوئی ایسی باتیں رکھی جائیں کہ جن سے ہمارے سارے دیہوں کے رھتوں پر کوئی الٹا اثر پڑے۔ لیکن میں عرض کروں گا کہ ایسا کوئی راستہ نکالنا ہمارا فرض ہے جس سے دھلی والوں کی شکایت دور ہو آخر دھلی والوں نے بھی شروع سے ہر ایک مومینٹ (movement) میں حصہ لیا ہے۔ وہ بھی اس ملک کے باشندے ہیں۔ دوسرے صوبوں کے لوگوں کی طرح وہ بھی یہ حق رکھتے ہیں کہ انکے ایڈمنسٹریشن میں ان کی آواز ہو۔ آج حالت یہ ہے کہ دھلی والے ہر لحاظ سے گھاتے ہیں مثلاً کے طور پر پنجاب کی جانب سے پابندی لگانیکا یہ تمنہ ہے کہ دھلی سے آٹھ دس میل کے فاصلے پر جو چلا آٹھ روپیہ من بک رہا ہے۔ وہی دھلی میں تیرہ چودہ روپیہ من بک رہا ہے۔ روز کئی سو چھکڑے کھلے طور پر جاتے ہیں اور پنجاب سے چلا چھپا کر smuggle کر کے لاتے ہیں۔ ہم نے کئی بار درخواست کی کہ واشنگ کی اغراض کے لئے دھلی کو پنجاب میں شامل کر لیا جائے۔ لیکن اس پر کوئی غور نہیں کیا گیا۔ جتنی گھاتے کی باتیں ہیں (disadvantages) ہیں وہ سب دھلی کے لئے ہیں۔ دھلی کے لوگوں کے لئے سروسز میں جگہ نہیں ہے۔ یہاں تمام افسران یو۔ پی اور پنجاب سے لائے جاتے ہیں۔ یہاں کے اسٹوڈینٹس (students) کے لئے سروسز میں کوئی گنجائش نہیں۔ یونیورسٹی کی جو حالت ہے وہ کسی سے چھپی نہیں ہے۔ ایمپروومنٹ ٹرسٹ (Improvement trust) نے دس دس سال سے دھلی والوں کی زمینوں کو نوٹی فائی (notify) کر کے چھوڑا ہوا ہے۔ نہ وہاں انہیں لیتے ہیں نہ چھوڑتے ہیں بلکہ حالت یہ ہے کہ وہاں صفائی تک نہیں ہوتی اور نہ دھلی والوں کے لئے وہاں مکان بنانے کی سہولیت ہے۔ کہا جاتا ہے یہ سب کچھ لوجر انٹریسٹ (larger interest) میں ہو رہا ہے بجارے دھلی والوں کی کوئی آواز نہیں سنی جاتی۔ بجٹ (budget) میں جو پراویژن (provision) پوسٹ وار (postwar) ڈیولپ منٹ (development) کے لئے کیا گیا تھا وہ بھی کولڈ اسٹوریج (Cold storage) میں ڈال دیا گیا ہے۔ لہذا میں پھر درخواست کرتا ہوں کہ اب کوئی ایسا طریقہ نکالنا چاہیئے جس سے دھلی والوں کی آواز ایڈمنسٹریشن میں ہو۔ ہماری یہ مانگ ایک واجب (legitimate) مانگ ہے۔ اور اسکا انحصار جناب منسٹر صاحب پر ہے کہ وہ اسے کس حد تک منظور کرتے ہیں میں جانتا ہوں کہ ان کے دل میں بھی دھلی والوں کے لئے درد ہے۔ وہ دھلی والوں کے مخالف نہیں ہیں۔ ہمیشہ دھلی والے انہیں شردھا (श्रद्धा) کی نظر سے دیکھتے آئے ہیں۔ اب جب کہ دھلی والوں کو یہ محسوس رہا ہے کہ راج (राज) کو آج دو سال ہو جانے کے بعد بھی دھلی کے ایڈمنسٹریشن

[شری دیش بندھو گھتا]

میں دہلی والوں کی کوئی آواز نہیں ہے، تو وہ اس پر ہمدردانہ فور کریں گے اور اس کو اس وقت تک کے لئے ملتوی نہیں کر دیں گے جب تک کہ نیا کانسٹیٹیوشن نہیں بن جاتا۔

ہوم منسٹر صاحب کی خدمت میں میں ایک تجویز (suggestion) کر کے بیٹھ جاؤں گا۔ اور وہ یہ ہے کہ اگر آپ ایڈوائزری کونسل (Advisory council) کی جگہ اور کوئی بہتر سسٹم (system) جاری نہیں کر سکتے تو اس کے اختیارات کو تو آپ بڑھا سکتے ہیں۔ اور کم سے کم ایک بات تو کی جاسکتی ہے کہ ایڈوائزری کونسل کے ایک یا دو نمائندوں (Representatives) کو بھی ان مشوروں میں شریک کر لیا جائے کہ جب کہ دہلی کے ایڈمنسٹریٹیشن کے متعلق فیصلے کئے جاتے ہیں۔ پچھلے دور میں جبکہ کئی صوبوں پر سیکشن 93 (Section 93) کا اطلاق کیا گیا تھا تو وہی ایڈوائزرز (advisers) مقرر ہوئے تھے۔ ان کے اختیارات دہلی کی ایڈوائزری کونسل کے ممبروں کی نسبت بہت زیادہ تھے۔ کیا وہ اختیارات بھی انہیں نہیں دئے جاسکتے؟ دہلی کی ایڈوائزری کونسل کی حالت تو یہ ہے کہ دو سال ہو چکے ہیں۔ لیکن حکومت ابھی تک یہ فیصلہ بھی نہیں کر پائی کہ اس کے ممبروں کو کیا الؤنس (allowance) دیا جائے کرے۔ حالانکہ ایڈوائزری کونسل کی دو تین مہینہ میں ایک دن کے لئے ٹیک بار میٹنگ (meeting) ہوتی ہے۔ اور ممبروں کے لئے الؤنس کوئی اہمیت نہیں رکھتا لیکن حکومت کی سردمہری اس بات سے ظاہر ہے۔

آخر میں میرا امید کرتا ہوں کہ دہلی اور دیگر سیلکٹڈ ایڈمنسٹریڈ ایریز (Centrally administered areas) کی حالت پر چناب منسٹر صاحب غور فرمائیں گے اور جلد کوئی ایسا راستہ اختیار کریں گے کہ ان کی واجب شکایات دور ہوں۔

(English translation of the above speech).

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: I heartily congratulate the honourable Home Minister on his fascinating speech and the statement that has been circulated to Members. The truth is that so far as the Home Minister is concerned, he is not only the Home Minister but also the accredited leader of the whole country and there is not the slightest doubt that if our country is today enjoying the blessings of peace and happiness, if today, in spite of the fact that the other neighbouring countries such as Burma and China, are in flames and disorder reigns supreme there. Our country is free from such turmoil and peace prevails here, and the greatest credit for it goes to our honourable Home Minister.

In view of the things he has said and the efforts he has made to solve the most difficult problems of the country during the period of the last one year I feel that this redounds exclusively to his credit. And, this is the reason that without the least doubt or question he has today the backing not only of this House but of the entire country. The steps he has taken for the mainten-

ance of law and order in the country have the sanction behind them of the 35 crore people of the country. Hence, I offer him my hearty congratulations.

As regards the things he has stated about the services, there is no doubt that efforts have been made to bring about a change in the services as far as possible, and that, with the changed circumstances, they too have changed. I sincerely esteem such people. I know a good number of such officers who work day and night with the same spirit as that which actuates our honourable Home Minister. But it must be confessed that, in spite of all this, so far as the services are concerned, the change that has come about in them is not such as should have been expected, as has just been stated by my friend, Mr. Tyagi. It is known to me, and I think the honourable Home Minister himself knows it even better, the spirit of the services in the neighbouring Dominion is different from that of the services here. Those people from amongst us who went there have returned with the impression that the people in the services there are fired with the passion that they have to form a new dominion, that they have to make Pakistan strong and they work indefatigably to that end. But I regret to say that this is not the case with the services here. Their ways have not changed yet although a change is called for now in their case too. If you go to the Secretariat today you will find that there are a number of people who haven't got enough work. They keep sitting idle and it does not worry them that the burden of idle hours falls on the national exchequer.

Now I want to draw the attention of the honourable Minister to the conditions prevailing in the Centrally Administered Areas. In so far as the Centrally Administered Areas are concerned, last year too I related the grievances of Delhi and, along with Delhi, of Ajmer, Coorg and other areas. I regret to say that so far as these areas are concerned, although not only is the honourable Home Minister directly responsible for them but the other Ministers are also concerned, the people there have not yet been afforded an occasion to feel that they too have got the *Svarajya*.

Several political conferences have been held here during this period of about two years, wherein resolutions were passed demanding that these areas should also be granted the right of self-government. The Delhi Municipal Board, the Delhi Advisory Council, the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee and similarly the Ajmer Provincial Congress Committee have put forth that demand by means of resolutions. Sir, Delhi's population too has very much increased now. It is estimated to have gone up to 20 lakhs approximately. The Government should also consider this population factor and make a proper change in the administration of this area. There is no doubt that at this time there are several such officers in Delhi, particularly our Chief Commissioner, who work most diligently—I congratulate the honourable Home Minister on his selection of this officer—but the question is not what are the officers like but whether the people have any voice in the administration of Delhi or of Ajmer.

I have carefully read the pamphlet that has been circulated by the Home Ministry. It also mentions the work done by the Chief Commissioner's Advisory Council. Having noticed it I would very apologetically submit to the honourable the Home Minister that I have such a bitter experience of my two years' membership of the Advisory Council that I am constrained to say on the basis of that experience that it is a farce.

It is about two years now that the Advisory Council was formed but the position is such that even the budget does not come up before it in time. Whatever important decisions are made by the Government are not brought before the Advisory Council, nor is the Advisory Council consulted about them. Besides, I have a list of all such resolutions as have been brought forward by the

[Shri Deshbandhu Gupta]

Advisory Council. No action is taken on these resolutions for six or even eight months. Not one but innumerable instances of that kind could be cited which would prove that Advisory Councils are just a farce. This is the reason why we people are demanding from the very start that the condition of the Centrally Administered Areas should also be set right, and, without waiting for the new constitution, which would take two years or a year and a half to be ready, such modification be made in the existing administration that the people of Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara may have the occasion to feel that they too have a voice in the administration.

Keeping in view the important steps taken by the Government in Delhi during the past two years I can say that during this period they were never brought before the Advisory Council, nor was any attention paid to its resolutions. For instance, the Advisory Council passed a resolution last year that a Circuit Court should be established in Delhi but this resolution has not been given a practical shape to this day. The pamphlet issued by the Home Ministry simply puts it off by saying that the Circuit Court could not be founded by reason of non-availability of a building. I would submit that it has not been considered what inconvenience has to be suffered by a considerable number of people belonging to Delhi in going to the Simla Hills every month to conduct their cases.

The position of Delhi is that it has been made an appendage of the Punjab. The personnel for Delhi services was previously requisitioned from the Punjab. Recently it has been decided that 50 per cent. of the personnel for these services would be requisitioned from the Punjab and 50 per cent from the U.P. The honourable Home Minister might know that even this decision was not taken in consultation with the Advisory Council. Today all the officers here belong to the Punjab and U.P. and the people of Delhi have no share in the services.

I would respectfully submit that I fully appreciate the difficulties of the capital. Not for a minute would I have it that some such weakness might creep into Delhi administration whereby the Centre might have to face difficulties. Nor would I desire that any such provisions be made in the new constitution as might have some adverse effect upon the interests of our country as a whole. But I would submit that it is our duty to devise some such method whereby the grievance of Delhi people might be redressed. After all Delhi people have also taken part in every movement from the very beginning. They too are inhabitants of this country. Like the people in other provinces they too are entitled to have a voice in their own administration. The position today is that the Delhi people are losers in every respect. For example, the result of restriction on import of food-grains from the Punjab is that the grain that is selling at eight rupees per maund at a distance of eight or ten miles from Delhi is selling in Delhi at thirteen to fourteen rupees per maund. Daily hundreds of carts openly go out and smuggle in grain from the Punjab. We have represented time and again that Delhi should be included in the Punjab for purposes of rationing but no heed has been paid to this request. People of Delhi are thus put to all sorts of disadvantages and there is no place in the services for the people of Delhi. All officers are imported from U.P. and the Punjab. There is no scope in the matter of services for students belonging to Delhi. The condition of the University is not hidden from anybody. The Improvement Trust notified lands belonging to the people of Delhi, in some cases as far back as ten years, but the matter stands there. They would neither acquire them nor release them. On the

other hand the conditions are such that, not even sanitation is attended to nor are any facilities available for the people of Delhi to build houses. It is said all this is being done in the larger interests. No heed is paid to the cries of the poor people of Delhi.

The provision that was made in the Budget for post-war development has also been put in cold storage. Hence, I request again that some means should now be devised whereby the people of Delhi might have a voice in the administration. This demand of ours is a legitimate one and it is for the honourable Minister to see how far he can meet it. I know that he too has a soft corner in his heart for the people of Delhi. He is not hostile to them. The people of Delhi have always regarded him with reverence. Now that the people of Delhi are feeling that even after the lapse of two years since the advent of *Swarajya* they have no voice in the administration of Delhi it is hoped he would consider the matter sympathetically and not postpone it until after the framing of the new constitution.

I shall resume my seat after offering one suggestion to the honourable the Home Minister. It is this that if he cannot devise some better system in place of the Advisory Council he could, at least, enlarge its powers. At least one suggestion could be adopted, viz., that one or two representatives of the Advisory Council are consulted when decisions affecting the Delhi administration are taken. During the previous regime too, when section 93 was enforced, Advisers were appointed. They enjoyed much larger powers than the members of Delhi Advisory Council. Could they not even be vested with those powers? The position of the Delhi Advisory Council is such that although two years have elapsed the Government have not yet been able to decide what allowance should be paid to its members. Although the Advisory Council meets only once in two or three months, and that too just for a day, and the allowance has no value in the eyes of the members, yet this should afford an indication of the indifference shown on the part of the Government.

In the end, I hope that the honourable Minister would give consideration to the case of Delhi and other Centrally Administered Areas and soon devise some means to redress their genuine grievances.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Sir, may I move both my motions together?

Mr. Speaker: Yes.

Policy re Subversive Organisations

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Sir, I move:

"That the demand under the head 'Cabinet' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Policy re Military or Semi-Military Organisations established by Provincial Governments.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I further move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Sir, in February 1948 Government took action against certain organisations of a communal character and their policy generally speaking had the support of the country and of this House. The Deputy Prime Minister has told us that action was taken against them because of their subversive activities. The review of the work of the Ministry of Home Affairs that has been circulated to honourable Members says that the communal organisations to which I have referred, namely the R.S.S.S., the Muslim League National Guards and the *Khaksars*, were becoming a menace to the public peace and tranquillity and that therefore Provincial Governments were advised in February 1948 to declare these organisations unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908.

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru]

That policy, as the Deputy Prime Minister has told us, is still the policy of the Government of India. The other day, however, when my honourable friend Lala Deshbandhu Gupta put a Question about the arrest of the Communists, the Prime Minister who made a long reply said:

"Government have refrained from taking any action against the Communist Party of India as such in spite of a virulent propaganda and incitement to violence which the Communist Party members have indulged in. Where violence has been actually attempted or encouraged Government have taken action; such action has been limited to individuals who are connected with this violence or encouragement of violence."

He then went on to say,—I am quoting from his reply:

"The Communist Party of India has during the past year adopted an attitude not only of open hostility to Government but one which can be described as bordering on open revolt. The policy has been given effect to intensively in certain limited areas of India and has resulted in violence including murders, arson and looting as well as acts of sabotage. The House is well aware of the Communist revolts that have taken place in countries bordering on India. It was presumably in furtherance of the same policy that attempts were made in India to incite people to active revolt."

He added later on that:

"Government had a mass of evidence in their possession to indicate that organised attempts were being made to conduct campaigns of sabotage more especially on the railway system, and that the Communist Party had pursued a technique of terrorising those who did not agree with its policy."

Referring to the Dum Dum raids, he said that:

"After the Dum Dum raids, a meeting was held in the Calcutta maidan when under the auspices of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress which is a body dominated by the Communist Party, speakers urged the seizure of power by violent means. A student of the Bengal Provincial Students Federation which is also dominated by the Communist Party of India stated that a saboteur gang of students was ready for action."

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao (one of the Panel of Chairmen).]

Now, Sir, this reply shows that the action taken by the Communists was in pursuance of the policy of the Communist Party. It was not action taken by certain misguided individuals who called themselves communists or who belonged actually to the Communist Party, but action taken in furtherance of the policy of the Communist Party of India. Speaking at Puri on the 12th March, the Prime Minister said:

"The Communist objective was not inspired by a national standpoint but was at the behest of the interest outside India".

He said as politely as he could that the Communists were not interested in the welfare of the masses but were fifth-columnists acting contrary to the interests of their country. Yet, he told us that the policy of the Government was to take action only against individual Communists who were guilty of violence or incitement to violence.

I should like to understand the policy of the Government in this matter. Their policy should be consistent. I am sure that they cannot say that one policy is necessary in the interests of the country in the case of communal organisations and another policy is called for in the case of the Communist organisations. If the activities of both kinds of organisations are a menace to law and order, if they are detrimental to the vital interests of the country, is there any reason for dealing with them differently? I should like the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister to enlighten us on the policy of the Government in regard to this matter and to show how the policies followed by them in regard to the two sets of organisations are consistent.

Sir, in this connection I should like to make a suggestion before I proceed to the discussion of the question raised by my second motion. Government, I have no doubt, will be faced with increasing difficulties at least for some time to come. It is necessary therefore that the Central Intelligence Bureau should be in a position to collect information promptly about the activities of

subversive organisations and forewarn Government. The powers of the Bureau, however, are limited. I suggest that this Bureau should be given the powers of investigation that the Federal Bureau of Investigation possesses in the United States of America. If in America the existence of autonomous States has not militated against the existence of a Federal organisation with much greater powers than in India, I see no reason why Provincial autonomy should militate against the establishment of a similar organisation in this country. Again, as the staff of the Bureau has been considerably depleted, I suggest that some of the members who are on deputation in the Bureau and some other members should be sent to other countries like Britain and the U.S.A. to study modern methods of investigation. I hope, Sir, that this suggestion will receive the serious attention of the Government.

And now, Sir, I shall briefly discuss the question raised by me in my second motion which relates to the policy of Government in respect of military or semi-military organisations established by the Provincial Governments. We have read from time to time in the newspapers of various kinds of organisations started by the Provincial Governments. Their names may be different, but their purpose is the same, and that is to help in the maintenance of law and order, and to deal with emergencies as they may arise. The Deputy Prime Minister has told us in the course of his speech that in view of the special circumstances existing in the country, and the fundamental importance of maintaining peace in the country, he advised the provincial Governments to strengthen their police forces. It is a matter of pleasure to us to know that the Provincial Governments have followed the advice of my honourable friend in this connection, and we have no doubt that so long as he is in charge of the Home Ministry, adequate steps will be taken both by the Centre and by the Provincial Governments to see that peace and order in this land are not threatened by evil-doers of any kind. But it is rather surprising, Sir, that when the police forces, including the armed police force have been strengthened, the Provincial Governments which have not got an abundance of money should be spending large sums on establishing, organizing and training military or semi-military organisations. I do not possess, Sir, accurate information in regard to any province except my own—the United Provinces. The budget of the United Provinces Government tells us that it proposes to spend a sum of about Rs. 40 lakhs next year on an organisation called the *Prantiya Raksha Dal*. Now, taxes upon taxes are being levied there. I should like to know why, at a time like this, the Provincial Government is spending so large a sum of money on the establishing and training of this organisation. I should also like to know whether this organisation was established with the knowledge and approval of the Government of India, or whether the U.P. Government and the other Provincial Governments have taken the bit between their teeth and acted as they pleased. Sir, this *Prantiya Raksha Dal* is being trained on military lines. Officers who formerly belonged to the I.N.A. are training the members of this organisation. If it is necessary for the security of this country to have organisations trained on military lines, I suggest that the strength of the army should not be unduly reduced. It seems to me to be a danger, Sir, that the Provincial Governments should be allowed to maintain organisations of this kind. Two or three years ago it would have seemed impossible that any Provincial Government should dream of having such an organisation. But now, when conditions are normal—the firm action taken by the Deputy Prime Minister having placed law and order in the country on a firm footing—there is no reason why provincial governments should be permitted to start such organisations. I would add, Sir, before sitting down, that several Ministers of the U.P. Government have stated in the past that the *Prantiya Raksha Dal* is to consist of about twelve lakhs of volunteers. I understand that at present about 20,000 are under training, though I do not claim

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru]

my information on this point to be quite accurate. Even granting that some force other than the army is needed, or rather other than the army and the police forces is needed, to maintain the security of the country, do we really need a force which is to consist of 12 lakhs of people in the U.P.? Again, I would like to know whether this target figure of 12 lakhs has been fixed with the knowledge and approval of the Government of India. If the answer to this question is in the negative.....

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena (U.P.: General): It is a kind of national militia.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: It is not the business of the Provincial Government to have a national militia. It is the Central Government that must maintain a national militia. And in any case, if the Provincial Governments are to be given any administrative or other authority, they can have it only with the approval of the Government of India.

Sir, I have done; and I hope that the Deputy Prime Minister will be able to tell us what action he proposes to take in this respect. He knows as well as any of us, the uneasiness that exists both in the country and in this House on this score, and I trust, therefore, that he will take action to bring all organisations of this character, if it is necessary to maintain them, under the control of the Central Government, and not allow any other authority to maintain any force of this kind.

Mr. Chairman: Cut motions moved:

- (i) "That the demand under the head 'Cabinet' be reduced by Rs. 100."
- (ii) "That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs. 100."

The discussion on these will continue after 2-30 P.M.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

Dr. P. K. Sen (Bihar: General): Sir, the subject on which I expected to raise a discussion is the out-of-the-way subject of Prison reform. It is generally considered a very unimportant subject. We have attained independence, but people who have lost their independence by some anti-social act and have been confined in a prison appear to have lost all rights to consideration. There was in the olden days a great deal of indifference and apathy, but I feel that before a House like this one pleading for prison reform will have the utmost possible sympathy, because most of the members are quite aware of all the trials and tribulations which the prisoners have got to pass through. Therefore, I do expect that a sympathetic consideration will be extended to this subject. The very first question that may arise is: Why should this subject be raised here, because at the Centre there is nothing to be done. It is a Provincial subject and, therefore, it rests with the Provinces themselves to make proper arrangements with regard to prison reform. I am quite conscious of that, but the proposal that I wish to make here is really something that will convince the members, I dare say, that this reform can only come from the Centre. There is absolutely no trained jailor, warder, wardress, probation officer or parole officer at the present moment. If there is to be any prison reform at all, that prison reform must be on lines of individual treatment of prisoners; and that individual treatment must be a psychological treatment, not from the old antiquated point of view, that if a man has committed an offence, an anti-social act, the only way to deal with him is to put him within the walls of the prison and thus practically segregate him and save society from his depredations. This confusion of the mind can easily be dispelled. Thousands and thousands of prisoners are coming out every day from the prison and other thousands are taking their places by reason of their having been convicted for crime. Therefore, there is a constant commerce going on between those who are in prison

and those who are out of prison. We have not successfully segregated them at all. They are still members of our society and directly their terms of imprisonment have been worked out, they will come out and they will have all the privileges of free citizens. They will mix with others and contaminate society. Therefore, the apparent segregation is of no efficacy. Imprisonment is really no preventive at all to contamination of society. If we really want, therefore, that these people should come and become an acquisition to society, when they are released from prison, then they must be individually treated there. The point of view of the officers in charge should be not vengeance or punishment or expiation of their offence, but really correction and rehabilitation. It is the uplifted rod in which the prison staff believes. From the jailor downwards to the humblest man who is on the staff of the jail, they all believe only in the uplifted rod. They know that if they can come down on these prisoners and keep them in their proper places and get the quantity of work allotted to them, by extraction, as it were, by those means, then alone their duty will have been done. I say this with a full sense of responsibility, because I have visited prisons all over India, and I have visited prisons in foreign countries also. It has been the subject of my study for years—and I say this with confidence that in India at the present day, the amount of indifference that is shown towards prison reform is something astounding. Nowhere in any part of India, is the up-to-date method followed or prescribed. I do not mean by 'up-to-date method' that you must necessarily imitate everything from the West. But by adaptation and by acceptance of the principles which have been laid down in the old Hindu Penology, which really rose to a very high level, by acceptance of those principles and also by acceptance of the principles which obtain today in the Western world, we can make prisons a different place altogether from what they are at the present day. Now, in order to do this, I submit that the one thing needful is to have an Institute for the proper training of jailers, warders, wardresses, probation officers, parole officers and the like. In order to have that, I submit that the only place from which reform can start is the Centre. Each province cannot afford to have a Training Institute of that kind. It will be terribly expensive and, therefore, I submit that this function belongs to the Centre and to the Centre alone. If there is a Central Institute of training, then we can have all the officers necessary for the different provinces recruited from this institute. (*Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: 'Even for warders? A central Institute for warders?'*) Yes, Warders are most important—A central institute for the training of jailors, warders, wardresses and every one that is responsible for the individual treatment of a prisoner, because the treatment will now have to be, not by inflicting fear, not by inspiring terror into the hearts of the prisoners, but by inspiring confidence, power of initiative, self-reliance and also an ambition to deserve well of the society against which he has committed the anti-social act. I will not take more time. I have briefly placed my proposition before the House and I do hope that the Government at the Centre will take some notice of this great demand from every part of India.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: Mr. Speaker, I had no intention of taking part in the debate, but I was stunned to hear the speech of my honourable friend Pandit Kunzru on the cut motion which he has moved. I think those who heard him speak must have felt that the Premier of my province, the Honourable Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant was raising an army of 12 lakhs of persons to march on Delhi and capture the capital for himself. But I would invite the attention of Pandit Kunzru to page 35 of the Review of Home Affairs of the Government of India. He will find there the information which he tried to give the Minister for Home Affairs already printed. The Review says:

"At the instance of the Government of India, the Provincial Governments undertook the task of modernising the arms and equipment of their Police Forces and Home Guards, etc. This Ministry have assisted them in the procurement of arms and ammunition and wireless equipment."

[Prof. Shibban Lal Saxena]

* Then in paragraph 8, the Review states:

"In response to a widespread demand from the public for auxiliary police, in which they could serve and be of help to the Government in times of emergency for the maintenance of law and order, schemes for Home Guards were drawn up both for Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara and a beginning was also made in the recruitment of Home Guards. It was, however, found that in order to be effective, the Home Guards had to be trained and equipped for full-time duties. This made the cost of the Home Guards as much as that of similar units of armed police and moreover, suitable volunteers were not forthcoming in adequate numbers. The Home Guards organisations in the two provinces have therefore been wound up and it has been decided to replace them by *Prantiya Raksha Dal*, which would be less costly and at the same time of a larger size. The scheme for a *Prantiya Raksha Dal* for Ajmer has already been drawn up by the Chief Commissioner in consultation with his Advisory Council and has been approved by the Standing Advisory Committee attached to this Ministry. Further steps to implement the scheme are being taken. The Delhi Administration has been asked to frame a similar scheme."

From this it is obvious that what the United Provinces has done is not only known to the Home Minister but that he has appreciated it, and has asked the Centre to introduce it in Ajmer and Delhi. So the information which he brought to the notice of the Home Minister is stale. I would ask him to acquaint himself with this scheme which I consider to be the most important of the schemes evolved during the last 18 months by the Congress Government in my province. Its purpose is to train 12 lakhs of volunteers in the one lakh of villages of my province in the use of modern arms. Each village will have a unit of 12 volunteers under a captain or naik. In this way there will be 12 lakhs of people trained in the use of arms. The U. P. Government provided 55 lakhs of rupees in the last year's Budget and in this year's Budget there is provision for Rs. 44 lakhs. With this sum of rupees 99 lakhs spread over two years they have been able to create a force of 12 lakhs of people trained in the use of fire-arms and spread over in one lakh villages. These people have been also given training in physical drill which helps them to serve the villagers with greater efficiency and in a disciplined manner.

Sir, my Premier, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant has got many great schemes to his credit. One of these is the holding of elections to the Village Panchayats. About 3 crores of voters elected about 35 lakhs of representatives for the panchayats in almost all the one lakh villages of my province. Every village will now have self-rule and it is obvious that these panchayats should have some volunteers at their service. The P. R. D. Volunteers will fulfil this need. I think that this system is the most economical too. In fact I remember last year Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, our Congress President, brought before this House a resolution for raising a National Militia and the House appreciated it and wanted the Government to take steps to put that scheme into operation. But imagine the cost of a National Militia on full military scale. Probably it will cost crores of rupees. In Russia where there is a huge army and compulsory military training, they will spend Rs. 4,500 crores on the military budget this year which is 30 times our military budget. And our Central Government has not been able to do much so far in the direction of raising this National Militia. But my province has demonstrated how a National Militia can be raised with the utmost quickness and with very little cost. The Premier of my province, the Honourable Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant has been able to train 12 lakhs of people in one lakh of villages at a cost of only 99 lakhs during a period of 18 months. And yet he is criticised here where he is not present to reply and we are told that he is having this army which is objectionable. I see that the honourable the Home Minister has already copied this scheme of Pandit Pant in Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara. I hope he would recommend it to all Provinces. Pandit Kunzru is alarmed at the figure of 12 lacs. But the Premier of my

Province aims at providing such voluntary military and civil training to every adult in my province and I long for the day when that dream of his is realised, and we have not only 12 lacs but nearly four crore adults in my province trained in civic duties and self defence with the use of modern arms. The enthusiasm for the P.R.D. Movement is so great that the volunteers pay half the cost of their uniform and part of their training expenses are realised from public subscriptions. Of course I would agree with Pandit Kunzru if he wants that the schemes of this nature in all the provinces should be co-ordinated and should be brought under the control and guidance of the Military Department of the Centre. Military officers should be lent to the provinces for the purpose of training and there should be liaison officers also. The Centre should also give financial help and should provide sufficient arms. Such a force will be very useful in times of emergency. In these circumstances, to say that the force is intended to march on Delhi or to be a rival to the military forces of the Central Government is not correct. It would be a valuable auxiliary to the military forces as millions of British Home Guards were in Britain during the War. I have been personally connected with this movement in my own district of Gorakhpore with 20 lac population. We have 50,000 P. R. D. volunteers. Only three days back on the 14th of this month I visited a camp where 600 men of my district were being trained. These were the group leaders each of whom has been entrusted with training 50 volunteers in four villages. I was surprised to see the change brought about by the P. R. D. force in Gorakhpore where the people were usually afraid of Police and the zamindars. Now the position has completely changed. They are now able to stand erect in the face of goondas of the villages. Grazing offences and the like have very much diminished in number. They are also able to assist the Police in many places. I therefore think that this scheme is a very useful one and fit to be copied by all provinces. In any case this should not be criticised. I request Pandit Kunzru to withdraw his motion, because he has been misinformed about this scheme. Pandit Kunzru knows that I am not a blind supporter of my Government, but where praise is due, it must be given.

Regarding the rest of the Demands I think our Home Minister has given a very able speech. I do not think I need say anything about it. I welcome the promise he has made of extending the civil liberties. We should see to it that nobody is kept in prison without adequate cause, and without trial.

I support the Demand.

Sardar Hukam Singh (East Punjab: Sikh): Sir, I have listened with rapt attention to the references made by the honourable Minister for Home Affairs to the Sikh community. I am glad to find that he recollects all right the response given by the Sikhs at a very critical time. It is also gratifying to note that the honourable Minister was pained to order the arrest of Master Tara Singh. No body denies that he had a soft corner for the Sikh community. This is not alleged by anybody that he has changed. If that be so then I can assure him that the Sikhs have also not changed including Master Tara Singh. They are true to the Government and the country and faithful to him as they were in 1947. The Sikh community has the same regard and respect for him as it had before. I hope he would concede this much as well that the Sikhs have not lagged behind in any fight for freedom that the country has launched; rather they can be proud that their contribution towards the winning of freedom was greater, considering their numbers, than that of any other community.

The complaint is that, as some Press journals put it, after the partition of the country the Sikhs were only an over-blamed people, but now they are over-misrepresented and over-misunderstood. That is my submission. I might

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make it clear from the very start that they have no suppressive inclinations. They do not ask for a separate State. They are not disruptionist. This may be understood very clearly. Violence is far from their ideas. Their only fault is that they are straightforward, they are frank to the core, and therefore they have been misunderstood in certain quarters.

What has brought about this misunderstanding? I will come to the reasons that I think have contributed to this undesirable result. One reason can be found at page 31 of this Review. It says that on the 3rd April the Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) passed a Resolution to regulate communal organisations. Action according to that Resolution was deferred till the Constitution was passed, but certain orders were issued and they are:

"(a) No notice should be taken by Government and its officers, local bodies, State-aided institutions etc. of petitions or representations from communal organisations on political matters.

(b) Interviews should be denied to leaders of communal organisations who wish to make representations on political matters. Deputations of such communal organisations should not be received by any Minister or officers of Govt."

In my estimation that is one of the causes that has led to his misunderstanding. If as they say expression of one's mind is a safety valve for any resentment or anger, if open discussion had been allowed, if Master Tara Singh had been allowed to interview the Ministers and particularly the honourable Minister for Home Affairs who, even Master Tara Singh believes, has got a soft corner for the Sikh community, certainly he would have placed all that he desires and after discussion of those matters, something useful must have come out. Either he might have given up his stand, or perhaps if his position was considered reasonable, that might have been considered by the honourable Minister. I may say at this moment that I can claim that the Sikhs are not communal. If the honourable Minister were to give me time, I am prepared to explain it to him, or if he does not get time himself, if he were to ask me to interview some other honourable Member of this House, I am prepared to place all the demands that the Sikhs desire, and I am sure that nobody would say that any of those demands are communal. I am certain their demands are just to be adjusted in the framework of the Constitution,—the principles that you have already conceded—and I am sure if any impartial gentleman were to hear them he would not say that these are things that ought to be decried. There is no time, so I will not go into those demands at present, but I do desire and request that these things should be carefully gone into and proper appreciation should be made of the facts that really exist, and the desires and anxieties that are present in the minds of the Sikhs. Simply by telling them that you should not feel any anxieties and you should do this or simply by slogans that there are no minorities, this thing cannot go. So my humble submission is that these things can be very easily understood and for once they are understood I am sure most of the trouble would go.

Then, what is the second thing that has brought about this misunderstanding? The Sikhs are a poor community.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar: General): What are the demands, Sir?

Sardar Hukam Singh: If I am permitted I will go into them, but it cannot be done within the time at my disposal.

Mr. Speaker: The honourable Member has only four minutes left.

Sardar Hukam Singh: The second thing that has brought about this misunderstanding is that the majority community in the Punjab do not allow the real facts to come out in the Press but they are misrepresented and therefore that has the effect on all other Indians here. I can assure the House that I have had an opportunity of talking to certain honourable Members of this House and to as many as I have spoken to, they have agreed without any exceptions that these demands are reasonable and should be considered.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: I want to know those demands.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Yes, Sir. I can tell you.

Mr. Speaker: He may know those demands from him later on.

Shri Gopikrishna Vijayavargiya (Madhya Bharat): It is not high time that these minority questions should be given up?

Mr. Speaker: Let him proceed.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Thirdly, Sir, the reason that brought about this untoward arrest of Master Tara Singh is, I believe, the undecisive and wavering attitude of the District Magistrate during those fifteen days when he was corresponding or negotiating with the organisers of this Conference. I can tell you, Sir, that the letter that he wrote on 17th of January and 9th of February stated therein clearly that there would be no objection to a meeting of their committee if it was held in Delhi. Later on it was demanded on the 19th in a letter written on 18th February but delivered on the 19th at 6 A.M. that permission would be necessary to hold a meeting and for granting permission time, date and place would be required. Before the letter asking for this information was received, a complaint had already appeared in the *Hindustan Times* of that day that the organisers had not intimated, that they had not replied to that letter. The letter asking for information was delivered later but the complaint was published earlier. Then even, for that committee meeting permission was applied for and then it was another letter came saying that permission for Gurdwara Rikabganj could not be given but if another venue was chosen, permission would be given. The Sikhs were prepared to go to that extent as well and they decided to hold it in another place. They were running after the Deputy Commissioner, but before that, he had precipitated matters by the arrest of Master Tara Singh. My submission is that if in the very beginning it had been made clear that permission could not be granted in Delhi even for the holding of this meeting, then certainly matters would not have come to this pass, as they have done.

Then again, my second point is that the letter of the Deputy Commissioner dated 9th February raised certain apprehensions (and there is still even) in the minds of the Sikhs, as to their rights to hold meetings in a Gurdwara, because the letter said:

"Government are surprised that it should be the intention now to hold the Conference in a Gurdwara."

Secondly, it said:

"We would be prepared to permit a purely religious *Divan* to be held in a Gurdwara."

Now I am trying to submit that the Sikhs consider that so far as purely religious *diwans* are concerned, the Government should not have that discretion and it has never exercised it so far. It is purely for the community. If they want to hold a purely religious *diwan* then certainly it should not be within the discretion of the District Magistrate to say that he would be prepared to permit it. That means that he assumes that he has the discretion to permit or not to permit even a purely religious gathering of the

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Sikhs in a Gurdwara. I might submit at this moment, that the order that has banned all these meetings—the assembly of five or more persons—does not exempt even the morning prayers. It says all assemblies of five or more persons. We have certain processions which are more or less religious ceremonies: but there are no exceptions made, not even with regard to the morning daily prayer.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: This is also a ceremony!

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let there be no interference.

Sardar Hukam Singh: I do not care if the honourable Member says that it is also a ceremony. To my mind a ceremony is a different thing. What is political and what is purely religious, are mingled together and this has brought about the trouble on the 2nd March in Amritsar. There was a certain congregation there. They said they were going to offer prayers for the good health of Master Tara Singh and his early release. The ministers of the Gurdwara said they would not allow it, so there was a clash and trouble. So it is difficult to say whether offering prayers for a certain thing is religious or political. I can assure the honourable Members who are interfering that our *Netas*, who occupy the highest position in the country nowadays, have always been using these Gurdwaras for public meetings, for Congress programmes, for political discussions. Even the revered Mahatma Gandhi did use those Gurdwaras. When during the days of 1942 there was no other platform Dr. Kitchlew used to go there.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I think there will be no end to this discussion. The honourable Member has already exceeded his time by three minutes.

Sardar Hukam Singh: My submission is that the Sikhs feel an apprehension that even their legitimate rights of religious liberty have been interfered with in this way. It had been given out at first that religious *Diwans* would be allowed but ultimately that was banned and before anything could be done the matter was precipitated by the arrest of Master Tara Singh, and things could not be brought to a desirable conclusion.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Is it a fact that the representative of the Sikhs gave an undertaking to the Chief Commissioner and the Chief Commissioner had made it perfectly clear to them that there would be no interference so far as religious ceremonies and *diwans* were concerned?

Sardar Hukam Singh: I have all the correspondence if he wants to see it.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let there be no discussion.

Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal Bhargava (Ajmer-Merwara): This morning we had a very lucid statement of the achievements of the Home Ministry. If we keep in mind the history of the past fifteen months, no one can help paying the highest tribute to the great achievement of this Department under the leadership of the veteran, Sardar Sahab. In fact, Sir, the structure of the Services has been reorganized and the Administrative Civil service and the Secretariat services have been remodelled on a very good design, after it had undergone the strain of the transfer of powers as also the strain of partition. This was in itself a great achievement. That will go down in history as a bulwark that maintained the National Government. Without an efficient administrative service, no Government can stand.

The other achievement, and in no way less glorious, is the way in which the period of civil disturbances, of unprecedented character in the history of this country has been successfully tided over, consequent on migration and influx of refugees and mass communal disturbances on a very large scale.

Now, Sir, coupled with this there was a threat to disrupt and disintegrate the political unity of this country, inasmuch as no less than 562 States were let loose as the forces of disruption, and it was the unique statesmanship of the veteran Sardar Sahab that brought about the political unity of the country.

Now, Sir, these are the greatest achievements of this leader which will go down in history and which is unparalleled in the annals of the world.

With regard to administration of centrally administered areas, my friend, Shri Deshbandhu Gupta, has already drawn the attention of the honourable Minister. In fact, Sir, the problem of these centrally administered areas is comparatively of such small importance to the Government as compared with problems of all-India wide importance, that they have not received due attention yet. Grievances have been ventilated from the platform of the Assembly as also from the platform of political conferences and Provincial Congress Committees held from time to time in these areas, requesting for the establishment of a responsible Government in these areas almost on democratic lines. But for one or other reason this has not been possible so far. It must be admitted that the regime that prevails today is of an autocratic and bureaucratic type and it does not differ in character much from the administrative machinery that existed in these areas during the British period. They are the conclaves of bureaucratic regimes and the advisory councils that were introduced in these areas for the first time on the advent of the Interim Coalition National Government has outlived the utility for which they were established. In fact, Sir, every criticism that has been levelled against the character of these advisory councils by my friend, Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta, has full and wholehearted support from me. In fact, Sir, the time has come when these advisory councils may either be ended or mended on democratic lines, otherwise there is no use in keeping them in the present form.

So far as Ajmer is concerned, in the booklet that has been circulated by the Ministry of Home Affairs, we find that the merger of Ajmer and Coorg and Panth Piploda is under consideration of the Government of India. I would like to place before the House and the honourable Minister the views of the people of Ajmer in this concern.

In the year 1947 as also in the year 1948, there have been a number of political conferences where this demand of the people of Ajmer-Merwara has been repeated in unequivocal and unambiguous terms that Ajmer is linguistically, culturally, geographically, historically and strategically a part of the province of Rajasthan. As such when the question of the formation of Rajasthan comes into the picture Ajmer should have its due place therein. I am not unaware of the great difficulties that stand in the path of the Ministry but all the same the question has to be tackled and it has to be considered as to what is the proper stage at which this question of merger is to be taken into consideration. So far as the pamphlet circulated by the Ministry is concerned it is already said that the matter of merger is under the consideration of the Ministry. Ajmer-Merwara admittedly is not a viable unit and its permanent exclusion from Rajasthan is an impossibility. The question arises as to what is the proper stage for the consideration. So far as the people of Ajmer are concerned, so far as the Provincial Congress Committee is concerned, so far as the successive political conferences held at three different places (Ajmer, Mhow and Beawar) are concerned, it is the definite view of the people that the question of merger of Ajmer should be taken in hand simultaneously with the formation and announcement of the

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Bigger Rajasthan, which we welcome and which is due to come into existence within a very short period. As I have tried to point out, if the question of the merger of Ajmer is not taken simultaneously with the inauguration of the Bigger Rajasthan the people of Ajmer will have no voice in the shaping of Rajasthan which is yet in the making. It is but just that from the beginning and commencement Ajmer should have its due share.

As regards Ajmer I might also be allowed to make another reference. Its geographical position in the heart of Rajputana can hardly be disputed. Col. Todd, the great and celebrated historian of Rajput History, has characterised Ajmer as 'the political key to Rajasthan'. It is strategically and geographically the heart of Rajasthan. If the Bigger Rajasthan is the heart of political India, as has been described by the honourable Minister in Jodhpur, in all humility may I point out that Ajmer is also the heart of Rajasthan. During the whole course of 2,000 years history, during the time of the Chauhans, during the period of the Pathans, during the period of the Moghuls and the Marathas as also during the British period Ajmer has been the pivot round which the entire political events in the surrounding states of Rajasthan have revolved. It has been the centre all through the course of history. I am confident that the case of Ajmer will have full justice at the hands of our veteran leader, Sardar Patel.

Shri V. C. Kesava Rao (Madras: General): Sir, I rise to congratulate the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister for his successful running of the Home Ministry during the period under review. His handling of the problem of R.S.S. satyagraha, the Akali agitation as also the Communist menace is really commendable. I want to point out only two things and they relate to corruption and bribery and the reorganisation of the Central Secretariat.

As regards corruption and black-marketing I want to say that during the last financial year there were 476 registered cases and out of them only 62 cases were disposed of. I find that the police is not doing their work properly. The public is not helping the Government in detecting cases of black-marketing and corruption. I would suggest that the Government should adopt the practice that is followed in the Customs Department. The person who gives information as regards black-marketing or corruption should be given a share in the fine collected from the convicted person. I think that if this system is followed many cases will be detected and it will help the police and the Government to a certain extent to curb black-marketing and corruption.

Another point I would submit is that the Central Secretariat Reorganisation is being done very slowly. The honourable the Deputy Prime Minister has stated in his speech that they are going to reorganise the whole secretariat within two or three months. I think this question has been before the Assembly for the last two years or more. During the war new posts were created to a large extent. In 1939 there were 10 secretaries and in 1949 there are 27: there were 10 Joint Secretaries in 1939 and 49 in 1949: as regards Deputy Secretaries the figure rose from 19 to 90 and as regards Assistant and Under Secretaries it has gone up from 40 to 248. I do not understand why there is this delay in organising the secretariat or even in reducing the strength of the secretariat. When the country was divided we filled up the vacancies created by the partition. When the country has been divided I do not know where is the need to fill up the gaps created by the people who opted to Pakistan. The Reorganisation Committee should complete its work as early as possible. Of course the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister has stated that there is a shortage of man power but this shortage will not be made good by increasing the number of officers in the secretariat. I do not think that by increasing these officers in the secretariat and by paying them more than what the Pay Commission has recommended it will help our reorganisation work.

As regards retrenchment I must say that the victims have been only the men from the scheduled castes. I have got a list and out of 150 who were given notice of retrenchment from the Central P.W.D., thirty are from the scheduled castes. I am glad that the Deputy Prime Minister has been helping the scheduled castes, who are backward in almost all respects, in getting them appointments and in throwing open to them every kind of appointment. There is something wrong in the machinery.

As regards recruitment I am sorry the figures are very poor with regard to the I.A.S., I.P.S. and other services. I am sorry that the Special Recruitment Board has not been able to select even a single candidate from this unfortunate backward community. I earnestly request the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister to give special attention to the problem of helping the Scheduled Castes who have throughout been at the back of the Congress and who have been contributing their mite in getting independence.

As regards efficiency in the Secretariat I want to say something. Every Ministry has got a Standing Committee. But the Standing Committee is not given any work. The members are not trusted, nor is any scope given to them to help the Ministries. The Standing Committees meet only once or twice in the year. If the Standing Committees are given a hand in the administration, in shaping the policy of Government, I think they will be able to help the Government and they will be able to help the Ministers who are overburdened with their Department's work and with the more important problems of the day. I find that in the Secretariat they are going to create new grades, that is, Assistant Superintendents. I do not see why these new grades are created and in what way these will help the country. On the one side they are going to abolish the grade of Assistant Secretaries and on the other they are going to create a grade of Assistant Superintendents. I think by reducing the strength of officers and by increasing the strength of the Assistants and clerks the Secretariat will become more efficient than it is now.

मास्टर नन्दलाल: सभापतिजी, होम मिनिस्ट्री एक ऐसी मिनिस्ट्री है कि जिसके गिर्द तमाम मिनिस्ट्रियाँ घूमती हैं। यही एक मिनिस्ट्री है कि जिसके हाथ में हिन्दुस्तान की ताकत है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस तरह से हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने इंटरनेशनल मामलात के अन्दर जो कार्रवाई की उससे हिन्दुस्तान का दरजा दुनिया के सामने बढ़ा उसी तरह हमारे डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने इंटरनल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में जिस खूबी से काम किया उस खूबी ने हिन्दुस्तान का दरजा दूसरे मुत्तकों की निगाह में बढ़ाया है। दुनिया का कोई आदमी यह गैस भी नहीं कर सकता था कि जिन सैकड़ों रियासतों को अंग्रेज हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर छोड़ गये वह इस तरह चन्द महीनों के अन्दर ठीक हो जावेंगी। आपने उनको चन्द महीनों के अन्दर साफ़ कर दिया। वह हमारे लिये खुशकिस्मती है यह कोई खुशामद की बात नहीं है बल्कि सच्ची बात है कि जो लोग कांग्रेस के नेताओं को जानते हैं वह यह मानते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में इंडियन नेशनल कांग्रेस के पास इन जैसा और कोई नेता न अभी है और न आगन्दा कभी मिलेगा।

[मास्टर नन्दलाल]

लेकिन इन तमाम कार्यवाहियों के बावजूद और प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने जो कुछ किया उसके बावजूद अवाम के अन्दर बेचैनी है और उनको मैं यह कहते हुए सुन चुका हूँ कि आप राम राज्य को बनाने में ना कामयाब रहे हैं। बल्कि यहां तक कहते हुए सुना है कि 'The present government is British government plus corruption minus efficiency and discipline' मैं इस चीज को नहीं मानता लेकिन मैं यह सुनता आया हूँ। यह अवाम का ख्याल है। सन् १९२१ में भी हमने यह सुना था जब गांधी जी ने लोगों के सामने यह रखा कि एक साल के अन्दर मैं हिन्दुस्तान को स्वतंत्रता ले दूंगा अगर हिन्दुस्तान यह यह काम करे। लेकिन जनता ने काम तो किया नहीं और सन् १९२२ में यह कह दिया कि गांधी जी नाकामयाब रहे। आज भी यही हाल है कि जब हमने जनता से यह कहा कि यह जनताराज है तो जनता तो यह समझने लग गई है कि अब वह आजाद है, वह जो चाहें करें। इसी तरह अगर कोई आदमी मुलाजिमत में पड़ा हुआ है तो वह अपने आपको आजाद समझने लग गया है। अवाम का हर एक बच्चा अपने को आजाद समझने लग गया है और यह भूल गया कि उसकी भी कोई जिम्मेदारी है। ऐसी हालत में अगर तमाम अवाम में डीमारेलाइजेशन हो जाय और नेशन की नेशन डीमारेलाइज्ड हो जाय तो मैं नहीं समझता कि गवर्नमेंट क्या कर सकती है। लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी, सभापति जी, आज हमारे डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने अपनी तकरीर में यह इशारा किया कि कांग्रेसमें भी अपने अन्दर देखें कि उनके अन्दर भी कोई चीज है, क्या उनके अन्दर भी वही चीज मौजूद है जिसके सहारे उन्होंने देश को आजादी दिलाई थी या वह उस से नीचे गिर गये हैं तो मुझे शर्म आती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अवाम का फसूर नहीं है। अवाम तो जैसे लगाया जाय लग सकता है। लेकिन यहीं कांग्रेस की एक जमाअत थी जिसने अवाम का मारेल बढ़ाया था। लेकिन इसी एक जमाअत में कुछ अशखास सारे के सारे तो मैं नहीं कहता क्यों कि अभी भी उसमें काम करने वालों की तादाद बहुत ज्यादा है लेकिन कुछ अशखास ने अपने अमल को इस जमाअत के हिसाब से गिरा दिया और इसी वजह से हमें जयपुर सेशन के अन्दर रिजोल्यूशन पास करना पड़ा। मैं अपने सरदार साहब की तवज्जह उस रिजोल्यूशन की तरफ दिलाऊंगा जो कि वरकिंग कमेटी की तरफ से आया था। उसमें एम० एल० एज० का जिक्र था लेकिन उसमें एक तरमीम कर दी गई कि कैबिनेट का भी उसमें नाम रखा जाय। कुछ बहस के बाद वह अमेंडमेंट हट गयी लेकिन यह चीज क्या जाहिर करती है कि एम० एल० एज० में भी डीमारेलाइजेशन पैदा हो गया और कुछ कुछ कैबिनेट में भी यह पैदा हुआ। हम लोग डीमारेला हो गये। लेकिन इसकी जिम्मेदारी किस के सिर पर है?

अगर माफ किया जाय तो मैं तो यही कहूंगा कि इसकी जिम्मेदारी सिर्फ सरदार पटेल के सिर पर है और किसी पर नहीं। मैं यह समझता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर एक यह ही शख्स ऐसा है जो हिन्दुस्तान की किस्ती को पार कर सकता है, जो हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर ला एण्ड आर्डर कायम कर सकता है। हम लोग तो बच्चे हैं। अगर मां बाप बच्चों के सिर से तवज्जह हटा लें तो बच्चे तो खराब हो जाया ही करते हैं। सन् १९३६ में जब आप ने हुकूमतें संभाली थीं तो आपके हाथ में उनकी लगाम थी। उस वक्त हुकूमतें खराब नहीं हुई, उस वक्त एम० एल० एज० खराब नहीं हुए, कैबिनेटें खराब नहीं हुई। उस वक्त हाल यह था कि जिस कैबिनेट के मिनिस्टर ने थोड़ी भी गलती की तो आप ने उसको निकाल दिया। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर आप थोड़ी सी तवज्जह स्टेट्स से हटा कर इस काम में लगावें और थोड़ा वक्त इस तरफ दें तो आप इसको अब भी ठीक कर सकते हैं। इस काम को सिर्फ आप ही कर सकते हैं और दूसरा कोई नहीं कर सकता।

इसके अलावा दूसरा ऐतराज मेरा यह है जैसा कि आपने भी कहा था कि यह मशीनरी हमें वरासत में मिली है अंग्रेजों से। गांधी जी ने जिस निराले हथियार से हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद कराया वह दुनिया के सामने निराले किस्म का स्वराज्य पेश करना चाहते थे और वह था रामराज्य। वह रामराज्य के लिये जीना चाहते थे और यहां रामराज्य कायम करना चाहते थे। तो क्या आप समझते हैं कि अंग्रेजों की दी हुई मशीनरी से हम रामराज्य कायम कर सकते हैं? क्या आप यह उम्मीद कर सकते हैं कि रामराज्य इस तरह से पैदा हो सकता है? क्या आप यह उम्मीद करते हैं कि जिस तरह से यह डिमाक्रेसी काम कर रही है उससे रामराज्य पैदा होगा? अगर रामराज्य पैदा हो सकता है तो वह इखलाक के आधार पर पैदा हो सकता है। हमारे राष्ट्र का बाप हमें बतला गया है कि अगर रामराज्य पैदा हो सकता है तो वह करेक्टर पर हो सकता है। यह डिमाक्रेसी मैटीरीलज्म पर चलती है। गांधीइज्म हमको इखलाक सिखलाता है, प्रेम सिखलाता है, दुनिया के साथ मोहब्बत करना सिखलाता है। तो आप इस कांग्रेस के तरीके पर चलने से हिन्दुस्तान में रामराज्य कायम कर सकते हैं, न कि इस डिमाक्रेसी के तरीके पर चलने से। हमें यकीन है कि महात्मा गांधी के जो पैरो हैं और उनके तरीकों पर चलने वाले लीडर हैं वह इस तर्जों हुकूमत को बदलेंगे। यहां इस हुकूमत में इन्सानों को बदलने की जरूरत नहीं। आदमी तो काम करने वाले हैं, जैसे आप चाहेंगे वैसे करेंगे लेकिन तर्जों हुकूमत को बदलने की बहुत जरूरत है।

(English translation of the above speech)

Master Nand Lal (East Punjab: General): Sir, the Home Ministry is such a Ministry round which revolve all the other ministries. This is the only Ministry that has the entire power of India in its hands. I think that as the honourable the Prime Minister has by his exploits in the international matters enhanced the prestige of India in the eyes of the world, in the same way our Deputy Prime Minister so nicely handled the internal administration, that this excellence of administration has also raised the prestige and status of India in the eyes of the other countries. No one could even think that the problems of the hundreds of States, which the British left in India, would be solved in a few months time. You have squared them up within a few months. It is to our good fortune. It is not flattery. The reality is that the people, who know the Congress leaders, realise that in India the Indian National Congress has no other leader like him nor will there be in future.

But in spite of these things and in spite of all that the honourable the Prime Minister did, a great deal of restlessness pervades in the public and I have heard the people saying that you have failed to establish Ram Rajya. But I have heard them saying even so much that, "The present Government is British Government plus corruption minus efficiency and discipline." I do not agree with this view, but I have heard it said very often. This is the opinion of the public. We heard this very opinion in 1921 when Gandhiji made a promise to the people that he would get for them independence within a year provided India was to follow a certain line of action. But the Public did not indeed follow his line of action and in 1922 proclaimed that Gandhiji has failed. Today the condition is the same. When we told the public that this is a people's Government the people have begun to think that they are quite free to do anything. They may do whatever they like. In the same way those in service also have begun to think themselves free. Every child in the public has begun to think himself free and has completely forgotten that he also has some responsibilities. In these circumstances if demoralization sets in the public and if the Nation as a whole becomes demoralized, I do not think what the Government can do. But in spite of all this, Mr. Speaker Sir, our Honourable the Deputy Prime Minister dropped a hint in his speech today that the Congressmen should also introspect and see whether they have any virtues in them; do they still have the same enthusiasm by which they secured the independence of the country or have they gone down; if so I will feel ashamed. I think that the public is not at fault. The public can be led as desired. But it was only this organisation of Congress that had raised the morale of the public. But certain person in this organisation, I do not say all because there are still a large number of sincere workers in this organisation, but at least some persons have degraded their conduct below the standards of the organisation and for this reason only we had to pass a resolution in the Jaipur Session of the Congress I will draw the attention of our Sardar Sahib towards the resolution that had come from the Working Committee. The resolution referred to the M.L.A.'s but it was so amended as to include the name of the Cabinet also. After some discussion the amendment was rejected, but what this shows is that demoralization has set in the M.L.A.'s, and to some extent in the Cabinet also. We have become demoralized. But who is responsible for this? I may be pardoned, I would say that the responsibility lies entirely upon the head of Sardar Patel and on no one else. I know that he is the only person in the whole of India who can deliver the goods in India and can establish law and order in India. We are but babes. If the parents do take their attention off their children then the children indeed become bad. When you took up the reins of the Government in 1936 then you had them completely under your control. At that time the Governments did

not go wrong; the M.L.A.'s did not become corrupt, the Cabinets did not get spoiled. At that time whichever Minister committed some fault you removed him. I, therefore, think that if you were to shift your attention from the States for the time being and devote some of your time to this problem then you can still set it right. You and only you can do this work and no one else can do it.

As the honourable Minister also observed my second point is that this machinery has been inherited by us from the British. Gandhiji liberated India and used a novel weapon. He wanted to present to the world a new type of *Swarajya* and that was Ram Rajya. He wished to live for this Ram Rajya and wanted to establish here Ram Rajya. Do you think that we can establish Ram Rajya with the help of the machinery handed down by the British? Can you hope that Ram Rajya can be created in this way? Do you hope that Ram Rajya will be established in the manner in which this democracy is working? If Ram Rajya can be established it can only be established on the basis of morality and ethics. The father of the Nation has pointed out to us that if Ram Rajya can be established it can be established only by force of character. This Democracy works on materialism. Gandhism teaches us morality and love and teaches us to love the world. Then by following these ideals of the Congress you can establish Ram Rajya in India, and not in the way this democracy is working. I am confident that the devotees of Mahatma Gandhi and the leaders who follow the Gandhian ideology will change this form of Government. Here in this Government it is not necessary to change the personnel. The persons are indeed sincere workers, they will do as you would ask them to do, but it is very necessary to change the form of the Government.

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Sir, I have heard several interesting speeches that have been made, the last of which was most important because the honourable gentleman attributes to me perhaps powers of which I have not ever dreamed—of possessing, powers of infinite capacity for taking decisions and controlling the machinery not only of the Congress, of the Government, but also of the fate of millions of people in this country.

I do not know whether he had got a vision or not, but I shall still think that his was more of a Congress platform speech than a speech in the Assembly.

I do feel that people should not assume that every virtue is confined to the particular kind of uniform that one puts on. Many vices are covered under certain kinds of dress, but it is too much to assume that all virtues are covered if you put on *Khaddar* dress. Therefore, to say that the bureaucracy or the service that has been handed over to us by the past Administration, because it does not put on a certain kind of dress must be full of evils, is a thing which has ruined this country and is going to ruin the country if we do not understand our limitations and our responsibilities. After all, we are not following the principles that Gandhiji laid down when we attribute all virtues to a particular kind of dress—in fact, it has been becoming a caste, and I must protest very strongly against Congressmen attributing all vices to people who do not adorn or imitate the dress that we, for certain reasons which we considered to be the best, have adopted.

I think it has been a habit amongst certain people unthinkingly to attribute all evils to the service. I assure you, unless you change that mentality you are not going to serve the country. Of course there are evil-minded people amongst the services as well as amongst us, but to condemn all because we have got a service from the foreign power which left it behind, and say that you cannot do anything unless you change this service—that idea

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is a thing which I cannot understand. As a responsible man sitting in this office, I advise young men who want to serve the country to open their mouth less wide and less often than I myself did for many many years before I learnt to open my mouth: and even now I do not know it really—when I want to speak I tremble because I am afraid of making a slip. Any word that I would use would have considerable influence outside. Therefore, I rarely speak. But young men think that service is confined to using a platform and in oratory. That is not true. Service has no platform to defend. You must remember that our service people are not allowed to speak but many of them are worth their weight in gold and but for their service we would not have been able to achieve what we have achieved. We can achieve much more. I tell you, if we encourage them to do their duty, but if everyone who thinks himself important comes and has a dig at the service, take it from me that you cannot take work from the service. Let us have criticism, but let it be balanced criticism, criticism which would apply as well to us as to them. Therefore once again I make a plea before this House. Let the service people be criticised outside; on the floor of this House let the criticism be restrained and let it be helpful criticism. If you have any individual officer against whom you have a complaint, by all means send it to me and I will not fail to do justice in the matter. If my attention is drawn to any incident in the service anywhere, in the question of employment, promotion or favour or disfavour, you have simply to draw my attention and I assure you will not find me wanting. But I appeal to you: many of you have come in this House for the first time. Perhaps next election will give you no opportunity of coming in this House. Therefore do not enter into a competition of speech-making with the elder people who have passed many years of experience as to how to speak, when to speak and what to speak.

Now, on the question of my taking the responsibility for the Congress. The honourable gentleman thinks I can correct the Congress, and therefore it is my fault. I tell him that I am now 74 years and if the Congress entirely depends upon me that Congress is worth nothing. But I do not believe that Congress depends upon any single individual. It has many young men of ambition and strength who can even find fault with me. The Congress has a bright and good future and it has inherent strength. Let us look to ourselves and to our own shortcomings.

The first speaker who spoke was the honourable gentleman from Delhi. He has often spoken to me about the condition of Delhi, particularly the constitutional position of Delhi. Now, all of you will agree that Delhi has passed through very bad times. No city has suffered during recent years as much as Delhi. There has been a shift of population unheard of, and there are many newcomers in this City who have left their everything behind. They have either come from the Punjab or from Baluchistan, Frontier, Sind or from many other places. Some of them are full of anger, some of them have no roof, have nothing to look to. Now the population has already been doubled. It is difficult for me to conceive of a constitutional change that would fit in with the conditions of this City at the present. The only thing that I have to look to so far as Delhi is concerned is that it does not lose its reputation as the Capital City of India. Therefore it must conform to the standards of capital cities. I am afraid it is far behind at present because of this upheaval. Delhi's sanitation is abominable, is getting worse. Delhi's condition of a peaceful city is maintained to a certain extent, but occasionally we hear of theft, robbery or a dacoity which disturbs it. You heard only the other day of a lady going in a tonga whose purse was snatched

by people who were arrested from Rothak. I heard that a gang of people who were employees in the Secretariat—because they were refugees, they were employed—raided the Supply Department, pointed a revolver at the treasury clerk and took away some lakhs of rupees.

This is the condition in which Delhi is, and if you ask me to have a constitutional set up under which Delhi will have a normal constitution, I find it difficult, really. Therefore, have patience. I advise you to keep a little more patient, till the Constituent Assembly is able to deal with this question. It is not far now when the Constituent Assembly will finalise its job.

You will remember that I introduced this Advisory Council, after my coming here, before that there was nothing. I introduced the Advisory Council for Delhi and Ajmer, for both cities practically go side by side. One is a capital city and the other harbours the ambition of being the capital city of Rajasthan. Whether that is possible or not, I do not know. But I do know this that capital cities have capital responsibilities, and their citizens also have capital responsibilities. The citizens of Delhi at present need much training about their responsibilities. You see stalls growing up everywhere in Delhi. You never saw stalls on foot-paths in New Delhi. You never had flies moving about over you. New Delhi is fast becoming uninhabitable. But the Refugee Minister, if he wants to remove any stall-keeper will have a crowd of people at his door; if he does not listen, then they will go to the Prime Minister, or to the Deputy Prime Minister or to some other Minister. The police are in a fix, between the devil and the deep sea. If they want to help the Refugee Minister, they will come into trouble. It is not an easy situation. And Delhi, you see, has a double advantage so far as the legislatures are concerned, I mean as far as the representatives of Delhi in this House are concerned. They can represent the province in all matters and they can represent the Central Government also. They have got a double advantage. People of no other part of the country have such a double capacity as these gentlemen have.

Now, the only place in India where you may say there is Ram Raj is Coorg, where there is no complaint, nothing. Even if there is no constitution, they do not complain. Their Commissioner retires practically with death. Even after his death, they do not complain. Some retired officer from Madras is made the Commissioner there and he lives there and as long as he lives he is the Commissioner. There is no theft, there is no robbery, no crime. They drink merrily and are happy. My friend Mr. Modi, I think, would like to go and live there.

Now, so far as Delhi is concerned, I can ask the Commissioner to hold more meetings, and give more weight to the advice given by the Advisory Committee. But I would advise the Advisory Committee not to waste their time on their allowances and things of that kind.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: It has never done so.

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Along with Delhi goes the question of Ajmer, and my friend Pandit Mukut Bihari Lal who is the sole representative of Ajmer says several Congress Committees have passed resolutions for the merger of Ajmer into Rajasthan. Now, Congress Committees were never expected, after so long a period of struggle for liberty, to learn the lesson of going under Indian Princes, after attaining liberty, and to merge free areas of the country into their territories. This seems to be a new lesson they have learnt after so much sacrifice. But I feel hesitation in persuading

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the Government of India to accept that position. Therefore, I have to say, for God's sake, wait a little. Let me see how Rajasthan and the new set-up there which is called Greater Rajasthan, and its machine, function. I have to say so, because it is not an easy thing. Greater Rajasthan is unknown in the history of India. We have seen bits of Rajasthan all over in history, but this kind of Rajasthan is a new experiment. It imposes a heavy responsibility on those who put their hand to it, and the people and the princes will watch with considerable anxiety how that machine functions, and how the people who will get power will discharge their heavy responsibilities. If you are interested, you can see some of the Rajasthan papers. They have already begun to attack me, and to dub me as a fascist, because I do not listen to them as easily as they expect. They expect that a particular place should be the capital, they expect that a certain city should be inside Rajasthan. They expect me to agree to what they say; otherwise I am either a fascist or I do not know what word they would coin for me. But Rajasthan you must agree—and not only Rajasthan, but many States,—had no democratic set-up before and had no experience. Many of our young friends ask, "What are the Provinces doing, and what are we doing at the Centre?" Many such ideas come into their heads. They think they have nothing to learn and everything to teach. But those who take on heavy responsibilities have much to think and much to consider before they can consider merger of free areas. Therefore, I would advise Mr. Mukut Bihari Lal and his friends to wait and see, and also help us in seeing that the machinery of Rajasthan functions effectively and for the interest of the people of Rajasthan, so that, then we can put in Ajmer or even any other area he wishes to be put in. My idea is to carve out as few provinces or units as possible and amalgamate as much of India as possible with neighbouring areas so that the whole of India may in future, for centuries to come, be a strong and powerful country in the world.

Now, the other question referred to was by my friend Pandit Kunzru. He has complained about discriminative treatment between the Communists and the R.S.S. I would assure him that it is not for the love or the hatred of either of the one or the two that we have made any discrimination. It is not easy for us to disclose in matters of law and order and to lay down our cards on the table, as to what we shall do in the future and why we have adopted a particular course in a particular case. I can tell him this, that I dislike the policy of the R.S.S. much more in once sense, that they should pervert the mind of immature youths. If only you can, help me in this—in persuading R.S.S. leaders not to commit this mistake of persuading the children of tender age to disown their own parents. When children are arrested for making ugly demonstrations, and the parents come and stand security, the children say, "They are not our parents". Is that the way Indian culture is to be taught to the rising generation? Therefore, I feel considerable sympathy for the young men whom I have to arrest at that tender age, and I try my best to persuade them.

But some how or other the secret pledges that they take or they are made to take, come in the way of these people and they refuse to listen.

Now, so far as the Communists are concerned, I do not know whether my honourable friend is aware or not, but that organization is already declared illegal in Bengal for a long time now. (Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru: 'Yes, I know it.') When the Prime Minister said that our policy is as far as possible to make individual arrests, it is not particularly with Communists alone; if our purpose can be served by individual arrests, we do not touch the organization,

but if the organizations make it impossible for us to deal with them individually, then we are forced to take action. So far as the Communists are concerned, we feel that for the present we are able to deal with them by individual arrests and, therefore, we will not touch their organization, if we think it unnecessary. But if I feel it will be necessary, we will have no hesitation in declaring the whole organization illegal. Trust to our discretion, but do not think that we have a soft corner for them and we are hard on the R.S.S. people. To me Indians of any party or any organization are equal, so far as the machinery of law and order is concerned, it will function uniformly with the same respect, with the same regard, with the same fairness. Whenever I have to use this machine, I remember that I was in jail for ten years and the Prime Minister also has been in jail for many years. We know what it is. We know what we feel within the walls in spite of the facilities that we had. Therefore, when we put people in jail, we pass sleepless nights, but when we see that keeping them out will jeopardise the security and the safety of our country and there is a danger of losing what we have gained by immense sacrifice, then we have no other way left. Even now after putting them in jail, I am putting my best efforts to get them out of jail, if I can persuade them.

Another point that he has raised is about the *Raksha Dhal* in the U. P. Our friend Mr. Saksena has explained the objectives of the *Raksha Dhal*. Government does not allow any private army to function in this country, but so far as the Provincial Governments are concerned, they have openly and with the concurrence guidance and advice and perhaps with the help of the Centre started what is called the Home Guards, in other words called the *Pranthi Raksha Dhal* and by whatever name you call it. It is admitted on all hands and by those who have seen it that it is a very useful thing and it perhaps saves young people from going astray. They are being trained to be of help, of social service to the people in the villages in time of stress, in time of floods, famine, epidemic, distress or other accidents as well as of saving the people against attacks from robbers, dacoits and other people. The object is laudable and if there are defects, it is, of course, up to us to point out to the Provincial Governments the defects that may be remedied, but if the institution is good then it is worth encouraging. It is not in one province, but in several provinces that these Home Guard institutions have been started. It is in C. P., in Bombay and other places also, but if my honourable friend will point out that there is any danger in it, we shall certainly consider and see that no dangers come from such organizations that have been brought up by us.

Then there is another point which he raised and that is about the Central Intelligence Bureau. So far as this Department is concerned, I wish to inform the House that its functions are not of taking the responsibility over investigation. Its functions are simply to gather all possible intelligence or information. The Central Government get a lot of information from all over the country, in the States and even from outside and in the formation of its policy regarding law and order, it gets considerable help from the Central intelligence. It supplies information also to the Provinces in order that they may be warned or be kept prepared; they have got their own intelligence also. We co-operate with the provinces and the provinces co-operate with us and we have a co-ordinated policy. The head of the Central Intelligence went to England this year for about 3 or 4 weeks and he had his experience there; he got his information from there, whatever he wants to do. It is our idea to send him to America also, but I do not think it is advisable to send people at the lower level to outside countries. Therefore, unless we expand the functions of the present Intelligence Department, we must at present be content with the present situation. The Intelligence Department was a

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closed chapter so far as Indians were concerned. Even when I took charge, not only my own past record, but the records of every Congressman were destroyed, before I took office. I wanted to see my own picture of what they thought of me, but I could not find it. So also their own actions in the past as to how they managed secret things, they would not allow us to see, and particularly the Political Department of the Government of India, we cannot find its very existence in our records. It functioned for so many years over one third of India. Its very existence cannot be traced and there is no Political Department here. So we have to go on from a scratch, so far as the Intelligence Department is concerned, but you will be surprised to learn that our people when put to trial and given opportunities rise up to the highest level.

Now my honourable friend speaking about the question of the *Akalis* raised certain questions and attributed certain actions to the Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi. I can assure him that on not a single occasion he could take any action without consulting me and that I had not allowed any order to be passed by him except with my concurrence. When he wrote that letter, it was written under my direction and it was seen by me word for word. The *Akalis*, I must say, wanted to be too clever for us and they thought they were clever lawyers, but we with a little clever common-sense could not be deceived, and therefore, by the time Master Tara Singh came here in the train, at a certain distance, there was a complete proof of his determination to defy the order of not holding the Conference in Delhi. In the train itself, slogans were used and he was ordered to be arrested and that was also when the final order was taken from me. There was no scope left for us. So in all the correspondence where he finds any trickery, it was the trickery on the other side and in which we could not be taken in. Therefore, I would appeal to them that if they want to create trouble, let them give fair trouble; we will meet it.

But the use of Gurudwaras or religious places as a cloak for putting the Government in the wrong, we shall not allow. Therefore, my officers in Delhi in this matter are not to be blamed. I assure them that if any blame attaches to it, it must fall on me. They have not done anything without consulting me. In future also I will not allow them to do anything towards any organisation without consulting me. My shoulders must be broad enough to take the burden of any such action. It was not an easy action. To take Master Tara Singh and put him in jail is not a small thing because he is a life-long friend and comrade; he has made many sacrifices; he has suffered much; he is an acknowledged leader of a particular class of people who have suffered much and who are brave. But if I were to do the same thing that he did, I will pass the order for my own arrest. That is all. I would appeal to my friends the Sikhs and I would congratulate them for the restraint they have shown. I would congratulate my colleague who issued a statement giving the correct lead. Let there not be any impression in their minds that they will be able, by challenging the Government in any manner, to get his release. No man in jail under this Government will be able to get his release by challenging the authority of Government, because this is not a foreign Government. It has the will of the people behind it. I would not be worth my salt if I sit here with any hesitation in my mind about the public support behind me.

Now, Mr. Sen raised the question of prison reform. It is a good thing to do no doubt. I can assure him that those who have been in prison have greater experience of what prison life is than a man who has passed his life on the Judicial Bench can ever have. The conditions of the prisoners are never out of our minds. The House must be aware that in Bombay, the Government have taken an elaborate step in this matter. They are under-

taking prison reform on an extensive scale, on a revolutionary scale. The other Provinces have already appointed committees to enquire into his question. It is not as easy as it is supposed to be. Now Mr. Sen wants us to open a central school for training warders, jailers and other officers. Well, I have done much in this direction. It is a difficult thing. I have experience of a friend who was a jailer under whose charge I was. Once I asked him whether he knew all the prisoners and he said 'Yes'. What crime have they committed, I asked him. He said that they had committed the crime of being detected and added: "Well, we have not been detected. That is the only difference between the persons who are out and the persons who are in." So, even the jail officers will be out till they are detected. Once they are detected they will be in jail. That is the only difference. It is difficult to start schools of all kinds and all at the same time. So if we have patience we can see that everything is done in good time.

I think most of the points that have been raised have been disposed of by me. But if anything remains I will request honourable Members to write to me and I will explain.

Mr. Speaker: First I shall dispose of the cut motions. May I know what the intention of the honourable Mover is?

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru: With the permission of the House I would like to withdraw the first motion which relates to the policy followed by Government with regard to subversive organisations in the country. But I would like the other motion to be put to vote.

Mr. Speaker: Has the honourable Member leave of the House to withdraw his first cut motion relating to the policy of Government with regard to subversive organisations in the country?

Honourable Members: Yes.

The cut motion was, by leave of the Assembly withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Home Affairs' be reduced by Rs.100."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: Now I will put the Demands to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,55,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Cabinet'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 54,97,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Home Affairs'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1950, in respect of 'Jails and Convict Settlements'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 30,64,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Police'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,00,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Census'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,74,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Civil Defence'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,85,73,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Delhi'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 65,71,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ajmer-Merwara'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 30,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Panth Piploda'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,08,21,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Anadaman and Nicobar Islands'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: Next I place before the House the Demands in respect of the Ministry of States:

DEMAND No. 27.—MINISTRY OF STATES

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,39,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of States'."

DEMAND No. 89.—RELATIONS WITH INDIAN STATES

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 51,29,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Relations with Indian States'."

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (Minister of Home Affairs and the States): So far as the Ministry of States is concerned its policy has met with almost universal approval and therefore I need not take the time of the House and prevent honourable Members from utilising the time for stating their views. I would like rather to hear them than give my own views at this stage.

What I have to say I have already said in the Review already circulated and in the White Paper about the States. Therefore I need not say anything on the subject at this stage.

Mr. Speaker: If the honourable Minister proposes to reply we may have a few minutes for the purpose towards the end. We may hold the sittings if necessary for 15 or 20 minutes after 5 P.M.

I suggest to honourable Members that the time limit may be shorter than ten minutes. It may be about 7 minutes.

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair which was then occupied by Mr. Deputy Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar).]

Dr. Y. S. Parmar (Himachal Pradesh): Sir, it is a privilege to be allowed to speak on the Budget relating to the Ministry of States. If there is one Ministry which has enhanced the reputation of this country all over the world, it is the Ministry of States, which has handled the matter of the States in a very short period. When India was partitioned in 1947, the country was partitioned not only just in two bodies—India and Pakistan—but 562 other Pakistans had been created by the British to be left over as a legacy, to be dealt with by the Indian Government. But we find that within a short period of one year all this balkanisation which the foreigner had tried to bring about in this country had been frustrated and that it did not last even a couple of months. We are happy today that all the States in India have been either merged into the provinces or formed into Groups, Unions or independent States, which are now a part and parcel of the great Indian Union. It is an achievement worthy of any nation and for this credit must go to our worthy Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

At certain stages voices were heard that Hitlerian methods were used to make the princes part with power or that undue influence was exercised over them. We as the representatives of the people of the States feel that not only was there no question of undue influence, but the States Ministry has, in fact, due to the intervention of our great leader, saved many an ugly position for the princes in this country and a happy relationship has been brought about under his leadership and by his wisdom.

The one task which now awaits us after this integration is that constitutionally the States Unions should stand on a par with the provinces. This is an objective which has been before us for all these months and the reactions of the people of the States were conveyed to the States Ministry a couple of months ago. We feel, Sir, that this step should be hurried up. Of course, a committee consisting of representatives of Indian States and other eminent constitutionalists has been appointed to look into this matter and I hope that after their report is received, this matter will be taken up in hand speedily.

In this connection, we have only to mention that it is not our intention or demand that any covenants or agreements which the Indian Government has drawn up with the princes should not be honoured, but when the constitution is drawn up, it should not vary with the constitutions in the other provinces of India, it should be absolutely on a par with the rest of the country.

In the same connection, we will have to consider the separate armies which the Indian States have kept. It is high time that these Indian States Forces

[Dr. Y. S. Parmar]

are integrated with the rest of the Indian Army. Some of them were used for specially reactionary purposes and I hope the honourable Minister is aware of them. They have been playing a specially reactionary role and with the integration of the States with the rest of the country some thing has changed, but all the same it has become necessary that there should be absolute absorption of the States Forces into the Indian Army and as far as possible the present personnel should be changed from the places where they were located to other parts of the country.

A word about the Advisory Councils which have been given only to areas which have been taken under Central Administration. The feeling is that their functioning is not at all satisfactory. Their powers should be enhanced as the honourable Minister has already suggested; otherwise, it will become difficult especially without the representatives of popular organisations to carry on with the administration. Not only is there no association, it may be surprising to know that instructions have been issued that members of the public services should not even approach members of the Advisory Council. That is certainly a situation which I believe the Government does not want. We the popular representatives are there, we only want to improve their lot and also to imbibe the spirit in which they would be able to do their duty more efficiently.

I might say a word about one small State which has been disturbing the States peoples' minds, and that was the small State of Bilaspur. But I am glad to find in the morning's paper that that State too has been covered by the States Ministry and we can expect happy relations there as well.

A word about Himachal Pradesh and I shall have finished. I am glad to find in the report that the matter of development of communications is in the minds of the Ministry. It is a matter which is very dear to us, for we can go ahead, we can improve and build the province of our dreams only when there are roads and communications. Only then can our mines and minerals, forests and forest products etc. can be explored and exploited, so that all the money would be sent to Government in the form of returns. I am glad that this point has already been noted.

I will finish with this word, that the people of the States are glad that they have merged into the Centre, that they have integrated into the provinces. They have no regrets whatsoever for the action which they have taken, which they took after long deliberation. They are confident of playing an important role in the things to come, so that they can make this country happy, prosperous and strong.

Shri V. Ramaiah (Madras States): Sir, the honourable Minister has left his policy and his work to us for comment without a speech. Coming from one of the merged States, I was particularly interested to meet all the representatives from the merged States in this Assembly. I had talks with them many times and I found that they all a bit dissatisfied with the arrangements they got from the time of the merger and the administration they are having today has created a little dissatisfaction. Representing Pudukottah, one of the merged South Indian States, I know that people are not satisfied with the present arrangements of just dragging on the administration without any definite decision as to what the State will be. I hope and I appeal to the honourable Minister to take steps to come to a final decision. I trust that in coming to that decision, he will take the wishes of the people and decide the future set-up accordingly.

Sitting here for the last few weeks, I find that everyone has been talking something against the permanent services. I have come into contact with the States Ministry, especially with the Political Adviser of that particular Ministry, and I definitely feel that he has done a great service by bringing the whole policy to a great success. I wish all the Secretaries take up the lead that he has given by going out of the way to do things for the benefit of the people which they are convinced will be the best.

Sir, to meet the discontentment of the merged States, I wish the honourable Minister appoints a small committee from the representatives of these States to go into the matter and to point out how best a solution can be found to their difficulties.

Further, Sir, these States have had a certain pattern of Government for hundreds of years, and all of a sudden they have been forced into a Government of another pattern which they are unable to understand or carry on with at once. So if some time is given to them to come into this pattern and familiarise themselves with the new type of administration which they have been given, I feel much benefit will come to them.

سردار بھوپیندر سنگھ مان : صاحب صدر! میں میاں گیارہ دیتا ہوں کہ جہاں تک سارے ہندوستان کا تعلق ہے ہمارے قریبی پرائم منسٹر صاحب نے تمام ریاستوں کو اکٹھا کر کے ہندوستان کی ایک چھٹی کو قائم رکھا ہے۔ اور اس طرح ہندوستان سے جانے وقت کی انگلیوں کی اس چال کو نکال کر دیا جس کے ذریعہ سے وہ چاہتے تھے کہ پارتیشن (Partition) کے بعد اور فوٹہ دارانہ فسادات کے بعد ہندوستان چھوٹی چھوٹی ریاستوں کے جزیروں میں تقسیم ہو جائے اور ہمیشہ کے لئے کمزور ہو جائے۔ باقی سارے ہندوستان میں بڑا شاندار کام ہوا ہے۔ مگر مجھے شکایت ہے کہ جہاں تک ایسٹ پنجاب کا تعلق ہے وہاں اس حکمت عملی کے ساتھ کام نہیں لیا گیا ہے۔ ایسٹ پنجاب ایک لٹا ہوا صوبہ ہے۔ اس کی بہترین زمین اور بہترین سرزمین پاکستان میں رہ گئی ہیں۔ سرحد پر ہونے کے باعث اور بھی تقاضہ ہے کہ اسے مضبوط بنایا جائے۔ لیکن پنجاب کے عین درمیان میں ریاستیں ہیں جن کے اور گرد ایسٹ پنجاب کا علاقہ ہے۔ قدرتی طور پر یہ طوق ہوئی چلائیے تھے کہ ان ریاستوں کو صوبے کے ساتھ Merge) کیا جاتا۔ خاص طور پر اس بات کو پیش نظر رکھتے ہوئے یہ اور بھی ضروری تھا کہ یہ صوبہ سرحد پر واقع ہے اور اسے مضبوط بنایا جائے۔ مگر ایسا نہیں کیا گیا۔ جو ریپورٹ اریسہ کی اسٹیٹس (states) کے متعلق ہے اس کے صفحہ 5 پر اریسہ کی اسٹیٹس (states) کے بارے میں یہ رائے دی ہوئی ہے :-

"The problem of integration was first faced in Orissa, where the States formed scattered bits of territory not linked to each other and with no geographical continuity. These States had therefore no future except that of merger with the provinces."

اس اصل کو جہاں تک پنجاب اور اس کی ریاستوں کا تعلق ہے مد نظر نہیں رکھا گیا۔ ایسے علاقے ریاستوں سے جدا دئے گئے ہیں جن کا ریاستوں سے کوئی تعلق نہیں ہے۔ پٹیالہ اور کپورتھلہ کے درمیان جالندھر اور لدھیانہ ہیں۔ ان کا ان ریاستوں سے کوئی تعلق نہیں ہے۔ لیکن ان کو ان میں جوڑ دیا گیا ہے۔ دادری اور نارنول وٹک اور گورگڑوں کے نزدیک ہیں ان کا پٹیالہ سے کوئی رشتہ نہیں ہے لیکن ان کو بھی پٹیالہ کے

[سردار بھوپندر سنگھ مان]

ساتھ جوڑ دیا گیا ہے۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس طریقے سے پنجاب کے ساتھ بے انصافی کی گئی ہے۔ بڑودہ کی ریاست کو جس کی آبادی تیس لاکھ ہے، بٹی کے ساتھ ملا دیا گیا ہے۔ اگر ان ریاستوں کو بھو اسی طرح پنجاب میں مزج کر دیا جاتا تو ایک مضبوط یونٹ (unit) بن جاتا۔ اگر ان ریاستوں نے بھجت کو دیکھا جائے تو ان کو زیادہ تر روپیہ ڈسٹیلریز (distilleries) سے ملتا ہے۔ کئی دفعہ میں سوچتا ہوں کہ یہ پتیالہ یونین ہے یا ایلکوحل (alcohol) یونین ہے۔ تمام پتیالہ یونین میں اتنی ڈسٹیلریز ہیں کہ سارے یو۔ پی۔ (U.P.) یا ایسٹ پنجاب کے صوبے میں نہیں ہیں۔ ان ریاستوں کے بھجت کا بڑا حصہ شراب سے آتا ہے۔

اس کے علاوہ جب تک یہ یونین نہیں ہذا تھا۔ تب تک ان ریاستوں کے دو نمائندے اسمبلی میں بیٹھا کرتے تھے۔ لیکن یہ یونین بن جانے کے بعد وہ نمائندے بھی نہیں رہے ہیں۔ نابھہ، فرید کوت اور کپورتھلہ کا ایک نمائندہ آیا کرتا تھا۔ لیکن پتیالہ ریاستوں کا یونین بن جانے کے بعد وہ حق بھی چھین لیا گیا ہے۔

ہمیں یقین دلایا گیا تھا کہ جب وزارت بنائی جائے گی تو تمام پارٹیوں کی وزارت بنائی جائیگی۔ لیکن یہ تمام چیزیں غلط ثابت ہوئیں۔ یہ واقعہ ہے کہ تین چار وزیر جن کا کہ کانگریس کے ساتھ تعلق تھا وہ براہ راست لے لئے گئے۔ ایسی چیزیں کبھی کبھی انگریزوں اور کانگریس کے بیچ چلا کرتی تھیں۔ لیکن ہم اسے نا پسند کرتے تھے۔ انہیں چیزوں کو پتیالہ میں لایا گیا ہے۔ اور یہ پتیالہ کانگریس کے یونینی مس۔ ریزولیشن (unanimous resolution) کے خلاف کیا گیا ہے۔ دوسری پارٹیوں میں اکثریتی دل کی ہے۔ وہ بھی اس کے خلاف ہے۔ تیسری پارٹی راجا صاحب کی ہے۔ ان کے چچا وزیراعظم ہیں۔ ایک ایسی وزارت بنادی گئی ہے کہ پتیالہ کے مہاراج کو ایک ریاست کے راجا کے بجائے آٹھ ریاستوں کا بادشاہ بنا دیا ہے۔ اس کے متعلق سوال بھی ہمارے سامنے آئے ہیں۔ استیثیت منسٹر صاحب نے جواب دیا تھا کہ اس میں کوئی شک نہیں کہ راج پرمکھ ایسٹ پنجاب کے صوبے کی سیاست میں دخل دیتے ہیں۔ کیونکہ وہ سکھوں کے نمائندے ہونے کا خواب دیکھا کرتے ہیں۔ سانہ میں انہوں نے یہ بھی شکایت کی کہ پنجاب کے وزیر بھی ان کی ریاست میں دخل دیتے ہیں۔ میرا خیال ہے کہ دونوں طرف سے ایک دوسرے کے معاملات میں دخل دیا جاتا ہے۔ اس لئے اگر کوئی ایسی صورت نکالی جائے کہ دونوں کے درمیان کوئی حد نہ رہے تو زیادہ اچھا ہوگا۔ راج پرمکھ کی حیثیت ایک گورنر کی سی ہے۔ اور گورنر کو کسی سیاست میں دخل دینے کا حق نہیں ہے۔ راج پرمکھ دس ہزار روپیہ

پنتھک (Panthik) دربار کو دیتے ہیں اور تمام پنجاب کی سیاست میں دلچسپی لیتے ہیں۔ بلکہ پنجاب کی وزارت کے جوڑ توڑ میں بھی حصہ لیتے ہیں۔ یہ کہنا کافی نہیں ہے کہ پنجاب کے وزیر بھی ان کی ریاست میں دخل دیتے ہیں۔ وہ تو سیاسی پارٹیوں کے نمائندے ہیں اور ان کو پورا اختیار ہے کہ وہ سیاسی میدان کے اندر پورا دخل دے سکتے ہیں۔ میں اس میں قطعی طور پر شک نہیں رکھتا کہ کپورتھلہ، دادری، نارنول اور پہاڑی علاقوں میں جو کہ پتیالہ کے ساتھ جغرافیائی طور پر کوئی تعلق نہیں رکھتے۔ بے انصافی کی گئی ہے۔ میرے دل میں رتی بھر بھی شک نہیں ہے کہ اگر آج پلیدی سائٹ (plebiscite) لیا جائے تو 99 فی صدی لوگ پتیالہ کے حق میں ووٹ نہیں دیں گے۔ لیکن ان کو ایسا کرنے کا حق نہیں دیا گیا ہے۔

میں اسٹیٹس منسٹری کو یہاں اور جگہ پر مبارکباد دیتا ہوں جہاں اس کی توجہ اس نہایت اہم مسئلہ کی طرف دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ پتیالہ اسٹیٹس یونین ایک کمیونل (communal) اور فیوڈل ری ایکشن (feudal reaction) کا قلعہ بن چکا ہے اور جب تک آپ پنجاب کو کنسولیدیت (consolidate) کرنے کی کوشش نہیں کریں گے اس وقت تک کوئی راستہ نہیں نکل سکتا کہ پنجاب اور پتیالہ اپنے پاؤں پر کھڑے ہو سکیں۔ آپ پنجاب کو دارالخلافہ بنانے کے لئے تیس کروڑ روپیہ شائد دینا ہے۔ پنجاب کا صوبہ سرحد پر واقع ہے۔ اس کی اسٹریٹجک (strategic) پوزیشن (position) ہے۔ اور یہ صوبہ لٹا ہوا ہے۔ اس کو نیا دارالخلافہ بنانا ہے۔ اگر یہاں کمیونل (communal) اور فیوڈل ری ایکشن (feudal reaction) رہا تو خیال کیجئے کہ یہ کتنا بڑا بوجھ ہوگا۔ ان تمام چیزوں کا ہل میں ایک ہی صورت میں دیکھتا ہوں۔ اور وہ وہی ہے جو کہ آریسہ کی ریاستوں کے لئے کام میں لایا گیا ہے۔ اسی طریقے کو ایسٹ پنجاب میں کام میں لایا جاوے۔

(English translation of the above speech)

Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man (East Punjab: Sikh): Sir, I congratulate the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister that he has, as far as the whole of India is concerned, maintained the unity of India by merging all the native states; and has in this way rendered ineffective those schemes of the British with which they hoped India after partition and communal disturbances to become divided up into very very small groups of states and thus to become a weak nation for ever. In the rest of India splendid work has been done. But I have a complaint to make that, as far as East Punjab is concerned, the same tactfulness has not been made use of. East Punjab is a plundered province. Her best lands and best roads have fallen to the share of Pakistan. Being a frontier province it is still more necessary to make her strong. But in the very centre of the Punjab are situated some states, on all sides of which lies the territory of the Punjab Province. Naturally it should have been anticipated that these states were merged with the Province. Particularly taking into consideration the fact that this Province is situated on the frontier

[Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man]

and has got to be strengthened, it was still more essential to do so. But this was not done. On page 5 of the report on Orissa States the following recommendation has been made about the Orissa States:

"The problem of integration was first faced in Orissa, where the states formed scattered bits of territory not linked to each other and with no geographical continuity. These states had therefore no future except that of merger with the provinces."

As far as the Punjab and the states in the Punjab are concerned this principle was not kept in view. Such territories, that have no connection at all with the states, have been merged with the states. Between the states of Patiala and Kapurthala lie Jullundur and Ludhiana. They have no connection at all with these states. But they have been attached to them. Dadri and Narnaul are situated near Rohtak and Gurgaon, they have no connection whatsoever with Patiala, but they also have been attached with the Patiala State. I think that in this way grave injustice has been done to the Punjab. Baroda, which has a population of 30 lacs, has been merged in the Bombay Presidency. Had these states also been merged in the same way with the Punjab then a strong unit would have been formed. If the Budgets of these states be examined then they get a major part of their income from the distilleries. At times I begin to think whether this is Patiala Union or else an alcohol union. The Union of Patiala has so many distilleries that they far exceed in number to those in U. P. or East Punjab. A greater portion of the budgetted income of these states comes from wine.

Besides this, so long this Union was not formed two representatives of these states used to sit in the Assembly, but after the formation of this Union these two representatives have ceased to be members. Nabha, Faridkot and Kapurthala used to send one representative each. But after the formation of the Patiala States Union they have been deprived of this right.

We were made to believe that when Ministry will be formed, an all-party ministry would be constituted. But all these things proved wrong. It is a fact that 3 or 4 ministers, who were in some way connected with the Congress, have directly been taken into the ministry. Such things sometimes used to take place between the British and the Congress, but we used to disapprove them. The same have been introduced in Patiala and all this has been done against the unanimous resolution of the Patiala State Congress. The other party there is of the Akali Dal. That party also is opposed to this. The third party is of the Maharaja himself. His uncle is the Prime Minister. Such a ministry has been set up that the Maharaja of Patiala, instead of being the ruler of one state, has been made the ruler of eight states. In this connection certain questions have also come before us. The honourable the States Minister had given a reply that there is no doubt about the fact that the Rajpramukh does interfere in the politics of the Province, because he always dreams of becoming the sole representative of the Sikhs. In addition to this he has lodged this complaint that the Ministers of the Punjab also interfere in the matters of the state. I think that from both the sides interference is being made in one another's matters. Therefore if some such means be found out that there may not remain any limitations between the two then it would be far better. The Rajpramukh has the status of a Governor, and the Governor is not authorized to make interference in any party politics. The Rajpramukh donates Rs. 10,000 to the Panthik Darbar and takes an active interest in the party politics of the whole of the Punjab, not only this, but he takes an active part in the shuffling and reshuffling of the Punjab Ministry. The explanation, that the Ministers of the Punjab also make interference in the matters of the state, is not enough. They are the representatives of political

parties and they have full authority to make any interference they like in the political field. I do not in the least doubt that injustice has been done towards Dadri, Narnaul, and the hill tracts of the Punjab, which have no geographical connection whatsoever with Patiala. I have not even an iota of doubt in my mind that if a plebiscite is taken today then 99 per cent. of the people will not vote in favour of Patiala. But they have not been given this right.

Besides congratulating the States Ministry in other matters I wish to draw the attention of the Ministry towards this most important fact that the Patiala States Union has developed into a citadel of communal and feudal reaction, and so long you would not try to consolidate the Punjab till then no ways and means could be devised whereby the Punjab and Patiala may be able to stand on their legs. Perhaps you have given three crores of rupees to the Punjab for the new capital. The Province of the Punjab lies on the frontier. It enjoys a strategic position and in addition to this it is a devastated province. It has to build the new capital. If communal and feudal reaction were to persist here, consider what a heavy burden this would be. I see the solution of all these ills in one way only, and that is the same that has been resorted to in the case of the Orissa States. The same procedure may be adopted in East Punjab also.

Shri B. N. Munavalli (Bombay States): Sir, I rise to congratulate the honourable Minister for States for the gigantic achievement he has turned out within a period of 18 months. If we remind ourselves of the days, about 18 months ago, we can see that there were 562 bits of administrative units and the area of these states was about 45 per cent of the Indian Union, with a population of 93 millions. Fortunately, by the work and assiduous efforts of the honourable Minister, many of the states have been merged; he has brought many of them into unions; and only three bigger states remain. Of these three bigger states also, I have read in the papers, that Travancore and Cochin are going to be amalgamated into a union. The only question that remains is about Mysore. Even as regards Mysore some efforts are being made by the leaders of Mysore along with the leaders of Karnatak. It is a happy news to hear that a negotiating committee, appointed by the All Mysore Congress Committee has been touring since 9th March and it will complete its tour in Karnatak by the 18th, that is tomorrow. They are touring in order to explore the ways and means of how they can combine together and form a union of Karnatak as an administrative unit. On account of the merger of many states the area of many of the provinces has become unwieldy for administrative purposes. Under these circumstances the bigger provinces should be divided and homogenous units be formed, so that proper limited provinces will come into existence. In this connection I may bring to the notice of the honourable Minister that the Kannadigas, whose area was divided into so many bits, had cherished for a long time a desire to have the unification of Karnatak and this is the time when the Honourable Minister of states can help them to fulfil their desired object by unification of the Karnatak and thus having a separate province of Karnatak.

As regards the grievances of the people of the merged areas they are bound to be there, because even when there were states there were the grievances. After the merger also the grievances are bound to be there. But they should not be allowed to accumulate. I want to draw the attention of the Government to one thing and it is that in the states the assessment is higher. They have been made to pay the local cess which is higher in the other territory, so that the people in the merged states shall have to pay inordinately higher cess. This point may be taken note of to get it remedied.

[Shri B. N. Munayali]

There are other grievances too. The weaving class of people have a grievance that they are not given a proper quota of yarn. All these things can be remedied if there be representation for these people. In the Deccan States which have been merged, those people have neither an Advisory Board nor have they got any representation in the legislature. Anyhow by the amendment of Section 200A of the Government of India Act 1935 a provision has been made to give representation to such areas. I therefore request that as early as possible, these areas should be represented in the local and Provincial legislatures.

Last year I had brought to the notice of the Government that many people who in the movement for establishing responsible government, had lost their property. Their properties should be restored to them. The honourable Mr. Gadgil replied for the States' Ministry and said that he would look into the matter. But I am sorry to say that nothing has been done, up till now. I therefore urge the Government that the properties of the sufferers in the movement should be restored to them.

Shri Sita Ram S. Jajoo (Madhya Bharat): Sir, at the very outset I offer my most respectful congratulations to the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister for his grand achievement in consolidating the Indian States. In the history of the world no single person has, in such a short period, achieved such a great result of consolidating a country which was broken and torn off into bits by a foreign government. He has done this with a view to enabling this country to achieve its own old cultural heritage and establish its political prestige in the eyes of the world. As a matter of fact, this single achievement of our honourable the Deputy Prime Minister is such that it justifies the confidence of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. And there is no other country in the world that has with truth and non-violence brought about a change in the hearts of its princes and thus brought about a bloodless revolution by unifying the country.

Here not with a view of complaining or criticising but in a spirit of only putting before the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister for his consideration, I would like to mention certain things. It is mentioned in the Report on the working of the States Ministry before us that a Committee has been appointed to look into the financial integration of the States as well, and it is expected that the Committee will submit its report by the end of April. But we have to fight inflation. Income-tax is already in force in the Indian provinces. And if something is not done in the States as well I am afraid inflation will not be fought adequately and efficiently in the country because some of the capitalists will divert their capital from the provinces to the Indian States. I am fully aware that the States Ministry is moving in this direction, but I would submit to the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister that if this thing is taken up at an earlier stage it will serve the purpose of the Government in dealing with inflation.

Another matter on which I am quite certain that the House will agree with me is that the Indian States, whether they are States Unions or separate State Units, must be brought on par with the Provinces in all respects. There are certain people who say that the States should not be brought on par with the Provinces in certain respects. But I feel, and feel strongly, that there is no other go-out for us than to bring the States on par with the Provinces in every respect, whether it is in respect of Federal finance or taxation. It is a matter for gratification that in the revised Covenants it has been mentioned that all subjects have been acceded to, to the Indian Union except the matters of taxation. I would submit that even that should also be considered. We

feel that unless that is done the whole economic structure of the country cannot be brought on a sound basis, and for that purpose it must be considered. In that regard my suggestion is this. It is mentioned in the Covenants that there shall be separate Constituent Assemblies for all the Units. I submit that that provision should be deleted and whatever constitution is drawn up by the Constituent Assembly of India for provinces should be applicable *mutatis mutandis* to the State Units as well. I do not know the constitutional difficulties facing the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister. We have complete faith and complete trust in his sagacity, wisdom and statesmanship. We have firm faith in him and I expect that he will do whatever is necessary in this respect.

One word about the Indian States forces. The armed forces in Indian States should be absorbed into the Indian Union forces. Even in the regime of the British Government the Indian States used to feed the Indian Army. We had the famous Rajputana Rifles. The men used to come from the Indian States. Similarly, many of the Mahrattas from the south used to come from the Kolhapur State. So there is no question of any distinction between the worth of a man coming from one area and another. When our national government has already abolished the class distinction I hope that our people from the Indian States Armed Forces, if they are given the same facilities and opportunities, will prove worthy of the great Indian Military which we are going to have. They have got a record: they have fought on the Kashmir and Hyderabad fronts. For example, the Gwalior Army fought on the Hyderabad front and I do not think they were second to any other force.

As regards Administrative Services, it is a matter of pleasure that Indian States will be incorporated so far as these Administrative Services are concerned. But I would like to submit that Indian States people should also be given opportunities to enter the Administrative and other allied Services.

I would like to say that most of the Princes or Jagirdars who come before the honourable the Deputy Prime Minister speak here in a humble tone; but after their departure from Delhi they encourage all kinds of reactionary, anti-national and anti-social elements in their area. Perhaps our honourable the Deputy Prime Minister must be knowing these things and he may say—he will certainly say—that a young man has uttered this thing. But I wish to say that I have uttered this thing with complete trust and faith in him and I have come here in the spirit of a disciple with the teaching of the Gita.

तद् विद्धि प्रणिपातेन परिप्रश्नेन सेवया

"Tad Viddhi Pranipatena Pariprashnena Sevaya."

In that spirit I put things before him and not in any kind of carping criticism or the like.

Kazi Syed Karimuddin (C.P. and Berar: Muslim): Sir, I was really tired of waiting to speak and I am therefore grateful to you that after all I have been called. Sir, I join in the chorus of praise for the Deputy Prime Minister regarding the integration of States in India; but I know he does not like praises but likes healthy criticism.

At the time of the police action in Hyderabad I was one of those who spoke on the Nagpur radio supporting the police action in Hyderabad. I want to discuss a few problems that have arisen after that police action. There is not the least doubt that the Government of India and the State Department under the Military Governor have brought peace to the people and stopped the communal movement which was going to be suicidal to the growth of

[Kazi Syed Karimuddin]

society there and for the growth of democratic institutions in that part of the country. But I must tell the honourable the States Minister that the policy regarding the reduction of the number of Muslim government servants in Hyderabad State is not a very healthy one. I do realise that the minority cannot aspire to have 90 per cent of the service monopolised by them in the State as in the case of the Muslims they had occupied it. There is no doubt that the majority community will have to be represented to the proportion they occupy in the State. But today we find that on one ground or the other they are being ousted and the main charge that is levelled against them is that they were sympathising with the Razakar movement there. My submission is that as the honourable Minister has praised those government servants who arrested him once and arrested many nationalists of this country because they were supporting the government in power and obedient to them, in this case also these people should be treated in the same manner for they were supporting the government which was in power then. I fail to understand that while the Nizam who was carrying on the government and with whose connivance and consent the whole country was ruled is ruling today, those who were serving under him and carrying out his orders are being removed or dismissed.

Shri H. V. Kamath (C. P. and Berar: General): Were Razakars part of the Government of Hyderabad?

Kazi Syed Karimuddin: I think so.

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Madras: General): They were *goondas*. What else were they?

Kazi Syed Karimuddin: The second matter I want to bring to the notice of the honourable Minister is this that there are more than three thousand persons who have been taken into custody. What I wish to submit is that those who are accused and found guilty of offences of violence and subversive activities must be prosecuted and punished. But during these five months no cases have been started against them. Those who are found to be innocent should not be detained any more and they should be released.

Another thing which I want to submit is regarding the question of the rehabilitation of Hindus and Muslims. There is not the least doubt that lakhs of Hindu refugees had come to the border districts. I come from Yeotmal district from where not less than one or two lakhs of Hindus had come. In the case of the Hindus it is necessary to rehabilitate them. Even in the case of the Muslims who after the police action left the Dominion or were displaced they have to be rehabilitated. The military government of Hyderabad had placed a sum of Rs. 75 lakhs for the rehabilitation of Hindus and Muslims. In my opinion this amount of Rs. 75 lakhs is insufficient because there is a large number of Hindus and Muslims who have been displaced.

In the end I wish to place on record the selfless services rendered by the Military Governor and the non-communal attitude he has exhibited. And it was because of his marvellous character that the Muslims in Hyderabad City have been safe. I congratulate the Ministry of States. It is because of its non-communal attitude that peace and security have been restored in the Dominion of Hyderabad.

گیانی گورمکھ سنگھ مسافر: سپہا پتی جی! سٹیٹ منسٹر کی حیثیت سے ہمارے سردار صاحب کی جو خدمات ہیں اور جو انہوں نے تدبیر سے سارے کام بنائے ہیں یہ سب میری زبان سے زیادہ تعریف کے محتاج نہیں۔ کچھ اعتراضات ہو سکتے

ہیں جیسے کہ ایک معزز ممبر صاحب نے فرمایا کہ ریاستوں کی آرمی کو انڈین آرمی میں شامل کرنا چاہیئے اور دوسرے راج پر مکتوں کی تلخواہ کے متعلق بھی کچھ اعتراض ہیں۔ عوام کی خواہش یہی ہے کہ ان کی تلخواہ کم ہونی چاہیئے۔ لیکن جن باتوں کی ذمہ داری سٹیٹس منسٹری پر نہیں ہے ان کو سٹیٹس منسٹری کے ساتھ منسوب کرنا ٹھیک نہیں ہے۔ اور اس کے متعلق میں ایک دو باتیں ضروری کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ یہاں پر ہمارے مانلیہ ممبر نے کہا ہے کہ جو ایسٹ پنجاب سٹیٹس اور پٹیالہ سٹیٹس کی یونین بنی ہے اسکو ایسٹ پنجاب میں merge کرنا چاہیئے۔ جہاں تک پنجاب کو بڑا کرنے کا سوال ہے میں اس کی مخالفت نہیں کر سکتا ہوں۔ میں تو یہ چاہتا ہوں کہ بیشک پنجاب کو اتنا بڑا کر دیا جائے۔ کہ اس میں دہلی و میرٹھ اور آگرہ بھی شامل کر دئے جائیں تاکہ پنجاب ایک بڑا پنجاب بن جائے۔ مگر یہ کہنا کہ سٹیٹس منسٹری نے ایسٹ پنجاب سٹیٹس اور پٹیالہ سٹیٹس یونین اپنی مرضی سے بنائی ہے اس میں کوئی سچائی نہیں ہے۔ کیونکہ سکھوں کی طرف سے یہ آواز اٹھائی گئی تھی کہ پنجاب سٹیٹس یونین الگ بنائی جائے۔ گیانی کرتار سنگھ جو اس وقت شرومنی اکالی دل کے پردھان تھے انہوں نے اعلان کیا تھا کہ پنجاب سٹیٹس کی الگ یونین بنائی جائے۔ تو میرا جہاں تک خیال ہے شرومنی اکالی دل نے یہ ظاہر کیا تھا کہ وہاں الگ یونین بنائی جائے۔ اب جو اعتراض یہاں پر میرے دوست سردار پھولندر سنگھ نے اٹھایا ہے وہ اس وقت شرومنی اکالی دل کے جنرل سیکریٹری تھے۔

Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man: Sir, on a point of explanation. Since my name has been referred to, I want to point out that I was not the General Secretary at the time the demand was put forward.

گیانی گورمکھ سنگھ مسافر: میرا جہاں تک خیال ہے میں اب بھی یہ کہتا ہوں کہ سردار پھولندر سنگھ شرومنی اکالی دل کے جنرل سیکریٹری تھے اور اگر نہیں تھے تو میں اپنے الفاظ واپس لیتا ہوں۔ مگر مجھے یقین ہے کہ یہ جنرل سیکریٹری تھے۔ اور گیانی کرتار سنگھ پردھان تھے۔ میرا مطلب تو یہ ہے کہ شرومنی اکالی دل والوں کی خواہش تھی کہ ایک الگ یونین بنائی جائے۔ جن کی خواہش پر الگ یونین بنائی گئی اب کسی وجہ سے وہی اس پر اعتراض کریں تو اس میں سٹیٹس منسٹری کا کیا قصور ہے۔

دوسری بات جو انہوں نے فرمائی ہے کہ پٹیالہ میں جو نئی منسٹری بنائی گئی ہے اس میں میجر پارٹیز کے آدمی نہیں ہیں اور ساتھ ہی یہ بھی کہا گیا کہ پلٹھک دربار ایک فرقہ دارانہ جماعت ہے اور مہاراجہ پٹیالہ اس کو 10 ہزار روپیہ ماہوار دیتے

[گیانی گورمکھ سنگھ مسافر]

ہیں۔ جہاں تک پلٹھک دربار کے متعلق مجھے معلوم ہے وہ فرقہ دارانہ جماعت نہیں ہے اور مہاراجہ پتیاہ وہاں سے استعفیٰ دیکر الگ بھی ہو گئے ہیں۔ ان باتوں کی دلائل میں میں نہیں جانا چاہتا ہوں۔ میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ سردار صاحب نے جو یہ فرمایا ہے کہ وہاں پر تمام میجر پارٹیز کو consult نہیں کیا گیا اور شرومنی اکالی دل کو consult نہیں کیا گیا تو اس بارے میں میں یہ کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ شرومنی اکالی دل ایک فرقہ دارانہ جماعت ہے۔ اور ماسٹر تارا سنگھ اس کے پردھان ہیں۔ اگر اسکو consult نہیں کیا گیا تو بہت ہی اچھا کیا گیا ہے۔ ایک طرف تو میرے دوست سردار صاحب کہتے ہیں کہ شرومنی اکالی دل کو consult نہیں کیا گیا اور دوسری طرف پلٹھک دربار اس لئے برا سمجھتے ہیں کہ وہ فرقہ دارانہ جماعت ہے۔ ایک طرف سے یہ ایک فرقہ دارانہ جماعت کو اہمیت دیتے ہیں اور دوسری طرف کو فرقہ دارانہ کہہ کر اس کی مذمت کرتے ہیں یہ contradictory statement ہے۔ تیسری بات وہاں کی کانگریس کے متعلق ہے۔ انہوں نے کہا ہے کہ وہ بھی اس سے متفق نہیں ہے۔ لیکن جہاں تک مجھکو علم ہے وہاں کے پروانشل کانگریس کے پریذیڈنٹ نے سیتھ رام ناتھ جی کو جو کہ اس وقت وہاں منسٹری میں بھی ہیں کو ایک چٹھی دی اور کہا کہ وہ سٹیٹس منسٹری سے negotiations کرے اور اس کے بعد یہ منسٹری وہاں پر بنی۔ اس کے بعد جو کچھ اس بارے میں وہاں پر ہوا اس کے متعلق مجھ کو کچھ عام نہیں ہے۔ اس بات کو میں زیادہ نہیں بڑھانا چاہتا ہوں مگر میں یہ ضرور کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ جو کچھ ہوا ہے بہت اچھا ہوا ہے اور بالکل ٹھیک ہے۔ اب جو یہ کہا جا رہا ہے کہ وہاں پر جو سٹیٹس منسٹری ہے اس میں اکالی سکھوں کی نمایاںگی نہیں ہے یہ ٹھیک نہیں ہے۔ ہاں اتنا ضرور ہے کہ وہاں پر ماسٹر تارا سنگھ جی کے گروپ کے اکالی سکھ نہیں ہیں اور موجودہ حالت میں وہ ہو بھی نہیں سکتے تھے۔ جو منسٹری اس وقت وہاں پر بنی ہے بہت اچھی ہے اور مضبوط اور پائدار ہے اس سے وہاں پر امن اور شانتی ہوگی۔

جہاں تک کانگریس کا تعلق ہے۔ میں اسکا حامی ہوں اور ہم کو چاہیئے کہ ہم کانگریس کی امداد کر کے اسکو مضبوط بنائیں۔ ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں اپنے جذبات کا اظہار کر کے بیٹھ جاتا ہوں۔

(English translation of the above speech.)

Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir (East Punjab: General): Sir, it is needless for me to eulogize the services rendered by the honourable Sardar Patel, as the Minister-in-charge of the States, and the political diplomacy exhibited by him in tackling the States problem. There may be some objections: as one of the honourable Members had stated that the States' Armies should be merged with the Indian Army, and, secondly with regard to the salaries paid to the Rajpramukhs. It is the general desire of the people that their salaries should be reduced. But it is not advisable to attribute things to the

States Ministry for which it is not responsible. I should like to mention one or two things with regard to this. One of the honourable Members in this House has stated that the existing Patiala and East Punjab States Union should be merged with the East Punjab. So far as the question of making a 'Greater East Punjab' is concerned; I cannot oppose this. On my part, I would like that the Punjab may certainly be made greater to such an extent that Delhi, Meerut and Agra may be included in it. And thus a 'Greater East Punjab' may be formed. But there is no truth in it that Patiala and East Punjab States Union was formed at the instance of the States Ministry. On the contrary, a voice was raised on behalf of the Sikhs that a separate Punjab States Union should be constituted. Giani Kartar Singh who was at that time the President of *Shiromani Akali Dal* had made an announcement that a separate Union of the Punjab States should be set up. Therefore, so far as I know it was the *Shiromani Akali Dal* who had expressed a desire that a separate union should be constituted there. Now an objection has been raised here by my honourable friend Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man who was at that time the General Secretary of the *Shiromani Akali Dal*.

Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man: Sir, on a point of explanation. Since my name has been referred to, I want to point out that I was not the General Secretary at the time the demand was put forward.

Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir: So far as I think, and, I would still affirm that Sardar Bhopinder Singh was the General Secretary of *Shiromani Akali Dal*. And in case he was not holding this office, I would withdraw my words. But I am sure that he was the General Secretary and Giani Kartar Singh was the President. What I mean to say is that it was the desire expressed by *Shiromani Akali Dal* that a separate union should be constituted. And it was as a result of compliance with their wishes that a separate union was formed. If they now raise any objection to this for one reason or the other, the States Ministry is not to be blamed for this.

Another thing which he has stated is that the Ministry which has been formed in Patiala does not include representatives of the major parties; and apart from this, it has also been alleged that *Panthic Darbar* is a Communal body and the Maharaja of Patiala is paying them Rs. 10,000 per month. So far as my knowledge of the *Panthic Darbar* goes, it is not a Communal body and the Maharaja of Patiala has even resigned from this and severed his connections with it. I do not want to go into the details of these arguments. With regard to the allegations made by my honourable friend that all the major parties there were not consulted and the *Shiromani Akali Dal* was also not consulted, I would say that the *Shiromani Akali Dal* is a communal body and Master Tara Singh is its President. It is good that it has not been consulted. On the one hand, my honourable friend has stated that the *Shiromani Akali Dal* was not consulted, and on the other, he reprehends the *Panthic Darbar* for its being a communal organisation. While on the one hand, he attaches importance to a communal body, he condemns the other by dubbing it as a communal organisation. So this is a contradictory statement.

Thirdly, he has referred to the Congress Committee there. He has stated that he too does not see eye to eye with it. But so far as I am aware of, the President of the Congress Committee there wrote a letter to Seth Ram Nath who is at present included in the Ministry directing him to start negotiations with the States Ministry and it was after this that the Ministry was formed there. I am not at least aware of as to what actually happened there subsequently. I do not want to dwell upon this subject at any great length, but I cannot help saying that all that has happened is perfectly alright and quite justified. There is absolutely no truth in the allegations which are being made now that the States Ministry there does not include any representatives of the

[Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir]

Akali Sikhs. Of course it is true that the Akali Sikhs belonging to Master Tara Singh's party are not included in it, and it was not at all possible to do so under the existing circumstances. The Ministry which has now been formed there is sufficiently strong and stable and it will surely create peaceful conditions.

So far as the Congress is concerned, I am a supporter of this, and would urge that we should stand at its back so as to make it strong. With these words, I would, conclude and resume my seat.

Shri A. V. Thakkar (Saurashtra): Sir, I am taking the time of the House not to congratulate the honourable Sardar Patel—he has had enough of praise and his shoulders are very broad for the same—but I want to put some load on his shoulders, and it is this. Please take care of all the backward States that are merged in the Provinces and that are integrated into the Unions. I am specially talking to-day, for the first time. Talking of the two States which have been taken directly under the Central Administration, that is Cutch and Himachal Pradesh; both of these are very backward areas and it has been an excellent thing that they are taken directly under the Centre.

Next, speaking of those States, small or large, which have merged into the Provinces of Orissa, Central Provinces and Bombay. It is a very good thing for the subjects of those autocratic rulers who were there before. I myself come from one of the advanced States of Kathiawar, now Saurashtra, and I am proud to say that the Ruler of that State acceded and placed all his resources and all his area and the administration before the feet of Mahatma Gandhi and before Sardar Patel. However, let me plead a few words on behalf of those backward people of the States that have merged in Orissa, that have merged in the Central Provinces, that have formed the Union of Bundelkhand and Bagelkhand, now called Vindhya Pradesh they are all backward. Just as a civil servant whom I know well, a good administrator, has been placed as an Adviser to the Orissa Government for the Orissa States, similarly everywhere else good administrators, seasoned and senior officers, must be placed in charge of those States. Otherwise they will go very bad. At present it is said that the Vindhya Pradesh is going on in a very bad condition. I hope the administration of that area will be improved very soon. Moreover, there are very backward people also in these areas *Adibasis* are residing there in very large numbers—almost 50 per cent. of the population in some cases, in some cases more than 50 per cent. or say 75 per cent. of the people, are *Adibasis*. They are all backward and they are all ignorant and steeped in poverty. Unless the Centre comes to their help with men and money nothing will be done for them, I am sure of that. The resources of Orissa are very poor. The resources of C.P. are a little better I know, but those of Vindhya Pradesh are very bad. Therefore, the Centre must come to their help either willingly or unwillingly in order to expedite their progress. 5 P.M. Otherwise those people will remain in the same backward condition, in the same 18th century condition in which they are now.

Shri K. Hanumanthaiya (Mysore State): Sir, I did not wish to speak, but my friend Mr. Munavalli drew Mysore into the controversy and I want to make clear the position.

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Never mind what Mr. Munavalli said. It won't affect you at all.

// I have purposely not made my opening speech, because I thought the time was too short and if I spoke and made a review of the activities of the States Ministry during this period, it would take up the whole time. So I thought it was better to hear the criticisms or remarks that the Members may have to

make. I shall take another opportunity, in some other session, when the Ministry's work is nearing completion, to make any speech, if I have to make one, to acquaint you in a consolidated form with the whole work. I am now in mid-stream, in the middle of the work, and therefore I hope you will watch the activities of the States Ministry with your usual sympathy and goodwill.

Now, taking the last speech of our seasoned leader, on the most suppressed, depressed and oppressed people—Thakkar Bapa who has passed all his life in this work, he has passed certain remarks. They are disinterested remarks coming from a man who has at his heart, the good of the people of the States. Sir, my friends the representatives coming from the States resent the least criticism of their administration. They feel they have nothing to learn. Thakkar Bapa now says that I must put good advisers. That is my policy. But some of the representatives of the Union who have to take responsibility, resent that, and they feel that in a democratic set-up, an adviser in an anachronism, and therefore, they should not have any advisers. I am trying to induce them or persuade them to agree, and say I myself need an adviser, and so they need not be afraid of an adviser.

Now, he has spoken about a Union—the Vindhya Pradesh. The Vindhya Pradesh has a Premier who has been the President of the Provincial Congress Committee for many years of the C.P. You cannot call him an inexperienced man. Another Minister has been the President of the Allahabad Congress Committee for some years. They are good experienced people, and what Thakkar Bapa has spoken here is a certificate which they have earned. I do not want to say anything. I have my fingers on the pulse, and I have told them that disruption of the Union and merger of the States into the adjoining provinces is the only alternative if there is no good administration. When I formed the Union on behalf of the Government of India, I took the heavy responsibility. Wherever I am forming a Union, my colleagues who are working in the States are tried friends who have made considerable sacrifices. But sacrifices and comradeship in jail and in struggle is a different thing from comradeship and struggle in building up a nation. Therefore, I am trying to persuade them to open the doors of the Congress wide open, and take all elements in the States and the Unions with them. Do not make it a caste system. Otherwise the burden will be too heavy on you, and when the elections come you will find out that you are nowhere. This ticket will not continually pay you unless you pay the premium. You must add to the premium by further sacrifices. That is what I am impressing on them. But it is not easy to have self-introspection, and therefore they find it difficult. But I have hope, because people who have made good sacrifices for a good cause will eventually learn that it is better to tread the path of sacrifice than to walk on the path of mere power. Now I will continuously endeavour to persuade and prevail upon the friends who are taking up the great responsibility of forming these Unions to do one thing. You have here a great opportunity, in making the history of India. We have got freedom, and if we want to make that freedom worth our while, we want to stabilise this country during our lifetime, and stabilise it in such a manner that India may be the envy of the world. Therefore, although we have changed the map of India, it is only the beginning. This is an opportunity. It is not the goal. We have got this opportunity to make India great, and in this work, I will want your co-operation. Therefore to the representatives from the States who have come here I wish to appeal that this House is not the place merely to learn dialectical tactics or the arts of debate. It is a good thing, of course, but Congressmen are past-masters in the art of debate and they have learnt that on many platforms. But the art of administration is a very difficult thing and therefore you who have got responsibility or will be getting responsibility will have sleepless nights. And if you do not remain awake and if you sleep you will be doing injustice to yourself and you will be betraying the cause of the country. Therefore, friends, learn now that this is an oppor-

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tunity which you have to put to the best use. Our friend from Patiala or the Punjab States every now and then pleads the cause, the cause of East Punjab and complains about the formation of its ministry. Other friends stand up from the other side and give him replies. The Union was formed at the desire of the vast majority of the Sikh population. They wanted a union of the States, and therefore it was formed. When I formed it, I was invited there to open, to inaugurate it. What happened? On the day I went there, just when I was going to inaugurate the Ministry, the leader who was supposed to be the premier backed out; he said he did not agree to the formation of the Ministry. I tried to persuade him, for several hours, but he did not listen. Eventually I had to come, swallowing the insult, and come back here to Delhi. Coming here I gave them a warning that if they did not form a ministry in three weeks' time, I would put in an interim Government of the best men that I can find in the service. I said so because eventually the ministry will be formed by election. The people who claim to be representatives to-day, do so because they happen to be chosen Congressmen, not by the electorate. As a result of circumstances they happen to be there—they have been delegates, and therefore they claim to be representatives, more representative than I can claim to represent the country. Therefore, I was forced to form a Ministry called 'an Interim Ministry of Officials'. This official Ministry worked for a certain period and then several people came from the State several times and I told them: "It is open to you to form a Ministry. Bring a united formula for the formation of a Ministry and I will immediately ask the officers to hand over the power to you." Well, those people who claim to represent the bulk of the population came to me and they formed the Ministry. I asked the officers to hand over the power to the Ministry. But it does not suit the representative who is sitting here and every time he is raising this question in this Assembly. What am I to do? If this is the type of agitation in the forum of this Assembly, it won't help East Punjab, it won't help the Sikhs and it won't help you. It is for you to make up your minds, settle your differences; ask the Sikhs to settle their differences. Be united. What are you quarreling for? What is the use of all these? It is not my responsibility. I have no share in the Patiala State or in the other States. I do not want anything and my Government does not want anything. It is for you to serve the Sikhs, but not to do disservice by creating cliques and parties in that area. If you want a merger of all these States in East Punjab, you create public opinion for that. You create conditions for that. If I have created unions all over India, why should I not do that there. I have no particular interest there. I would be very glad if the Sikhs are willing and say we want to unite the Punjab, the rest of the Punjab and I shall be very glad, but if you quarrel amongst yourself, you will be doing a disservice to the community and to the country. Therefore, my appeal to you is if you cannot unite, do not raise these questions in the Assembly. We have suffered much by raising communal questions and making the Assembly a forum of communal controversy for many years. Do not repeat that here. It won't serve you and it won't serve the country.

Another friend has raised the question of Hyderabad. I do not know whether I should lay before you the whole question because there is no time and it is a very big story, but the limited question he has put before the House is that this personnel of the service should be kept in tact or the service that now exists should not be touched or some of them may be removed, but the large majority of them should be kept in tact. I must tell my honourable friends and I must tell the Members of the House that the Hyderabad arrangement is also a temporary one. It is a care-taker Government till the elections rolls are completed and the elections take place. When the elections take

place, which we shall try to hasten and bring about as soon as possible, you will find that there will be elected representatives forming the Ministry; it will be a democratic set up. I have to say and it is the duty of this House or the responsibility of this House to see that you entrust the elected representatives the machinery which would function and which would work and not one which would break. There are 90 or 95 per cent. of Muslims in a vast and largely populated Hindu State and their relations in the past have been very bad. The Service has played a particular part in that set-up and apart from that many of them are useless, indifferent and unfit for service. It is the duty of the representative of the Government of India there to make a clean sweep of all these useless people and in the year's time at his disposal put an efficient service, so that the popular representatives may be able to run the Government efficiently. So instead of helping in creating an atmosphere of a smooth administration in that State, if you plead the cause of those who cannot fit in there, you will not be doing any service to the cause. You must remember that I am a plain speaking man and I will not conceal anything. Therefore, I have told them there also: "Weed out people who are unable to serve". They must go. If in the past there have been in the service a superfluous large number, because they belong to a particular community in the State, and the State belongs to that community—I will not punish them, I will not allow them to starve. I will make arrangements for either a proportionate pension or give them some gratuity or some compensation, which would be adequate under the circumstances; except those who will be found guilty of misbehaviour or mis-conduct, the rest will be treated as we have treated our own service generously when they left. We could not keep them, we could not run an administration, a popular administration, a democratic administration with a foreign service and we disposed of them. We had no hesitation and as such in Hyderabad also we must follow the same example. It is not a question of vindictiveness or a question of injustice being done to anybody, but a question of doing justice and fairness to all concerned. That is my position so far as Hyderabad is concerned. If there are prisoners in Hyderabad, we must remember that there were 13,000 people before and it has come now to 4,000. Their cases are being scrutinised and the atmosphere is being watched. If there are people who are not mixed up in any crimes of violence, it is not our intention to punish them or to detain them any longer, but we must see the reaction. I have, as my Administrator says, burnt my finger in releasing some responsible people, who went to Pakistan and made very damaging statements and false statements at that against the administration. I do not want to repeat that story. So I want to assure all friends, both Hindus and Muslims that the administrators in Hyderabad will deal with the administration and deal with every body with firmness, with justice and equity, but it will not allow conditions of chaos to be created or allow intrigue to take place again. There are people still who carry on propaganda. Hyderabad is still on the agenda of the Security Council; that agenda is too long and in any case the case is always there on the agenda, but Hyderabad is a settled fact which nobody can alter (*Hear, hear*). It is a domestic affair and in the domestic matter of India, India is powerful enough to resist anybody. Therefore, I would advise friends not to raise these questions here. It is an affair of the Hyderabad Administration, which is capable of dealing with it. When I went to Hyderabad, both Hindus and Muslims were full of admiration of that administration. The other thing that I found in Hyderabad was, that nobody now there is under any delusion. Everybody, Hindus and Muslims, even officers have understood the position in which they are and what their future is, because I made clear everything of what the future will be and I have also disabused them of any expectations of any help from outside, or anywhere in the world.

Now, another friend has raised a question about the Army, in the levelling up of the States on a line with the Provinces. I can assure the House that nobody is more anxious than myself to level up the States or to bring up the

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administration of the States on a line with the provinces and to bring the administration as quickly as possible on provincial lines, but it is not an easy job. The States have enjoyed a certain amount of advantage over the provinces; there are certain agreements, certain conventions and many things that have been left in the past to us as a legacy. We are looking into that. We have practically no papers, no records nothing to trace, and therefore, we are doing our best under the circumstances to study the situation and bring about a situation in which the States could willingly and readily agree to come to the level of the provinces. If the States would not agree to that, we cannot coerce the people. We have the power or the authority, but we cannot exercise that authority or the power by coercing our own people. Have patience. In one year or 1-1/2 years, we have been able to persuade all those Princes to fall in line, but now it is not the princes who are the obstacles, it is our own people. So we have to deal with our own people. To persuade them is a difficult job. I want the co-operation of the House in creating the necessary atmosphere.

Now about the Army. The Army in the States are each different one from the other. Some States have very good Army. In some the army is not very efficient. Several States have poor armies which compared to our Police are much inferior. We have to look into these. We have appointed an officer for the purpose from our Defence Forces. He goes about visiting the States and tries to bring their forces into line with our Defence Forces in point of equipment, in point of efficiency, pay, conditions of service and so on. He tries to point out the defects and improve them. We shall tackle this question tactfully and carefully and obtain the approval and the consent of the Princes and the people. So far as the Princes are concerned, I have to tell you and I have no hesitation in saying that they will agree to whatever advice I give them. They have accepted me as their adviser and they have no hesitation in accepting my advice. I have often expressed my admiration of them and I have also congratulated them for rising to the occasion. I once more take this opportunity on the floor of this House to say that the Princes of India have done well by us and I assure them that we will do also well by them in future when our help may become necessary. But, to the people to the representatives of the people, I shall once more appeal not to be impatient. On the type of administration that you now put up will depend the future of India and if you resent the advice given by the officers sent to you and do not listen to my advice you will yourself come to grief. One day you will realise that my advice was right. Till the elections are over after the completion of the electoral rolls, take me as your guide. Do not resent the advice and do not consider the advice as an encroachment on your powers. Even if these officers make mistakes the people's representatives can come to me and I will correct those mistakes. I will always do my best to help you. It is up to you to accept that help and benefit by it. That is all I have to say.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I will now put the Demands to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,39,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of States'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 51, 29,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Relations with Indian States'."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Friday, the 18th March, 1949.

DEBATES

(PART II—PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

Friday, 18th March, 1949

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11-45 A.M. PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

NOTIFICATION *re* RULES FRAMED UNDER INDIAN AIRCRAFT ACT, 1934

The Honourable Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai (Minister of Communications): Sir, I lay on the table a copy of Notification No. 10-A/28-48, dated the 25th February, 1949, issued by the Ministry of Communications relating to the rules framed under the Indian Aircraft Act, 1934, together with an Explanatory Note.

MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS

NOTIFICATION

New Delhi, the 25th February, 1949

No. 10-A/28-48.—In exercise of the powers conferred by section 5 of the Indian Aircraft Act, 1934 (XXII of 1934), the Central Government is pleased to direct that the following further amendments shall be made in the Indian Aircraft Rules, 1937, the same having been previously published as required by section 14 of the said Act, namely:—

In the Schedules annexed to the said rules—

I. In Section C of Schedule II, in paragraph 2—

(a) In sub-paragraph (1)—

(1) for sub-clause (ii) of clause (c) the following shall be substituted namely:—

"(ii) For multi-engined flying machine.—General flying, with an examiner (check pilot approved by the Central Government on board, during which the following flight tests applicable to the type shall be carried out, with the aircraft loaded at maximum landing weight, namely:—

- a. All manoeuvres used in normal flight, including take-off and landing.
- b. Landings with one engine inoperative using alternate engine(s).
- c. Emergency manoeuvres, including simulated engine failure after take-off and approach to the staff in both level and banked attitudes";

(2) in clause (d)—

(i) for sub-clause (ii) the following shall be substituted, namely:—

"(ii) For single-engined flying machine.—Three landings of which at least two shall be made without the aid of a flood-light";

(ii) after sub-clause (ii) the following sub-clause shall be inserted, namely:—

"(iii) For multi-engined flying machine.—General flying, with an examiner (check pilot) approved by the Central Government on board, during which the following manoeuvres shall be carried out, namely:—

- a. With one engine inoperative, using alternate engine(s).—All manoeuvres used in normal flight including landings.
- b. At maximum landing weight.—All manoeuvres used in normal flight including take-offs and landings.
- (b) in sub-paragraph (2), for the proviso the following shall be substituted, namely :—

“Provided that an applicant for the addition to his licence for the first time or subsequently of a type of a flying machine with two or more engines shall be required to carry out the general flying tests prescribed in sub-clause (ii) of clause (c) and sub-clause (iii) of clause (d) of sub-para. (1) of this paragraph”;

- (c) after sub-paragraph (3), the following shall be inserted, namely :—

“(4) The flying tests prescribed in sub-clause (ii) of clause (c) and sub-clause (iii) of clause (d) of sub-paragraph (1) of this paragraph must have been carried out within the period of six months preceding the date of application and must all have been witnessed and certified by the same examiner (check pilot)”;

II. In section C of Schedule VIII—

- (a) in paragraph 2,—

(i) for the word “Pilot”, where it occurs for the first time, the word “Pilots” shall be substituted;

- (ii) against item B in the last column, the following words shall be omitted, namely :—

“The Pilot shall demonstrate his ability by making three take-offs and three landings in the type of aircraft in which he is to serve”;

- (b) for paragraph 6, the following shall be substituted, namely :—

“6. All pilots while engaged on a licensed air transport service shall, every three months, undergo a check in instrument flying in actual flight, or for each alternate check in approved simulated conditions, under the supervision of an examiner (check pilot) approved by the Director General, this check to include—

- (a) 180° turns with 30° bank to port and star-board, variation in height not to exceed 200 feet;

(b) let-down procedure applicable to the aerodrome in use;

(c) recovery from unusual attitude”;

- (c) after paragraph 6, the following paragraphs shall be inserted, namely :—

“7. All pilots before flying as pilot-in-command of an aircraft with two or more engine on a licensed air transport service shall demonstrate to an examiner (check pilot) approved or appointed by the Director-General their proficiency in the performance of the following flight tests on the type of aircraft to be operated, namely:—

- (1) For operation by day :—

(a) Six take offs, circuits, and landings, at varying degrees of load to include one take-off at maximum landing weight.

(b) Stalls, to the point of warning, with wheels and flaps up and down, during normal and asymmetric flight.

(c) Asymmetric flight, including landings, using alternate engine(s) and emergency action with simulated failure of one or more engines during take-off.

(d) One approach at too low a height and one approach at too great a height, with one or more engines inoperative.

(e) A check in instrument flying, in actual flight, comprising:—

(i) One figure-of-eight turn with 30° bank, variation in height not to exceed 200 feet.

(ii) Recovery from unusual attitudes, loss in height not to exceed 1,000 feet.

(iii) Asymmetric flight to include 180° turns with and against inoperative engine(s), loss in height not to exceed 200 feet.

(iv) Let-down procedure applicable to the aerodrome in use, variation in speed during descent not to exceed 5 m.p.h. above or below the stipulated speed.

2. For operation by night :—

Night flying tests.—

(a) As in (a), (b), (c) and (d) above for operation by day.

(b) Let-down procedure applicable to the aerodrome in use; variation in speed during descent not to exceed 5 m.p.h. above or below the stipulated speed;

Provided that the Central Government may exempt from any or all of the tests prescribed in this Paragraph a Pilot whose experience is so long and varied as to indicate his proficiency up to the requisite standard; and provided further that a Pilot who, on the first day of September 1948, is already employed as a Pilot-in-command, may continue to act in that capacity subject to the completion of the tests prescribed in this Paragraph by a date not later than the 31st day of May, 1949.

8. All the flying tests prescribed in paragraph 7 must have been carried out within the period of six months preceding the date of application and must have been witnessed and certified by the same examiner (check pilot) :

Provided that where more than one examiner (check pilot) is employed by a licensed air transport service, the flying tests may be certified jointly by two examiners (check pilots) one of whom witnessed each test; and provided further that a test already performed during the previous six months for the endorsement of the Pilot's 'B' licence in respect of an additional type of flying machine, in accordance with Schedule II, Section C, paragraph 2, sub-paragraph (1), clause (c), sub-clause (ii) and clause (d), sub-clause (iii) of these rules, need not be repeated where an identical test is prescribed in paragraph 7 of this Section”.

K. V. VENKATACHALAM, Dy. Secy.

Explanatory Note

It is considered that the existing provisions of the Indian Aircraft Rules, 1937, with regard to flying tests of commercial pilots (B licence pilots) on multi-engined aircraft, whether employed on licensed air transport services or otherwise, are out of date and are failing to provide a sufficient standard of operational safety. The acute shortage of technical personnel of all grades in this country has created a state of intense competition between the Companies for the services of all available men, with the result that every “B” license pilot—good, bad or indifferent is absorbed and the normal process of elimination of those who are of inferior ability has ceased to exist. This situation has tended to cause a lowering of the standards of safety and efficiency. The introduction into this country of aircraft of advanced design, e.g., Vikings and Constellations, makes it necessary that the crews operating them should have a high standard of operating technique. The operating Companies themselves have realised the necessity for the tightening up of the Aircraft Rules relating to flying tests for a commercial pilot who has to handle multi-engined aircraft and also for the introduction of flying tests of a much higher standard for pilots authorised to act as pilot-in-command of such aircraft when employed on a scheduled air transport service. The Government have accordingly decided to amend the Rules suitably, taking also into account the new regulations which have been approved for international adoption by the International Civil Aviation Organisation. The rules as amended will provide for stringent tests for as well as for periodic checks of the pilots by authorised examiners. The proposed amended rules have been accepted by the air transport companies.

PROTECTIVE DUTIES (MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS) BILL

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy (Minister of Commerce): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to extend the date upto which certain duties characterised as protective in the First Schedule to the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, shall have effect, to determine or levy protective duties in certain other cases and further to amend the Sugar Industries (Protection) Act, 1932.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to extend the date upto which certain duties characterised as protective in the First Schedule to the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, shall have effect to determine or levy protective duties in certain other cases and further to amend the Sugar Industries (Protection) Act, 1932.”

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—contd.

SECOND STAGE—contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will take up today the Demands for Grants in respect of Health, Education, Labour and Transport. Obviously, all these four will be taken up one after the other and, looking at the time at our disposal, the allotment of time will be one hour for Health—I am not speaking of the

[Mr. Speaker]

time limit as to the speeches of honourable Members—Education one hour, Labour one hour and Transport 45 minutes. That is the allotment of time. I believe these are generally acceptable.

That means the time allotted for Health will be from 11-45 to 12-45. We will be left with 15 minutes before Lunch and Education will proceed in compartments and after we meet again, we will take up Education. Discussion on Labour will be one hour and Transport 45 minutes.

The Honourable Shri Satyanarayan Sinha (Minister of State): May I suggest that the honourable Ministers in charge of these Departments should be requested not to make an opening speech, so that they may give an opportunity to other Members to speak?

Mr. Speaker: It is entirely a matter for the honourable Ministers and the House to choose among themselves whether the Ministers should or should not make a statement, but I believe the books have been circulated. So, I shall first place before the House the Demands for Grants in respect of Health.

DEMAND NO. 18—MINISTRY OF HEALTH

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,82,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Health'."

DEMAND NO. 51—MEDICAL SERVICES

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 29,59,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Medical Services'."

DEMAND NO. 52—PUBLIC HEALTH

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 69,05,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Public Health'."

I do not know whether the honourable Minister proposes to address the House now or at the end.

The Honourable Rajkumari Amrit Kaur (Minister of Health): In view of the very short time that has been given, I think it would be better for me to speak at the end after the honourable Members have spoken.

Mr. Speaker: Shall I leave 25 minutes for her reply?

The Honourable Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: Yes.

Mr. Speaker: Very well. The time limit for members has to be in any case between seven to ten minutes.

Mr. Frank Anthony (C.P. and Berar: General): Sir, I request your permission to move a cut motion.

Mr. Speaker: Is it a cut motion with reference to the Health Ministry? The honourable Member is perfectly entitled to do so.

Improvement of conditions of Nursing Services.

Mr. Frank Anthony: Sir, I move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Sir, I have given notice of this cut motion in order to focus attention on the deplorable conditions, which in some parts of the country appear to be getting worse, conditions under which nurses today are having to live and to work. Sir, I know that our honourable Minister for Health will say that while she has the greatest sympathy for the terrible conditions under which nurses have to work and live, she will plead inability to intervene effectively, because nursing is essentially a provincial subject. I feel, Sir, that we must call a stop to pious declarations, pious promises, professions of sympathy. In spite of the fact that nursing is essentially a provincial subject, I feel that very much can be done if more drive and more initiative is shown from the Centre in order to make the provinces realize their serious dereliction of duty in this matter. Sir, the language I use or will use will perhaps be regarded as a little strong, but I feel that this is a subject which requires not only strong language, but equally strong measures.

Sir, we hear and read of frequent appeals by the honourable Minister for Health and persons like the Governor-General, pointing to the acute shortage of nurses, requesting the womanhood of India to make up this acute shortage. Sir, I am quite convinced that all these appeals, from whichever direction they are made will be still-born. And I go further and say that these appeals deserve to be still-born. No person in authority has the right to ask India's womanhood to join the Nursing Services unless he is prepared to take accompanying and corresponding measures to see that the present terrible conditions under which our nurses are made to work all over this country, to see that conditions where they are under-paid, under-fed, under-housed, and over-worked deliberately exploited to the extent of destroying the health of many of the women, to see that these conditions are immediately improved.

Sir, I feel and any one who knows something about the nursing profession must feel that the present scales of pay are not only niggardly, but that they are scandalously disgraceful. What does the probationary nurse get? She gets 20 or 22 rupees a month; she gets another Rs. 20 a month as dearness allowance. From this total figure of 40 or 45 rupees a month, she has to pay house-rent, for her food, deductions are also made on account of linen that may be destroyed, on account of breakages. She is left if she is fortunate with a paltry sum of Rs. 20 a month with which to meet all her requirements in the way of civilian clothes, toilet requisites, recreation and amusement. A nurse after she has completed her training, starts on an initial salary of about Rs. 45 a month. With regard to uniform, the allowances in some provinces are so scandalously low that I know of cases where two nurses share one single uniform. A girl as she completes her day duty takes off that uniform and hands it to her colleague who goes on night duty. Sir, the position with regard to food is equally bad. I receive almost universal complaints that the food is not only inadequate, but it is regarded as dog food, that this inadequacy and poor quality of food is leading progressively to the under-mining of the health of these girls who take up the nursing profession. And I say, Sir, that the exploitation with regard to work beggars description. I do not know whether honourable Members realize that a nurse is required to do at least eight hours regular duty a day. Unlike persons in other services, a nurse gets no day of rest during the week. A nurse is lucky if she gets one Sunday off in the month as a day of rest. And it is

[Mr. Frank Anthony]

with regard to the position concerning night duty, Sir, that I wish to draw particular attention. I consider this position as absolutely scandalous. In every three months, a nurse is required to do one month's continuous night duty. She is required to do 12 hours duty every night for 30 consecutive nights. This is a matter which I feel requires the immediate attention of the Minister of Health. And we must remember this also, that unlike other services, a nurse is required to undertake hard study. In addition to hard rigorous duties of work, nurses are required to pass severe and difficult examinations both theoretical and practical. Sir, I feel that much of the difficulties of the nurses in the country are due unfortunately to the attitude of contempt towards and deliberate neglect of our nurses in this country. Unfortunately there is a widespread feeling in India even in the highest civilian official circles that the nursing profession is ignoble, low and demeaning. In all progressive countries of the world, the nursing profession is regarded not only as a fine profession but as one of the noblest of all professions. And I feel that our attitude in this respect is largely responsible for the continuing neglect of the nursing service.

What is happening in Madras? I am told that the scales which were already inequitously low have been further reduced. I know that in Bangalore—in the Bowring and Lady Curzon hospitals—the scale of pay of the nurses has been reduced and that as a result even the probationary nurses are going out and the staff nurses also are leaving the hospitals. I feel that even in the Centre not enough is being done in the matter. We hear professions of sympathy for the Service. We hear views expressing approval for the need to improve the condition of the nurses. But what has happened in the Centre? I have heard complaints from the Irwin Hospital. The girls have complained to me that the food given to them is nothing but dog food. When I suggested to them that they should have made representations about it, they said that if they made representations they would be immediately victimised as agitators. I told them: 'You have a fine Christian lady as Minister. Why don't you complain to her?' The trouble is that the Health Minister is too good a Christian, with a superabundance of faith in human nature with the result that any cock-and-bull story is accepted as gospel truth. The girls said, therefore, that they did not go to the Health Minister, because their last condition would be worse than the first. When I asked them whether the Health Minister does not inspect the Hospital, they said that when she pays an official visit everything is put in top-notch condition but if only the Health Minister visited the hospital *incognito* and took her dog with her, that animal would refuse to take the usual fare given to the nurses. I know that the Health Minister is sympathetic and that her sympathy is active and real. But unless something is really done not only you will not get new recruits to the profession, but my own fear is that even those that are there will progressively go out.

Mr. Speaker: Out motion moved:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Health' be reduced by Rs. 100".

Shri H. V. Kamath (C.P. and Berar: General): Mr. Speaker, the Health Minister is charged with the essential and very arduous task of nursing a sick nation back to health. The vital statistics in our country go to show that the state of health of the nation is alarmingly poor. Life expectation, infant mortality and maternity hospital returns show at what a low level of health the nation as a whole is. The primary needs of man include among other things, medical aid; and medical aid, to my mind, includes both preventive and curative aid. I would like to point out that so far as India is concerned, with our low *per capita* income, the only system of medical aid we can encourage today is the ancient science of Ayurveda the fifth Veda and the system of Yoga, especially Hatha Yoga and Yogic therapy. I am happy to note that the Chopra Committee has made a specific recommendation in this

behalf. I shall with your permission read out an extract from that Report. It is this: "The approach to research should be more in accordance with the systems themselves". (The reference is to the Indian Medical system) 'That is, not only through observation and experimentation in the laboratory, but also through meditational and intuitional means as practised by ancient savants'. Obviously 'meditational and intuitional means' refer to Yogic practices as practised in India in ancient times.

It is a well-known fact that Magasthenes the Greek traveller who visited India during Chandragupta's time testified to the fact that "this nation is a nation of Gods." He visited India at a time when all our sciences were very much advanced. Among the sciences that had thus advanced, the foremost place was taken by Ayurveda and Yoga.

The other day, the Health Minister, replying to a question on Psycho-Therapy said that she was willing to advance it if it was conducted on modern scientific lines. I do not know what she meant by 'modern scientific lines'. You should not however make a fetish of science. Science is all right. But I wonder what exactly 'science' connotes. Science in the widest sense connotes knowledge, even the highest knowledge. Certainly the ancient savants referred to by the Chopra Committee did attain to a very high level of knowledge as regards the Science of health. As regards modern medical science, you may have heard of the common saying 'Operation was successful, but the patient died'. That is perfectly scientific! I hope that the Health Minister would pursue a truly scientific policy. I would not discard anything ancient, just because it is an ancient thing and has fallen into disrepute in some places in the hands of quacks. Yesterday, I believe in reply to a question on Naturopathy the honourable Minister said that no proposals had been received from Naturopaths in the country. I hope Government will not be so indifferent with regard to health, but will take the initiative in this matter and promote the system of Yogic Therapy as practised today in Bombay and Lonavala. When the Minister goes to Bombay, if she would take a stroll along Chowpatty, she would find an institute called Kaivalyadhama on Chowpatty. There they practise Yogic or Psycho-Therapy of a fairly high order. I hope Government will invite the founder of the institution, who is the chairman of the Board of Physical Education of the Bombay Government, and ask him to submit proposals for the encouragement of Psycho-Therapy, especially Yogic Therapy in this country. The two institutions in Bombay and Lonavala are doing very good work not only with regard to preventive aspects but also with regard to the maintenance of health. It is not enough to build up muscles of iron for health. The nerves should be of steel, as it is the nervous system that is the base of health. Yogic therapy and Ayurveda promote the healthy growth of the nervous system in man.

Now I want to say a word about the B.C.G. vaccine which has been lately introduced in this country. I hope Government will go slow with this B.C.G. vaccine. Opinion is not unanimous with regard to this and there is a very fundamental cleavage of opinion amongst experts and health authorities. One health authority goes to the extent of saying that—

"the public should note that B.C.G. is a dangerous unstable product and other world experts and the Health Departments of many countries have not permitted its use because it is a live vaccine and should be used within a short period of its preparation. Moreover, the virulence of the B.C.G. is not fixed and harmful reactions may occur if it is too virulent."

I hope, therefore, that B.C.G. will not be used on too wide a scale in this country before its value and its harmlessness are ascertained beyond the shadow of a doubt.

[Shri H. V. Kamath]

Then, Sir, there is the other question of housing. A factory has been set up in this country for manufacture of pre-fabricated houses and the general problem of housing is looked after by the Works, Mines and Power Ministry and the Health Ministry. I wish that housing should be entirely under the Health Ministry and should be dissociated from the Works, Mines and Power Ministry. It must be looked after by the honourable Minister for Health as it is done in the U. K. In the U.K., I understand, the housing portfolio is part of the Ministry of Health. I hope that it will be done here too in our country.

As regards pre-fabricated houses, it is a novel experiment but I was sorry to note the other day that before the plan was finalised Indian housewives who are the most vitally interested in this problem,—in the housing problem and household management in general—were never consulted at any stage before the plan was finalised. I do hope that at some stage in the future, before the plans for pre-fabricated houses are finalised or before these houses are finally built housewives will be taken into consultation, will be taken into confidence, by the Health Minister.

Shri Mahavir Tyagi (U.P.: General): Housewives or midwives?

Shri H. V. Kamath: Lastly, Sir, there is the question of the medical licentiates and the medical graduates. I feel that the Indian Medical Councils Act has done an injustice to the Indian medical licentiates in our country. I hope that it will be revised ere long so as to bring the licentiates and graduates on a more or less equitable level, if not absolutely equal level.

Finally, Sir, I hope that the Ministry of Health will function in such a way that it will look after Health not merely in the Centrally Administered Areas, but also will have coordinating powers in regard to health matters in the provinces. I hope also that there will be an All-India Medical Institute in this country before long and I also wish and ardently hope that there will be a Central cadre to supply the staff needed for post-graduate teaching and research institutes in this country.

May I end with this observation that on the portals of the Ministry of Health must be inscribed the ancient motto of our country:

Shareeramadyam khalu dharmasadhanam

Shareera means bodily health, which is the pre-requisite of the higher life. I hope that we in this country will resurrect our ancient systems which maintained our nation in supreme health and that the sick nation that it is today will ere long be hale and hearty and—I would not say alive and kicking—but certainly restored to that state of health in which it can prosecute vital tasks of national reconstruction with greater energy and vigour. Our genius has always looked upon the health of man as only a means to an end, as a means to the performance of the highest *Dharma* and the achievement of *Moksha* for man.

Sreematty Annie Mascarene (Travancore State): Sir, of all the fundamental problems that await solution at the hands of Government, public health is the most important. Other problems like Industry, Commerce,—in fact, all development schemes—can wait, but problems like, Food, Health and Finance cannot wait, and if neglected, the nation will perish. If the health of the nation is the wealth of the nation, a grave duty devolves on the Government to look after the nation's health and build up the nation on sound healthy basis.

The hygienic aspect of Indian life, Sir, has been a long neglected subject. India has been a scene of famines, diseases, epidemics, all carrying a heavy toll of human life. The recent Bengal famine and its consequent epidemics recorded in the annals of history is a lasting blot on British administration. Public health has baffled all administrators and in India it has been a standing problem. Poverty and disease—the twin sisters of destruction—have taken a long stride over the teeming population, carrying millions with them.

During the last twenty years, between the First and the Second World Wars, the population of India has increased by 85 millions. The present estimated increase of population is about 3 millions. If India has got the highest record of death rate, namely, 22 per thousand, it has the highest record of birth rate, namely, 34 per thousand. Over-population and under-feeding have characterised the socio-economic life of the Indian people. The present condition of health is very unsatisfactory indeed.

Statistics regarding diseases in India had been published in one of the American journals, the *Readers Digest*, in an article called “India—poor and starving” appearing in the 1949 January issue. In that article, they had given the statistics as follows. India is said to have only 45,000 doctors. That means an average of one doctor for every 7,000 citizens. In the C.P. there is only one doctor for every 14,500 citizens and one hospital for every 1 lakh 5 thousand people. The Health Ministry estimates the minimum need of the country to be 1 lakh and 85 thousand doctors. Look at the time we have got to make up for all this loss.

But what surprises me most, Sir, is the present policy of Government to throw the licentiated medical practitioners overboard. So many villages in India are in need of a midwife and a nurse. Would it not be better if we can provide them also with a licentiated medical practitioner? And what about the doctors' case? A doctor who spends so many years of his life in preparing himself to be fit enough to serve the nation, to fight with death and save men, women and children, he starts his life on a pittance of Rs. 150. A Radio announcer is getting Rs. 400 for his very voice. A clerk starts on Rs. 160. Why is the medical practitioner, the doctor, why is he so under-rated when his services are so very necessary for the nation? We have got to fight epidemics, not with Radio announcers, not with clerks, but we have got to fight epidemics with doctors and their skill. It looks from the statistics that we have at our hand that the country is badly in need of doctors. It looks as if the heritage that we are going to leave to posterity will be one of tuberculosis and malaria—malaria that eats like cankers into the heart of the nation, kills a million a year. 500,000 people die of tuberculosis a year and in the population there are about 2½ million people suffering from tuberculosis. Not to count the number of people who are carried away by small-pox, dysentery, and other epidemics and the weapon we have to fight with these is the inadequate number of doctors. I would like to make a few suggestions to the Government with regard to the weapons to fight the poor conditions of living and the want of sanitation all of which contribute to the growth of vice as well as to the growth of epidemics.

In order to enlighten people, whose literacy is not above 17 per cent., we have got to scheme how to teach them to fight against epidemics. Visual education, that is teaching the villagers through films, to live under sanitary conditions and to fight against epidemics, will be a proper scheme. It was adopted in Travancore and has been found to be successful. Similarly radio talks on health, will be another means of helping the villagers to fight against epidemics. Above all, the real cure lies not with the Health Minister but with the Food Minister. A country which is fed with food bought from the world pool cannot

[Sreematty Annie Mascarene]

last long to continue in the health we are having now. The best thing is for India to produce as much food as possible, for the nation lives not by drugs but by food. Therefore, if the Food Minister and the Health Minister—and of course the Finance Minister—put their heads together I think we can solve the problem.

There is one more point I wish to deal with and that is with regard to maternity and child welfare. Even Delhi has not got a qualified Maternity and Child Welfare doctor: I mean one who has a diploma on Maternity and Child Welfare. It is a great pity that this nation cannot give sufficient medical help to women in labour. Our infant mortality is 176 out of every 1,000—the highest in the world next to China. Unless we take proper care of our women and children, the nation is not going to grow healthy.

I would suggest that the Health Minister will train as many doctors as possible in maternity and child welfare service so that our nation may be better looked after. The children's mortality should be fought out by clinics, established or organized all over the country in every village. Unless every village can afford a midwife and a nurse, I do not think that this problem can be solved.

With these words, Sir, I thank you for the opportunity you have given me.

Dr. V. Subramaniam (Madras: General): I take this opportunity of placing a few facts before the honourable Members in this House. The first thing is that the previous speakers have given some statistics and some facts about midwifery and nursing. As far as nursing is concerned, it will take at least 50 years or more if we want to train nurses in sufficient numbers for the villages and towns. So I will make one suggestion. If it is feasible, the honourable Minister can take it; or otherwise, after taking expert opinion reject it. After the age of 15 or 16 in the girls' curriculum of studies, a course can be taken in midwifery and nursing, so that when such a girl goes out and marries, she can become the nurse and midwife for her daughters and neighbours. If some such method is adopted and also village *dhais* or nurses or young ladies prepared to take some training for six months are sent to villages and settle there, then the profession of nursing and midwifery will be an easy matter. Even today nursing and midwifery is being practised by so many village women and respectable ladies, but some instructions must be given. Unless some such method is adopted, it will be a long time before this problem is solved.

The other thing is the medical profession, and the relief that is given by allopathic doctors, Ayurvedic and homeopathic doctors, and so forth. In the field of allopathic doctors, there are Licentiates and Graduates. In the matter of registration, Licentiates and Graduates in the provinces are registered under one Act and one Register and in the Centre they are not registered under the All-India Medical Register. In the case of Licentiates, there are anomalies and caste-distinctions. Those distinctions were kept by the foreign Government probably for some political motives. But now it is high time that all these caste-distinctions are abolished and one All India Medical Register is created, where all the Licentiates and the medical graduates can be registered. Unless this is done there will be some sort of bickering even in the allopathic profession and I hope this matter will be taken up and the Indian Medical Council Act amended accordingly. In this way the Licentiates can be given some encouragement. Fortunately, the provinces have closed the licentiate training schools and there is only one graduate course now.

The other thing is that the minimum qualification for registration must be fixed in the Act. It is said "maximum qualification". But unless the minimum qualification is fixed and registration is started, we need not fix the maximum qualification. People wanting the latter qualifications can go to America and England and obtain the knowledge which is required.

The other thing is that by the allopathic field, or state medicine only 15 to 20 per cent. of the population are being given medical aid by the Government. What is happening for the rest of the 80 per cent. of the population? They are being treated by the local *Vaid*s under the Ayurvedic system, which is an indigenous system. Certain Provincial Governments have started their own colleges. It is the Central Government's duty, especially after the report of the Indigenous systems of medicine Committee has been published to chalk out a clear policy and give a lead to the provinces. I know medicine is a provincial subject and research alone is in the central field. Unless the Central Government gives a lead and takes measures to organise research institutions the indigenous system will not be able to become self-sufficient. In the matter of science, the Ayurvedic medicine is a science in itself. It has been in existence for 5,000 years and even today 80 per cent. of the people are treated effectively for all diseases. The question is whether the State is going to condemn that system or whether they are going to improve and encourage only the foreign system, however scientific the former may be. Even after all these thousands of years, the Ayurvedic system is based upon certain principles, though it has its defects and one such defect is in the field of surgery. As an Ayurvedic practitioner, I know where the shoe pinches because that system has been neglected for 200 years. Before the British came the Ayurvedic system was catering to the needs of the people including military. But after the Britishers came, the system was neglected. It is a perfect system though it has some defects. It is the duty of the civil Governments not only in India, but also in the medical world at large to encourage that system, which has stood up to the needs of people for generations to come.

The Ayurveda on the other hand has analysed all organic life as structures on the primal five called the *Panchabootas*, corresponding to the modern Nuclear theory, that is, the law governing matter. Deducting from this theory it has built up a wonderful system of medicine whose efficacy has been confirmed by experience of the past some 5,000 years. So medical relief and education as I conceive will be lopsided and partial if it does not take into account all the systems of prevention and cure applied by mankind till now.

Medical education to be complete in India should mean full knowledge of the ancient systems of the land combined with the modern conception of medicine and knowledge.

Medical colleges should be able to impart a synthetic knowledge of these systems *Ayurved*, *Siddha*, *Unani*. The practice may crystallise into any one of these channels but the knowledge of the other systems should be there. That is my candid opinion about medical relief in this country.

As regards the other point, fortunately a medical institute has been recommended by the Chopra Committee. There are so many other recommendations of the Committee which will take a long time to be implemented. But before all that a minimum qualification or a minimum knowledge must be insisted on in regard to all doctors who come into the profession. Unless a man has the minimum knowledge or qualification he must not be allowed to practise. That much I am prepared to admit. As I said the Central Government will have to take strong measures to see that some sort of lead is given not only in India but for the whole world, because Ayurveda is the science of life. It is a science which

[Dr. V. Subramaniam]

deals not only with the human body, the flesh and blood of it, but also with the soul of man. So both these aspects of man are combined in Ayurveda. There is no cure of the body unless there is also cure of the mind. The science of life or Ayurveda deals not only with the human world but it also recognises that man has also other duties to perform. It recognises that unless we have a strong mind in a healthy body we cannot fulfil our goal in life. I, therefore, request the honourable Minister to take proper steps for the organisation of medical relief in the country. Whatever may be the systems, every thing good in any system must be accepted and consolidated and a national medical system must be encouraged in this country. Sir, I support the Demands.

The Honourable Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: Sir, I have listened with considerable interest to the various points raised by the honourable Members who have spoken on the budget demand on Health and I only hope that the speeches they have made are indicative of the growing interest in this subject.

The brief report of the activities of the Health Ministry, which has already been circulated along with the Budget papers, must have given honourable Members some idea of the more important items of work which the Ministry of Health has undertaken in the current year and accomplished and which we have programmed to do in the coming year.

Before I reply to some of the suggestions that have been thrown out in the speeches made by honourable Members I would like briefly to dwell on the policy, as I conceive it ought to be, of the Central Ministry of Health. As honourable Members are aware most of the subjects in the field of health fall in the provincial sphere and the executive responsibility in the matter of sanitation, Public health and medical relief lies largely with the provincial governments. While saying this I do not for one moment wish honourable Members to go away with the impression that I take a narrow view of central responsibility in the vital matter of national health. On the contrary, my work and experience in the Ministry which I have the honour to serve, have left no shadow of doubt in my mind that health administration in every part of India is a matter of direct and deep concern to the Central Government and in the promotion of health in all its aspects throughout the country and in the enforcing of the maintenance of high standards of efficiency in teaching, in research and generally in medical institutions the Central Government must always play a big and positive part. This has always been my endeavour and it will continue to be so. Apart from subjects like International Health Organisations, port quarantine, central agencies and institutions for research, professional or technical training and health in the centrally administered areas, for which the Central Government have direct responsibility, the Central Government's functions in regard to the matters which are primarily a provincial responsibility can be stated in very general terms to be co-ordination, provision of facilities for discussion, the supply of information, competent advice and guidance and such other assistance as they can give to the provinces for the promotion of the health and wellbeing of the country. It is only by the Centre acting with imagination and sympathy and extending its help to bring together the different administrative units of the Indian Union, with their varying resources and different levels of health, that the past neglect of public health and particularly that of rural India, can be rectified and an improved state of affairs brought into being within a reasonable period of time.

Therefore the idea that some people seem to have that health is a provincial subject and there is not much for the Centre to do is not quite correct and such people are, in my humble opinion, taking a very shortsighted and narrow

view and are following the path of evasion of responsibility. We have therefore endeavoured to take the initiative and given a lead wherever possible to the provincial governments and it was with the object of promoting active co-ordination in the promotion of health under local government administration that I convened a conference of Health Ministers, Ministers of Local Self-Government and Chairmen of Improvement Trusts last year. It was with the same object of promoting co-ordination of health policy throughout India and of providing the necessary advice and guidance to provincial governments and administrations that committees of enquiry were appointed to report on the indigenous systems of medicine, on environmental hygiene so intimately connected with rural medical aid, homeopathy, vital statistics, and leprosy and finances of local bodies also. Again, it was with the same idea of promoting coordinated development of certain important professions intimately connected with health that legislation to regulate the professions of pharmacy, nursing and dentistry were sponsored by the Central Government last year.

I mention all these instances in order to show that the general policy of my Ministry is to promote actively the cause of public health throughout the country to the maximum extent possible within the prescribed constitutional and financial limitations and here I would like to commend the keenness that has been evinced by the Provincial Ministers of Health and of Local Self-Government and Chairmen of Improvement Trusts throughout the country at the conferences held last year. I believe the provinces are forging ahead with their plans for health. They would forge ahead much more quickly but they too like the Centre suffer from financial disabilities.

It must be admitted, and I am sure the House will be at one with me when I say, that the money we spend on health is very much less than what is needed to provide an adequate health service for the country. Our hospitals and our health organisations are under-staffed. They are not always adequately equipped and unless more money is forthcoming progress must remain unsatisfactory. Sir, I stand before the House today with almost a guilty conscience when I am asking sanction for demands which do not go any length whatsoever towards fulfilling the needs of this vast land of ours in the field of health. None of the many plans we have in mind for increase of production can fructify if the health of the nation is not up to mark. Even armaments will be worth nothing if the men of the armed forces are physical weaklings. I am alarmed at the growing deterioration in the general health of the populace and particularly in the health of our children. We have to save them. We have to save our youth and all our people from mal and under-nutrition and disease, if we are to raise our stature in any sphere. But how can we do so if 50 per cent. of our revenues go towards defence and less than 5 per cent. is spent on health as a whole in the country and less than 1 per cent. in the Centre? I want the House to ponder very deeply over the figures that I am putting before it and I want to know how it expects me to do things if it does not give me the money wherewith to carry out my plans. I think sooner or later—and I hope sooner rather than later—the House will have to decide as to whether it is going to continue to starve this most vital Department: in other words, are they going to choose guns instead of butter?

There are schemes in the sphere of health which cannot brook any delay in being brought into action. The All-India Medical Institute must be brought into being. We have attained political freedom no doubt but we need well qualified men and women in every sphere of life if we are to obtain the fullest benefit from it. A handful of young men and women sent abroad for study will not suffice. We want to give every facility for post-graduate study and research to vast numbers in our own land. Those Members of the House who are anxious to have a Medical College in Delhi must join hands with me in pushing forward the scheme because it is only money that deters me.

[Rajkumari Amrit Kaur]

Meanwhile I would like to say for the benefit of those Members who are, I know, very agitated about the lack of medical education that can be provided in Delhi that in the Centrally administered areas and in Delhi steps are being taken to reserve seats in the Medical Colleges of neighbouring Provinces—at Agra, Indore, Jaipur, Gwalior and in the Glancy Medical College at Amritsar.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar: General): How many seats?

The Honourable Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: I think we have got about twenty-five seats in all in these places, but I am trying to get more if I possibly can. But I entirely share the opinion of honourable Members that there should be a college here. For that, as I say, give me the money.

An honourable Member of the House has talked, and talked very strongly, about the nursing services. I need hardly say to him that I am in entire agreement with every word that he has said and I know how extremely badly staffed our hospitals are, how over-worked nurses are and how shockingly under-paid they are. I would like to assure him that no branch of the medical profession has had more not only of my keen sympathy but also of my active sympathy in bettering their lot than this one and I put Nursing specially on the agenda of the last conference of Health Ministers that I called. Even more than scales of pay I agree it is the unsatisfactory living conditions which stand in the way of many girls joining this profession. I would like to assure the House that we have proposals now for the provision of adequate living quarters for nurses near the Irwin Hospital. I have long since taken up the matter of the extra food allowance of the nurses in the hospitals in Delhi. It is not that I am not available to the nursing profession in Delhi. They come to me. They tell me their grievances and I take up their cause at once. But there again it is a question of finance. We have all along been drawing the attention of the Provincial Governments to the need of improving the conditions of the service of nurses, of raising the status of the profession and of improving facilities for training. I am glad to inform the House that many Provincial Governments have included plans for these purposes in their post-war development schemes. To raise the status of the profession gazetted status has been conferred on nurses of the rank of Nursing Sisters and above. The House is also aware that with a view to improving nursing education and to provide a highly trained class of nurses who, it is hoped, will eventually provide the leadership for the profession, a nursing college affiliated to the Delhi University was established in Delhi two years ago. It has on its rolls at the moment 49 students studying for the B.Sc. degree in Nursing in the Delhi University. It also has 12 students undergoing training in Hospital Administration and other subjects. Selected nurses who have already undergone training in India are also sent abroad for post-graduate training. I can assure honourable Members that everything possible will be done to raise the status and efficiency of the nursing profession. But there again I have to plead as to how I can pay them adequately when we have not got the money, when health is not given adequate funds. The lack of funds for buildings even for the Nursing College here and the forcible occupation by the refugees of even some of the meagre hutment accommodation that I have for the Nursing College in Delhi is retarding the progress of this institution, and I say it is retarding the progress of this institution and adding to the detriment of the cause of nurses in India.

I agree that probationary nurses are under-paid, and their hours of work are too many. There again how am I to get more money for them and more food. But I assure the House once again that this is being sought to be done. I think that the attitude of contempt that the honourable Member referred to

has now really vanished and that many nurses from very good families are willing to come forward if only we could give them the facilities for training and if only they could be assured of proper pay, proper living accommodation and proper food.

There is the question of the cause of the indigenous systems of medicine which is almost a hardy annual. I would like to reiterate every word that I said in regard to this on the floor of the House last year. It is not that Government is not anxious to give all the facilities that it can for research in indigenous systems of medicine and also indigenous drugs. I consider that it is extremely necessary. But I do want the House not to be guided purely by sentiment in this matter and not to think that because these systems are ancient and because they belong to India they are the only or the best systems of medicine.

Shri H. V. Kamath: They have stood the test of ages and proved their efficacy.

The Honourable Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: India can not, must not, dare not, run away from or not give every encouragement to modern science. We would belittle ourselves in our own eyes and in the eyes of the world if we did so. Only those methods in medicine can be accepted which can stand the test of scientific scrutiny. Therefore basic training in modern science and its methods is necessary for anyone who claims to cure human disease, be it by whatsoever method.

I am glad one of the Members has raised the question of registration of all medical practitioners. All medical practitioners must be registered if we are to banish quackery from our land. They must have the same minimum standard of training. This does not preclude research in our indigenous systems and indigenous drugs. Ever wider opportunity for such research must be provided so that we may see to what extent indigenous systems and homeopathy too can be developed and regulated for medical relief in the country but not, I say again, in any spirit of rivalry with allopathy.

Shri H. V. Kamath: In a spirit of co-operation.

The Honourable Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: Rural medical relief has been mentioned by certain speakers. That subject is very near my heart and I may say that in the Centrally administered areas I have given priority 'A' to rural medical relief and two primary centres, according to the recommendations of the Bhore Committee, have been sanctioned for the Delhi Province. The foundation stone of one has been laid and I hope that both of them will be functioning within a year. This is a definite step forward.

I may also say this for the Delhi Province. I would like to make it a model province before I leave this Ministry. We must have plans for providing health education for the people because I feel that prevention is better than cure and that we must teach people how to live properly. We could banish 50 per cent. of the diseases if they knew this art. I hope that the housing department under me will also function well, not only in producing houses which may come under the prefabricated housing factory but also in the entire matter of housing and in laying out proper plans for villages much more even than for our towns. I am also going to have for Delhi mobile dispensaries which will, at any rate, go out daily and serve the rural areas.

I have spoken enough about the lack of money. Being a spending department as health must be, it cannot make any real progress without adequate grants.

[Rajkumari Amrit Kaur]

The problem is too vast to be dealt with in a short time, and if honourable Members are at liberty to criticise the Ministry of Health, I think I may be permitted to say, Sir, that it is scarcely fair for subjects so vital as health, education and labour welfare to devote only one working day for discussion thereon with a fourth subject thrown into the bargain. These are constructive activities; in them and in their proper development lies the happiness, moral, mental and physical, of our people. We are passing through critical times. We have to begin to build from scratch in every phase of activity. Nothing can be given priority. It is often said that we must have this and that and that health and education can wait. I entirely disagree. Nothing can wait, nothing can be given priority; everything is inextricably bound up with everything else. Sir, I beg of the House not to ignore health. That way lie danger and disaster. May I inform the House that in the U.S.A., in spite of complete autonomy in the States, under the Federal Security Act the Surgeon-General of the Federal Public Health has a large amount of money placed at his disposal for assisting the States in the development of their health plans. These grants are given to the States with certain specific conditions attached to them. There is a Bureau of Health Services under an Assistant Surgeon-General with an adequate number of technical experts whose services are utilised partly for assignment to health organisations in the States whenever necessary, and partly for ensuring supervision over the execution of the schemes for the grants-in-aid that are given.

I would also recommend to honourable Members to study the latest national health programme of U.K. which makes available free of charge every medical amenity to everybody in the country. They have not counted the cost in terms of money; they have laid the greater emphasis on human health and happiness. These surely are the lines which we should also follow.

I ask the House Sir, not only to pass this Budget without altering one iota of it, but to press for more money for this life-giving and life-saving Ministry. I not only ask for money, but I ask for adequate and highly-qualified staff in order to carry out our plans for development on a scale worthy of our country and its fair name. Anything less would be unworthy of the millions committed to our charge.

Mr. Frank Anthony: Sir, in view of what the honourable Minister has stated, I would request permission to withdraw my cut motion.

Mr. Speaker: Has the honourable Member leave of the House to withdraw his cut motion?

The cut motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker: I will now put the Demands to the House.

The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,82,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Health'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 29,59,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Medical Services'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 69,05,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Public Health'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: We now take up the Demands in respect of Education.

DEMAND No. 16.—MINISTRY OF EDUCATION.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 33,76,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Education'."

DEMAND No. 46.—ARCHAEOLOGY.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 28,71,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Archaeology'."

DEMAND No. 49.—OTHER SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,81,40,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Other Scientific Departments'."

DEMAND No. 50.—EDUCATION.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 93,41,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Education'."

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Mr. Deputy-Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar).]

प्रोफेसर यशवन्त राय : महोदय, Education इतना वास्तु सबजेक्ट (vast subject) है, और इसके लिये इतना कम समय रखा गया है, इसके लिये मुझे बहुत दुख है। एड्युकेशन एक ऐसा Important Subject है कि जिसको इण्डिया (India) के Development Plans में 'First Priority' मिलनी चाहिये। लेकिन दुख की बात है कि हमारा देश एक ऐसा देश है, जिसके अन्दर ८५ फीसदी लोग अनपढ़ हैं और फिर भी हम Education को इतना महत्व नहीं दे रहे हैं। दूसरे जितने आजाद मुल्क हैं, उनके अन्दर Education को बड़ी भारी importance दी जाती है इसलिये Education को discuss करने के लिये बहुत ज्यादा समय की जरूरत होती है।

जिस वक्त यहां पर अग्रजों की हकूमत थी, वह हकूमत एक bureaucratic Government थी और वह लोग यह चाहते थे कि अनपढ़ों की मदद से या सपोर्ट (Support) से इस देश में राज्य कर। लेकिन आज की हमारी सरकार ने एक

[प्रोफेसर यशवन्त राय]

प्रजातन्त्र सरकार है। हमें चाहिये कि जितनी ज्यादा से ज्यादा हम education को इस देश में फैला सकें, उतना फैलाने की कोशिश करें। हमारे माननीय एड्यूकेशन मिनिस्टर साहब ने Basic Education की, जो स्कीम रखी है, उसके अन्दर बहुत ज्यादा खर्चा होगा और मेरे ख्याल में जो स्कूलों में आजकल education है उस पर विचार करते हुये यह स्कीम impracticable है और इस पर ज्यादा रुपया खर्च करने की जरूरत नहीं है। बल्कि नये विधान में हमने जो Adult Franchise दिया है, उसके लिये जरूरी है कि हम masses को educate करें, और masses को educate करने के लिये, इतना ज्यादा रुपया खर्च करने की जरूरत नहीं है। चाहे हम social education दें, चाहे हम adult education दें, लेकिन तीन आर (3 R's.) की education होनी चाहिये उसमें reading, writing and arithmetic का provision होना चाहिये। इसलिये education के बहुत से items पर जो हम, इतना ज्यादा रुपया खर्च करने जा रहे हैं, वह मेरे ख्याल में कम हो सकता है। हमारा सबसे पहला आदर्श इस समय यह होना चाहिये कि हमें तमाम masses के अन्दर एक education फैलाना चाहिये जिससे masses को कम से कम अखबार पढ़ने का या हमारी सरकार जो कार्य उनके लिये करने जा रही है, उसका ज्ञान होना चाहिये।

दूसरा point जो मैं पेश करना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि हमारा जो मौजूदा education system है, वह पूरे का पूरा overhaul होना चाहिये। यह बिल्कुल western ideology जो हमने अपने education system के अन्दर रखी है, यह India को suit नहीं करती है। पंजाब केसरी श्री० लाला लाजपत राय जी कहा करते थे "Go back to the Vedas" Professor Maxmuller. ने कहा है "Rig Veda is the earliest book in the library of the world"। यह चीजें साफ जाहिर करती हैं कि हमारा जो अपना Culture है और सभ्यता है वह बहुत पुराना है उसकी तरफ हमें आज जाना चाहिये। अगर हम चाहते हैं कि हमारा राष्ट्र मजबूत हो, एक भाषा हो, एक culture हो, और एक देश हो, तो हमें अपनी पुरानी ideology को अपने Education system में लाना होगा। एक विद्वान ने कहा है कि अगर हम यह चाहते हैं कि हमारे विचार सारे देश के अन्दर फैल जायें तो हमें उन विचारों को उस देश के स्कूलों में भर देना चाहिये। इसलिये स्कूलों के tone को बदलने के लिये और उनके अन्दर जो western ideology है, उसको बदलने के लिये यह जरूरी है, कि हम अपने Eastern culture की तरफ ध्यान दें जो इतना समय बीत जाने के बाद भी और इतने (Invaders) के आने के बावजूद भी आज कायम है, उसको आनायें। हमारा कल्चर इतने time

के बाद भी कायम है और हम सब tides को stand कर सके हैं यह हमारी पुरानी ideology बहुत अच्छी है और हमें फिर से उसे अपने education system के अन्दर लाना चाहिये।

Education का aim होता है सुख और शान्ति हासिल करना। जैसा कि शास्त्रों में कहा है :

“विद्या ददाति विनयं—विनयादयाति पात्रताम्।

पात्रत्वात् धनमाप्नोति धनात् धर्मं ततो सुखम् ॥”

यानी विद्या का aim है सुख को लाना। लेकिन आज हम क्या देखते हैं। आज स्कूलों में और कालेजों में विद्यार्थी आये दिन बिना सोचे समझे गवर्नमेन्ट के खिलाफ उठ खड़े होते हैं। उन्हें ऐसा करने से पहले इस बात को समझ लेना चाहिये कि यह उनके हित के लिये है यानी फायदे के लिये है जो सरकार उनके लिये कर रही है, या नुकसान के लिये है। उन्हें बिना सोचे समझे सरकार के खिलाफ खड़ा न होना चाहिये। मैं तो इसका यही सबब समझता हूं कि उनके अन्दर राईट टाइप Right-type की education नहीं है बल्कि वह western education की चीजों को लेते हैं जो कि हमारे देश के हालात के लिये Impracticable हैं। John Stuart Mill एक बड़ा भारी विद्वान हुआ है। उन्होंने इस चीज को discover किया है कि education जो है, वह तीन एच (3H's) की होनी चाहिये, यानी head, hand and heart (हेड, हैंड, एन्ड हार्ट)। आज के प्रचलित education system में head and hand की तो education है, लेकिन heart की नहीं है क्योंकि यह western ideology पर चल रही है। लेकिन हमारे पुराने आर्य समय में तीनों एच (3H's) की Education होती थी लेकिन जो western countries हैं, उनके अन्दर दो एच (2H's) की ही education है, तीसरी यानी heart की education नहीं है, जिससे कि उनके अन्दर एक दूसरे के प्रति प्रेम भाव नहीं रहता है और वह एक दूसरे को divide करती है और वह लोग एक दूसरे को बरवाद करने पर तुले रहते हैं। इसलिये हम चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश के अन्दर तीन एच (3H's) की education हो और heart की education भी हो, ताकि हम लोगों में एक दूसरे के प्रति प्रेम भाव हो और भाई भाई की तरह मिल कर रहना सीखें। पुराने समय में हमारे देश में बहुत बढ़िया technical education थी और पिछले जंग में अंग्रेजी सरकार ने भी टेक्नीकल एड्यूकेशन पर बहुत ज्यादा जोर दिया, और उनको भी इसके लिये Technical and Vocational Centres खोलने पड़े। इसलिये इस Atomic-Age में technical education को हमारे एड्यूकेशन सिस्टम में ज्यादा से ज्यादा स्थान मिलना चाहिये। मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करता हूं कि हमें technical education पर बहुत ज्यादा रुपया खर्च करना चाहिये। हमें सिर्फ इस बात से खुश न होना चाहिये कि हमने इतना रुपया इसके लिये ग्रांट कर दिया है, और

[प्रोफेसर यशवन्त राय]

हमारे विद्यार्थी Tailoring, तरखाना, लुहारा और साईकिल मरम्मत सीख रहे हैं बल्कि अपने स्कूलों में सही टेक्नीकल एड्युकेशन, यानी अस्त्र और शस्त्र बनाने की शिक्षा देना चाहिये। मैंने इंग्लैंड में देखा है कि वहां पर स्कूलों और कालिजों में हवाई जहाज बनाने की शिक्षा देते हैं, मोटर बनाने की शिक्षा देते हैं और दूसरी मशीनों और पुर्जों के बनाने की शिक्षा देते हैं। हमारे स्कूल और कालिजों में भी इन सारी चीजों की शिक्षा का इन्तजाम फौरन होना चाहिये। Technical education के साथ साथ हमारी ज्यादा से ज्यादा तबज्जह physical education की तरफ भी होनी चाहिये, ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये कि वेस्टर्न western philosophy के अन्दर हमने physical education को बिल्कुल ignore सा कर दिया है। हमें अपने विद्यार्थियों को बलवान् बनाना है और चरित्रवान् बनाना है। पुराने आर्य समय में जब विद्यार्थी सबसे पहले अपने गुरु के पास जाता था तो गुरु यह कहता था :— “अशमा भवतुः ते तनुः”—“तेरा शरीर वज्र (पत्थर) हो”। अर्थात् तेरा जो शरीर है वह वज्र समान होना चाहिये। और इसके साथ ही गुरु कहता था “आत्मा वै पुत्र नामोसि”। “तू आत्मा है पुत्र तो तेरा नाम है” दूसरे मानों में वह ब्रताता था कि तेरी आत्मा बलवान् होनी चाहिये। इसलिये इन दोनों बातों का ख्याल रखते हुये कि आदमी आत्मा और शरीर इन दो चीजों का बना हुआ है, आत्मा और शरीर दोनों का development होना चाहिये। तभी एड्युकेशन ठीक हो सकती है। आजकल जो एजुकेशन हो रही है उसमें Students हमारे बखिलाफ हो जाते हैं और Interested parties आकर उनमें Indiscipline करा देते हैं। इन बातों से छुटकारा तभी हो सकता है जब कि हम इस बात को मान लें कि हमको थ्यरी और प्रैक्टिस (theory and practice) में अपने ideals को लाना है।

मैं अपने विद्या मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देता हूँ क्योंकि वह माहत्मा गांधी जी के सच्चे follower हैं। वह चाहते हैं कि इस देश में Classless Society हो। इसलिये उन्होंने backward classes के लिये दस लाख रुपये की Sanction दी है। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पंजाब के जो हरिजन विद्यार्थी हैं उनको अभी तक वजीफा नहीं मिला है। यह यूनिवर्सिटी का कसूर है क्योंकि उनके Result निकालने में देरी की गई है। इसमें विद्यार्थियों का कोई कसूर नहीं है। इसलिये उन्हें वजीफा जरूर मिलना चाहिये।

मनुस्मृति के अन्दर एक श्लोक आता है :

एतद् देश प्रसूतस्यः शकाशादग्रजन्मनः

स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथ्व्यां सर्व मानवाः।

इसका अर्थ यह है कि भारतवर्ष में जो ब्राह्मण होते थे वह सारे जगत के गुरु होने थे। हम अपने विद्या मंत्री जी से यह आशा करते हैं कि वह ऐसा करें कि जिस तरह हमारे विद्यार्थी इंग्लैंड और दूसरे देशों में विद्या पढ़ने जाते हैं, उसी तरह सारे संसार के विद्यार्थी भारतवर्ष में विद्या हासिल करने के लिये आया करें। Lord Christ भारतवर्ष के एक सबसे बड़े विद्यार्थी थे जो कि नालन्दा आर तक्षशिला में पढ़े थे। इसको जानने के लिये हमें “Unknown life of Christ” जो कि N. Notovitch ने लिखी है, पढ़नी चाहिये।

इस देश का सत्यानाश जब हुआ तब भी हमारे देश की शक्ति ब्राह्मणों के हाथों में थी और आजकल भी देश की शक्ति ब्राह्मणों के हाथों में है। मेरा ख्याल है कि जिन ब्राह्मणों ने इस देश का सत्यानाश किया था वही इसका पुनरुद्धार करेंगे।

(English translation of the above speech)

Prof. Yashwant Rai (East Punjab: General): Sir, I am deeply pained to say that such a short time has been allotted for the discussion of a vast subject like Education. Education is such an important subject that it should be accorded first priority in All India Development Plans. But it is a matter of great regret that although our country consists of 85 per cent. of uneducated people, yet we are not giving the same importance to this subject as it deserves. Secondly, in all the free countries, great importance is attached to 'Education'. Therefore, considerable time is required to discuss this subject.

During the time of the British regime in India, a bureaucratic Government was in power and the Britishers aimed to rule India with the support of the illiterate people. But at present we have got a democratic Government. We should make maximum possible endeavours to spread education in our country. The Basic Education Scheme which has been presented by our honourable Minister for Education is likely to involve a lot of expenditure; and in my opinion, keeping in view the education imparted in the schools at present, it seems to be somewhat impracticable, and it is not considered expedient to incur a heavy expenditure in this direction. On the contrary, it is most essential that we should educate the masses keeping in view the fact that we have provided for Adult Franchise in our new Constitution, and there is hardly any necessity for spending such a huge amount for the purpose of educating the masses. May it be social or adult education; but we should give education in the three R's viz., provision should be made in respect of reading, writing and arithmetic. For this reason, I believe that we can reduce the huge amount which we are going to spend in respect of various items under the head 'Education'. Our first and foremost object at present should be that we should try to spread some sort of education among our masses by means of which they may be able to read the newspapers or at least understand the implications of the plans formulated by our Government for their benefit.

Secondly, I would like to suggest that our existing education system should be thoroughly overhauled. The entire western ideology which is imbibed in our present education system does not suit India. The Lion of Punjab late Lala Lajpat Rai used to say “Go back to the Vedas”. Prof. Maxmuller has observed “Rig Veda is the earliest book in the library of the World”. All these things amply prove that our culture and civilization are very old, and we should switch back to that direction at present. If we want that we should build a strong nation, have a common language and culture and unified country, then we shall have to imbue our education system with our old

[Prof. Yashwant Rai]

ideology. A certain scholar has observed that if we want to spread our thoughts throughout the length and breadth of the country, then we should infuse those thoughts through the schools of that country. Therefore, with a view to change the tone of the schools and the western ideology prevalent there, it is considered necessary that we should devote attention towards our Eastern culture, which still exists today even after the lapse of such a long period and the visitation of so many invaders, and adopt it. Our culture continues to exist even after the ravages of such a long period and we have been able to stand the tide that betook us from time to time. Ours is a high ideology; it is ancient, and we should try to assimilate this in our present education system.

The aim of education is to attain peace and happiness, just as has been laid down in this *Shastras*:

*Vidya dadati vinayam vinayadayati patratam
Patratvat dhanawapnoti dhanaddharmam tatosukham.*

(Education imparts politeness; from politeness one becomes receptive; after that wealth follows. With the help of money, one can practice Dharma which leads to eternal happiness).

In other words, the aim of education is to achieve happiness. But what we find today is quite different. Now-a-days the students in both the schools and colleges make agitation against the Government in an irresponsible manner. Before launching upon such a course of action, they should realize as to whether what the Government are doing for their sake is likely to benefit them or not. They should not make any agitation against the Government without any cogent reasons. I would, on my part, attribute this delinquency not only to the lack of right type of education but to the fact that they are enamoured of the traits of Western education which are impracticable under the conditions existing in our country. John Stuart Mill was a great learned scholar. He has discovered this thing that the education should consist of the three "H's" viz., head, hand and heart. In the present education system, the faculties of head and hand do exist, but it is lacking in heart, because that is being run on the basis of the western ideology. But in our ancient Aryan age, education in the three "H's" used to be imparted whereas in the western countries, education is given in the two "H's" only. Education in the third direction viz., heart is lacking and as a result of this they cannot foster any mutual concord or harmony and it tends to divide one against the other, and those people are bent upon ruining each other. Therefore, we desire that education in the three "H's" should be imparted in our country which should include 'heart' also; so that we may be able to engender mutual love and should learn to work as members of One Brotherhood. In the olden days, very high standard of technical education existed in our country, and during the last war also, the British Government laid a great emphasis upon this matter, and for this purpose they had to open vocational training centres. Therefore, in the present atomic age, our technical education should be given a very conspicuous place. I would urge that we should spend a very large amount on our technical education. We should not feel complacent by the mere fact that we have sanctioned so much amount in this respect; and our students are getting training in the various trades, viz., Tailoring, Carpentry, Blacksmithy and Cycle Repairing, etc., etc., but we should also give technical education in our schools for the manufacture of arms and ammunition. In England, I saw that education in respect of building of aeroplanes, manufacture of motors and other machine tools and accessories is given both in the colleges and schools there. Immediate arrangements should, therefore, be

made to give education in all these trades in our schools and colleges. Along with the technical education, we should also devote our maximum possible attention towards the physical education. This should not be allowed to happen that we totally ignore physical education under the influence of the western education. We have got to make our students physically strong and ideal in their character. In the primitive Aryan Age when the student went to his teacher for the first time, the latter used to say:

Ashma bhavtu te tamah. ('May thy body be adamant') And simultaneously the *Guru* (teacher) also used to say: *Atmavai putra namosi, i.e.,* "you are soul, son is thy name."

In other words, the teacher exhorted him that he should have a powerful soul. Therefore keeping in view both these factors that a man is made up of two elements, body and soul, these should be developed. It is then only that education can have true meaning. In the present day education system, our students rise against us and interested parties intervene and create a sense of indiscipline in their ranks. We can get rid of such malpractices only when we admit the fact that we shall have to act upon our ideals both in theory and practice.

I congratulate our honourable Minister of Education because he is a true follower of Mahatma Gandhi. He wants that there should be a classless society in this country. Therefore, he has sanctioned the grant of Rs. 10 lacs for the benefit of the backward classes. But I would like to say that the Harijan students coming from Punjab have not so far been awarded scholarships. This is the fault of the University because there has been a delay in the announcement of their results. The students are not to be blamed for this. Therefore, scholarships should be awarded to them.

There is a *sloka* from *Manusmriti*: *Etaddesh prasutasya sakashadagrajanmanah.* *Seayam svayam charitram shiksheran prithvya sarvamanavah.*

"(From the Brahmanas born of this land, learned their character and sciences, all the men of the world)"

which means that the Brahmanas who were born in this country used to be the teachers of the whole world. We hope that our honourable Education Minister will so arrange that students from different countries of the world come to India for studies just as we send our students to England and other countries to receive training.

Lord Christ was the greatest scholar of India who had studied in the Universities of Taxila and Nalanda. To know this fact, we should read the book "Unknown life of Christ" which has been written by N. Notovitch.

This country was ruined at the time when the power rested in the hands of the Brahmanas and even today it is they who hold sway over this country. I hope that the same very Brahmanas who were responsible for the ruination of this country will resurrect it.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

Shrimati G. Durgabai (Madras: General): Sir let me at the very outset.....

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (U.P.: General): Sir may I ask you whether you will allow the general discussion first or allow me to move my cut motion first?

Mr. Speaker: Yes. As I said yesterday, the cut motion will surely be allowed to be moved. In fact, on the previous demands of the Health Ministry, I allowed Mr. Frank Anthony to move his cut motion. In case any honourable Member wishes to move a cut, it is better if intimation is given

[Mr. Speaker] before-hand, so that I may call upon him first. In this case, I have asked Shrimati G. Durgabai to speak first and therefore after she had finished, the honourable Member can move his cut motion.

Shrimati G. Durgabai: Sir, let me at the very outset offer my congratulations to the honourable the Minister for Education for what he has been able to achieve with the limited resources available for the working of his Ministry. Sir, some of his schemes, like the establishment of a National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology and also the establishment of a National Cultural Trust for the promotion and fostering of Art, Painting and Drama and also a college of Carnatic music at Madras and an Academy of Hindustani music at Lucknow, they are all praiseworthy and highly commendable, but it is also gratifying to note from the report issued by his Ministry that the schemes of liquidating illiteracy and also universal social adult education have been placed as the first and foremost of the programmes. Sir, if we judge the provisions of this Education Budget in this background, we are sadly disappointed to find that hardly anything is done to achieve these ends. Sir, out of a total budget of 362 crores, only 4½ crores are provided for education, only 1½ per cent. a very poor percentage indeed, in comparison to the sums allotted to various other Departments. Sir, the bulk of the money is earmarked for Delhi University and also help to the other universities, grants-in-aid to the scientific institutes and other educational institutions, leaving very little surplus for education proper as such. Scores of crores, could be found to all the other departments, but hardly anything is done for elementary education of our masses, 85 per cent. of whom could not even read or write. Sir, it is a very painful thing to talk of mass illiteracy in this country though we are talking boastfully of our Independence and also of international prestige. I consider that unless we launch upon a vigorous propaganda and a vigorous drive to liquidate this illiteracy, our boastful talk of our international prestige and also Independence of India will remain a mockery.

Sir, today, the chief object of my participating in this debate is to draw the attention of the Ministry to the fact that very little has been done to the women's education. Sir, I may not be accused of ventilating sectional grievances, but I have read the pamphlet detailing the activities of the Education Ministry from August 1947 to 1948, and except in a single instance where they have given a grant to the Indian Women's university at Bombay, they have done hardly anything either to encourage or promote the women's education.

Sir, women's education is a provincial subject, I know, but as all Education is a provincial subject this is also to be so, but may I ask what is the purpose in having a Central Advisory Board of Education and also a Bureau of Central Education working under the auspices of this Ministry? Sir, this problem of women's education is so stupendous that it deserves the attention of the Central Advisory Board of Education. In the report of 56 pages, issued by the Ministry, not a single line has been allotted to describe the efforts or the achievements of this Ministry towards promoting women's education. I know, Sir, this problem of women's education is a very old subject, but there is a new way of looking at it. When I am urging the Education Ministry to promote women's education, I am not supposed to be asking them to start more colleges or more schools or give more scholarships.

Mr. Speaker: May I point out to the honourable member that the subject is a provincial one?

Shrimati G. Durgabai: Yes, Sir, I know that it falls within the scope of this Ministry and I have read the report in which they want to liquidate illiteracy and also their programme seems to be to make 50 per cent. of adults literate within a course of five years. I am talking about the women's education, because women form more than 50 per cent. of the population and therefore, I am urging upon the Ministry to make a special note of this matter.

Sir, the problem of women's education is essentially a problem of adult education. You may start more schools; you may start more colleges, but you cannot make the generality of women school-minded or college-minded, because in the case of 99 out of 100 women, their education stops after the Secondary school and also there are ever so many difficulties coming in the way of a married woman. Now they have to prosecute their studies and they will have the leisure to prosecute what they have left at a school-age or at the age of 13 or 14 when they are 25 or 27.

Mr. Speaker: I may again point out that what she is speaking is not irrelevant. That is not my point, but the subject being provincial, any detailed criticism in this House will not be of much avail. I may remind that she has only two minutes now.

Shrimati G. Durgabai: My only recourse is the honourable the Minister for Education. I cannot raise my voice. I am urging him to advise the Provincial Governments to do something more.

This problem is not peculiar to India. England and America have solved this problem by encouraging private studies. But the Educationists in India think that education is education only when a student has put in 85 per cent. or 90 per cent. attendance at a school. Therefore it is that I am urging upon this Ministry to encourage private study. Here I want to pay a tribute to the Benares Hindu University. No University in India has done greater service than the Benares University which has allowed women to appear privately and has thus encouraged a number of private institutions to spring up for women's education. Women's clubs have started coaching students privately. Therefore they have done a great service. Here I am only drawing the attention of the Ministry to one fact. I urge upon the Minister to give incentive to women's education by allowing them to appear privately for all the University examinations. If this is allowed, with a little assistance women will complete their studies at home and appear for University examinations. This will bring university education within the reach of all.

The scheme of universal adult education with a view to make 50 per cent. of the adults literate in a period of five years is a very gigantic one. We require a number of teachers for this purpose and there is a very great demand for qualified women teachers also. But there is lack of incentive for women to go and work, because they have got various difficulties. In addition to the difficulty of transfers where the man and the woman are in Government employment, there is the difficulty of six-hours' compulsory attendance at school. Therefore I urge upon the Education Minister to create facilities for part-time service with a proportionate allowance for them. If this is done we can draw upon the services of a large number of women who are today available and willing to place their services at the disposal of the Minister who has to solve this mass illiteracy problem.

As my time is up, I sit down.

Transfer of Colleges in Delhi to the University Area.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I move:

"That the demand under the head 'Education' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Sir, when the Delhi University was established, the first grade colleges in Delhi were in a very difficult position. The localities in which they were situated were such as to make the creation of an academic atmosphere almost impossible. Besides, the accommodation in the colleges was also limited and there were no grounds attached to them. It was therefore realised that they

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru]

should be shifted as soon as possible to new sites. Accordingly, some years ago, new sites were allotted to them and in the Budget for 1947-48 a provision of 5½ lakhs was made to enable Government to give grants to the colleges to put up new buildings, and I suppose, new hostels. The colleges submitted their plans. Nothing was done and the budgetted sum therefore lapsed. In the Budget for the next year, that is for the year 1948-49, a similar provision was made for the same purpose. The Vice-Chancellor called the representatives of the colleges together in order to decide how the money given by Government was to be distributed amongst themselves and the scheme agreed to by the colleges was communicated to the Government. In May 1948 the colleges were asked to submit plans for their development on a five-year basis. This was done, but again the Government, for some reason that we are not aware of, took no action and the budgetted sum again lapsed.

Now, owing to the rise in the cost of building materials, the buildings that were originally expected to cost about 10 lakhs now cost Rs. 30 to 40 lakhs. At first negotiations were carried on between the Government and the University authorities on the basis that the colleges and the Government should share the cost of the new buildings in equal proportion. The Government never expressly agreed to this distribution, but as it did not express its dissent, the University authorities hoped that the basis suggested by them had the approval of Government. Now, however, owing to the increased cost of putting up new buildings, the colleges would find it impossible to collect 20 or 30 lakhs and they are therefore asking that 75 per cent. of the cost of the buildings should be met by Government. I do not know whether this question has been considered by Government. I realise what the financial position of the Government is, as well as any other person. But the University authorities do not want that the Government should find all the money that is required in one year. The Government themselves asked some months ago for plans that could be given effect to fully in five years. The matter still awaits their decision. In the meanwhile, the Delhi University, that was established with high hopes, is unable to carry on its work as efficiently as was expected. I hope, Sir, that the Government will soon arrive at a decision that would enable the four colleges, still remaining where they were, to plan their future development and thus enable the Delhi University to achieve the purpose for which it was founded.

Mr. Speaker: Cut motion moved:

"That the demand under the head 'Education' be reduced by Rs. 100."

श्री० अजीत प्रसाद जैन : जनाब स्पीकर साहब, मैंने एजुकेशन मिनिस्टरी की रिपोर्ट देखी है। उसमें इस मिनिस्टरी के मनसूबे और इरादों का जिक्र है। वह क्या करना चाहते हैं, यह बताया गया है। उसमें इस बात का जिक्र है कि बेसिक तालीम, सोसियल तालीम के बारे में क्या करने का इरादा है युनिवर्सिटी कमीशन मैन-पावर-कमेटी जो मुक़र्रर की गई है उनकी तजवीज़ के बारे में जिक्र किया गया है। यह तमाम अच्छी बातें हैं, लेकिन इस वक़्त तक जो कुछ हुआ है वह तो कोई हिम्मत बढ़ाने वाला नहीं है। रिपोर्ट में स्क्रीमों का जिक्र है लेकिन वाकई तौर पर क्या २ बातें हासिल की गई इसमें बहुत कम मिलती हैं। मैं मौआज़िज़ मिनिस्टर साहब या उनकी मिनिस्टरी पर विशेष इलज़ाम नहीं लगाता क्योंकि उनकी मिनिस्टरी

को आज़ादाना तौर से कायम हुए तकरीबन पौने दो साल हुए हैं। और इस असे में ३३ करोड़ आदमियों को तालीम देना कैसे संभव था इतने बड़े मुल्क में जो कि बहुत दूर तक फैला हुआ है। मुझे यह उम्मीद है कि जिस क़दर आला प्लानिंग की तजवीज़ उन्होंने अपने रिपोर्ट में रखी है उनको वह बुलन्द हिम्मती से पूरा करने की कोशिश करेंगे। अब मैं चन्द मामलात की तरफ मौआज़िज़ मिनिस्टर साहब का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। मौआज़िज़ मिनिस्टर साहब ने देखा होगा कि दिल्ली युनिवर्सिटी के बारे में उन नुमाइन्दों ने, जो इस असेम्बली से चुनकर युनिवर्सिटी कोर्ट पर भेजे गये थे, एक पैमफिलेट शायद किया है। वह पैमफिलेट करीब २ तमाम मेम्बरों को दिया गया है और उस पैमफिलेट में दिल्ली युनिवर्सिटी की हालत पर एक अजीब किस्म की रोशनी पड़ती है। उन तमाम वाक़ात के ऊपर मौआज़िज़ मिनिस्टर साहब की मैं तवज़्ज़ो दिलाना चाहता हूँ जो इस पैमफिलेट में हैं। जो २ बातें इस पैमफिलेट में की गई हैं वह लाज़मी तौर पर सही हैं ऐसा मेरा दावा नहीं। लेकिन मेरा दावा है कि इसमें बहुत सी ऐसी बातें हैं जो तकाज़ा करती हैं कि इस मामले पर तहकीक़ात की जाय।

पिछली बार दिल्ली युनिवर्सिटी में वाइस चान्सलर का इन्तख़ाब हुआ। उसके बारे में यह शिकायत की गई कि एक साहब जो एग्रीकलचर-कालेज के प्रिंसिपल थे उनको इस इन्तख़ाब में हिस्सा लेने का हक़ था लेकिन उनको इससे मद्दरूम किया गया और कहा गया कि एग्रीकलचर कालिज का प्रिंसिपल इसमें हिस्सा नहीं ले सकता है। इसके बारे में दलील यह दी गई डीन की हैसियत से एग्रीकलचर कालेज के प्रिंसिपल हिस्सा ले सकते हैं। पैमफिलेट लिखने वालों ने यह दावा किया है कि प्रिंसिपल की हैसियत से पहिले हिस्सा लेते थे। इसी तरह से एक और शिकायत है डीन आफ़ मेडीसन के मुतालिक़ वाइस चान्सलर के चुनाव से एक रोज़ पहिले डीन का चुनाव किया गया और वह कायदे से नहीं चुने गये। कोरम चार का होना चाहिये था मगर उनको तीन आदमियों ने चुना। अगर यह वाक़या है कि वाइस-चान्सलर का इन्तख़ाब इस किस्म की बेजाबतगी से हुआ, तो मैं चाहूंगा कि मौआज़िज़ मिनिस्टर साहब इस तरफ़ ध्यान दें क्योंकि जब चोटी में इस क़दर बदअमनी है तो युनिवर्सिटी के नीचे हिस्सों में भी काफी गड़बड़ होनी का एहतमाल है। मौआज़िज़ मिनिस्टर साहब को खास तौर पर इन बातों की तरफ़ तवज़्ज़ो देनी चाहिये।

जो रिपोर्ट इस डिपार्टमेंट की ओर से पेश की गई है, उसके सफ़े २६ पर यह कहा गया है कि वह तालीबेइल्म जो तालीम के लिये बाहर भेजे जाते हैं उनको खास और मखसूस कामों के लिये टेकनिकल और साइन्टिफिक तालीम

[श्री अजीत प्रसाद जैन]

हासिल करने के लिये बाहर भेजा जायगा ऐसी तालीम जो हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं मिल सकती। आगे अब इस बात का ख्याल रखा जाय कि जब वह तालीम हासिल करके लौटे तो उनको यहां पर मुनासिब और ठीक जगह पर मुकूर्र किया जाय। इसमें शक नहीं कि गवर्नमेंट को बहुत से आदमियों की जरूरत है। इसमें शक नहीं कि कारखानों को भी बहुत से आदमियों की जरूरत है। इसमें शक नहीं कि पढ़ेलिखे और खास किस्म की तालीम पाये हुए और एक्सपर्ट्स की मुल्क को जरूरत है। लेकिन दूसरी तरफ देखने में आता है और मेरा जातीय तर्जुबा स्पेशल रिक्लुटमेंट बोर्ड के मेम्बर होने की हैसियत से है। मैं इस सिलसिले में मुल्क के भूखतलिफ हिस्सों में घूमा। बहुत से तालीबेइल्म जिनको एजुकेशन डिपार्टमेंट की ओर से बाहर भेजा गया था खास तालीम सीखने के लिये, वह हमारे सामने बेकार की हैसियत से आये। यह लोग इन्डियन सिविल सर्विस और इन्डियन पुलिस सर्विस के उम्मीदवार थे। मैं नाम तो यहां पर किसी का नहीं लूंगा मगर मैं एक मिसाल हाउस के सामने पेश करता हूं। एक साहब ग्रैस्टोलौजी की तालीम के लिये बाहर भेजे गये थे और वहां से वह आला तालीम पाकर आये। हमारे मुल्क में चरागाह की कमी है। हमारे मुल्क में चारे की कमी है। आये दिन इस असेम्बली में सवाल होते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान का मवेशी क्यों गिर रहा है, क्यों उनको तरक्की नहीं होती? लेकिन ये साहब जिनको ग्रैस्टोलौजी के लिये बाहर भेजा गया था वह अब एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव सर्विस में भर्ती होना चाहते हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि वह मुल्क और इकूमत जहां इस तरह की तालीम पाये हुए आदमी बेकार घूमें और उनको जगह न दी जाय और उस तरह से उनकी खास तालीम को जाया करके उनकी खिदमात को हासिल न किया जाय, अच्छा नहीं है। आइन्दा इस बात का ख्याल रखा जाय कि इस तरह की काबलियत पाये हुये आदमियों को बेकार न रखा जाय। यह ठीक, मगर जो आज बेकार हैं उनके बारे में आप क्या करेंगे? इनकी आप फेहरिस्त बनवायें और काम पर लगायें।

एक और बात जिसकी तरफ आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर की तवज्जो दिलाना चाहता हूं, वह नेशनल लायब्रेरी के मुतालिक है। कलकत्ता में नेशनल लायब्रेरी एक मुल्की इदारा है। लेकिन मैं यह समझता हूं कि इतने बड़े मुल्क में एक नेशनल लायब्रेरी से काम नहीं चल सकता है। आपको चाहिये कि आप बहुत सी लायब्रेरी जो देश के भिन्न-भिन्न हिस्सों की पहुंच के अन्दर हों कायम करें। ताकि जो तालिबेइल्म हाइर एजुकेशन और रिसर्च का काम करना चाहें वह इन लायब्रेरी में जाकर इमदाद हासिल करें।

माननीय मिनिस्टर ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में कहा है कि वह एक नेशनल म्यूजियम आफ आर्ट एण्ड आरक्यालाजी बनाने जा रहे हैं। उन का यह इरादा अच्छा है, और उस के लिये मैं उनको मुबारिकबाद देता हूं। इसमें संदेह नहीं कि स्कूल से शिक्षा फैलती है लेकिन देश में जागृति पैदा करने के लिये दूसरी संस्थाओं की भी आवश्यकता होती है। Picture Gallery, Museum, Art Collections, ये सब ऐसी चीजें हैं कि जिन से जन-साधारण को अपने इतिहास और नीति का पता चलता है। मैं समझता हूं कि माननीय मिनिस्टर साहब को ऐसी संस्थाएँ बनानी चाहियें कि जहां आर्ट, आरक्यालाजी और anthropology के खजाने इकट्ठे किये जाय, तस्वीर और पत्थर पर खुदाई की चीजें संग्रह की जाय जिससे कि जन-साधारण को कुछ दिलचस्पी भी मिले और उनकी शिक्षा भी हो। एक बात और याद आई, कुछ दिन हुए मैं तंजौर गया था वहां पर मरहठा राजा की बनाई हुई एक लायब्रेरी है उसमें कई हजार मनुस्क्रिप्ट हैं और जिन में कितने ही ऐसे हैं जिनका मिलना बहुत कठिन है, लेकिन वहां न तो ठीक जांच है न कोई खोज। सरकार की तरफ से थोड़ी सी मदद दी जाती है। आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर का मैं इस ओर ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूं कि ये इस लायब्रेरी को सुसंगठित करें, इस से एक बड़ी कीमत वाली चीज बरबाद होने से बच जायेगी। बातें तो मुझे और भी बहुत कुछ कहनी थीं, पर मेरा समय पूरा हो चुका है, और मैं यह व्याख्यान समाप्त करता हूं।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri Ajit Prasad Jain (U. P.: General): Sir, I have seen the report of the Education Ministry. It contains a mention of this Ministry's plans and intentions. It tells us what they propose to do. It mentions what they intend to do with regard to basic education and social education. There is a mention of the proposals made by the University Commission and the Man-Power Committee. These are all good things but whatever has been done so far is not quite hope-inspiring. The report contains a mention of schemes but it makes very little mention of actual achievements made. I do not lay any particular blame on the honourable Minister or on his Ministry because it is only about a quarter less than two years that his Ministry started having an independent existence, and how was it possible, during that period, to educate 33 crores of people dispersed over such a vast country, extending far and wide. I hope he will try to carry out with courage whatever highly planned schemes he has formulated in his report.

Now, I wish to draw the attention of the honourable Minister to a few matters. The honourable Minister must have seen the pamphlet about the Delhi University that has been issued by the persons elected by this Assembly as its representatives on the University Court. A copy of that pamphlet has been supplied to every Member. That pamphlet throws a strange kind of light on the affairs of the Delhi University. I wish to draw the attention of the honourable Minister to all the facts set down in this pamphlet. I do not claim that whatever allegations have been made in this pamphlet are all correct but I do assert that it contains a lot of such things as would warrant investigation.

[Shri Ajit Prasad Jain]

With regard to the last election for the office of Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University, a complaint was made that a certain gentleman who was the Principal of the Agriculture College and was entitled to take part in this election was deprived of that right. It was said that the Principal of the Agriculture College could not take part in it. The reason advanced in this connection was that the Principal of the Agriculture College could take part in the election in the capacity of a Dean. The authors of the pamphlet have made the assertion that he used to take part in it previously in the capacity of the Principal. Similarly there is another complaint in regard to the office of the Dean of Medicine. The election of the Dean was made one day prior to the election of the Vice-Chancellor. The election was not made in the regular way. The quorum should have consisted of four persons but he was elected by three only. If it is correct that the election of the Vice-Chancellor was conducted with such irregularity then I would like the honourable Minister to give his attention to that matter because when such disorder exists at the top there is a probability of considerable confusion prevailing in the lower strata of the University. The honourable Minister should specially attend to these matters.

It is mentioned at page 26 of the report that has been presented on behalf of this Department that those scholars who are sent abroad for education would be sent out for special and specified purposes—to acquire technical and scientific education—such education as cannot be acquired in India. In future care must be taken that when they return after having acquired the education they should be appointed here on proper and suitable posts. There is no doubt the Government is in need of lots of men. There is no doubt the factories are also in need of plenty of men. There is no doubt the country is in need of educated people, persons with special training and experts. On the other hand, what do we find? This is my personal experience as a member of the Special Recruitment Board. I have had a round of the different parts of the country in that connection. Several scholars who had been sent abroad by the Education Department for acquiring special instruction appeared before us as unemployed persons. These people were candidates for the Indian Civil Service and the Indian Police Service. I am not going to name anyone here but I would cite one instance before the House. One gentleman had been sent out for studies in Grastology. He came back after receiving high education. Our country lacks pastures. Our country suffers from scarcity of fodder. Every time questions are asked in this Assembly why are the cattle in India deteriorating and why there is no improvement on that score. But this gentleman who had been sent out to study Grastology now wants to get into the Administrative Service. I think it is not a good country and it is not a good Government where men who have been so educated should go about unemployed and should not be provided with jobs, where their special education is allowed to be wasted and their services are not availed of. Care should be taken in future to see that such qualified persons are not kept unemployed. That being settled, what are you going to do about those who are unemployed today? You should have a list of such persons prepared and provide them with jobs. There is one thing more to which I wish to draw the attention of the honourable Minister; this relates to the National Library. The National Library in Calcutta is a national institution. But I think it will not do to have just one national library for such a big country. You should establish a large number of libraries which might be within the reach of the different parts of the country, so that those students who should desire to pursue higher education and carry on research work might be able to draw upon these libraries.

The honourable Minister has stated in his report that he is going to found a National Museum of Art and Archaeology. This is a good proposal for which I congratulate him. There is no doubt the school is an instrument for the

spread of education but other institutions are also necessary for the sake of creating an awakening in the country. A Picture Gallery, Museum, Art Collections are the things whereby the common people come to know about their history and politics. I think the honourable Minister should establish such institutions where the treasures of art, archaeology and anthropology might be stored up and collections of paintings and sculpture might be kept which might not only serve as objects of interest to the public at large but also provide for their education.

Here I am reminded of something else. Some days back I went to Tanjore. There is a library that was founded by a Mahratta Raja. It contains several thousand manuscripts including many rare ones. But, there is neither a proper appraisalment nor research. Some little aid is given by the Government. I wish to draw the attention of the honourable Minister to it and would ask him to have it reorganised. This would save a very valuable thing from being lost. There are many more things that I had to say but my time is over and so I close.

بیگم اعجاز رسول: جناب اسپیکر صاحب! میرا مقصد اس وقت اس مباحثہ میں حصہ لینے کا یہ ہے کہ میں جناب وزیر تعلیم کا دھیان ایک خاص اور اہم مسئلہ کی طرف مبذول کراؤں۔ یہ ضرورت اس لئے پڑی کہ میں نے جب اس رپورٹ کا مطالعہ کیا، جو ایجوکیشن منسٹری سے ہم کو دی گئی ہے۔ تو اس میں اس مسئلہ کے متعلق کوئی ذکر نہیں ہے۔ جناب وزیر تعلیم اس امر سے بخوشی واقف ہیں کہ اس پچھلے ایک سال کے عرصہ میں اس خاص ضرورت کی طرف جناب منسٹر صاحب کا دھیان دلایا گیا ہے اور وہ ہے اقلیت کے بچوں کی ابتدائی تعلیم کا مسئلہ۔ جناب والا! چونکہ اس رپورٹ میں اس اہم مسئلہ کے متعلق کوئی گورنمنٹ کی پالیسی کا ذکر نہیں ہے اس لئے میں یہ کہنا چاہتی ہوں کہ یہ ایک ایسا مسئلہ ہے کہ جس کے متعلق ہمیں امید ہے کہ سرکار اپنی پالیسی کا بہت صاف طریقہ پر اظہار کر دیگی۔ آپ کو معاموم ہے کہ پچھلے کانستٹی ٹیوایڈٹ اسمبلی کے سیشن میں اس مسئلہ کے اوپر بحث مباحثہ ہوا۔ یہ امر قابل قبول ہی نہیں بلکہ دنیا کے تمام ملکوں میں یہ اصول مان لیا گیا ہے کہ بچے کی ابتدائی تعلیم اس کی مادری زبان میں ہونی چاہیئے۔ اس پر مجھے گورنمنٹ سے دوبارہ کوئی اصرار کرنے کی ضرورت محسوس نہیں ہوتی۔ لیکن مجھے ضرورت اس چیز کی اس لئے محسوس ہوئی کہ جناب وزیر تعلیم کے پاس اس کے متعلق بہت کافی مصالحہ موجود ہے کہ کس طریقہ پر پچھلے ایک سال میں اس مسئلہ کے اوپر صوبوں کی سرکاریں عمل کر رہی ہیں۔

جناب والا! یہ مسئلہ کسی خاص مذہب یا کسی خاص کمیونٹی سے تعلق نہیں رکھتا ہے۔ یہ ایک ایسا مسئلہ ہے جو سب مذہب اور فرقے کے لوگوں کے لئے خاص اہمیت رکھتا ہے۔ بچوں کی ابتدائی تعلیم کے لئے ضرورت ہے۔ کہ وہ

[بیگم اعجاز رسول]

ان کی مادری زبان میں ہو - جس وقت یہ مسئلہ کانستٹیٹیوٹ اسبلی میں زیر بحث تھا اس وقت جناب وزیر اعظم نے مجھے ایک خط تحریر فرمایا تھا جس میں انہوں نے اس چیز کو قبول کیا اور اس اصول کو پورے طور پر مانا کہ یہ ضروری ہے کہ بچوں کی ابتدائی تعلیم ان کو مادری زبان میں دی جائے - اس لئے میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ گورنمنٹ کے لئے یہ ضروری ہے کہ وہ اپنی پالیسی کا صاف طور پر اظہار کرے اور صوبوں کو ہدایت دے کہ پالیسی پر عمل کریں - ہمارے صوبے میں ہمارا تجربہ پچھلے سال میں یہ رہا ہے کہ باوجود گورنمنٹ کے ان خیالات کے سب سے زیادہ نقصان مسلمان بچوں کو پہنچ رہا ہے - کیونکہ ان کے لئے کوئی انتظام اس سلسلے میں نہیں ہوا ہے - ان کے لئے یہ بہت ضروری ہے کہ ان کی تعلیم ان کی مادری زبان میں ہونی چاہیئے اور زبان ہی نہیں بلکہ Script کا بھی مسئلہ ان کے لئے بہت حد تک صاف ہو جانا چاہیئے - یہاں میں اس بات کو صاف طور پر ظاہر کر دینا چاہتی ہوں کہ ہم انہیں سے کوئی بھی ایسا نہیں ہے جو استیثیت کی زبان سیکھنے یا اپنے بچوں کو سکھانے یا پڑھانے سے انکار کرے - میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ ہر فرقہ کے لوگوں کے لئے ضروری ہے کہ جہاں کہیں وہ رہتے ہوں وہاں کی استیثیت کی زبان وہ اچھی طرح سے سیکھیں کیونکہ یہ انہیں کے لئے فائدہ مند ہے - جس سے کہ وہ آگے چل کر ملازمتوں میں اور ہر طرح کے کاموں میں پورا حصہ لے سکیں - اور اگر نہ سیکھیں گے تو انہیں کا نقصان ہے - لیکن جیسا کہ میں نے کہا بچوں کی ابتدائی تعلیم ان کی مادری زبان میں ہونا ضروری ہے اور یہ ایک ایسا مسئلہ ہے کہ اس پر جب تک سنٹرل گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے صاف طور پر اظہار نہیں ہو جاتا تب تک بہت سے لوگوں کو غلط فہمی ہونے کا اندیشہ ہے - میں نے جیسا کہا یہ صرف ہمارے صوبہ سے ہی تعلق نہیں رکھتا ہے بلکہ ہر جگہ سے تعلق رکھتا ہے - مثلاً اگر مدراسی یا بمبائی بچے اتنی تعداد میں ہوں کہ اگر وہ اسکول میں جاتے ہیں اور اگر اسکول میں ان کو ان کی مادری زبان میں تعلیم دینے کے بجائے کسی اور زبان میں ابتدائی تعلیم دی جاتی ہے تو اس سے بڑا نقصان پہنچتا ہے - یہ ضروری ہے کہ ان کو ابتدائی تعلیم انہیں کی زبان میں ملے اور اسی حالت میں ان کی تعلیم مکمل ہو سکتی ہے - اس لئے میں یہ سمجھتی ہوں کہ اگر ایسے بچے انہی تعداد میں اسکول جاتے ہوں کہ وہاں مدرسوں میں ان کی مادری زبان میں تعلیم دینے کا انتظام ہو سکتا ہے یا ہونا ضروری ہے تو ان کے لئے یہ انتظام ہونا چاہیئے - وہاں پر ان کے لئے استاد مہیا کئے جائیں جو ان کو ان کی مادری زبان میں تعلیم دے سکیں -

اس لئے میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ یہ مسئلہ صرف مسلمانوں کا ہی مسئلہ نہیں ہے بلکہ تمام اقلیتوں کے لئے یہ صاف ہو چکا ضروری ہے اور اس مسئلہ پر گورنمنٹ کی پالیسی کا اظہار ہو جانا بہت ہی ضروری ہے - اور اس پر عمل کرنے کا انتظام بھی ضروری ہے -

جناب والا ! چونکہ وقت زیادہ نہیں ہے میں کچھ اور باتیں بیان نہیں کر سکتی - میں جناب وزیر تعلیم کو مبارکباد دیتی ہوں کہ انہوں نے جو اسکیمیں پیش کی ہیں وہ بہت ہی قابل قبول اور قابل مبارکباد ہیں - یونیورسٹی کمیشن جو مقرر ہوا ہے میں سمجھتی ہوں کہ اس کی رپورٹ جلد سے جلد ہمارے سامنے پیش ہو گی - یہ بہت ہی اہم اور ضروری مسئلہ ہے جس کے لئے تمام ممالک بہت بے صبری سے انتظار کر رہا ہے کہ یونیورسٹی کی تعلیم آئندہ کس لائن پر چلائی جائے گی - میں اس کے لئے جناب وزیر کو مبارکباد دیتی ہوں -

(English translation of the above speech).

Begum Aizaz Rasul (U. P. Muslim): Sir, my object in participating in this discussion at present is that I should invite the attention of the honourable Minister to a very important and vital issue. This necessity arose 3 P.M. after I had gone through the Report which has been presented to us by the Ministry of Education and found that it did not contain any mention to this effect. The honourable Minister is very well aware of the fact that his attention had been drawn to this vital necessity during the preceding year, and that is, the problem of primary education concerning the children of the minorities. Sir, since this Report does not mention anything with regard to the Government's policy towards this important problem, I would, therefore, like to submit that we have every hope that the Government will elucidate their policy in this direction in a very explicit manner. You know that there was a heated discussion over this matter during the last session of the Constituent Assembly. Not only is this an admitted fact but this principle has been accepted in all the countries of the world that the primary education of a child should be imparted in his mother-tongue. It is, therefore, hardly necessary for me to emphasize upon this point any more. But I felt the necessity for the obvious reason since the honourable Minister has got sufficient data in his possession which would reveal as to how the various Provincial Governments have been acting upon in this direction during the preceding one year.

Sir, this problem does not affect any particular religion or community. On the contrary, this problem vitally affects almost all the religions and communities. It is necessary in the interest of the primary education of the children that that should be imparted to them in their own mother-tongue. When this matter was under discussion in the Constituent Assembly, the honourable the Prime Minister wrote to me a letter wherein he admitted this fact and accepted this principle in toto viz., it is essential that the primary education of the children should be imparted in their mother-tongue. Therefore, I feel that the Government should necessarily clarify their policy and issue instructions to the Provinces to follow this.

In our own Province, our experience during the past year has been that in spite of these views having been expressed by the Government, it is the Muslim children who are being hard hit, because no arrangements have been made for

[Begum Aizaz Rasul]

them in this respect. In their case, it is most essential that the medium of the primary education should be their own mother-tongue. Not only is the question of their mother-tongue involved, but the question of their script also should be decided to a very great extent. I should like to make it quite clear that there is none among us who could either refuse to learn the State language himself or let his children read and write it. I feel that it is essential for the people of every community, irrespective of the fact as to where they reside, to acquire sufficient knowledge of the State language in vogue there; because this will stand them in good stead, and also enable them to get full share in the services as well as other activities in future. And if they do not learn this, it is they alone who will suffer. But just as I have stated, the medium of primary education of the children should necessarily be their own mother-tongue. This is a vital issue and unless the Central Government elucidate their policy towards this aspect, it is apprehended lest it may not give rise to misunderstanding amongst a large number of people. Just as I have pointed out, this does not only affect our Province, but concerns every place, for instance, if there is a sufficiently large number of Bengali and Madras school-going children and they are imparted primary education in a language other than their own mother-tongue, then it is likely to affect them adversely. It, therefore, follows from this that it is most essential, that the medium of their primary education should be their own mother-tongue, and it is then only that their education can be complete. Therefore, I think that if arrangements can be made in the schools for imparting education to such a large number of school-going children in their mother-tongue, or in case it is considered expedient to do so, then this should be done. They should be provided there with the teachers who may be able to teach them through the medium of their mother-tongue.

Therefore, I feel that this problem does not only affect the Muslims alone, but the whole position should be clarified for the sake of the other minorities as well; and it is most essential that the Government should elucidate their policy in this respect; and it is all the more necessary to implement this.

Sir, I cannot dwell upon this matter at any greater length for lack of time. I would congratulate the honourable Minister for Education that the schemes which he has presented are worth accepting. I think the Report of the University Commission which has been set up will be presented to us as soon as possible. This is a very vital and important issue for which the whole country is awaiting very eagerly as what the future set up of the University education will be. For this, I would congratulate the honourable Minister.

Shri A. V. Thakkar (Saurashtra): I am speaking today as a common man in the street. I am not a highly educated man. I have not got any degree in Arts or Science. I was a mere working engineer, and therefore I speak like a common man in the street, in the village and in the field.

We are told, and it is dinned into our ears, that education is a provincial subject. If so, why should there be a Ministry of Education in the Centre? If this Ministry takes full interest—and I do not grudge that it is taking the fullest interest—in the colleges, in technical subjects, in Arts and Science, in anthropology, in Archaeology, even in museums and national art galleries, I welcome it but at the same time why do you give a go-by to the common man. The honourable the Education Minister has said in his report, and every one who is here knows it that a scheme of Rs. 540 lakhs for distribution in the provinces for advancing compulsory, basic and social education has been turned down. It has not been accepted by the Cabinet. I am making an humble appeal to the Finance Minister whether the axe of economy should have fallen on this poor Ministry of Education. Why should it be so? We are all pledged

to adult franchise. Is this the way to carry out adult franchise by denying everything and every proposal of health to the Provincial Ministries, to the Provincial Governments and cutting it down? I was glad to see that a sum of one crore of rupees that was demanded by the Education Minister for social education has been accepted. That is one relieving feature of this Budget. But why has the whole of the grant of Rs. 540 lakhs been cut down altogether, except for a small item of Rs. 50 lakhs which is ear-marked for the training of ordinary teachers? And let me tell you, Sir, that elementary education, the compulsory education, has been delayed for decades and decades. The late Mr. Gokhale introduced the first resolution and the Bill in the year 1910 and 1911. Forty years have rolled by and nothing practical has been done. Excuse me, I am not misjudging the Provincial Governments that have done a part of their work. Bombay and Madras have advanced far in that respect. But the other provinces cannot do it for want of money. Unless we from the Centre help them in the starting of compulsory education, they will never be able to take it up. The Minister of Education set up the Kher Committee, and again, Mr. Kher, modest man as he is, recommended that only 30 per cent. of the expenses on compulsory education should come from the Centre and 70 per cent. will be contributed by the provinces but there is not a single pie in respect of that 30 per cent. coming forward, at least in the coming year 1949-50.

Mr. Sargent evolved a scheme for us, which when it was in full fruition would cost us Rs. 400 crores. That scheme, may I say, is almost being forgotten. The Kher Committee brought down, or tried to bring down the period from 40 years to 16 years. But I find that it is as far away as possible and I see no signs of its coming, not even of the first step being taken towards realizing compulsory education in the country. As it is known I am a man who even in my present state of life likes to go into the villages and find out their wants and needs and into whichever village I go—if it is a school-less village—the first thing they ask for, is a school. I roam in the Adibasi areas of Orissa, the Central Provinces, the Vindhya Pradesh, Rajputana, Madhya Bharat, etc., and even those Bhils, Gonds and Santhals ask for schools, schools and schools. How can the Provincial Governments with their limited resources give them the adequate number of schools? And in order to give them good schools, good teachers is the first requisite, and unless we have scores of training colleges, primary teachers' training colleges spread throughout the country, and that at the expense of the Centre alone, the number of requisite teachers will never come forward and the quality of their work will never improve. It is said that the army of teachers would come by conscription. It is easy to say that it should come by conscription but conscription itself is a very very costly process. You will have to give honorariums and T.As. You cannot go and simply pakdo the people and make them teach in schools. So you must provide proper remuneration for the teachers. So the provision of teachers is the first necessity.

The provision of girls' schools is another very great necessity. I support the fervent appeal of sister Durgabai. She has made a very good appeal on behalf of women. Only 6 per cent. of the women in our country are literate and 94 per cent. are illiterate. Can we make any progress at this slow rate in the year 1949? I am afraid not.

I sympathise with the honourable Minister in charge of Education. This morning I was almost weeping with the Minister of Health who said that she had no funds, no funds and no funds. The same is the case with Education Minister. If the Finance Minister is not able to spare more than 20 crores out of a revenue budget of 322 crores, how can we go on? How can the nation build its future? It is not possible. It may be said that we are just now

[Shri A. V. Thakkar]

under the stress of economy and we must cut down every thing. But every thing is not cut down. It is only the poor departments of Education, Health and Labour, nation-building departments, which are cut down, ruthlessly, if I may say so.

People talk of adult franchise. Why do we give adult franchise to illiterate people? Better stop it. Let us say to the world that we are not ready for it yet. Two of our important leaders have said so already,—Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Harikishna Mehtab of Orissa. They have said that we are not fit for adult franchise. Of course with our 80 per cent. of male illiteracy and 94 per cent. of female illiteracy how can we make progress? Therefore I make an earnest appeal to all of you, one and all, that unless we give much more attention to free compulsory, social and basic education we can never make any progress.

آنر بل مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد : جناب ! چونکہ ہماری طبیعت اچھی نہیں ہے اس لئے آپ مجھے اجازت دینگے کہ میں بیٹھے ہوئے تقریر کروں۔

سب سے پہلے میں وقت کے بارے میں چند الفاظ کہنا جو تعلیم کے بچہ کے لئے اس برس رکھا گیا ہے۔ عام طور پر شکایت کی گئی ہے کہ وقت بہت کم دیا گیا۔ نہ صرف تعلیم کے لئے بلکہ ہیلتھ اور لیبر منسٹریموں کے لئے بھی وقت کی کمی محسوس کی گئی ہے۔ مجھے اس شکایت سے پرور اٹھتا ہے۔ بلاشبہ ضروری ہے کہ اس طرح کے معاملوں میں جو براہ راست نیشن بلڈنگ کے کام سے تعلق رکھتے ہیں، ہم زیادہ اہمیت دیں، اور زیادہ تفصیل کے ساتھ اسکی چھان بین کر سکیں۔ میں آپکو یقین دلاؤں گا کہ جہاں تک اس بلڈج کا تعلق ہے جہاں سے میں اس وقت بول رہا ہوں، یہ ضرورت پروری طرح محسوس کی گئی ہے، ہم نے طے کر لیا کہ آئندہ برس سے پرور ایک دن تعلیم کے لئے رکھا جائیگا۔ ہیلتھ اور لیبر کے لئے بھی امید ہے کہ وقت زیادہ نکالا جائیگا۔

شری بی۔ ایل۔ سونڈھی : توانسپورٹ کے لئے بھی ؟

آنریبل مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد : ہاں اس کے لئے بھی کافی وقت ہونا چاہئے۔

اس سلسلہ میں کل چھ تقریریں ہوئی ہیں۔ سب سے پہلی تقریر کا مقصد جہاں تک میں سمجھ سکا ہوں یہ تھا کہ ہمیں اپنی قومی تعلیم کا نقشہ بنانا ہوئے صرف ویسٹرن ایجوکیشن کی نقالی ہی نہیں کرنی ہے بلکہ خود اپنی ایک خاص قومی جگہ بنانی ہے میں سمجھتا ہوں، یہ ایک ایسی مانی ہوئی بات ہے۔ جس میں دو باتوں کی گنجائش نہیں۔ بلاشبہ ہم مائڈر سٹانڈس اور مائڈر سٹانڈس کی تعلیم سے منہ نہیں موڑ سکتے۔ ہمیں عام کے راستے میں آگے بڑھنا ہے۔ پچھلے ہمیں ہٹنا ہے۔ لیکن اس کے ساتھ ہی ہمیں کچھ اور باتیں بھی یاد رکھنی ہیں۔ ہم انہیں کسی طرح نہیں بھلا سکتے۔ ہندوستان اپنی ایک خاص تہذیب رکھتا ہے۔ اسکی ایک خاص تاریخ ہے۔ خاص فلسفہ ہے خاص مٹیاؤں کس ہے۔ وہ اپنی دماغی اور روحانی زندگی

کی خاص روایتیں رکھتا ہے اس نے انسانی عام اور تہذیب کی ترقی و اشاعت میں ایک شاندار اور نمایاں حصہ لیا ہے۔ ضروری ہے کہ ہم اپنے اس شاندار ورثہ کی حفاظت کریں اور اپنی قومی تعلیم کا نقشہ ایسا بنائیں جس کے رنگ اور رنگ میں ہندوستانی تہذیب اور ہندوستانی رجحانیت کا رنگ پوری طرح چھلک رہا ہو۔ ہماری قومی تعلیم کا جسم مائڈر ہونا چاہئے مگر روح ہندوستانی ہوئی چاہئے۔ میں اس شاؤس کو یقین دلاؤں گا کہ ایجوکیشن منسٹری کے سامنے ایسا ہی نقشہ ہے۔ اور جہاں تک اس مقصد کا تعلق ہے گورنمنٹ پوری طرح ان کے ساتھ ہے۔

میرے آنریبل دوست نے ایک اور بات پر بھی توجہ دلائی ہے۔ وہ تسلیم کرتے ہیں کہ اونچے درجے کی سائنٹیفک اور ٹیکنیکل تعلیم کے لئے ہندوستانیوں کو باہر بھیجنا چاہئے۔ لیکن وہ چاہتے ہیں، یہ کام اس طرح کیا جائے کہ جلد سے جلد ہمارا مقصد حاصل ہو جائے۔ اور پھر ہمیں باہر بھیجنا کی ضرورت باقی نہ رہے۔ مجھے اس خیال سے پوری طرح اتفاق ہے۔ میں انہیں یقین دلاؤں گا کہ اورسیز اسکالرشپ کی نئی اسکیم گورنمنٹ نے یہی مقصد سامنے رکھ کر بنائی ہے جس پر نئے مالی برس سے عملدرآمد شروع ہونے والا ہے۔ یہ اسکیم ہر برس ایک خاص تعداد ہندوستانی و دیارتھیوں کی باہر بھیجنا چاہتی ہے، مگر اس کے بھیجنا چاہتی ہے کہ باہر بھیجنے کی ضرورت جلد سے جلد ختم ہو جائے۔ اس مقصد کے حاصل کرنے کے لئے ضرورت تھی کہ پہلے ملک کے تمام موجودہ انسٹی ٹیوشنوں کی تعلیمی حالت کی جانچ پڑتال کی جائے اور معلوم کیا جائے کہ ان کے کمزور پہاؤ کیا کیا ہیں؟ پور جو پہلو کمزور ثابت ہوں، انہیں طاقتور بنانے کے لئے تعلیم کے خاص خاص مضمون دینے جائیں اور انہیں مضمونوں کے لئے طالب علموں کو باہر بھیجا جائے۔ ساتھ ہی اونچے درجے کی ٹیکنیکل تعلیم کے انتظام کے لئے موجودہ انسٹی ٹیوشنوں کو خاص طور پر مدد دی جائے اور جہاں تک جاد ممکن ہو، نئے انسٹی ٹیوشن بھی قائم کئے جائیں چنانچہ ایجوکیشن منسٹری اسی طریقہ پر کام کر رہی ہے اور آپ اسکی تفصیلات منسٹری کی رپورٹ میں پڑھ چکے ہیں۔

آپ کو معلوم ہے کہ اورسیز اسکالرشپ کی اسکیم پچھلی گورنمنٹ نے ۱۹۳۵ ع میں جاری کی تھی اور دیارتھیوں کی کئی کئی پیمائشیں باہر کے ملکوں میں بھیجی جا چکی تھیں۔ لیکن ۱۵ جنوری ۳۷ ع کو جب میں نے ایجوکیشن منسٹری کا چارج لیا، تو فوراً یہ بات میرے سامنے آئی کہ یہ اسکیم تھیک طریقہ پر نہیں چلائی گئی ہے اور چند بنیادی غلطیاں اس کے اندر کام کر رہی ہیں۔ سب سے پہلی غلطی یہ ہوئی ہے کہ کام کا کوئی ایسا نقشہ نہیں بنایا گیا، جس میں تمام ضروری پہلوؤں کو مدھیانہ کی کوشش کی گئی ہو۔ صرف اس بات پر زور دیا گیا کہ ٹیکنیکل مضمونوں کے لئے زیادہ سے زیادہ تعداد لوگوں کی باہر بھیج دی جائے۔ لیکن جن مضمونوں کے لئے بھیجی جائے

[انٹریڈل مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد]

انہیں کس طرح چنا جائے کہ وہ ہماری موجودہ ضرورتوں اور تعلیمی انستٹی ٹیوشنز کی کمزوریوں کو ٹھیک طور پر پورا کر دیں؟ اس پر کافی ترجیح نہیں کی گئی۔ نتیجہ یہ نکلا کہ اسکیم کا فائدہ بہت تذبذب ہو کر رہ گیا اور جسقدر فائدہ اس سے ملک کو پہنچنا تھا، نہیں پہنچ سکا۔

ایک اور غلطی بھی ہوئی جسکی وجہ سے ایک نئے طرح کا الجھاؤ پیدا ہو گیا ہے۔ یعنی اب جو لوگ باہر سے اپنی پڑھائی پوری کر کے واپس آ رہے ہیں، ان سب کو فوراً کام پر لگایا دینا مشکل ہو رہا ہے۔ ابھی ایک انٹریڈل ممبر نے تقریر کرتے ہوئے کہا تھا کہ ان کے علم میں ایک ایسے شخص کا معاملہ آیا ہے جسے اورسین اسکالرشپ اسکیم کے ماتحت باہر بھیجا گیا تھا۔ اب وہ اپنی تعلیم پوری کر کے واپس آ گیا ہے لیکن بیکار بیٹھا ہے۔ میرے انٹریڈل دوست کے علم میں تو صرف ایک شخص کا معاملہ آیا ہے میں انہیں بتلاؤں گا کہ ایک سے زیادہ مثالیں میرے علم میں آچکی ہیں، اور مجھے اندیشہ ہے کہ آئندہ اور زیادہ مثالیں ہمارے علم میں آئیں گی، کیونکہ یہ پچھلی اسکالرشپ اسکیم کی غلطی کا لازمی نتیجہ ہے ہم حالات کو سدھارنے کی کوشش کر رہے ہیں لیکن پچھلی غلطیوں کے نتائج سے بچ نہیں سکتے۔

اس اسکیم میں یہ بات طے کی گئی تھی کہ سنٹرل اور پراونشل گورنمنٹوں کے مختلف ڈیپارٹمنٹوں سے دریافت کیا جائے کہ انہیں آئندہ اپنے اپنے کاموں کے لئے کس طرح کے آدمیوں کی ضرورت پیش آئیگی؟ اور کن کن ٹیکنیکل مضمونوں کے لئے وہ چاہتے ہیں کہ اسکالر باہر بھیجے جائیں؟ چنانچہ پچھلے ایجوکیشن ڈیپارٹمنٹ نے ایسا ہی کیا اور تمام ڈیپارٹمنٹوں کو سوالات بھیجے گئے۔ زمانہ لڑائی کا تھا اور خیال کیا جاتا تھا کہ لڑائی کے بعد ڈیولپمنٹ اسکیمیں ضرور شروع ہوں گی، اور ان کے لئے ٹیکنیکل مضمونوں کے ماہروں کی ضرورت ہوگی۔ اس امید اور توقع کے خیالی نقشے کو سامنے رکھ کر ہر ڈیپارٹمنٹ نے بہت سے مضمون چن لئے اور ایجوکیشن ڈیپارٹمنٹ کو بھیج دئے۔ ڈیپارٹمنٹ نے انہیں مضمونوں کا اعلان کر دیا اور سالکشن بورڈ نے امیدواروں کو چن کر باہر بھیج دیا۔ اس اثنا میں لڑائی ختم ہو گئی۔ مگر ملک کی پولیٹیکل اور فنانس کی حالت نے ایسی شکل اختیار کی کہ جن ڈیولپمنٹ اسکیموں کا خیالی نقشہ بنایا گیا تھا وہ شروع نہیں کی جا سکیں اور ابھی تک نہیں کہا جا سکا کہ شروع کی جا سکیں گی یا نہیں۔ نتیجہ یہ نکلا کہ اب گورنمنٹ کے بھیجے ہوئے اسکالر اپنا دو برس یا تین برس کا کورس ختم کر کے واپس آئے ہیں تو ان میں سے بہتوں کو معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ جن کاموں کے لئے انہیں بھیجا گیا تھا وہ ابھی تک شروع ہی نہیں ہوئے ہیں اور اسلئے انہیں فوراً کام پر نہیں لگایا جا سکتا!

پھر ایک اور رکاوٹ بھی پیدا ہو گئی ہے جسکا پہلے کسی شخص کو وہم و گمان بھی نہیں ہو سکتا تھا۔ یہی ملک تسمیم ہوا اور سرکاروں ملازمین کی ایک بہت بڑی تعداد پاکستان کے صوبوں سے الگ ہونے پر اس وقت ہی پڑا، گریڈوں کے یہی ایک بہت بڑے گروہ کو انڈین یونین کا رخ اختیار کرنا پڑا۔ ان مصیبت زدوں کو کام پر لگانا گورنمنٹ کا پہلا فرض تھا۔ اسلئے ہمیں فیصلہ کرنا پڑا کہ جو جگہ بھی خالی ہو اس میں پہلا موقعہ ان لوگوں کو دینا چاہیئے۔ نتیجہ یہ نکلا کہ ان اسکالرز کے لئے سرکاری ملازمت میں جو جگہیں نکالی جا سکتی تھیں وہ بھی بہت حد تک رگ گئی ہیں۔

یہ جو کچھ میں نے آپ سے کہا ہے اسکا مطلب یہ نہیں ہے کہ موجودہ گورنمنٹ پچھلی گورنمنٹ کے سرسارے بوجھ ڈالکر خود الگ ہو جانا چاہتی ہے۔ گورنمنٹ ایسا نہیں کر سکتی اسے اپنی ذمہ داری کا پورا احساس ہے۔ وہ پوری کوشش کر رہی ہے کہ ان لوگوں کو جلد سے جلد کام پر لگایا جائے اور انکی تعلیم سے پورا فائدہ اٹھایا جائے۔ چنانچہ اسوقت تک جتنے اسکالر واپس آئے ہیں، ان کی بڑی تعداد کام پر لگائی جا چکی ہے اور جو باقی رہ گئے ہیں، وہ بھی عذریہ کام پر لگ جائیں گے۔ اگلیتہ گورنمنٹ یہ ضرور توقع رکھتی ہے کہ جو ضرورت حال پیدا ہو گئی ہے اس کے لئے وہ ذمہ دار نہ سمجھی جائے۔

شریمتی درگا بائی نے جس بات پر زور دیا ہے۔ اس کے مقصد سے مجھے پورا اتفاق ہے۔ قومی تعلیم کا کوئی پروگرام بھی صحیح پروگرام نہیں ہو سکتا اگر وہ سوسائٹی کے آگے حصے یعنی عورتوں کی تعلیم اور ترقی کے کام پر پورا دھیان نہیں دیتا۔ اس سلسلہ میں سنٹرل گورنمنٹ جو کچھ کر سکتی ہے کر رہی ہے اور اور زیادہ تیزی کے ساتھ کریگی۔ مگر جن باتوں کا تعلق پراونوں کی حکومتوں سے ہے۔ یا یونیورسٹیوں سے ہے۔ انکی نسبت میں پورے بہروے کے ساتھ اس وقت کچھ نہیں کہہ سکتا۔ سنٹرل گورنمنٹ انہیں مشورہ دے سکتی ہے۔ اور ایک خاص حد تک زور بھی ڈال سکتی ہے۔ لیکن آخر فیصلہ انہی کو کرنا ہے۔ بہر حال میں انہیں یقین دلانا کہ اس بارے میں گورنمنٹ جسقدر کوشش کر سکتی ہے ضرور کریگی۔

انٹریڈل ریلوے ہارڈے نانڈہ کنزرو نے اس طرف توجہ دلائی ہے کہ دعویٰ کے گالچوں کو یونیورسٹی ڈراؤنڈ میں منتقل کرنے کی اسکیم ابھی تک عمل میں نہیں آئی ہے۔ اور اس میں تاخیر دیر ہوتی رہی ہے۔ جہاں تک حالات میرے سامنے آئے ہیں۔ میں کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ اس صورت حال کی ذمہ داری گورنمنٹ پر نہیں ہے۔ حالات اس طرح کے ہو گئے تھے کہ اسکیم فوراً عمل میں نہیں لائی جاسکتی تھی۔ اسکیم کا جو نقشہ بنایا گیا تھا۔ وہ کئی برس پہلے کا تھا۔ لڑائی کے بعد حالات بالکل بدل گئے۔ جو عمارت پہلے ایک لاکھ روپیہ میں بن سکتی تھی اب پانچ لاکھ میں بھی نہیں بن سکتی۔ پھر تعمیر کا سامان مانے میں جو مشکلیں پیدا ہو گئیں۔ وہ بھی سب

[آنریبل مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد]

کے سامنے ہیں۔ ضرورت پڑنا ہوئی کہ پوری اسکیم کا نقشہ نئے سرے سے بنایا جائے۔ اور ہو کالج کے معاملہ کو نئے سرے سے جانچا جائے۔ بہر حال میں انہیں یقین دلانا کہ گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے اس کام میں غفلت نہیں ہوگی۔ پوری کوشش کی جائیگی کہ اسکیم جلد عمل میں آجائے اور اب زیادہ مدت تک لٹکی ہوئی نہ رہے۔

Shri Deshbandu Gupta: Sir, may I interrupt the honourable Minister?

شری دیش بندھو گپتا: کیا یہ امر واقعہ نہیں ہے کہ ہندو کالج دہلی کے ہوسٹل کی بلڈنگ دین سال سے پڑی ہوئی ہے اور اس پر گورنمنٹ نے کوئی توجہ نہیں کی ہے؟
آنریبل مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد: جہاں تک حالات میرے علم میں آئے ہیں۔ میں کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ اس بلڈنگ کے بارے میں ایک مقدمہ عدالت میں چل رہا ہے۔ جب تک اس کا فیصلہ نہ ہو جائے گورنمنٹ کچھ نہیں کر سکتی۔

شری دیش بندھو گپتا: جی نہیں۔ کیا یہ واقعہ نہیں کہ گورنمنٹ نے اب تک اسپر کوئی غور نہیں کیا ہے۔ اور نہ کوئی انکوائری کمیٹی بٹھائی ہے؟
آنریبل مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد: اس بارے میں میں کچھ نہیں کہہ سکتا۔

شری دیش بندھو گپتا: میں یہ دریافت کرنا کہ کیا وائس چانسلر سے اسکے متعلق پوچھا گیا ہے کہ گورنمنٹ کس حد تک دباؤ ہے اور کیا اس پر تین لاکھ روپیہ خرچ ہو چکا ہے۔

آنریبل مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد: کیا ایجوکیشن کمیشن کے علم میں یہ بات لائی گئی ہے؟

شری دیش بندھو گپتا: جی نہیں۔

آنریبل مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد: جب ایجوکیشن کمیشن کے سامنے یہ معاملہ نہیں لایا گیا تو پھر آنریبل میمبر شکایت کس بات کی کر رہے ہیں؟ مجھے جو کچھ معلوم ہوا ہے۔ وہ صرف یہ ہے کہ بلڈنگ کے متعلق ایک مقدمہ عدالت میں زیر غور ہے۔ اور اسکے فیصلے کا انتظار کیا جا رہا ہے۔

ایک آنریبل میمبر نے دہلی یونیورسٹی کی بعض بے قاعدگیوں کا ذکر کیا ہے اور اس سلسلہ میں ایک پمفلٹ کا حوالہ دیا ہے۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں واقعات اپنی اصلی شکل میں اُنکے سامنے نہیں آئے ہیں۔ جب اصلی حالات اُنکے سامنے آئیگی تو مطمئن ہو جائیگی۔ اس معاملہ کا تعلق دہلی یونیورسٹی کونسل کی اس ریٹنگ سے ہے جو وائس چانسلر کے انتخاب کے لئے گزشتہ نومبر میں منعقد ہوئی تھی۔ جس دن ریٹنگ ہونے والی تھی اُس دن یہ معاملہ میری نوٹس میں لایا گیا تھا۔

میں نے بلا تاخیر تحقیقات کی اور باضابطہ تحریری جواب یونیورسٹی سے طلب کیا۔ تحقیقات کے بعد جو حالات معلوم ہوئے اُن میں کوئی ایسی قابل اعتراض بات نہ تھی جسکی بنا پر گورنمنٹ مداخلت کرتی نتیجہ یہ نکلا کہ معاملہ اُسی حد پر ختم ہو گیا۔ میں نہیں سمجھتا کہ اب چار مہینے کے بعد اس معاملہ کو پھر از سر نو اٹھانے کی یہ ضرورت پیش آئی ہے؟ میں وائس کو بتلا دوں کہ اصلی معاملہ کیا ہے؟ یونیورسٹی کے قواعد کی رو سے کالجوں کے پرنسپل ایگزیکٹو کونسل کے میمبر قرار پاتے ہیں۔ اعتراض یہ کیا گیا ہے کہ اگر پرنسپل کالج کے پرنسپل کو کونسل کے میمبر کی حیثیت سے نہیں بلایا گیا۔ وائس چانسلر کا یہاں یہ ہے کہ اگر پرنسپل کالج اس وقت تک ایک ریگنڈنٹ یونیورسٹی کالج نہیں ہوا ہے۔ اور اس بارے میں اگر پرنسپل منسٹری سے یونیورسٹی کی خط و کتابت جاری ہے، جب تک اس معاملہ کا فیصلہ نہیں ہو جاتا اور کالج ریگنڈنٹ، حلقہ کی حیثیت حاصل نہیں کر لیتا اسکا پرنسپل میمبر کی حیثیت سے کونسل کی میٹنگ میں حصہ نہیں لے سکتا۔ اس بیان کے جواب میں کہا گیا ہے کہ اگر پرنسپل کالج کا سابق پرنسپل کونسل کی میٹنگ میں شریک ہوا تھا۔ اسکے جواب میں وائس چانسلر نے رٹوقیے ساتھ بیان کیا ہے کہ وہ میمبر کی حیثیت سے نہیں بلایا گیا تھا۔ خاص دعوے کر بلایا گیا تھا۔ اور بہر حال ووٹنگ میں شریک نہیں ہوا تھا۔ اب سوال یہ ہے کہ یہ دونوں واقعے صحیح ہیں یا نہیں؟ اگر صحیح ہیں تو کسی طرح کی بے قاعدگی ثابت نہیں ہوتی گورنمنٹ کے سامنے کوئی بات اس طرح کی نہیں آئی ہے کہ وہ ان دونوں واقعوں کی صحت میں شبہ کرے۔ اور اسلئے کوئی وجہ معلوم نہیں ہوتی کہ وہ یونیورسٹی کے اندرونی انتظام میں مداخلت کرے۔

ایک دوسرا معاملہ تین آف میڈیٹس کے انتخاب کا بیان کیا گیا ہے کہ اُس کا انتخاب صحیح طریقہ پر نہیں کیا گیا۔ اسلئے یہ ہے کہ میرا وقت ختم ہو گیا ہے۔ اس لئے میں زیادہ تفصیل کے ساتھ اس معاملہ میں نہیں جاسکتا۔ وائس چانسلر کا بیان یہ ہے کہ چھ میمبروں کی کمیٹی ہے۔ کوئی خاص تعداد کورم کی نہیں آہرائی گئی ہے۔ دو میمبروں نے اجلاس سے پہلے اپنی رائے امیدوار کے حق میں لکھ دی تھی اور عذر کیا تھا کہ وہ اجلاس میں شریک نہیں ہو سکیں گے۔ امیدوار ایک ہی تھا۔ ایک سے زیادہ امیدواروں کے مقابلہ کا کوئی سوال پیدا نہیں ہوا تھا۔ بقیہ میمبروں کا اجلاس ہوا اور انہوں نے اسکے حق میں رائے دے کر اُسے چن لیا۔ اب فرمائیے اس بیان کے مطابق صورت حال میں کونسی بات قابل اعتراض ہوئی جس کی بناء پر گورنمنٹ مداخلت کا فیصلہ کرتی؟

یہ بات یاد رکھنی چاہیئے کہ یونیورسٹی ایک اتانمس باقی ہے۔ اور جب تک معقول وجوہ گورنمنٹ کے سامنے نہ آئیں۔ وہ اسکے اندرونی انتظام میں مداخلت

[آنریبل مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد]

نہیں کر سکتی ان دنوں معاملوں کی نسبت میں نے جو کچھ بیان کیا ہے۔ اس پر آنریبل ممبر غور کریں اگر ایک پاس کچھ اور معلومات ایسی ہیں جن سے یونیورسٹی کے موجودہ انتظام میں بے قاعدگی کا صاف ثبوت مل سکتا ہے۔ تو انہیں گورنمنٹ کے علم میں لانا چاہیئے گورنمنٹ کہیں گوارا نہیں کریگی کہ دہلی یونیورسٹی کے انتظام میں صریح بے قاعدگی ہو۔ اور وہ خاموش رہے۔

اللہ دیکھیں بلندعو گپتا

Mr. Speaker: The time is already up for the other demands and let us not prolong this by further discussion.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: On a point of personal explanation.

Mr. Speaker: The honourable Member has already distributed the pamphlet.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: I only want to ask whether the honourable Minister has himself gone into the matter and whether he is satisfied.

آنریبل مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد: میں نے خود تحقیقات کی ہے اور اگر اب بھی معلوم کہ جو باتیں کہی گئیں ہیں وہ غلط ہیں تو اور تحقیقات کرنے کو تیار ہوں۔

بہگم اعجاز رسول صاحبہ نے اس بات پر توجہ دلائی ہے کہ بچوں کی ابتدائی تعلیم مادری زبان کے ذریعے ہونی چاہئے اور گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا کو چاہئے کہ اس بارے میں ایک صاف فیصلہ کر دے۔ میں انہیں یاد دلاتا ہوں کہ اس بارے میں صاف اور قطعی فیصلہ ہو چکا ہے اور کوئی بات باقی نہیں رہی ہے۔ سنٹرل اتھارٹیز بورڈ آف ایجوکیشن نے صاف اور قطعی لفظوں میں یہ فیصلہ کیا ہے کہ بیسک تعلیم مادری زبان کے ذریعے ہونی چاہئے، کیونکہ تعلیم کا قدرتی اور صحیح ذریعہ یہی ہے۔ گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا بھی گزشتہ سال اگست میں ایک ریزولوشن کے ذریعہ اس اصل پر زور دے چکی ہے اور عام طور پر یہ بنیادی بات تسلیم کر لی گئی ہے۔ دراصل ایچ۔اے۔ اس وقت پیدا ہوتا ہے جب ایک لڑکے کی زبان میں اور صریح کی حکمت کی زبان میں اختلاف ہوتا ہے۔ مثلاً بہار میں بدھائی زبان بولنے والی جماعتیں ہیں اس صورت میں سنٹرل اتھارٹیز بورڈ کی تجویز یہ ہے کہ ابتدائی تعلیم مادری زبان کے ذریعے ہو اور پانچویں درجہ کے بعد اسٹیٹ کی زبان کی پڑھائی شروع کی جائے، لیکن ذریعہ تعلیم مادری زبان ہی رہے۔

مولانا حسرت موہانی: پوری تعلیم نیچے سے لیکر اوپر تک مادری زبان ہی میں کیوں نہ ہو؟

مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد: اگر ایک گروہ کی مادری زبان وہ نہیں ہے جسے صوبے کی حکومت نے سرکاری زبان قرار دیا ہے، تو اس صورت میں یہ ماننا پڑے گا کہ صریح کے ہر باشندے کو اسٹیٹ کی زبان سیکھنی چاہئے روزانہ خود اسی کا نقصان ہوگا۔ یہ بات

بھی ظاہر ہے کہ یونیورسٹی درجے کی تعلیم مختلف زبانوں کے ذریعے نہیں دی جا سکتی۔ ایک ہی زبان ماننی پڑیگی۔ اور وہ سرکاری زبان ہو گی۔ اس کے سوا معاملہ کا کوئی عملی حل نہیں ہو سکتا۔

اس سلسلہ میں میں تسلیم کروں گا کہ بعض صوبوں سے برابر اس طرح کی شکایتیں آرہی ہیں کہ وہاں اس بنیادی اصول پر پوری طرح عمل نہیں کیا جا رہا ہے۔ اگر یہ شکایتیں صحیح ہیں تو میں اعتراف کروں گا کہ یہ حالت نہایت درجہ قابل افسوس ہے اور ضروری ہے کہ اس کی اصلاح کی جائے۔ گورنمنٹ آف انڈیا اس بارے میں بعض صوبوں کی حکومتوں سے خط و کتابت کر رہی ہے اور بہت ممکن ہے کہ اس سلسلہ میں صوبوں نے ایجوکیشن منسٹروں کی ایک کانفرنس بھی بلائی جائے۔ بہر حال میں بہگم صاحبہ کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ گورنمنٹ کو اس مسئلہ کی اہمیت کا پورا احساس ہے اور وہ پوری طرح کوشش کریگی کہ جائز شکایتیں دور ہو جائیں۔

اب میں چند الفاظ آخری تقریر کی نسبت کہوں گا جو میرے آنریبل دوست تھاکر بابا نے کی تھی۔ دراصل تعلیم کے بارے میں اصلی سوال وہی ہے جو انہوں نے اٹھایا ہے، اگر تعلیم کا مسئلہ قومی ترقی کے لئے بنیادی مسئلہ ہے، تو کیا اس کی ضرورت نہیں ہے کہ سنٹرل گورنمنٹ کا ریونیو اس کام کے لئے اس سے زیادہ روپیہ نکالے جس قدر روپیہ اس وقت نکالا جا رہا ہے؟ پچھلی گورنمنٹ تعلیم کے لئے زیادہ سے زیادہ دو کروڑ خرچ کرتی تھی جو سنٹرل بجٹ کا ایک نئی صدی حصہ بھی نہیں تھا۔ پوائنٹ پانچ تک پہنچتا تھا۔ میں نے اب لگانا دو برس کی کوششوں کے بعد اسے پانچ کروڑ تک پہنچایا ہے اور اب کہا جا سکتا ہے کہ سنٹرل بجٹ کا ایک فیصدی حصہ تعلیم کے لئے خرچ کیا جائیگا۔ لیکن میں پوچھتا ہوں کہ ایک ایسے ملک کے لئے جس کے باشندوں کی لٹریسی یعنی حرف پڑھانے کی استعداد پندرہ فی صدی سے زیادہ نہ ہو، یہ رقم کافی ہے؟ اور کیا اتنی رقم خرچ کر کے ہمارے کانڈنس کر مطمئن ہو جانا چاہئے؟

آج ملک کے لئے کوئی معاملہ بھی اتنا اہم اور ضروری نہیں ہے جتنا یہ معاملہ ہے کہ ہم انڈین یونین کی پچاسی فی صدی آبادی کو اس کا یہ پیدائشی حق کب تک دے سکیں گے کہ وہ حرف کو پڑھنا اور لکھنا سیکھ جائے؟ سارجنٹ اسکیم نے چالیس برس کی مدت کا اندازہ کیا تھا، لیکن میں نہیں سمجھتا کہ آج ہم سے کوئی شخص بھی اتنی مدت تک انتظار کرنے کے لئے تیار ہو گا۔ میں نے ایجوکیشن منسٹری کا چارج لیتے ہی اس مسئلہ پر توجہ کی اور بیسک ایجوکیشن کے جوئیہ درجے کے لئے ٹیک نئی اسکیم تیار کی جس کی دو سے زیادہ سے زیادہ دس برس کے اندر اس درجہ کی ابتدائی تعلیم یونیورسٹل اور کمپلسری ہو جا سکتی ہے۔ کہیں کمیٹی اس اسکیم پر

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) [18TH MARCH 1949]

[مولانا ابوالکلام آزاد]

غور کرنے کے لئے ہتھکڑی لگائی تھی۔ تعلیمی نے معاملہ کے سارے پہلوؤں پر سوچ بچار کیا، اور سولہ برس کی ایک مکمل اسکیم تیار کر کے پیش کر دی۔ دس برس جونپور بیسک ایجوکیشن کے لئے اور پھر مزید چھ برس سینئر بیسک ایجوکیشن کے لئے۔ ایجوکیشن منسٹری چاہتی تھی کہ نئے مالی برس سے اس اسکیم پر عملدرآمد شروع ہو جائے۔ اس کے لئے پانچ کروڑ چالیس لاکھ روپیہ کی ضرورت تھی۔ مجھے سخت دکھتے ہوئے دل کے ساتھ کہنا پڑتا ہے۔ کہ اس کا انتظام نہیں کیا جا سکا اور اسکیم کا کام ملتوی کر دیا۔ پورا۔ مجھے یہ دیکھ کر نہایت خوشی ہوئی کہ تھاکر بابا صاحب بھی میرے دل کے اس دکھ میں شریک ہیں اور دوسرے ممبروں نے بھی روپیہ کی کمی پوری طرح محسوس کی ہے۔ لیکن میں آپ سے کہوں گا کہ صرف اتنا ہی کافی نہیں ہے آپ کو پوری سنجیدگی کے ساتھ اپنی ذمہ داری محسوس کرنی چاہئے اور غور کرنا چاہئے کہ اس صورت حال کا علاج کیا ہے؟ کئی دوستوں نے فنانس منسٹری کی شکایت کی ہے اور اسے توجہ دلائی ہے کہ وہ نیشنل بلڈنگ کامیونٹی کی اہمیت زیادہ محسوس کرے مگر میں کہوں گا کہ فنانس منسٹری کی شکایت معاملہ کو حل نہیں کر سکتی۔ دراصل معاملہ کا اصلی حل خود آپ کے ہاتھ میں ہے۔ فنانس منسٹری آپ کے خزانے کا حساب کتاب رکھتی ہے لیکن خرچ کرنے کا اختیار آپ کو ہے۔ اگر آپ واقعی محسوس کرتے ہیں کہ تعلیم کے لئے زیادہ خرچ کرنا چاہئے تو آپ کو ایک صاف اور چھٹی تلی تجویز اس ہاؤس میں منظور کرنی چاہئے کہ سنٹرل ریونیو کا کم از کم دس فیصدی حصہ تعلیم کے لئے نکالا جائے۔ جب تک اس طرح کی کڑی کارروائی نہیں کی جائیگی، قومی تعلیم کی گتھی کبھی نہیں سلجھے گی۔

(English translation of the above speech).

The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (Minister of Education): Sir, as I am not feeling well therefore I think you would kindly allow me to speak while sitting.

At the very outset I would submit a few words about the time that has been allotted this year for Education Budget. It has generally been complained that very little time has been allotted and not only for Education but for Health and Labour Ministries also an acute shortage of time has been felt. I am fully in favour of this complaint. Without the least doubt it is essential that we may take more active interest in those matters that pertain to the nation building activities and be able to scrutinise the matter in more details. I assure you that the treasury benches also, from where I am speaking, have also felt this necessity. We have decided that from next year one full day will be set apart for Education. As regards Labour and Health also I hope more time will be allotted.

Shri B. L. Sondhi (East Punjab: General): For Transport also.

The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Yes, sufficient time should be allotted for this also. In this connection only 6 speeches have been made. The object of the first speech, as far as I have been able to understand, was that while planning the scheme of national education we have not to copy the

Western education only but have to plan our own particular scheme of education. I think that it is such an acknowledged fact that there can be no two opinions about it. Without doubt we cannot refrain ourselves from imparting instruction in modern sciences and knowledge. We have to go forward on the way of learning. We have not to recede. But besides this we have to keep in mind certain other facts also. We cannot forget them in any way. India has got a definite civilization of her own. India has a history of her own and has well developed philosophy and metaphysics. She has her own traditions about mental and spiritual life. She has taken a conspicuous and splendid share in the development and diffusion of human knowledge and civilization. Hence it is essential that we should preserve our splendid heritage and draw up such a scheme of our national education, in the outline of which the influence of Indian Culture and Spiritualism may be fully apparent. The outline of our national education should be modern but the spirit must be Indian. I will assure this House that the Education Ministry has before her such a plan and as far as this aim is concerned the Government is wholeheartedly with them.

My honourable friend has drawn attention towards one more point. He acknowledges the fact that for higher studies in scientific and technical subjects Indian students should be sent to foreign countries. But he likes this work to be done in such a manner whereby our objective may be achieved at the earliest and then after that we may not stand in need of sending any more students to foreign countries. I am fully in support of this view point. I would like to assure them that the Government have drawn up the new overseas scholarship scheme with this very objective in view and this scheme has to come into force from the new financial year. Under this scheme the Government wish to send every year a certain number of Indian students to foreign countries. But the object of sending them to foreign countries is that necessity of sending students abroad may at the earliest come to an end. For attaining this object it was essential to investigate the educational facilities that are available in all the existing institutions of the country and to ascertain their weak points also. Then in order to substantiate those aspects that may prove to be weak, particular educational subjects be selected, and for those subjects only students be sent to foreign countries. Besides this special help may be given to the existing institutions for making suitable arrangements for higher technical education and as far as possible new institutions also be started at the earliest. So the Education Ministry is working in this manner and the details you have read in the report of the Ministry.

As you know the over-seas scholarship scheme was started by the previous Government in 1945 and some batches of students had been sent to the foreign countries. But when I took charge of the Education Ministry on 15th January, 1947 then at once I came to know that the scheme has not been worked on proper lines and some defects of fundamental character are working therein. The first and foremost defect has been that the scheme was not planned in such a way whereby efforts may have been made to take into consideration all these important aspects. Special emphasis was laid on the fact that maximum number of students be sent to foreign countries for technical subjects but sufficient attention was not paid for the selection of the subjects for training for which students were to be sent abroad so that they might properly make up our present needs and deficiencies in the educational institutions. The result was that the sphere of benefit accruing from this scheme was considerably narrowed down and as much benefit the country was to have could not be had.

One more mistake was committed whereby a new type of complication has been produced, namely, a great difficulty is being felt in giving immediate employment to all the students who are returning from foreign countries after completing their studies. An honourable member has just given out in his

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speech that he has come to know of the case of a certain gentleman who was sent abroad under the over-seas scholarship scheme. He has now returned after completing his studies but is sitting idle. The honourable member has come to know only of one such case, but I would like to tell him that more than one such cases have come within my knowledge and I fear that in future more such cases will come to our knowledge, but this is the inevitable result of the defects of the previous over-seas scholarship scheme. As far as possible we are trying to improve the situation but we cannot escape the consequences of the past mistakes.

In that scheme it was decided that the various departments of the Provincial and Central Governments may be consulted as to what kind of persons they would require for their work in future and for which technical subjects they want students to be sent to foreign countries. So the Education Department of the past did likewise and questionnaires were sent to the different departments. It was war-time and it was generally thought that the development schemes would surely be started after war and for these schemes technical experts would be required. Keeping this imaginary plan of hope and expectation before them every department selected a number of subjects and referred them to the Education Department. The Education Department announced those very subjects and the selection board after selecting the students sent them to foreign countries. In the meantime the war came to an end but the financial and political condition of the country assumed such a trend that the development schemes, whose imaginary plans had been drawn up, could not be started and even now it cannot be said whether they can be started or not. The results is that when these state scholars return after finishing their courses of studies of 2—3 years then a majority of them come to know that the projects for which they had been sent have not so far been started and so they cannot be given immediate employment.

Now one more obstacle has also sprung up, about which no one could have the slightest doubt or suspicion, namely, the division of the country took place and a large number of Government servants migrated to this country from Pakistan. Besides this a huge influx of refugees had to turn its face towards India. It was the foremost duty of the Government to provide employment to these unfortunate persons. So we had to come to the decision that the refugees should be given first preference while making appointments for all those posts that might fall vacant. The result was that the vacancies that could be created for these state scholars in Government service, were to a great extent filled.

From what I have said to you I do not mean to say that the present Government wants to shirk its responsibility by laying the fault on the previous Government. The Government cannot do so. The Government are fully conscious of its responsibilities. The Government are making all possible efforts to give employment to these state scholars so that the maximum benefit of their education could be had. So a greater number of the state scholars, that have so far returned from foreign countries, have been given employments and the remaining ones also will be given employment in the very near future. Of course, the Government expects at least so much that it may not be held responsible for the state of affairs that has been created.

I am in full agreement with the motive behind the things upon which stress has been laid by Shrimati Durga Bai. No program of national education can be appropriate if it does not give full consideration to the education and advancement of one-half of the society, that is the women. The Central Government is doing whatever it can in this connection and is going to do it with an even greater speed. But with regard to those matters which concern the

provincial governments or the universities I cannot say anything with absolute confidence at this time. The Central Government can give them its advice and can also exert pressure to a certain extent but the final decision has to be made by them. At any rate, I should assure her that the Government would certainly make whatever endeavours it can in that direction.

The Honourable Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru has drawn attention to the fact that the scheme to shift the Delhi colleges to the university grounds has not been put into practice yet and the matter has constantly been deferred. In so far as matters have come to my notice I can say that the responsibility for that state of affairs does not lie with the Government. Matters had taken such a turn that the scheme could not be put into effect immediately. The scheme had been planned out several years back. The circumstances changed completely after the war. A building that could then be built at an expense of one lakh rupees cannot now be constructed even at a cost of five lakhs. Then the difficulties that have arisen in the matter of procurement of building material are also known to everybody. The necessity arose that a plan of the entire scheme be prepared anew and the case of each college judged afresh. At any rate, I would assure him that there would be no negligence on the part of the Government in this behalf. Full efforts will be made that the scheme be put into effect at an early date and that it should not remain in abeyance for long.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta (Delhi): Sir, may I interrupt the honourable Minister? Is it not a fact that the hostel building of the Hindu College, Delhi has remained as it is for the last three years and the Government has paid no attention to it?

The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: In so far as matters have come to my notice I can say that a case is going on in court in regard to this building and the Government cannot do anything until this case is decided.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: No, Sir. Is it not a fact that the Government has paid no attention to it so far, nor have they appointed any enquiry committee?

The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: I can say nothing in that connection.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: I would enquire whether the Vice-Chancellor has been asked about it. How far is Government responsible for it? Have rupees three lakhs been spent in this connection?

The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Has this matter been brought to the notice of the Education Ministry?

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: No, Sir.

The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: If this matter has not been brought before the Ministry of Education what is the honourable member complaining about? Whatever I have come to know is just this much that a case about the building is pending in court and its decision is being waited for.

An honourable member has mentioned some irregularities of the Delhi University and has, in that connection, referred to a pamphlet. I feel that the facts have not come before him in their true perspective. When the true position comes before him he will be satisfied. The matter relates to that meeting of the Delhi University Council that was held in November last for the election of the Vice-Chancellor. The matter was brought to my notice on the very day this meeting was to be held. I made an inquiry without delay and duly called for a written reply from the University. The facts that emerged as a result of the inquiry did not contain anything so

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objectionable as to call for intervention on the part of the Government. The result was that the matter ended at that stage. I fail to understand what necessity has arisen now after four months to re-agitate this matter all over again.

May I tell the House what the true position is? According to the rules of the University principals of colleges are appointed members of the Executive Council. The objection has been raised that the Principal of the Agriculture College was not called in his capacity as a member of the Council. The Vice-Chancellor, however, states that the Agriculture College has not yet become a recognised University college, that correspondence is going on in this connection between the University and the Ministry of Agriculture and that until this matter is decided and the college attains the status of a recognised institution its Principal cannot take part in the meeting of the Council in the capacity of a member. In reply to this statement it has been said that the ex-Principal of the Agriculture College did participate in the Council meeting. In reply to this the Vice-Chancellor has stated positively that he was not called in the capacity of a member but by special invitation and that, at any rate, he did not take part in the voting. Now the question is are both these facts true or not? If they are correct no irregularity of any kind is proved. No such thing has come to the notice of the Government as might cause them to doubt the correctness of these two facts and hence there appears to be no reason why it should interfere in the internal administration of the University.

Another case cited is that relating to the election of the Dean of Medicine. It has been alleged that his election was not conducted in a proper manner. I regret my time is over and I cannot therefore go into this matter in greater detail. The Vice-Chancellor's version is like this. The Committee consists of six members and that there is no specified quorum. Two of the members have already recorded their vote in favour of the candidate before the meeting and made a plea that they could not participate in the meeting. There was only one candidate. The question of a contest between more than one candidate did not arise. There was a meeting of the remaining members who gave their vote in his favour and elected him. Now, I should like to know, in view of this statement, what was the objectionable part of the business on the score of which the Government might have decided to intervene.

This fact should be kept in view that the University is an autonomous body, and so long as concrete instances are not brought to the notice of the Government, they cannot interfere in its internal administration.

The honourable member should consider the statement made by me in respect of these two points. If he has got any further information that would give a clear proof of the irregularities in the existing management of the University, then he should bring it to the notice of the Government. The Government can never suffer the presence of any sort of irregularities in the administration of the Delhi University, and that they should keep quiet over it.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: I would.....

Mr. Speaker: The time is already up for the other demands and let us not prolong this by further discussion.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: On a point of personal explanation.

Mr. Speaker: The honourable Member has already distributed the pamphlet.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: I only want to ask whether the honourable Minister has himself gone into the matter and whether he is satisfied.

The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: I have myself made necessary enquiries and even if it is found that whatever I have stated is incorrect, then I am prepared to institute further enquiries.

The honourable Member Begum Aizaz Rasul has drawn attention towards the necessity of imparting primary education to the children in their mother-tongue and urged the Government of India to lay down a clear-cut policy in this respect. I would like to tell her in this connection that this question has already been decided once for all and there is nothing more to be done. The Central Advisory Board of Education have explicitly laid down that the medium of basic education should be the mother tongue, because this is the natural and appropriate medium for imparting education. The Government of India have already emphasized upon this principle through their Resolution of August, last year and this fundamental principle has generally been accepted. As a matter of fact, the difficulty arises only at that time when there is a difference between the language spoken by one group of people and the State language of the Province concerned, e.g., in Bihar there are Bengali speaking classes. In such a case, the Central Advisory Board have proposed that the medium of primary education should be the mother tongue, and after the fifth class the State language should be taught. But the medium of education should strictly be the mother tongue.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani (U.P.: Muslim): Why should not the entire education from the lowest to the highest be given in the mother tongue?

The Honourable Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: If the language spoken by a certain group of people is not the same which has been adopted by the Provincial Government concerned, then in such a contingency it shall have to be admitted that every inhabitant of the Province should learn the State language; otherwise he will himself suffer. This is also obvious that the University education cannot be given through the medium of different languages. One language only shall have to be adopted and that shall be the State language. Except this, there cannot be any practical solution of this problem.

In this connection, I shall also admit that complaints are regularly pouring in from certain provinces to the effect that this fundamental principle is not being fully acted upon. If these complaints are correct, then I must admit that this is really a deplorable state of affairs and it is most essential that it should be remedied. The Government of India are already in correspondence on this subject with certain Provincial Governments, and it is very likely that a conference of the Provincial Education Ministers may be convened in this connection. In any case, I shall assure the honourable Member, Begum Aizaz Rasul, that the Government are fully alive to the importance of this matter, and they shall do their utmost to remove genuine complaints.

Now, I shall say a few words with regard to the last speech delivered by my honourable friend Mr. A. V. Thakkar. As a matter of fact, the point raised by him is the crux of the entire subject of education. If the problem of education is treated as the fundamental basis for the uplift of the nation, then is it not necessary that more money should be earmarked out of the revenues of the Central Government for this purpose than what is being spent at present? The previous Government used to spend Rs. 2 crores at the most for the purposes of education which did not form even one per cent. of the Central Budget. It was hardly 5 per cent. After having put in strenuous efforts for the last two years, I have been able to get it raised to Rs. 5 crores, and now it can be said that 1 per cent. of the Central Budget shall be spent for the purposes of education. But I would like to know whether this amount is adequate for a country whose literate population does not exceed 15 per cent. even. And should our conscience feel satisfied after spending this amount?

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Today, there is no other matter which more vitally affects the country than this problem. When will we be able to confer upon 85 per cent. of the subjects of the Indian Union their birth-right of learning 3 R's? The Sargeant Scheme had contemplated a period of forty years. But I do not think that today any one of us shall be prepared to wait for such a long period. On my assuming charge of the Ministry of Education, I devoted myself towards this aspect; and prepared a fresh scheme for imparting basic education in the junior standards by means of which the basic education upto this standard can be made universal and compulsory during a period of ten years at the most. 'Kher' Committee was set up to consider this scheme. This Committee considered all the aspects of the matter and prepared a comprehensive scheme covering a period of sixteen years, viz., 10 years for junior basic education and again six years more for senior basic education. The Ministry of Education were eager to implement this scheme from the beginning of the new financial year. A sum of Rs. 5,40,00,000 was needed for this purpose. I am deeply constrained to say that this could not be averted and the implementation of the scheme has had to be postponed.

I was rather much pleased to find that my honourable friend Mr. Thakkar shares with me in my present predicament, and other members too have seriously felt the paucity of funds. But I would like to tell you that this is not quite sufficient. You should realize your responsibility in right earnestness and think over as to how to remedy this state of affairs. Certain friends have complained against the Ministry of Finance and drawn their attention for attaching more importance to the nation-building programme. But I will dare say that the mere complaint against the Ministry of Finance cannot solve the problem. As a matter of fact, the real solution of the problem lies in your own hands. The Ministry of Finance merely maintains an account of your treasury, while you have got full powers to spend it. If you really feel that more amount should be spent under 'Education', then you should accept a plain and well-balanced proposal in this House that at least 10 per cent. of the Central revenues should be allocated to this head. So long as no such action is taken, the Gordian knot of the national education shall never be disentangled.

Shri H. R. Guruv Reddy (Mysore State): Sir, we could not follow a syllable of what the honourable Minister said. It seems to be a very interesting reply, and we have to ask for a translation of his speech.

Mr. Speaker: He will get it, in due course.

Now, what is the position about the cut motion of Pandit Kunzru? Does he want it to be put to vote?

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: With the permission of the House I wish to withdraw it.

Mr. Speaker: Has the honourable Member leave of the House to withdraw his cut motion?

The cut motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker: I now put the Demands to the House.

The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 33,76,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Education'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 28,71,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Archaeology'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,81,40,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Other Scientific Departments'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 43,41,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Education'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 22—MINISTRY OF LABOUR

Mr. Speaker: We now take up the Ministry of Labour.

Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,97,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Labour'."

There is a cut-motion by Mr. Sahu. He will speak on his cut-motion and then Mr. Shastri will follow.

Unity of Trade Union Organisations

श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण साहू: वाचस्पति जी, मैं मिनिस्टरी आफ लेबर को डिमांड नम्बर २२ में यह कट मोशन मूव करना चाहता हूँ—

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour' be reduced by Rs. 100."

यह कट मोशन जो मैं इस हाउस के सामने पेश करता हूँ, तो पहिले मैं यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि चौदह फरवरी सन् १९४८ में श्री केशव राव ने एक प्रश्न पूछा था। उस पर गवर्नमेंट ने जवाब दिया है कि ऐसी ७६ ट्रेड यूनियनस हैं जिन्हें गवर्नमेंट ने रेकगनाईज किया है, उसमें रेलवे वर्कमेन्स की, वर्क्स, माईन्स एन्ड पावर की, Industry and Supply की, Communications, Defence, Finance की और हेल्थ की, शामिल थीं। अब हमें देखना चाहिये की लेबर की पोजीशन क्या है। अभी रेलवे में कम से कम १० लाख लवरर्स हैं Plantation और Mining में १० लाख, फ़ैक्टरीज में २५ लाख हैं और बाकी पांच लाख हैं। और एक बात यहां सोचना चाहिये कि १९२२ से आल इन्डिया ट्रेड यूनियन कांग्रेस बनाई गई थी और वह बगबर चलती रही। लेकिन ऐसा हुआ कि एक रात को जब हम दूसरे दिन सुबेरे सोकर उठे तो देखा कि एक नई इन्डियन नेशनल ट्रेड यूनियन कांग्रेस बन गई है और उस

[श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण साहू]

रोज हमने सोचा कि अब देश में लेबर की हालत बहुत खराब हो गई। इसका क्या सबब था कि १९४७ में इतनी जल्दी एक दूसरी ट्रेड यूनियन कांग्रेस बनाई गई, जहां आल इन्डिया ट्रेड यूनियन कांग्रेस सन् १९२२ से था। इस से यह नतीजा हुआ कि लेबर की जो आरगनेजेशन है, उसमें कुछ झगड़ा आ गया है और आज लेबर के बीच में हमने और चार दल खड़ा कर दिया—All India Trade Union Congress, Indian National Trade Union Congress, Hind Mazdoor Panchayat और United Trade Union Committee—बेकार का झगड़ा पैदा कर दिया है। और यह झगड़ा किस आदमी ने शुरू किया है, वह जब मैं सोचता हूँ तो देखता हूँ कि वह आदमी गर्वनमेंट है इसका पीछे कौन है यह जब मैं ढूँढता हूँ तो मेरा विश्वास हो जाता है कि मेरी गर्वनमेंट ने इसके पीछे पड़ कर यह सब खराब कर दिया है।

अभी जो रिपोर्ट निकली है, उस रिपोर्ट में कहा जाता है कि अभी पन्द्रह परसेंट ज्यादा प्रोडक्शन हुआ है, यह कैसा प्रोडक्शन हुआ है, इसका ज्यादा जिक्र जब तक नहीं होगा, हमें विश्वास नहीं हो सकता। मैं देखता हूँ कि यह जो हिन्दुस्तान में लेबर मूवमेंट है, वह मर सा गया है। Labour Movement का भीष्म पितामह का माफिक जो ये मिस्टर जोशी थे वह अब कहाँ हैं? उनको labour field से एक दम निकाल दिया गया है ऐसा मालूम होता है।

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Whose fault was it that Mr. Joshi was out of it? It is his own fault.

Shri Harihar Nath Shastri: It was the S.I.S. who first expelled Mr. Joshi.

Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu: Nobody, expelled him from the S.I.S. He resigned from the S.I.S.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: He resigned from the A.I.T.U.C. also.

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: He is in the Mazdoor Sabha.

श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण साहू : मैं देखता हूँ कि अब हिन्दुस्तान में चार ट्रेड यूनियन बन गई और उनमें ज्यादा से ज्यादा झगड़ा होता है। एक कांग्रेस के हाथ में है, एक सोशलिस्ट के हाथ में है, एक कम्युनिस्ट के हाथ में है और एक बिल्कुल अलग है। गर्वनमेंट को यह देखना चाहिये कि कैसे इन चारों में जो झगड़ा है, वह कम हो, खत्म हो और इन चारों जमातों को मिला सकें। लेकिन मैं देखता हूँ कि गर्वनमेंट जो कांग्रेस इन्डियन नेशनल ट्रेड यूनियन कांग्रेस है उसके नुमाइन्दों को तो हर कमेटी और जगह में स्थान मिलता है और बाकी तीनों लेबर की जमातों का कोई स्थान नहीं होता है। इसलिये हम

लोगों का हाल बहुत खराब हो गया है। मैं ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं कहता हूँ कि ये जो चार कमेटीयाँ हैं (१) Central Advisory Committee, (२) Profit Share Committee, (३) Employees State Insurance Corporation, और (४) Standing Labour Committee इन में सिर्फ कांग्रेस के ही मेम्बर हैं हम अब तक यह कहते आये हैं कि हम डेमोक्रेटिक इन्स्टीट्यूशन बनाने की कोशिश करते हैं, जो जिसका हिस्सा है उसको देने की कोशिश करते हैं लेकिन हम वह देते नहीं हैं। हम सबका गला घोट देने हैं और अपना ही फायदा चाहते हैं। जिस तरह से आदमी घोड़े के लगाम पकड़ कर घुमाना चाहता है उसी तरह से हम लोगों की आंखों में 'blinds' (मट्टे) लगा कर घुमा रहे हैं। जिधर जैसा चाहा वैसा कर दिया। इस तरह से हम डेमोक्रेटिक इन्स्टीट्यूशन नहीं बना सकते हैं जिसकी बनाने की हम सब लोग कोशिश कर रहे हैं।

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Mr. Deputy Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar).]

लेबर फील्ड में भी बहुत असंतोष है। मैं देखता हूँ कि लेबर फैक्टरी लेजिसलेशन बनाया गया है लेकिन मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इनको जल्दी से जल्दी क्यों नहीं काम में लाया जाता है। जब तक यह सब कानून काम में नहीं लाये जायेंगे तो इनको बनाने का क्या फायदा होगा। मैं ज्यादा इस वक्त इस बारे में नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ।

अभी उस रोज हमारे सरदार पटेल साहब ने कहा कि अब आर. एस. एस., कम्युनिस्ट और सिक्ख सबको दवा दिया गया है और अब किसी प्रकार की अशान्ति का डर नहीं है। मगर मैं कहता हूँ कि हमारा देश इस समय एक ऐसी अवस्था में है कि किसी समय एक्सप्लोजन (Explosion) हो जायेगा तो सब कुछ चकनाचूर हो जायेगा। इसलिये अभी हमको यह कोशिश करनी चाहिये, गर्वनमेंट को यह कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि जो यह चार बखेड़े हो गये हैं, चार भाग हो गये हैं वह सब एक हो जाय। हमारे श्रम मंत्री जी की और हमारे मित्र हरीहर नाथ शास्त्री जी की और जो वहां पर बैठे हैं सब को मिल कर यह बात सोचनी चाहिये। यह नहीं, कि हम उसको दवा देंगे—सबको दवा देंगे और हम बैठेंगे, इस तरह से यह काम नहीं हो सकेगा। इसलिये मैं ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता हूँ। इतना कह कर मैं अपना कंटमोशन मूव करता हूँ।

(English translation of the above speech.)

Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu (Orissa: General): I wish to move the following cut motion to demand No. 22 of the Ministry of Labour:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu]

In moving this cut motion before this House I wish to say that on the 14th February, 1948, Shri Keshva Rao asked a question in reply where to the Government stated that there were 76 trade unions that had been recognized by the Government, which included those pertaining to Railway workmen, and people employed under Works, Mines and Power, Industry and Supply, Communications, Defence, Finance and Health Departments. Let us now see what is the position of Labour. Just at present there are at least 10 lakhs of labourers employed in the Railways, 10 lakhs in Plantation and mining, 25 lakhs in factories and 5 lakhs who are employed otherwise. There is one thing here that requires to be considered. The All-India Trade Union Congress was formed in 1922 and it continued functioning smoothly. But, it so happened on a certain night that when we woke up in the morning, next day, we found that a body styled as the Indian National Trade Union Congress had come into existence and on that day we felt that the condition of Labour in the country had become very much deplorable. What was the reason for the formation of a second Trade Union Congress in 1947, with such haste, when the All-India Trade Union Congress was there since 1922? This leads to the conclusion that some discord has entered into the organisation of labour. We have today created four blocks in the labour camp, viz., the All India Trade Union Congress, Indian National Trade Union Congress, Hind Mazdoor Panchayat and the United Trade Union Committee and brought about dissensions for nothing. And, who started these dissensions? When I think of that I find that that person is the Government. When I look about to discover who is behind all this, I come to the certain conclusion that my Government pursued this matter and brought about this deterioration.

The report that has just come out says that there has been a fifteen per cent. increase in production yet. What kind of production is this? Until we are told more about it we are not inclined to believe this. I perceive that this labour movement in India has rather gone into decay. Where is Mr. Joshi now, who was a kind of Bhisma Pitamah of the labour movement? It appears as if he has been expelled from the labour field all at once.

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Madras: General): Whose fault was it that Mr. Joshi was out of it? It is his own fault.

Shri Harihar Nath Shastri (U.P.: General): It was the S.I.S. who first expelled Mr. Joshi.

Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu: Nobody expelled him from the S.I.S. He resigned from the S.I.S.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: He resigned from the A.I.T.U.C. also.

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram (Minister of Labour): He is in the Mazdoor Sabha.

Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu: I find that four trade unions have now come to be formed in India and that the greatest dissensions prevail among them. One of them is in the hands of the Congress, one is in the hands of the Socialists, one is in the hands of the Communists and one is quite unattached. It is up to the Government to see how the conflict that exists among these four might be reduced and resolved and all these four organisations united. But, I find that the Government assigns the representatives of the Indian National Trade Union Congress a place on every committee whereas the other three labour organisations have no such place. That is why our condition has grown so deplorable.

I do not wish to say more. I say, however, that these four Committees, viz. (1) the Central Advisory Committee, (2) the Profit Share Committee, (3) the Employees State Insurance Corporation and (4) the Standing Labour Committee, consist exclusively of members of the Congress. We have been proclaiming all this time that we are trying to evolve democratic institutions and that we are trying to give their share to those whom it is due but we are not doing so. We strangle them all and seek our own good alone. Just as a man holds a horse by the bridle and turns it in whichever direction he likes in the same way we have blindfolded the public and are turning them about. We turn them as and where we like. Not in this manner can we form democratic institutions to the formation of which we are bending our efforts.

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Mr. Deputy Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar).]

There is also a good deal of discontent in the field of labour. I find that factory legislation has been framed for the benefit of the labour but I wish to enquire why it is not being put into operation at the earliest. What would be the good of enacting these laws if they are not to be enforced? I do not wish to say more on that subject at this juncture.

Only the other day the Honourable Sardar Patel stated that the R.S.S., the Communists and the Sikhs had all been suppressed and that there was no longer any fear of disorder of any kind. But, I say our country is at this hour in such a state that an explosion might occur at any time which might blow up everything. Hence, we should even now make an endeavour, the Government should make an endeavour that these four factions that have been formed, these four divisions that have been created might all unite into one. Our Labour Minister our friend Harihar Nath Shastriji and the others sitting there should all combine and think it out. It will not do to think that we will suppress all,—that we will suppress all but keep our position. That way this object will not be achieved. I do not wish to say more and, having said this much, move my cut motion.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Cut motion moved:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Labour' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Shri Harihar Nath Shastri: Mr. Deputy Speaker, within the few minutes that you have been gracious enough to allow me, all that is possible for me is to offer my hurried comments on a few important subjects in regard to the labour policy. Before doing that, I wish first of all refer to the speech that has just been made by my honourable friend, Mr. Lakshminarayan Sahu. I mean no disrespect to him when I say that the views or the ideas that he has expressed betrays a colossal ignorance of the situation in the trade union movement in this country. It is a mistake to think that the Indian National Trade Union Congress was sprung up by any individual or set of individuals overnight. The real fact is with the advent of freedom and realization on the part of the working class of this country of their duty to the community, a realization came amongst them that the time has come when they must get rid of the anti-social, disruptive and opportunist elements in the trade union movement in this country, which have so far hampered their progress and it was due to this realization that we find that in the course of the last 18 months, the Indian National Trade Union Congress was set up. It has become by far the most representative organisation in this country and my honourable friend says that the Government should take steps to see that only one organization should exist in this country. I may assure my honourable friend that it will be due to any efforts on the part of the Government, but it will be due to increasing realization on the part of the working class of this country that in a very short time only one organisation and one alone will exist in this country and that will be the Indian National Trade Union Congress.

[Shri Harihar Nath Shastri]

Now, Sir, I come to a very important question and that is the question of industrial relations. As the House may be aware the Indian National Trade Union Congress ever since its inception has been continuously working for the maintenance of industrial peace in this country as a condition precedent to industrial progress and economic prosperity of our nation, and to realize that object, it accepted the lead of the honourable the Prime Minister when it accepted the three years Industrial Truce and it was in order to implement that resolution and that policy that the Indian National Trade Union Congress accepted and has been persistently following a policy of responsive co-operation in regard to the employers. I have no hesitation to admit that there is a class of employers in this country who are conscious of the objective situation in this country and who have been doing their best to explore all possibilities for amicable settlement with the labour and it has been our pleasure, and it has been our best efforts to work to the best of our capacity for the good of labour in co-operation with such employers, but on the other hand, Sir, I regret to say that there are elements amongst the employers, who by their narrow, selfish and sort-sighted policy, have hampered industrial peace in this country. (Maulana Hasrat Mohani: "Have any of them been prosecuted or imprisoned as yet?") That is for the honourable the Labour Minister to answer. Now, Sir, so far as these set of employers are concerned, we have fought against them under the framework of the Industrial Disputes Act and while doing so, we have been faced with certain difficulties. We found that the Industrial Disputes Act is inadequate; it is dilatory and it is ineffective and it was, therefore, that 14 months back when the Industrial Conference took place, we insisted that a clause should be inserted in the resolution in regard to the Industrial Truce and that the Industrial Disputes Act should be amended and that proposal was accepted. I again raised that issue from the platform of the Indian National Trade Union Congress. The matter has already been unduly delayed, but I am glad to hear that a Bill is in the making and I hope it will be coming very soon and when it does, many of the defects in regard to the working of the Industrial Disputes machinery will be rectified.

Now, Sir, the other point that I desire to refer to is in regard to social legislation. So far besides many measures, three main important measures namely, the Factories Act, the Minimum Wages Act, and the Workmen's State Insurance Act, these three acts have been passed in the course of the last 12 months and I must say that at least the last legislative measure is a great landmark in the history of the working class movement in this country. But I might submit that there are two more measures that call for immediate attention. One of these is the provision for old age pension and the other is the unemployment insurance. Unemployment insurance has already come into existence in most of the countries of the world and I am sure that with a net-work of employment exchanges spread throughout the country, it will not be difficult to take in hand this most important measure.

Lastly I come to the question of housing. I raised the question of housing at the Industrialists Conference last year. I raised it at the time of the last Budget also when the Finance Minister assured the House that adequate funds will be found to start the construction of workmen's houses. I am grateful to the honourable the labour Minister who spoke at some public meeting in Bombay and said that the Government was planning to construct one million houses for the working classes of this country. Sir, these classes will be grateful if the honourable Minister would today give us an idea as to what concrete steps are proposed to be taken to implement this promise.

Shri A. V. Thakkar (Saurashtra): In how many years will these one million houses will be constructed?

Shri Harihar Nath Shastri: There are many other points to which I wanted to refer. There is the question of the working class employment insurance, the question of re-settlements; the question of the Labour Conferences, Ratification of International Conventions and agricultural labour. Owing to shortness of time I am unable to speak on them.

But before I sit down I must express my gratitude to the Honourable Sri Jagjivan Ramji. I hope that any criticism I have offered will not be taken as want of confidence in him. On the contrary I feel that in a critical situation like the one our country is passing through he has handled the labour affairs of this country with admirable skill and efficiency. My congratulations, the congratulations of the country and of the working classes are due to him.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I would like to remind the House of the time table we started with. We started this Demand at 3-45 p.m. The Honourable the Minister for transport is waiting. One hour was allotted for Labour and one hour for Transport. We have just started the debate on Labour. If we can conclude this Demand by 4-30 p.m. and then take up the Demand for Transport, we can conclude by 5-30 p.m.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena (U.P. General): Sir, I am very thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this Demand. I have given notice of several cut motions, but I am not moving them. I will refer to the substance of those motions for the consideration of the honourable Minister.

I have just now heard the speech of my honourable friend Mr. Sahu as well as the speech delivered by Mr. Harihar Nath Shastri. I could not appreciate the manner in which my friend Mr. Shastri dismissed the earnest request made by Mr. Sahu that all the four Central labour organisations in this country should be merged into one Central organisation. Instead, he said that soon there would be only one organisation and that will be the I.N.T.U.C. So he is out to wage a war for the extermination of the other organisations. He feels that the Government and the employers' recognition and support to his organisation will ensure his victory in this war. As a Congressman, I wish the I.N.T.U.C. prosperity and success; but Mr. Shastri's present policies if persisted in by the organisation will certainly spell its doom. A labour organisation cannot prosper for long on the support of the Government and the employers. The history of the Indian Federation of labour is there to warn everyone. The I.N.T.U.C. has today a great opportunity. It can sponsor a movement for the unity of at least all the non-Communist labour organisations in the country into one single Central Trade Union Organisation in the country like the British Trades Union Congress. Such an independent non-Communist Trade Union Organisation will have a vitality of its own and it will not depend upon the support of the Government or the employers. Congressmen can predominate this organisation and keep it under their influence if they dedicate themselves to serve labour disinterestedly in their thousands. This was just what the honourable Mr. Ayyangar had in mind when he advised all the Railway Labour Unions in the country to unite under one single organisation. This would strengthen labour, and for the Government also there would be then one single organisation to negotiate with. Today the Congress Governments are accused of being partial to the I.N.T.U.C. I feel there is some truth in the accusation. That lowers Congress prestige, and damns Congress in eyes of labour.

Then, with regard to the appointment of representatives of labour on various governmental and international committees and conference, I would like to suggest that some definite principles should be observed. The other day I read of a gentleman being sent from our country to Italy to represent India on

[Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena]

the Roadways Committee of the I.L.O. He has never worked in any organisation connected with the roadways. He has no knowledge of the problems of labour working on roadways (*Interruption*). I know the gentleman very well. I am President of the U.P. Roadways Federation. The gentleman sent is a textile worker and not of roadways. What I suggest is that in nominating people to such Committees or other International bodies, the Government should not lay itself open to the charge of favouritism or nepotism. It would add to the prestige of the Government if it asks those labour organisations in the country which are the most representative of that particular branch of labour in the country to elect representatives for such committees. That is the best way in which you can promote the welfare of each branch of labour. The real purpose behind those conferences will also be then fulfilled. I have to make a complaint against the delay in enforcing legislation passed by this House. Sir, the Dock Workers' Regulation Act of 1948 has not yet been enforced in Calcutta and Madras. Rules under the Trade Union Amendment Act for compulsory recognition of trade unions have not yet been framed. I hope they will be framed soon.

In the end, I wish the I.N.T.U.C. people to change the spirit in which they work. Then alone it will become a great force; then alone it will become the one single labour organisation in the country.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Sir, I wish to congratulate the Labour Department upon the excellent work that they have done during the last year in bringing forward quite a considerable amount of labour legislation and getting it passed through this House and also trying to give effect to as much of it as possible. I should also like to congratulate our Government as well as the Labour Ministry on the fact that its distinguished Secretary, Mr. Lall, has come to be elected the Chairman of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. This is indeed a great honour done to an Indian and to India and I certainly take pleasure in congratulating him also personally.

Secondly, Sir, I am not able to agree with my two honourable friends, Messrs. Sahu and Shibbanlal Saksena in regard to the remarks that they have made about the I.N.T.U.C. Let me assure them and the House that in truth not only the I.N.T.U.C. but also the Socialist Labour Organisation and the Communist Labour Organisation have come to be represented on a number of Committees which Government has appointed. Only recently, there was the Profit Sharing Committee, also the Fair Wages Committee, on which you will find representatives of the Socialist Mazdoor Sabha. What is the good of our closing our eyes to these facts and saying that the Government is favouring only the I.N.T.U.C.? My honourable friend Mr. Shibbanlal Saksena says that he also has great love for the I.N.T.U.C., but most unfortunately for me, I am not able to find any evidence of it at all in practice.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani (U.P.: Muslims): Is the I.N.T.U.C. an officially sponsored organisation?

Prof. N. G. Ranga: It is true that he has recently fasted for the rights of our workers. I certainly congratulate him on that, for having put to the test, for having shown to the people how strongly he feels in regard to some of these matters, but I have felt for some time that he has not been taking a correct attitude at all in so far as the I.N.T.U.C. is concerned. On the other hand, he has been allowing some of his personal prejudices against some of the leaders of the I.N.T.U.C. to get the better of his judgment and there is where I feel very sorry indeed in regard to my own friend.

Thirdly, my honourable friend Mr. Sahu has said certain things in regard to our good old friend Mr. N. M. Joshi, which to my mind are not quite correct. Mr. N. M. Joshi has not been dropped by the Labour Department at all, nor has he been dropped by the Indian National Congress. Indeed, it was the Indian National Congress which was responsible for getting him into this House after the British Government had neglected to nominate him on the last occasion, and while he was here, every time he was free to criticise the National Government and he did criticise it. Nevertheless, none of us had resented, because of our own great respect for him, and I claim to be one of the disciples of Mr. N. M. Joshi in so far as the labour front is concerned, but at the same time I could not agree with him in the policies that he was pursuing in the latter days of his career in this House as well as outside. It was he who fought tooth and nail the I.N.T.U.C. while it was being brought into existence, it was he who tried his best to see that the I.L.O. would not recognise the I.N.T.U.C. at the San Francisco Conference, it was he who sent not one but many more representations to the Governing Body of the I.L.O. in order to throw dust in their eyes. In spite of all these things the I.L.O. continued to recognise the I.N.T.U.C. and upheld the judgment that the Government of India had come to that the I.N.T.U.C. represented the majority of the members of the organised trade unions in this country. And why has he left the trade union field, or rather the trade union that he had himself established? He at one time was faced with the threat of the Communists and therefore formed a rival organisation. My friend wants to have only one organisation in this country. The veteran trade union leader in this country has himself found through his own practical experience that so long as politics is allowed to come into play in the trade union world, there cannot be one organisation but there would be many and he was himself instrumental in forming a rival organisation known as National Labour Federation, if I mistake not. Recently he himself resigned from the A.I.T.U.C. which he thought was the best and the most representative in the country and I am afraid that he is joining the third organisation—Is that it or he has joined the third organisation. If this is the experience, if this is the view of the veteran labour leader in this country, then I can only say it is not going to be possible to bring into existence only one labour organisation. My honourable friend Mr. Shastri was saying that he was happy that the I.N.T.U.C. would come to be the only organisation in this country. I am afraid the facts are not going to be like that as long as you have a communist party in the country. As long as there is a communist party, it will see to it that there is a rival organisation. As long as you have got another party like the Socialist Party which is out to exploit trade unionism and trade unions in order to subvert the Government that there is and establish its own political regime there is bound to be a rival organisation. Therefore, let us not be afraid of the existence of any of these rival organisations at all. My friend was complaining that this Government was showing partiality to the I.N.T.U.C. On the other hand, for the last two years, I have quarrelled with the Railway Ministry for having shown too much partiality to this All-India Railwaymen's Federation and not recognising a number of other labour organisations that have come into existence in rivalry to the communist controlled organisations. There are the Unions organised by the Running Staff and also those organised by the Clerical Staff of the Railways, to mention only two, and these have not been recognised by my honourable friends—first Dr. John Matthai, now Mr. Santhanam. Mr. Santhanam was good enough to simply say that they would be given the privilege of corresponding with their high officials. Is that the kind of partiality which my friend is having in his mind when he says that this Government is showing partiality to the I.N.T.U.C.? My complaint is that this Government is too much afraid of these communist controlled trade unions which through threats of strikes are bent upon subverting this Government and are creating destructive and disruptive strikes for the purpose. Therefore, it is wrong for my honourable friends and it is rather late in the day for them to come forward and

[Prof. N. G. Ranga]

give this sermon to our Government that it should not show any sort of partiality at all to the I.N.T.U.C.

Then, Sir, I wish to make an appeal to my honourable friend to come together and walk in line and in step with all of us in building up the I.N.T.U.C. in such a way that it will be possible for our National Government to develop our industrial structure without unnecessarily being troubled and worried by constant threats of strikes. Strikes for what purposes?—Not for industrial purposes, not for wages, allowances and various other things, but for the purpose of subverting this Government. Let them make up their mind whether they want this National Government to rule in this country or they want a Communist Government to rule in this country. If they do not want a Communist Government to rule in this country, then we must be prepared to be indifferent about our own personal interests, our group interests, our individual, local, union interests, and make common cause with all those patriotic people in this country, among the workers as well as outside,—their friends—and see that this Government and its industrial policy are strengthened in every possible manner.

Lastly, I am glad my honourable friend the Minister for Labour has placed on the Statute Book the (Agricultural) Minimum Wages Act, and I sincerely hope that he will also see to it that the provincial governments try to give effect to it and bring into existence the necessary machinery that has been envisaged in the Act in order to prescribe minimum wages for agricultural workers. Once he is able to achieve it, it will certainly redound to the credit of this Government, because for the first time in the history of this country, more than 60 million workers will come to be protected in the most essential manner.

श्री० बलवन्त सिंह मेहता : माननीय स्पीकर महोदय : मैं देशी राज्यों की ओर से श्रम-मंत्री जी को इस वर्ष के सुन्दर कार्य के लिये मुबारकवाद देना चाहता हूँ जिससे देशमें प्रोडक्सन बढ़ा और श्रमिकों को राहत। लेकिन साथ ही मैं आपका ध्यान देशी राज्यों में मजदूरों की हालत की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ। देशी राज्यों में यहां से पूंजीपति इनकम-टैक्स और-सुपर-टैक्स आदि कई टैक्सों से बचने के द्वाड़े से देशी राज्यों में चले जाते हैं जहां वह इन टैक्सों से बच सकें। इसके साथ ही उनको वहां कई तरह की रियायतें मिल जाती हैं लेकिन इसके बाद आप देखेंगे कि वहां मजदूरों की हालत इतनी खराब है कि कही नहीं जा सकती। अगर माननीय मंत्री साहब या इस भवन के सदस्य वहां आय तो मैं विश्वास के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि उनकी आंखों में आंसू आये बिना नहीं रह सकते।

आजकल वहां के मजदूर कई तरह की मजदूरी करते हैं। वहां पर कई तरह की खानें हैं जैसे ज़िन्क, माइका, इत्यादि और कई तरह की वहां कल-कारखाने हैं। जैसे सूगर मिल, टैक्सटाइल मिल और सब तरह की वहां मिलें चल रही हैं। लेकिन प्रायः सब जगह वहां के मजदूरों की हालत बहुत खराब है। वहां पर मजदूरों को चार अना, छः आना और आठ आना तक भी मजदूरी मिलती है। उन लोगों के लिये पानी पीने का भी वहां पर कोई खास इन्तजाम नहीं रहता है। वहां पर गन्दी इमारतें हैं और न वहां हवा जाने का ही ठीक तरह से प्रबन्ध है। साथ ही उनके लिए वहां पर रहने की ऐसी व्यवस्था है कि शायद ही जानवर भी इस तरह से रह सकते हों। छोटी छोटी कोठरियां हैं और

उन में दस दस और बीस बीस आदमी रहते हैं। उनके रहने के लिए कोई भी उचित प्रबन्ध अभी तक नहीं किया गया है जब कि सारे देश में मजदूरों के रहने के लिए अच्छे प्रबन्ध किये जा रहे हैं।

जब मजदूर लोग अपना संगठन करते हैं तो ये पूंजीपति लोग उनको संगठित नहीं होने देते। उनके संगठन को तोड़ने की कोशिश करते हैं और नये आदमी उन संगठनों में अपने फायदे को चलाने के लिए रखने की कोशिश करते हैं। ऐसी हालत में वहां पर मजदूर लोग अपना संगठन नहीं कर सकते हैं। इस तरह की दयनीय हालत इस समय देशी राज्यों में मजदूरों की है। मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अभी तक देशी राज्यों में कम्युनिस्टों का होल्ड नहीं है मगर हाल में ही उनका प्रवेश होना शुरू हो गया है। अगर हम लोगों ने इस तरफ मजदूरों की दशा की तरफ ध्यान नहीं दिया तो कम्युनिस्ट वहां पर सब अपना होल्ड कर लेंगे। तो मैं श्रम-मंत्री जी का ध्यान देशी राज्यों के मजदूरों की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जल्दी से उनकी दयनीय हालत की तरफ ध्यान देकर सुधार करें।

दूसरी बात की तरफ मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि वहां पर मजदूरों के लिये कोई कानूनी व्यवस्था नहीं है। तो यह भी लेजिस्लेशन के द्वारा ठीक हो जाना चाहिये और जो भी लेजिस्लेशन हम लोग यहां पास करें वह सब वहां लागू होना चाहिये। वहां पर बाज़ वक्त कोई ट्रिब्यूनल का अवार्ड होता है तो उसकी भी कोई पूर्ति नहीं होती। साथ ही उनको बोनस के लिये बराबर झंझट रहता है। उनको कोई बोनस नहीं दिया जाता और वहां की मजदूरी भी बहुत कम है। इस प्रकार वहां कोई भी इस प्रकार के कानून लागू नहीं किये जा रहे हैं।

साथ ही एक और बात की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। वहां खेतिहर मजदूरों की जो दशा है वह बहुत ही खराब है। वैसे उनके लिये कम से कम कोई न्यूनतम वेजेज, जिनको मिनिमम वेजेज कहते हैं, होनी चाहिये। उसके लिये भी लेजिस्लेशन हो जाना चाहिये जिससे उनको राहत मिले।

दूसरे वहां पर बहुत सी ऐसी ज़मीनें हैं कि जो रिक्लेम की गयी हैं। वहां पर उन लोगों को प्रेफ़ेरेन्स दिया जाना चाहिये और उनको ऐसी ज़मीनों के लम्बे पट्टे दे दिये जाय जो बहुत असें से पड़त भूमी है। इसके साथ ही वहां स्त्री लेबर की दशा बहुत खराब है। इसके लिये मैं आपको एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ और वह यह कि कोई स्त्री डाइरेक्टर मुकर्रर कर दी जाय। सेक्स रेशो भी ऐसी प्रावलेम है कि जिसकी तरफ ध्यान देना बहुत ज़रूरी है।

[श्री बलवंत सिंह मेहता]

इससे कई प्रकार की खराबियां पैदा हो जाती हैं। सोसियल इश्योरेंस का जो फायदा है वह वहां पर नहीं मिल रहा है। इसके साथ ही वहां शिक्षा का भी प्रबन्ध होना चाहिये। वहां छोटे छोटे बच्चों को काम पर लगाया जाता है। उन्हें कतई बन्द कर देना चाहिये।

(English translation of the above speech.)

Shri Balwant Sinha Mehta (United State of Rajasthan): Sir, on behalf of the States I wish to congratulate the honourable the Minister for Labour for the splendid work done during this year, resulting in increased production in the country and more comforts to the labour-class. But besides this I wish to draw your attention towards the condition of the labour-class in native states. Many capitalists migrate to the States from here in order to evade the Income-tax, Super-tax and other taxes. They migrate to the States so that they may escape these taxes. Besides this there they get certain types of concessions and then you would see that the condition of labour there is indescribably bad. If the honourable the Minister or the honourable Members of this House choose to come there I can say with confidence that they cannot help weeping.

These days the labourers there do different kinds of labour work. There are many kinds of mines like zinc, mica, etc. and many kinds of mills and factories are there like sugar mills, textile mills, and all kinds of mills are running there. But generally everywhere the condition of the labour-class is very bad. There the labourers get as. 8, as. 6 and as. 4 also as wages. There no special arrangements are even made for providing drinking water to them. The buildings there are dirty and no proper arrangements are made there for ventilation and ingress of fresh air. Moreover the housing condition of these labourers there is such that perhaps animals even could not live under those conditions. Small cells are given to these labourers and 10-20 people live in each cell. No proper arrangements for their housing have so far been made, although good arrangements are being made in other parts of the country for the housing of the labourers.

When the labourers organise themselves then these capitalists do not allow them to organise themselves. They try to break up their organisations and try to inject new persons in those organisations in order to meet their own ends. Under these circumstances the labourers there cannot organise themselves. Such a pitiable condition is of the labourers in the States today. I wish to submit that as yet the communists do not have any hold in the States but since quite recently their infiltration in the States has begun. If we did not pay attention towards this and the condition of the labourers there then the communists will have a complete hold there. So I wish to draw the attention of the honourable the Labour Minister towards the labourers in the native states so that paying due attention towards their pitiable condition their lot may be improved at the earliest.

The second thing towards which I wish to draw your attention is that for these labourers there are no rules and regulations. This also should be set right through legislation and whatever legislations we pass here should be enforced there. There if at any time a tribunal gives an award then the conditions thereof are not fulfilled. Moreover they always have a tussel for the bonus. They are not given any bonus and there the wages also are very scanty. In this way no rules and regulations are being applied there.

Besides this I wish to draw your attention towards one more thing. There the condition of the agricultural labourers is very bad. So some minimum wages should be fixed for them. A legislation for this also should be passed so that they may get some relief.

The second thing is that there are many such lands that have been re-claimed. There they should be given preference and they may be given long term leases of such lands that have been lying fallow since long. The condition of female labour is still bad. For that I wish to submit a suggestion namely that some lady director may be appointed. The sex ratio also is such a problem that demands necessary consideration. This creates many kinds of difficulties. The labourers there are not getting the benefits of Social Insurance. Along with this arrangements should also be made for education. There small children are employed. This should definitely be stopped.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I am sorry there is no time for other speakers. I will now request the Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram to reply. I believe he will take fifteen minutes.

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: No Sir. More than that.

A brief note enumerating the current activities of my Ministry has been circulated among the Members and most of the points that have been raised by the various speakers have been covered in those notes, and I do not propose to repeat them.

The Labour policy of the Government has at various times come in for criticism from both employers and labour—sometimes as being pro-capitalist and sometimes as too prone to placate labour. I consider the existence of criticism from both sides on the balance equal in intensity, as proof of the impartial and progressive labour policy which Government have been trying to follow, namely, a policy based not on the exigencies of the moment but on a long-term consideration of the economy of the country.

Our industrialists, nurtured in the atmosphere of *laissez-faire* of the pre-war period and protected, though undoubtedly controlled and regulated during the war years, have, I am afraid, been somewhat slow to realize the prodigious strength of the mass labour movements witnessed in practically every country in the post-war world. Whatever the political label of a country, labour movements throughout the world have asserted themselves in a manner they have never done before. It is, therefore, up to all who seek to understand and influence society—and I say this particularly to industrialists who have so much to do with labour—to realize the implications of the new consciousness aroused in labour as a result of the sufferings of two world wars. Sheer necessity, if nothing else, should, and I am sure will, convert our hitherto critical employers into willing partners in a game that can hereafter be carried on only through co-operation and not coercion. I am glad to say that some employers have already adapted themselves to the changing circumstances of the times but that is not true of many. These “no-changers” are still on the defensive in the hope that they will eventually be able to meet what they consider the new menace in their own way. To them I say that they will live and learn but only at the cost of much harm to themselves.

To my anxious labour friends I would counsel patience. The present Government stands committed to the unalterable course of improving the lot of the common man by steady, but by no means too slow, methods. We propose to proceed as fast as circumstances permit. Those who criticise Government for not doing enough to labour forget what Government have been able to do during the last two years. The one measure that has done the largest good to labour is the Industrial Disputes Act which, with all its admitted defects, has not merely settled disputes but increased wages and improved the working conditions of labour. Government propose to bring a Bill before the House to amend that Act comprehensively so that it may serve the purpose better. The

[Shri Jagjivan Ram]

Employees' State Insurance Act has yet to be implemented, but when its full effects are felt, it will be found to be a measure of fundamental importance to the working class. That Act is limited in scope for the present, but it provides a firm foundation on which any powerful edifice can eventually be built. The Bonus and Provident Fund Schemes Act applicable to collieries extend legislative protection to two important benefits which hitherto had been held to be mere *ex-gratia* payments liable to be terminated at the will of the employer.

With experience, we should be able to extend these benefits to other industries. I do not wish to take up the time of the House with a narration of the provisions of the various other enactments passed during the last two years, but certain current developments deserve more than a passing mention. As honourable Members are aware, Government approved of a resolution last year accepting in principle the payment of fair wages to labour and the evolution of an equitable scheme of profit sharing. A scheme of profit sharing has been drawn up by a Committee set up for the purpose and will soon be finally examined by the Central Advisory Council of Labour. The question of fair wages is now receiving the attention of another Committee which is expected to submit its report within a month.

There have been criticisms that in spite of all that has been done for labour, labour has not implemented the Industrial Truce Resolution or responded to the call for greater production. I do not share this view. The total number of man-days lost in 1948 was 8 millions compared to 16.5 millions in 1947 and 12.7 millions in 1946. Out of the 8 millions, 1.6 millions were due to lockouts particularly in Bengal. If allowance is made for a further 1.9 millions caused by the continuance of the strike in the textile mills of Coimbatore in the early part of the year, i.e., before the Industrial Truce Resolution has had time to convince waverers, the statistics show a magnificent earnestness on the part of labour to respond to the call for greater production. I have tried to obtain corresponding figures for the U.K. and the U.S.A. While the number of man-days lost decreased in India by as much as 52 per cent since 1947, there was only a small decrease by 13 per cent in the U.K. and in the U.S.A. there was an increase by 3 per cent. Again, while the average duration of a strike was six days in India the corresponding figures for the U.K., U.S.A. and Canada were 4.6 days, 16.8 days and 22.3 days respectively. This shows that though we have had a number of lightning strikes, most of the strikes were settled promptly and only a few dragged on with any determined doggedness.

The return of better relations between employers and labour is reflected in the greatly increased production in 1948. The production of cotton yarn showed an increase of 9.7 per cent. over the 1947 figures and that of cotton cloth an increase of 13.6 per cent. Coal showed a slight decrease of less than one per cent. due wholly to transport difficulties. This is clear from the fact that the stocks at collieries mounted up to 2.2 million tons against a normal stock of 0.7 million tons. Steel production declined by 4.4 per cent. due to the breakdown of the machinery in the Steel Corporation of Bengal, but iron castings increased by 61.9 per cent. Salt production showed a welcome increase of 19.6 per cent. while sugar went up 8.1 per cent. It is in the electrical goods and chemical industries that the increases have been substantial, if not spectacular. The production of electric lamps increased by 20 per cent. and that of dry cells by 40 per cent. Electric motors and transformers showed increase of 58 per cent. and 248 per cent. Bicycles, however showed only a small increase of 6 per cent. The quantity of superphosphates manufactured increased from 5,000 tons to 21,400 tons. Sulphuric acid, caustic soda and plywood registered increase by 30 to 33 per cent. Those of us who look forward to the rapid development of the country cannot but feel greatly heartened by this

upward trend in the production and I must sincerely congratulate labour on the magnificent way they have responded to the call of the nation. I take this opportunity to congratulate employers as well. The real significance of this decrease in strikes and loss of man-days and of the increase in production can be appreciated only if we take into consideration the condition of the working class in this country, and the restrictions that were placed on them during the war time, along with the fact that there are political parties in the country which try to stir labour unrest in order to advance their own purposes. In spite of all these the working class has not wavered from its path as has been demonstrated by the employees of the Railways and Posts and Telegraphs and hence it deserves all the more to be congratulated.

There is a complaint which I have heard from time to time that the efficiency of labour has markedly deteriorated and that though production in terms of the total quantity might have gone up, the labour force employed and the wages bill paid have not been commensurate but disproportionately large. If this is true, it is indeed a very disquieting feature of recent labour developments, for it will then show that in the struggle for better terms and conditions of work, labour has forgotten its duty, *viz.*, the maintenance and improvement of its efficiency wherever possible. Where payment is by piece, the point to be examined is not whether the labour force has increased disproportionately but whether the wages bill has also risen disproportionately, for I know that in some industries at least, employees have generally been willing to share their work with others to reduce unemployment. The data available at present is not sufficient to lead to any definite conclusions and I propose to pursue the matter further.

With the growing deficit in our food requirements public opinion is focusing itself on the condition of the agricultural labour. It is being realised more and more that in order to make the country self-sufficient in food requirements it is necessary to improve the condition of the workers in the field. Complaints are made that so far Government has concentrated its attention on industrial labour and completely ignored the agricultural labour. This is largely correct. All our legislations and even administrative measures have been directed up till now towards the industrial workers.

The Minimum Wages Act, 1948, provides *inter alia* for the fixation, before the expiry of three years from the commencement of the Act, of minimum rates of wages payable to persons employed in agriculture. Although a large majority of people depend upon agriculture, it is a highly unorganised industry. The factual data available is inadequate to enable provincial governments to fix minimum wages. It is therefore proposed to hold an enquiry into agricultural labour conditions, particularly as regards earnings, employment, consumption budget and indebtedness of agricultural labourers. Besides enabling the various Governments to fix minimum wages, the enquiry will provide the foundation on which future labour legislation in respect of agricultural labour will be built.

In the Directorate General of the Resettlement and Employment, the foundation of a national employment service has been laid. Though this organisation was established with the sole purpose of resettling the demobilised war personnel, its scope is being gradually widened to cover civilian population also. The training wing is producing thousands of technicians and skilled artisans who are so badly required for the industrial development of the country. We are gradually building up this organisation with our eye on planned economy so that we may be in a position to take up the work of man-power budgeting, for the country.

Several points have been raised by my friends Mr. Sahni and Saksena and they have been effectively replied to by two other friends from this side. I want to make one thing clear, that the Government's attitude towards the representation of organisations of the workers in this country to various committees has been one of impartiality. We have been giving representation to those

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who are more representative or those who command majority of the workers in a particular industry and I challenge anybody to show that on any occasion we have been partial to any organisation in giving representation in any of our committee here or in the international organisation. If anybody says that we have given preference to any particular organisation I must say that he betrays colossal ignorance on his part. A specific mention has been made that on the Committee on Profit Sharing and Fair Wages no representation have been given to the All-India Trade Union Congress. I admit that there is no representation of the All-India Trade Union Congress on those Committees. The reason is this. In December 1947 we passed a Resolution here in Delhi on Industrial Truce. The representatives of employers and workers were parties to it. The representatives of the All-India Trade Union Congress were a party to that Resolution. But when their representatives went away from the Conference they brazen-facedly refused to accept that Resolution. Do you wish Government to nominate a person who does not believe in that Resolution to work out the details for the implementation of that Resolution? That will be a foolish Government which will nominate such a person on that Committee. And that is why the All-India Trade Union Congress has not been given representation on those Committees. Any person who will bestow any thought to this question will agree with me that Mr. Sahu is committing a mistake in raising these questions or that he has been badly briefed by those who brought these things to his notice.

As regards representation to the International Labour Organisation or to the Committees of the I.L.O. it has been our persistent policy to give representation to those Central organisations which are the most representative of the working class in this country. So long as the All-India Trade Union Congress was the most representative organisation we used to give representation to it. When the Indian National Trade Union Congress came into being and by its wise policy was able to command the confidence of the majority of the workers in this country Government has no alternative but to recognize this Central organisation and give representation to it.

The question has been raised that there has been a multiplicity of Central labour organisations in this country and my friend Mr. Sahu has been kind enough to blame the Government for it. I must say that he has not cared to read the working class movement in this country. The Indian National Trade Union Congress is not the first rival organisation that was formed, and one fine morning Mr. Sahu woke up and found it has been formed. Had he cared to read the working class movement in the country he would have found that the Indian Federation of Labour was formed long before the Indian National Trade Union Congress came into existence and that too was a rival organisation to the All-India Trade Union Congress of which Mr. N. M. Joshi, the friend of Mr. Sahu, happened to be the life-blood or the father of trade union movement. Time there was when Mr. Joshi claimed that the All-India Trade Union Congress was a genuine trade union movement and when I told Mr. Joshi that he was mistaken he challenged my view and my opinion. But Mr. Joshi has come to realise that what he was trying to ignore was a hard reality, and today Mr. Joshi has had to resign from the All-India Trade Union Congress because he found that it was dominated by Communist elements and it was impossible for others to work with the Communists in the All-India Trade Union Congress. Today what has happened? That veteran trade unionist has been instrumental in forming the third Central organisation—the Hind Mazdoor Sabha. Afterwards he may find, as he found, though too late, in the case of the All-India Trade Union Congress, that this Hind Mazdoor Sabha is also dominated by a political party with which it may be impossible for any genuine trade unionist

to work. Time will show him that. But so far as Government is concerned our work becomes complicated no doubt when there is a multiplicity of Central organisations. But our attitude or policy in giving representations to these Central organisations is that we give representation to that organisation which is the most representative of the workers in the industry concerned. And we will pursue this policy.

The same accusation has been levelled by my friend Mr. Saksena that the Government encourages the Indian National Trade Union Congress. I have enunciated my policy or the attitude of the Government as regards the various Central organisations. But he is very sore about the U.P. Government. That is their local quarrel and the Provincial Assembly would have been the better forum for giving vent to his feelings or the grouse that he has against the U.P. Government. I do not hold any brief for the U.P. Government. But I may inform the House that anybody who has to deal with the difficult labour situation in the country at present will certainly see to it as to what organisation commands the confidence of the majority of the workers in a particular industry. If one organisation commands the confidence of the overwhelming majority of the workers and there is one rival Union in a small unit in that industry the question is whether it will be desirable or practical to give recognition to a small unit in that industry whereas the overwhelming majority of the workers in that industry are with another organisation. That is for the person on the spot to decide and the U.P. Government must have decided on those lines. I find nothing wrong in it.

Similarly as regards representation on the Works Committees that policy may be followed. If on a regional basis or an industry-wise basis one finds that 90 per cent of the workers are with one organisation and 10 per cent of the workers are in another organisation confined to one or two units of the industry, the question is whether in the interests of maintaining peace in that industry it is necessary to give recognition to the 10 per cent of workers or to the 90 per cent.

My honourable friend has drawn my attention to the delay in the scheme of decasualisation of dock workers. I am afraid my friend was too preoccupied in the U.P. affairs that he could not follow the trend in this House. Otherwise he would have found that I have already introduced an Amending Bill to give effect to the decasualisation schemes.

The condition of the workers in the Indian States has been worse than what it is in the Provinces. With the accession of a large number of States to our Union and with the integration of very many States in the Provinces I think we will try as soon as we can to bring the Labour Acts in those areas on par with those in the Provinces.

In regard to forced labour, as has been indicated in the notes that we have circulated, we have already appointed a special officer to study the various pieces of legislation regarding forced labour so that we may be in a position to undertake legislation if necessary or take such administrative action as may be called for to eliminate forced labour from the country.

Shri R. K. Sidhva (C.P. and Berar: General): What about the Committee that was promised to be appointed in this House?

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: After we receive the report of the special officer we will be in a position to decide whether the appointment of a Committee to go further into the question of forced labour is necessary or whether we have sufficient data furnished by the special officer to proceed straightaway to take legislative or administrative measures as the case may be.

Shri R. K. Sidhva: The honourable Minister was not present then but the honourable the Minister of State made a statement that a Committee will be appointed and not an officer.

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: I have already stated that we have appointed a special officer who is studying the various things. On getting his report, if we find that a Committee is necessary, we will appoint it, but if we find that we have sufficient data before us to proceed straightaway there is no necessity to waste further time by appointing a Committee or a roving Commission.

Sir, I must say one word about strikes. I am myself a firm believer in the efficacy of negotiation, conciliation and adjudication. It is only when all these avenues of a peaceful settlement of a dispute have been exhausted that the last weapon in the armoury of the labour may be wielded—and that also only for economic reasons. A strike as a political weapon is doomed to failure and will be resisted with all the energy and resources at the disposal of the Government. The large majority of labour realises this and is prepared to be guided by sater counsels but there are groups here and there whose object is not betterment of labour's rights and privileges but exploitation of labour's difficulties and weaknesses for purely political purposes. To them, Government's declared policy of protection and encouragement of labour will bring no succour. No Government can tolerate activities calculated to challenge and overthrow its authority, even if they be advanced in the name of labour. Let labour be on its guard against the machinations of such unsocial elements whether within or without its ranks. It has always been my earnest endeavour to make the worker responsible and stand on his own. So long as he is not conscious of his rights and obligations, unscrupulous outsiders will try to exploit him for their own purposes and there would be no end to the exploitation of the working classes. Therefore, it is my policy to encourage workers to run their own organisations without any outsiders interfering in their affairs. As for some time to come they will require help from outsiders, genuine trade unions may be permitted to assist them and they may be members of the trade unions, but in as small a number as may be possible. I hope labour leaders, if they have the real interests of the working class at heart, would not only welcome the policy but will help in making it a success so that we may achieve our cherished objective, the co-operative commonwealth.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: May I ask Mr. Sahu if he intends that I should put his cut motion to vote?

श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण साह : जो प्रस्ताव मैंने दिया है अगर अनुमति मिल जाय तो मैं उस को withdraw करना चाहता हूँ।

Shri Lakshminarayan Sahu: Sir, I beg leave of the House to withdraw the cut motion.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Has the honourable member the leave of the House to withdraw his cut motion?

The cut motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,97,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Labour'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 25.—MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Now we will proceed to the Demands relating to Transport.

I hope the House is agreeable to sit until we pass these Demands on Transport.

Honourable Members: Yes.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 36,91,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of the 'Ministry of Transport'."

DEMAND No. 58.—DELHI TRANSPORT SERVICE

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 63,68,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Delhi Transport Service'."

DEMAND No. 70.—CENTRAL ROAD FUND

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,20,00,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Central Road Fund'."

Shri Moturi Satyanarayana (Madras: General): I have no intention to inflict any speech on a subject like this just at the fag end of the day. There are two points on which I would like to stress. It is said that we have freedom from foreign domination. We have got political freedom, we have got cultural freedom, but we are also trying to get commercial freedom. But when I look back to the history of the railways, I find these Railways are still being run on commercial lines. I am fully conscious that today we are discussing subjects other than Railways, but my intention in mentioning the Railways is that these Railways, when they were introduced, were introduced exclusively for the benefit of the commercial people of the British, and therefore they had given certain special advantages to them. When we discuss all these matters, my mind goes back to the old age when the transport system of this country was being solved by our people. We had our own roads, we had our own bullock carts, we had our own boats. Those two things, the bullock carts and the roads, which were responsible for building up a very great civilisation, which were responsible for building up great empires and liquidating great empires, now they are completely being forgotten by the modern Government, by the Swaraj Government. In my young days, we used to travel by boats from place to place. In my own Province, the Madras Presidency, people used to go from one end to the other for education, for commercial purposes or for any enterprise that they wanted to undertake, in countryboats. The Railways have completely smashed the possibility of the countryboat industry and the waterways.

Sir, I was just trying to look into the pamphlet and literature that was given to us for study, to see whether there is any mention there of one of our transport industries, namely the countryboats, but I see there is absolutely no mention, no encouragement given to it. Sir, if we go to the Malabar, countryboats play a very great role in transport and if we go to Bengal they have got a very important part to play in transport. But now I see that in Malabar in South India as well as in many other parts of our country the countryboats are being completely neglected. Therefore, I want specially to draw the attention of the

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Transport Ministry to see that there is a proper co-ordination for all the transport facilities, namely the boat industry, the bullock-cart, the railways and the motor cars. There are interests who take charge of the Railways because the coal industry is there and coal is supplied to run the Railways. There are people who take a good deal of interest in the motor cars because there is a good deal of foreign capital and foreign petrol and other things to support the motor industry and therefore it is being taken care of. But there are no people to take care of this boat industry on account of which thousands and lakhs of people get their maintenance. This industry was used not only for transport but for many other purposes. Therefore, it should be taken care of by this Government after getting *Swaraj*. It may be argued that this boat industry or transport by village roads are completely provincial subjects. But I see that the Centre is taking interest in Provincial subjects also. Recently it was said that in the matter of roads, the Central Government are taking part by subscribing a certain amount to the roadways. They have also subscribed to many of the enterprises the Provincial Governments have started, from railway funds. In the same way certain moneys from the railway funds, either from the Reserve Fund or from the Depreciation Fund or from any other Fund which the Railways have got, may be set apart for the purpose of encouraging these boats. Even today we find that wherever possible the Railways are blocking the canal traffic. Just to mention one case, in Madras near about the Basin Bridge, there is a bridge which is used by the Railways and it was mentioned that the Provincial Government as well as the Central Government were anxious that this bridge should be so re-built that boats could also pass under it. But the Railway has been putting all kinds of obstacles in the way and nothing has been done so far. In the same way, there may be several bridges like that where previously the Railway Companies deliberately blocked the bridges and therefore it is up to the present Government to see that wherever possible the inland navigation system is encouraged and the boat industry of this country is encouraged.

Generally it is said that in democracy, numbers always count, but in this country numbers do not at all count as far as the rural population and the rural interests are concerned. It is said that in our country we have got nearly 87,15,500 bullock-carts and we are spending for the roads on which these bullock-carts go only Rs. 20 crores. It is said that we have got 1,44,694 motor-vehicles and for them we spend nearly Rs. 320 crores. It may be said that these motor cars and motor-vehicles are being used for the rapid transport of produce. But if we take into consideration the total tonnage that is covered by the bullock-carts, that will certainly be much larger. Therefore their number should be taken into consideration and whatever support and help that is possible ought to be given to the villager for the purpose of using his bullock-carts. Generally, it is said that we have absolutely no funds at our disposal, and that all the funds are being used for our national highways and our provincial highways and for other roads, and for the big bridges. That may be quite true. But it is quite possible for Government to have a bias for the village roads also, and pay sufficient attention to see that the villager also gets his roads to transport his village produce to the market places, and that the necessary finances and facilities are provided for that purpose. The other day it was said that there is a huge quantity of gram lying idle in Punjab whereas Punjab gram is not getting any kind of facility to go either to the market or to other provinces. Therefore it is rotting. Therefore, in that way inflation of the price of foodstuffs goes on and the foodstuff rot. If we encourage village people to form co-operative societies and give them all the facilities, it is quite possible that with the aid and subsidy that Government

gives, they will be able to form own co-operative societies for starting their own small transport industries, whether through bullock-carts or any kind of improved vehicles. In this way they can also do a good deal.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): The difficulty about the gram in the Punjab was due to the provincial prohibition against moving the foodstuff.

Shri Moturi Satyanarayana: I am very glad to hear that it was only due to some barriers on a provincial basis that that gram could not be moved, and I take it that there is absolutely no bottle-neck in the transport. But there is also good deal of difficulty in moving produces from place to place, especially from villages away from the towns. If there is no such difficulty in the Punjab, I am very glad to know that. But in other provinces there is a great deal of difficulty. The village man cannot take his produce to the market place, mainly for the reason that there is no transport facility, and the Government are not in a position to give the necessary support for putting up proper roads. I am however, very glad to see that our Government is now removing the obstacles, by providing bridges over the big rivers and canals, such as the Godavari and several other big rivers. I would like to mention that there is a big river over which there is no bridge, and the absence of a bridge is causing a good deal of difficulty, I mean the Krishna river. It is one of the biggest rivers and would like very much to draw the attention of the Transport Ministry to see that the proposal to put a bridge over the Krishna also is given effect to as early as possible.

With these words, Sir, I support the Demand.

Shri Satis Chandra Samanta (West Bengal: General): Sir, the Ministry of Transport deals with Railway transport, Road transport, Inland waterways and Ports. In the short time at my disposal, I want to deal with some minor points. As regards railway transport, as a result of partition, we are seeing that Assam is disconnected from the Indian Union. Our Transport Ministry is not inactive in the matter and there is under contemplation a scheme for running a railway line from Assam to Munihari Ghat. It is under construction but it should be expedited. It is proposed to be a meter gauge line, and at the point where it reaches the Ganges—the Munihari Ghat, the wagons have to be brought to the other side. Therefore a wagon ferry should at once be constructed there to avoid unnecessary delay in transshipment. We all know that 500 million tons of Tea come to Calcutta port from Assam and a huge quantity of forest produce also reach the Indian Union. For these reasons, the railway work which has been started should be expedited.

Another point in this connection which I want to mention is that wagon loads will be brought from Assam by a meter gauge line. But there is no meter gauge line from Munihari Ghat to Calcutta. So a meter gauge line should be constructed or a broad gauge line should be converted into a meter gauge for the purpose so that.....

Mr. Deputy Speaker: These remarks, would be more appropriate during the Railway Debate, I think.

Shri Satis Chandra Samanta: I only draw the attention of the honourable Minister to this subject in order to expedite the matter.

As regards road transport, the Ministry is trying to nationalise bus services in the Centrally Administered Arcas. In Delhi the bus-service has been nationalised. Provincial governments are also nationalising their bus services at the instance of the Centre. Recently in Bengal the bus-service in Calcutta has been taken over by the Provincial Government and the other day we read in the

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newspapers that in the half-yearly accounts, a fair amount has been earned by that business. So I hope our Ministry will encourage the nationalisation of all bus-services, especially in the cities in all the Provinces and States, and issue necessary directions on the matter.

Then, coming to inland waterways, though this is a provincial subject, when inter-provincial waterway services are considered which pass from one province to another, they come under the jurisdiction of the Central Government. If these inland waterways Services are expedited, we will be benefitted much and pressure on railway traffic will also lessen and communications as regards goods as well as passengers will be eased for the Indian Union.

Then I come to ports. There are five major ports in India, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Vizagapatam and Cochin. There are minor ports and harbours. We are hearing about the congestion at Bombay and to relieve that congestion, our Ministry is constructing a major port at Khandla. To expedite the matter, survey work from Khandla to Ahmedabad and Khandla to Delhi should be expedited. To avoid congestion at Bombay, not only Khandla port should be constructed from the Centre but also other minor ports, harbours, such as the Kathiawar ports and some harbours in South India should also be taken into consideration to convert them into major ports.

As regards the Port Trust Act, the Honourable Minister in the last Budget Session gave us a promise that the Port Trust Act will be amended to meet the necessity of our time. (Shri R. K. Sidhva: "They have promised, but they have not got the amended Act.") That is not yet done. Perhaps the promise was given by the predecessor of the present Minister.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I think honourable Members agreed to be in the House till 5-30 or 6 o'clock, but I find one member after another is leaving. As there is no quorum, I will have to close the debate.

(At this stage the bell was rung and quorum obtained.)

I do not want to make any aspersions, but I am exceedingly sorry that when an honourable member is speaking on a very important subject and when the Ministers are here, other members are going away. They should have said at 5 o'clock that they were not willing to continue, in which case, I could have adjourned the House to allow the Transport demand to take care of itself. It is not proper to the House itself. If it is the sense of the House, as soon as the honourable member who is now on his legs finishes his speech, I would call upon the Honourable Minister to reply. It does not seem to me to be right. It is an interesting debate and we are not only persons interested in it; there are persons outside and the world outside is very anxious to hear the many debates relating to this demand and I would request that honourable members will bear with patience and stay awhile.

Shri Satis Chandra Samanta: I was drawing the attention of the Honourable Minister to convert those minor ports and harbours into major ports. As regards Cochin, there is no Port Trust. I hope it will also come under the Port Trust. The Ministers entrust the work of the transport to a Central Board of Transport and its Standing Committee. As a member of the Standing Committee to the Ministry of Transport, I have come to know they are very active and they are doing their best. I hope they will try their utmost to expedite matters, to which I have referred. With these words, Sir, I conclude my speech.

Dr. V. Subramaniam (Madras: General): I do not want to take much time of the House, but I want the creation of a non-lapsing fund for the National Highways just as the Road Fund. I request the Honourable Minister to consider the point that a National Highway fund be created, like the Central Road Fund, so that the construction of National Highways may go on without interruption.

The other point that I wish to draw the attention of the Honourable Minister to is regarding the sales tax on Petrol. The Central Government is taxing petrol once and the different provinces are taxing petrol again from 2 to 4 annas. To avoid different taxes on petrol, I think an agreement must be negotiated between the Provinces and the Centre for an overall tax limit to Rs. 1-5-0 per gallon and each province will get 6 annas and the Centre will get 15 annas and the basis of the negotiations would be as in America the tax will be spent on roads except for Central share for the general revenue. The expenditure for National Highways is now made from general revenue every year. Now the grant for the maintenance of the National Highways is sanctioned under Civil Works and we have sanctioned two crores and eight lakhs nearly, but we do not know what amount will be sanctioned next year. So, unless we have a definite income for the National Highways system, the maintenance and progress of these highways will not be satisfactory. These are the two points that I wanted to bring to the notice of the Honourable Minister.

लाला अचिन्त राम: मैं एक दो बातें संक्षेपमें अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। पहली बात तो यह है कि पंजाब से कुछ भाई आये हैं, वह कहते हैं कि गवर्नमेन्ट ने जो यह रोड ट्रान्सपोर्ट नेशनलाईज करने की बात की है, वह अच्छी है, लेकिन उनको मुसीबत में न डाला जाय, और उनको वक्त दिया जाय दो चार पांच साल का ताकि वह जबतक अपना कुछ इन्तजाम कर सकें। यह बात ठीक है कि जब आप ऐसी स्कीमों को लायें, तो पहले यह देख लेना जरूरी है कि आया इससे गवर्नमेन्ट को फायदा है या नहीं, और लोगों को फायदा पहुंचता है कि नहीं।

दूसरी बात यह है कि आपने पांच बरस के लिये रोड डेवलपमेन्ट प्रोग्राम का फ़ैमला किया है और इसमें तीस करोड़ रुपया खर्च का भी फ़ैमला किया है। पंजाब में जो National Highways हैं उनमें से पहली देहली से लेकर अमृतसर तक है और दूसरी जालन्धर से काश्मीर तक। पारटेशन के बाद फ़ीरोजपुर और जालन्धर की हालत में बहुत अन्तर पड़ गया है। त्रिजारा के लिये आपस में सड़क की बहुत जरूरत है। दूसरी Highway देहली से फ़ाजिल्का तक है वह सड़क बहुत खराब रहती है, उसका ज़रा ख्याल रखें। देहली अम्बाला, कालका और शिमला सड़क पर बहुत से भाई गये होंगे, घघर पर बरसात के अन्दर बहुत तकलीफ़ होती है, वहां मेहरबानी करके सड़क ऊंची बनवाईये और पुल बनवायें। बिना बनवाये दिक्कत रफ़ा नहीं हो सकती।

इसके अलावा आपके डिपार्टमेन्ट में पेट्रोल की बहुत जरूरत है। हर आदमी पेट्रोल के लिये महसूस करता है कि इसमें बहुत करेशन है। हालांकि पेट्रोल की कमी है, लेकिन पेट्रोल आठ, दस रुपया गैलन के हिसाब से चोर बाज़ार में मिल सकता है इसका भी आप माकूल इन्तजाम करें।

[लाला अचिन्त राम]

तीसरी बात यह है कि अक्सर जब मैं सड़कों, जैसे ग्रैंड ट्रंक रोड पर जाता हूँ तो मुझे उन सड़कों का नाम अभी भी अंग्रेजी में लिखा मिलता है, और मैं ऐसा महसूस करने लगता हूँ कि मानों मैं इंग्लैंड में घूम रहा हूँ। मेहरबानी करके सड़कों का नाम अब हिन्दी में या तो लोकल भाषा में चेन्ज कर दीजिये।

आखिरी बात यह है कि देश में ६८ हजार के करीब सड़कें हैं इनके दोनों तरफ दरख्त लगायें तो approximately 1½ लाख के करीब लम्बी सड़क पर दरख्त लग जावेंगे और देश की fuel की प्रब्लम एक हद तक हल हो सकती है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह चीज भी बहुत अहम है और आप जरूर इसका ख्याल रखेंगे। वक्त थोड़ा है, इसलिये मैं और ज्यादा न कह कर समाप्त करता हूँ।

(English translation of the above speech)

Lala Achint Ram (East Punjab: General): I wish to say a few things briefly. The first thing is that some people have come from the Punjab who say that the Government's proposal to nationalize road transport is good but that they should not be involved in trouble, and that they should be allowed time—two, four or five years—so that they might, in the meantime, make some arrangements for themselves. It is right that before you introduce such schemes you must see whether or not the Government stand to gain thereby and also whether or not any benefit accrues to the public.

The other thing is that you have decided upon a five years' road development programme as also upon an expenditure of thirty crores of rupees in that connection. Among the National Highways in the Punjab we have first one from Delhi to Amritsar and the second from Jullundur to Kashmir. The condition of Ferozepore and Jullundur has been greatly affected by the partition. A road connecting the two is very much needed for the purposes of trade. Another highway is from Delhi to Fazilka. That road remains in a very rotten condition and some attention should be paid to it. Many of my brothers would have travelled by the Delhi-Ambala-Kalka-Simla road. A lot of trouble is experienced at the Ghaggar during the rainy season. The road level at that point should kindly be raised and a bridge constructed. Unless this is done the difficulty will not be over.

Besides, your department needs a lot of petrol. About petrol everybody feels that there is a great deal of corruption. Although petrol is a controlled commodity, it is available in the black-market at eight or ten rupees per gallon. This should also be effectively looked into.

The third thing is this that whenever I travel along roads such as the Grand Trunk Road, as I do frequently, I still find the names of the roads written in English so that I start having a feeling as if I am roaming about in England. Kindly change the road names now into Hindi or the local language.

Lastly there are about 68 thousand miles of road in the country. If trees were to be planted on both sides of it there would be trees planted along about one and a half lakh miles and the fuel problem of the country could thereby be solved to a certain extent. I feel this is also a very important matter and that you would surely keep it in view. Time is short and accordingly I would not say anything more and close.

The Honourable Shri K. Santhanam (Minister of State for Railways and Transport): It is a matter of great regret to me that the House should not have an opportunity to discuss more fully the important problems connected with this Ministry. There are no less than eight important matters, some of which may not otherwise come under discussion in one way or another in this House. For instance there is the tourist traffic which we are organising on which I hoped to get the views of the House. There are also such matters as Railway Priority Organisation and Petrol rationing on which I would have liked to get the views of the House. I do not want to test the patience of the House, but it is my duty to touch briefly on some of the important points mentioned by the Members.

Sir, the honourable Member Mr. Satyanarayana touched a most important topic on which I would have liked to speak at length. I yield to none in this House in my anxiety for the proper development of village roads and also the inland water-traffic by means of country boats. The entire system of National Highways and the Nagpur Plan on which they are based was aimed at the promotion ultimately of the village roads, because on the village roads depends ultimately the traffic not only of the National Highways but also of the Railways. The more they are opened up the better it will be for the country. But the opening up of village roads has to be a provincial responsibility. In order to provide the Provincial Governments with funds for this purpose, the Central Government have taken over the entire responsibility of the National Highways which was originally met from the Provincial revenues. Therefore I suggest that honourable Members should bring pressure on their own provinces that the money released by the Central Government taking over the National Highways should be exclusively devoted to the development of village roads. Through the Road Fund also the Central Government are continuously bringing pressure on the Provincial Governments towards this objective. I confess that the Transport Ministry has not done much for the development of the inland water traffic. It is a Provincial subject. But even there I think we should do more. We propose to take a survey during the coming year of the possibilities of development in this respect. As soon as that survey is completed, we shall devise some kind of machinery for co-ordination of measures in this respect.

Sir, Mr. Samanta as well as Mr. Satyanarayana spoke about the nationalisation of road transport. So did my honourable friend Mr. Achint Ram. This again is essentially a Provincial subject, but the Railways are taking an active part in the nationalisation of road transport. They are providing capital. In fact they have offered to provide as much capital as the Provincial Governments will take and they are co-operating with the Provincial Governments in every respect. So far as the Centrally Administered Areas are concerned, the Delhi Transport Service is being run directly by the Transport Ministry. Three months ago I thought it was going to figure in the debates of this House as much as the topic of third-class passengers. But I believe during the last three months such improvement has been effected in the Delhi Transport Service that it has ceased to be an object of interest to honourable Members. (Honourable Members: 'No, no.') At any rate we shall see that by the time the next Budget comes up, this subject ceases to be an object of debate.

Sir, so far as the East Punjab roads are concerned, about which my honourable friend Lala Achint Ram mentioned, if the East Punjab Government raises this point we shall be very glad to consider whether any change or diversion of those highways are needed. In this matter the Central Government wants to have the full co-operation of the Provincial Governments. In fact without their co-operation, the Central Government will be utterly powerless. Therefore, if the Provincial Governments want any kind of change in this matter, provided it does not commit us to more expenditure than that to which we

[Shri K. Santhanam]

are already committed, we shall always be very glad to consider. In these and other matters the Transport Ministry will try to satisfy the demands of the Provinces as much as possible.

Lastly about major ports. The point was raised that we have not taken up the amendment of the Port Trust Act. I may inform the House that the Secretary of our Ministry has gone to America on an International Committee and we have charged him with the task of studying the Port Commission of Canada and also of other countries so that we may be able to have a new system which will be based on the latest models. As soon as he comes back, and after considering his report, we shall try to take up this question.

So far as petrol rationing is concerned, it is said there is some black-marketing. But I feel that of all the controls, petrol rationing has been almost fool-proof against corruption. It is only when people who have been legitimately and reasonably given petrol ration sell it to others, black-market operation is possible. This is something which cannot be prevented at all. Petrol is easy of control and the accounts which are kept show completely that there is hardly any corruption. I would like to remove rationing of petrol altogether. But our supplies are not yet adequate and our capacity to move the supplies from ports to the interior parts is not also adequate.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (West Bengal: General): Can you at least liberalise the supply?

The Honourable Shri K. Santhanam: The supplies have been liberalised recently and we shall go on liberalising them as much as possible. It depends upon the total supply and our tank wagons. We lost a large number of tank wagons in Partition and we have been trying to make up the deficiency by ordering new wagons. Unfortunately during the recent Calcutta troubles which affected the Jessop Workshops the building of tank wagons has been delayed. Therefore, we are unable to get better supplies to the interior areas. We are trying to distribute the supplies as equitably as possible. I hope the Transport Ministry has deserved well of the House. I thank the House for the way the members have dealt with the Transport Ministry.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 36,91,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Ministry of Transport'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 63,68,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Delhi Transport Service'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,20,00,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1950, in respect of 'Central Road Fund'."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, the 19th March, 1949.

