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5th December 1947

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

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)

Friday, 5th December, 1947

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(a) ORAL ANSWERS.

ALL-INDIA DRAINAGE AND DEVELOPMENT PLAN.

615. *Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will the Honourable Minister of Works, Mines and Power be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have developed or propose to develop an All-India Irrigation and Drainage Development plan;

(b) if so, what its main features are;

(c) in what proportion Government expect to get the scheme financed as between the Central and Provincial Governments;

(d) what the main objects of these projects are whether irrigation and famine protection, Grow More Food Campaign, or Hydro-Electricity; and

(e) whether an appeal has been made to Government to make every scheme convertible into an all-purposes one?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: (a) No.

(b), (c) and (d). The question does not arise.

(e) No.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: In view of the fact that various irrigation projects are being taken up in different provinces in a piece-meal fashion, would it not be better that the Government of India themselves should expect their Irrigation Research Bureau to prepare for them from time to time comprehensive lists of these projects and then give them an estimate of their cost?

Mr. Speaker: Is it not more or less a question of opinion?

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will Government then consider the advisability of asking their Irrigation Research Bureau to help in the matter?

Shri Mihirlal Chattopadhyaya: When an irrigation project involves two provinces, will the Centre take the initiative in the matter or not?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The initiative is usually taken on the representation of the provinces concerned but very often the initiative is taken by the Centre itself.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Is there any drainage project which Government has taken up in the recent past?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: No.

Shri Mihirlal Chattopadhyaya: Coming down to the particular, may I know whether the Government is likely to take an initiative in the matter of the project involving the provinces of Bengal and Bihar?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: So far as this particular project is concerned, the Government of India received a representation from the Bengal Government and with a view to settle this question a conference is being called between the representatives of the Bengal and Bihar Governments in the immediate future.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Are not Government contemplating a comprehensive All-India Development Plan of which this irrigation and drainage development can form an integral part?

Mr. Speaker: The honourable Member means an All-India Irrigation Plan?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: What is it you want me to answer?

Shri H. V. Kamath: Are not Government contemplating an All-India Development Plan of which this Irrigation can form an integral part?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Irrigation is primarily a provincial concern. But wherever interests of more than one province are concerned, the Centre comes in, and there is a plan for co-ordinating all such activity. So far as research is concerned, I may inform Prof. Ranga that there is a Central Station of Research in Poona and there are plans to expand the same.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Will the plans be published and printed?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Whatever work is done by the Central Research Station is published. You can have it from the Department and copies of it are already in the Library. So far as the plans are concerned, usually they are not published because they are more or less meant for the respective provinces concerned. But if the Honourable Member wants information on any particular point, I shall be glad to give it to him.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: Does the Honourable Minister feel it necessary that in view of the great necessity for the development of the country, he will try to co-ordinate all these schemes and take the initiative from the Centre?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: As regards co-ordination, I have said that every effort is made. To be precise, now there are four or five schemes that are placed before the Centre for consideration from the Madras Presidency. It is very difficult to dispose of the respective claims of these provinces say for Andhra and Tamilnad but every effort is being made and one of them is that I propose to visit Madras in the near future.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: Is there not a danger that in taking these provincial plans, separately parts of the country may become over-developed in some respects and all development may become lopsided? If there were one plan for all India, you could develop every portion of the country, scientifically and with proportionate emphasis and, in order of priority.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. It is getting into an argument.

NEWSPRINT IMPORT LICENCES.

616. ***Shri Deshbandhu Gupta:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state whether Government are aware that considerable anxiety is being felt by the Newspapers of this country for the reason that no announcement has been made, up to this date, by the Ministry concerned with regard to the issue of Import Licences for Newsprint for the year 1948?

(b) Are Government aware that the North American Mills which constitute one of the most important sources of Newsprint supply to India accept orders on the basis that irrevocable Letters of Credit are arranged for the whole quantity for the year, before manufacture is started, and that Letters of Credit can only be opened on production of the relevant Import Licences?

(c) Are Government aware that it has been the practice of the Government of India up to the last year, to issue such Import Licences for the following years before September 30th, and that this is the first time that the matter has been kept pending up to this date?

(d) Do Government propose to invite applications for Newsprint Import Licences and adopt necessary measures for granting licenses to the applicants with the least possible delay?

(e) Are Government aware that there is a feeling of dissatisfaction amongst the newspapers at the delay in taking action on applications for licences?

(f) Do Government propose to take steps to remove this complaint?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: (a) to (f). The issue of import licences for newsprint in 1948 has been delayed pending a decision regarding the quantum of dollar exchange that could be made available for this purpose. As the Honourable Member may be aware, there is an acute shortage of exchange, particularly of dollars and it has become therefore a matter of the utmost importance that foreign currencies should be conserved to the maximum extent possible. Government have now completed their review of the position however and applications for import licences will be invited during the next few days. Meanwhile licences already issued in September 1947 for the July-December 1947 period have been extended up to 30th June 1948. This should enable importers and newspaper concerns to obtain their supplies in full against these licences. I can assure the Honourable Member, that delays of this kind are unlikely to arise in the future.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Will the Honourable Minister take a note of part (b) and then inform the House as to how he proposes to help in the matter?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I have taken note of that and I assure the Honourable Member that there will be no more delays hereafter.

Shri R. R. Diwakar: Part (b) merely says that applications will be asked for and that meanwhile licences already issued in September 1947 for the July-December 1947 period have been extended up to 30th June 1948.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Applications are invited for the period stated in the answer and they will be disposed of quicker than it was done before.

TRIBAL PEOPLES OF INDIA.

617. ***Prof. N. G. Ranga:** Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether any special Directorate or any department has been organised to look after the special needs and problems of the Tribal peoples of India;

(b) whether Government propose to consider the advisability of forming an Advisory Council including the representatives of All-India Excluded Areas and Tribal Peoples Associations, Adibasis Association and Harijan Sevak Sangh, to advise them; and

(c) whether it is proposed to make any special allotment from the Central Revenues for the improvement of the condition of these people, and their liberation from Malaria and other diseases?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) The Government of India are now concerned only with the Tribal Areas of the North East Frontier. No special Directorate or Department has been set up to deal exclusively with matters relating to the Tribal people, but the North East Frontier Agency was created in October 1943, with its headquarters at Shillong, to organise the administration and development of the Tribal Areas.

(b) This is dependent on the decisions which the Constituent Assembly will take in regard to the future administration of the Tribal and Excluded Areas.

(c) The Government of India have already sanctioned a Five Year Development Plan for the Assam Tribal Areas which covers various beneficent schemes including the construction of 28 hospitals and two leper colonies in tribal territory. The total capital expenditure involved in the plan is estimated to be about Rs. 128.36 lakhs which will be met exclusively from Central revenues. As regards other tribal areas the point is covered by the reply to item (b).

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will Government consider the advisability of making a special grant for the development of these Tribal people in other areas in anticipation of any decision that might be taken by the Constituent Assembly in regard to the constitution to come?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: The Government will gladly consider the matter. Normally they are being dealt with by the provincial authorities and they are included in the other schemes of development. I do not quite know how we can deal with rather a vague assortment of tribes all over India.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: In view of the fact that there has been considerable dissatisfaction among these Tribal people about the grants made and efforts made by provincial Governments for their development, will the Government consider the advisability of making some grants-in-aid to the Provincial Governments with a view to encouraging them to develop the social and economic status of these people?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, but I should like Prof. Ranga and any other Honourable Member of the House to put forward some specific proposals which we might consider. What has been suggested is too vague a proposal.

Shri Mihirlal Chattopadhyaya: May I know whether Government are aware that lately there have been some signs of spreading discontent amongst the tribal people in the North Eastern Frontier of India and may I know what steps have been taken by the Government of India to remove the disaffection amongst those people and win over their confidence and affection?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, I am aware of that and the normal steps usual in such cases were taken that is people in the North East Frontier from the Governor downwards have gone there and discussed the situation with the tribal people and they have largely convinced them.

Shri Raj Krishna Bose: Is it proposed to award scholarships to tribal pupils in other provinces of India besides those in the North East Frontier? Has any representation been received in this connection from the Harijan Sevak Sangh?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no reference to scholarships being awarded to the people in the North East Frontier. We are only opening schools there. I suppose the Education Minister should know about scholarships. I know nothing about it.

FJI GOVERNMENT'S IMMIGRATION BILL

†618. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether a bill to control immigration has been recently introduced in the Fiji Legislative Council?

(b) If so, what are its main provisions and how does it affect the Indian community in Fiji?

(c) Have Government made any representations to the British Government regarding its effect on the Indian interests?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: The Honourable member's attention is invited to the reply I gave to Question No. 391 by Shri K. Santhanam on the 27th November 1947. I may add that we have been informed by the Governor of Fiji that an Indian domiciled in the Colony will be exempt from the provisions of the Ordinance subject to the proviso that an Indian who has been resident for five years or more will lose this exemption by being absent from the colony for more than twelve months.

†Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

IMMIGRATION OF INDIANS INTO BURMA.

†619. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru**: Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state the present position with regard to the Immigration of Indians into Burma and the enjoyment by them of the rights of citizenship there?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: In reply to first part of the question regarding immigration of Indians into Burma, I would draw the Honourable Member's attention to the reply I gave on the 2nd December, 1947 to parts (a) and (b) of starred question No. 520 by Shri T. T. Krishnamachari. With regard to the second part, the present position is that Indians in Burma enjoy the same rights of citizenship as the indigenous people of that country. Under the new Constitution recently adopted by the Constituent Assembly of Burma, citizenship of Indians will, at the date of the commencement of the Constitution, be governed by Article 11 (iv) in accordance with which an Indian who has resided in any of the territories included within the Union of Burma for a period of not less than 8 years in the 10 years immediately preceding the date of the commencement of the Constitution or immediately preceding the 1st January 1942 and who intends to reside permanently therein and signifies his election of citizenship of the Union in the manner and within the time prescribed by law, shall be a citizen of the Union of Burma. The citizenship of an Indian who is either ineligible for or does not exercise his option in favour of citizenship on the date of the commencement of the new Constitution will be governed by legislation to be enacted in future by the Government of Burma.

SCHOLARSHIPS AND FELLOWSHIPS FOR INDIANS.

620. ***Seth Govinddas**: Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether Government propose to consider the advisability of awarding scholarships and fellowships to Indians who are in the Commonwealth countries, for purposes of study and lecture in Indian universities?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: The question should have been addressed to the Honourable Minister of Education and has accordingly been transferred to the Ministry of Education. It will be answered on the next day allotted to that Ministry.

DETENTION OF SHIP BY PAKISTAN AUTHORITIES

621. ***Shri T. T. Krishnamachari**: Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware that a certain ship on the Indian Register carrying foodstuffs from Karachi to an Indian port was detained at Karachi and ordered by the Pakistan authorities to discharge all general cargo, thereby involving inconvenience and heavy loss and delay in the movement of foodstuffs;

(b) whether the attention of the Government of India was drawn;

(c) what action Government have taken in this connection; and to this matter by the shipping company concerned;

(d) what action Government propose to take to prevent a repetition of such incidents in future?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: (a) and (b). Yes, Sir.

(c) The High Commissioner for India in Karachi was immediately instructed to make strong representations to the Pakistan Government in consultation with the Shipping agents concerned.

†Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

(d) The difficulties in the above case arose as the 's. s. Jalaratna' had almost completed loading when the Sind Essential Supplies Ordinance was issued. It is considered unlikely that similar difficulties will arise in future.

Shri Mihirlal Chatteropadhyaya: What steps are being taken with respect to Eastern Pakistan to prevent such disaster from taking place?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: It will not happen, unless there is an ordinance. Ordinances will not come every day.

PAKISTAN SEARCHES OF REFUGEES.

622. *Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Will the Honourable Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware that ships bringing refugees from Karachi have been detained under orders of the Government of Pakistan and if so, for what reasons;

(b) whether Government are aware that refugees boarding such ships were closely searched on one occasion for nearly 14 hours before being permitted to embark; and

(c) whether the Government of India have taken up this matter with the Government of Pakistan and if so, with what result?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: (a) No ships have been detained under any orders of the Pakistan Government. Ships carrying refugees from Karachi have to spend about 24 hours at the wharf for the disembarkation and embarkation of passengers, and for the completion of necessary formalities.

(b) Yes. Refugees boarding such ships were regularly and closely searched by the Sind Police and the Pakistan Customs. The search of the passengers embarking on a ship usually takes about six hours. In one instance, however, when the Customs had finished their search and the passengers' Luggage had been stored in the hold, the Sind police objected that the search by the Customs was not sufficient. All the luggage was again taken out of the hold and searched a second time by the Police. On this occasion, the search took about fourteen hours.

(c) The Government of India have taken up this matter with the Pakistan Government. At a meeting between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, it was decided that there should be no search of refugees' baggage either in India or Pakistan. This decision was not given immediate effect to in Sind because of the Police still wanting to search passengers, ostensibly for unauthorised firearms, merchandise in bulk, and goods, the export of which was banned by Ordinances issued by the Government of Sind. Repeated representations were made to the Pakistan Government, and the High Commissioner for India in Pakistan at Karachi now reports that there has been considerable improvement in the matter of searches and that only about 5 to 10 per cent of the baggage of passengers is actually opened and searched.

Shri K. Santhanam: May I know if any arrangements have been made to take statements or affidavits from passengers regarding goods confiscated during these searches?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: Some information is being collected about what has happened during these searches and that information will be collected in due course and made available.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: May I know if there are any facilities for these passengers to obtain light refreshments or meals while they are obliged to wait like this, usually for six hours, while their possessions are being searched?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: I do not know whether any arrangements are made by the Pakistan Government. I do not think this Government have made any arrangement at Karachi.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Will Government kindly make enquiries and see that such elementary facilities are provided for these people: otherwise they would be put to any amount of inconvenience?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: Enquiries can be made.

Shri Raj Krishna Bose: Are Government aware that refugees after being searched were being stamped as "Searched" on their bodies and that even ladies were not being exempted from this?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: I am afraid I have no information.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: Are Government aware that these Hindu and Sikh women are sometimes put to great humiliation during these searches?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: In some places that has been so.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: Will Government assure the House that this will not happen again?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

DETENTION OF AEROPLANES BY PAKISTAN AUTHORITIES.

623. *Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Will the Honourable Minister of Relief and rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government are aware that aeroplanes bringing refugees from Pakistan areas have been refused guarantee of safety by the Government of Pakistan;

(b) whether Government are aware that planes have been detained by the Pakistan authorities, from time to time, for making a thorough search of the planes and passengers;

(c) whether Government are aware that such search is contrary to the agreement arrived at between the two Governments on the 14th September 1947; and

(d) whether this question has been taken up by the Government of India with the Government of Pakistan and if so, with what result?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: (a) No such guarantee has been demanded by us, nor refused by the Government of Pakistan. While at the Airport, ample protection is provided to planes bringing refugees from Pakistan, by the Pakistan authorities.

(b) Yes.

(c) and (d). The Honourable Member is referred to answer to Starred Question No. 57 on the 18th November, 1947.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: With reference to part (b) of the question, may I know whether it is a fact that on the 19th November, 98 passengers coming from Pakistan area in a plane were detained at Lahore for the reason that the plane had taken only two Muslim passengers from Delhi and they were asked to remain there in Lahore and they remained stranded there?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: I am afraid I am not in a position to vouch for the accuracy of the date and the figures but that some such incident did happen I am sure of.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Is there any agreement between this Government and the Pakistan Government that planes going from this area will carry Muslim passengers and only an equal number of refugees shall be brought from that side?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: I do not think that there was any definite agreement but it was always expected that planes which went from here would take as many Muslim refugees as offer themselves for being transported.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: Can the Government give us an assurance that no such occurrence like the one in Lahore on November 19 will take place in future?

Mr. Speaker: Does the Honourable Member want an assurance about happenings in Pakistan?

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: How long will Government take to arrange for the transport of these passengers who were detained at Lahore? What happened to them?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: I am afraid I must have notice of that question.

Diwan Chaman Lal: May I know what steps Government are contemplating to obtain correct information regarding confiscated property as a result of these searches?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: We have instituted machinery for the purpose of finding facts about searches as well as about other things and when that information is collected we shall be in a position to give some information to the House.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: May I know what steps the Government propose to take to see that the sickening practice of searches comes to an end immediately?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: I think it has almost come to an end now.

REMOVAL OF ARTICLES FROM PAKISTAN.

624. *Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that the Government of Pakistan have officially advised the Government of India that in the interest of Pakistan's economy they have decided to ban the removal of cloth, medical stores, paper, paints, etc., outside Karachi with immediate effect; and

(b) whether Government are aware that this is contrary to the stand-still arrangement arrived at between the two Dominions?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil.—(a) Yes. The Government of Pakistan advised us officially that in order to meet grave threats to the economic life of Pakistan by organised removal, in violation of normal trade channels and practice, of essential goods, such as hardware, paints, varnishes, non-ferrous metal, medical stores, cloth, white cement, paper and other articles of stationery, the Government of Sind had armed themselves with powers under the Sind Essential Commodities (Control) (Second Amendment) Ordinance, 1947, to prevent bulk transfers of those merchandise to places which were never supplied by or through Karachi before. They stated, however, that normal exports would be permitted on production of satisfactory evidence that the goods had been imported for consumption in the Indian Dominion but that removals clearly intended with a view to depriving Pakistan markets of supplies would be prohibited.

(b) If the restriction is, as stated by the Government of Pakistan, applied to the bulk transfer of merchandise from Karachi in violation of normal trade channels and practice, it would not affect the general agreement regarding freedom of trade between the two Dominions, since the underlying object of that agreement was to leave undisturbed the pattern of trade as it existed before the 15th August 1947. If, however, the restriction is, as alleged by several complainants, enforced in a manner that will prevent the transshipment of goods

which were imported through Karachi for markets in India, it would involve an infringement of the agreement referred to. The matter is at present under discussion between the two Dominion Governments.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Arising out of the answer to part (a) of the question do not Government consider that this calls for some retaliatory measure on the part of the Government of India?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: In terms of the answer to part (a) of the question, no.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Is the Honourable Minister aware that some printing machinery and parts thereof meant for India have been lying at the port of Karachi for the last several months and have not yet been released?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I will make enquiries about that.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Have any such complaints reached the Honourable Minister, that many other consignments meant for India are still lying there and are not permitted either to be diverted to Bombay or to be sent by rail?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The answer to all the complaints generally is that whatever was supplied to India through Karachi will not be allowed to be interfered with.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Will the Honourable Minister please tell the House whether any machinery has been instituted to whom complaints can be made in regard to grievances which are to be taken up for discussion with the Pakistan Government?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The machinery is to negotiate through the Indian High Commissioner at Karachi.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I think I have not been understood. Has the Government got any machinery existing to which these people can take their complaints?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The complaints can be addressed to the Commerce Department.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: May I know what is to happen to goods which were originally imported by traders in Pakistan who have come over to India?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Goods imported by merchants in Pakistan meant for consumption in Pakistan will remain there.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: The merchants have come over here, but the goods are lying in the Karachi port. Is the Government of India going to take charge of those goods?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I doubt whether the Government of India can come in validly in that connection.

INTER-TERRITORIAL ORGANISATION FOR THE BRITISH EAST AFRICAN COLONIES.

+625. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state in what respects the revised proposals of the British Government for the creation of an Inter-Territorial Organisation for the British East African Colonies differ from their original proposals and how they affect the interests of Indians in these Colonies?

(b) Have Government asked for a modification of these proposals in order to protect Indian interests?

(c) If so, what reply have Government received from the British Government?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) The revised proposals of 1947 differ from the original 1945 proposals mainly in two respects:—

(1) As against the two Indians who under the earlier proposals were to be

+Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

ected to the Central Legislature, under the revised proposals one is to be appointed by the officer administering each territory. Thus, so far as the representation of communities is concerned the principle of nomination has been substituted for the principle of election and the number of elected Indians has been reduced from two to one.

(2) Under the original proposals Indians were given equality of representation with Europeans and Africans on the unofficial side. The revised proposals do not guarantee such equality of racial representation. Under these proposals the non-official members of the Legislative Council of each of the territories concerned, voting as a whole, are to elect one member from among themselves. Except in Uganda where an Indian or an African may be elected under this arrangement, it is likely to result in the election of two European non-officials from the other territories.

(b) Yes.

(c) No reply has been received so far

EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT.

†626. *Pandit Hirday Nath Kunteru: (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state the number of higher posts in the United Nations Secretariat and how many of them are held by Indians, Americans, and Britishers?

(b) How many applications of Indian candidates have been forwarded to the Secretary-General, United Nations Organization, by the Federal Public Service Commission?

(c) Did the Commission scrutinize these applications and forward the applications of the approved candidates only?

(d) How many of the applicants have so far been employed in the United Nations Secretariat?

(e) Do Government propose to see that the employment of Indians in the United Nations Secretariat is commensurate with the position which India occupies in the United Nations?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) There are in all 269 higher posts carrying a salary of more than \$7,450 per annum in the United Nations Secretariat and their offices abroad. Of these 7 posts are held by Indians, 68 by United States nationals and 38 by British nationals.

(b) 715.

(c) Yes.

(d) 18 Indians are at present in the employ of the United Nations Secretariat and their offices abroad.

(e) I would invite the attention of the Honourable Member to the reply given by me on the 21st November to starred question No. 219, asked by Shri B. A. Mandloi. The Government of India are endeavouring to secure the adequate representation of Indians in the United Nations Secretariat.

EVACUATION OF HINDUS AND SIKHS FROM PAKISTAN.

†627. *Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafar: Will the Honourable Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) the number of Hindus and Sikhs evacuated from Pakistan;

(b) the number of Hindus and Sikhs yet to be evacuated from Pakistan;

(c) the number of evacuees who have been provided with residential accommodation in different provinces of India;

†Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

- (d) the number of evacuees living in different refugee camps;
- (e) the number of evacuees absorbed in Government service and in private service through official agencies;
- (f) the number of evacuees who have been provided with loan for starting business; and
- (g) the total amount of loan advanced to such evacuees?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar.—(a) The total number of Hindus and Sikhs evacuated by the Military Evacuation Organisation from the West Punjab and N.W.F.P. between 4th September and 30th November 1947 was 26,03,061. This figure includes persons evacuated by air. About 2,74,000 Hindus and Sikhs were evacuated from Sind upto 16th November, 1947. No figures for Baluchistan and East Bengal are available.

(b) The number of Hindus and Sikhs to be evacuated from evacuee camps West Punjab was 40,000 on 27th November 1947. The number of persons in pickets has been variously estimated at figures ranging from 50,000 to one lakh. In regard to the number of abducted and forcibly converted persons, no reliable estimate is possible. The number of persons still to be evacuated from N.W.F.P. is about 48,000. The number of persons who want to be evacuated from other parts of Pakistan is not known.

(c) No definite figures are yet available.

(d) This information is being collected and will be laid on the table in due course.

(e) The Honourable Member is referred to the answer to clause (b) of Starred Question No. 249 on the 21st November, 1947.

(f) and (g) Nil. A scheme for advancing loans for setting up business is to come into operation shortly.

Shri H. V. Kamath: On what basis have these refugees been distributed among the different Provinces of India?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: We have received offers to take over a definite number of refugees from certain Provinces and States. In accepting those offers we are making arrangements to distribute some of the refugees in East Punjab to those Provinces and States.

Seth Govinddas: Have the Government of India written to the different Provinces asking them whether they would be able to take so many refugees in the different Provinces?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: The Government of India wrote to the different Provinces and States for information as to how many refugees each of them could take.

EVACUEES PROPERTY IN PAKISTAN.

628. *Giani Gurmukhsingh Musafar: Will the Honourable Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation be pleased to state the principle, policy and the mode of determining the claims of evacuees in respect of their property destroyed or left in Pakistan, and the sources from which the Government propose to meet the claims?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: The Honourable Member is referred to the answer to clause (e) of Starred Question No. 23, on the 18th November, 1947.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Have Government any approximate estimate of the value of property left behind by these refugees?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: I am afraid not even an approximate estimate is possible yet.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Have any claims been received and, if so, what is the total value of the claims?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: Claims are being received and registered.

Diwan Chaman Lall: May I know what machinery the Honourable Member is proposing for the purposes of registering these claims?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: A machinery has been set up under the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation for the purpose of receiving and registering claims.

Diwan Chaman Lall: May I ask whether the Honourable Member is aware that if the present personnel of the machinery remains what it is it will take 18 years to register all the claims?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: I am afraid that as I am not in personal touch with that machinery I cannot concur in the opinion expressed by my Honourable friend.

Diwan Chaman Lall: Is the Honourable Member aware of the recommendations made by the Advisory Committee in this respect?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: I am afraid I am personally not in a position to answer that question.

Shri M. S. Aney: May I ask whether the Government of India will instruct the Indian High Commissioners in Karachi and Lahore to maintain a register to receive complaints and keep an inventory of the property lost by the refugees?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: Most of the people have come away from Pakistan and I am afraid the High Commissioner will not be a suitable machinery for this purpose.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Does the Government know that those persons who have come away are not permitted to go back and work their factories by the Pakistan Government even if they are prepared to go there?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: I am afraid, Sir, the fact that persons are not going there and working their factories is due as much to their own disinclination to go there as to any things that the Pakistan Government has done. I do not think as a Government they have done anything which prohibits these people from going there and working their factories.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Can the Government give an assurance that anybody who is prepared to go and work his factory will be permitted by the Pakistan Government to work it?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: I think the Pakistan Government said they do want these people to come and work their factories.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: On the same terms or on new terms?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: That is a matter about which I cannot give a definite answer.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: Is the Government aware that the terms offered are the Pakistan Government will take the plant and work it themselves, and offer an insignificant amount by way of lease money only?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: That is only in the absence of the evacuees who have gone away from Pakistan.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Is Government satisfied with the assurance given by the Pakistan Government in respect of refugees who wish to go back and start work there?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: I think, Sir, it will be necessary for this Government to get from the other Government assurances which will give more confidence to refugees who have come over here for the purpose of going back and looking after their factories.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Are this Government taking steps to get the kind of assurance that is needed?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: We are taking steps and this is one of the matters which shall take up in the Inter Dominion Conference which will soon take place.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Is it not a fact that the Government of Pakistan has failed to give protection to such of the persons who were carrying on business in Pakistan and had to leave Lahore and other places for want of protection?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: It has happened in some cases that protection was not available to the extent that was necessary for our people going there.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Will the Government make negotiation with the Pakistan Government that those persons who want to remove their factories from Pakistan to India should be given facilities for doing so?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: That is one of the matters which we shall discuss with the Pakistan Government.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Have Government considered the desirability of taking over property left behind, moveable and immoveable, in Pakistan by the refugees, evaluate that property, similarly *vice versa*, and have debit and credit entries so far as the respective properties are concerned?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: That matter is one for negotiation between the two Governments.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: May I know, Sir, whether I am right in thinking that all the double negatives and the cautious positives given by the Honourable Minister are tantamount to a wholesale negative of all the questions?

The Honourable Shri N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar: I do not think so.

AUCTION OF EVACUEES PROPERTY IN PAKISTAN.

629. ***Shri Damodar Swarup Seth:** (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether the attention of Government has been drawn to a letter under the Caption "Auction of Evacuees Property in Pakistan", published in the *Hindustan Times*, dated the 20th November, 1947, in which it was disclosed that the standing crop of an evacuee worth some Rs. 30,000 was auctioned to a neighbouring landlord for Rs. 900 only?

(b) If the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, do Government propose to make necessary enquiry into the case through their High Commissioner and in case the alleged report is found to be correct, to take steps to bring pressure on the Government of Pakistan to stop such auction in the interest of both the countries, and particularly in the interest of the evacuees of both the Communities?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes. An enquiry has already been made, and further action will depend on the result of the enquiry.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Is the Honourable Prime Minister aware that big bungalows and big business premises left behind by the refugees are being rented at very ridiculously low rents in the Pakistan area? Bungalows getting Rs. 500 as rent per mensem are being rented at Rs. 50 or Rs. 20 in Lahore particularly.

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I have no figures in my possession, but I am prepared to take the Honourable Member's information to be correct in some cases.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: And likewise, Sir, a chemist's shop worth Rs. 1 lakh has been sold out for Rs. 1,000.

No reply given.

SEARCHES OF REFUGEES.

The Honourable Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar: The Honourable Member is Starred question No. 57 on the 18th November, 1947 will the Honourable Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation be pleased to state whether, in view of the continued searches of refugees from the West Punjab, Government propose to consider the advisability of taking suitable retaliatory action?

The Honourable Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar: The Honourable Member is referred to my answer to clause (c) of Starred Question No. 57 on the 18th November, 1947. The position in regard to searches has improved in West Punjab and Government do not consider that any retaliatory action is called for.

WELFARE OF BACKWARD CLASSES.

† 631. ***Shri P. Kakkan:** Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether the Government of India have taken any steps to open a department for the welfare of those sections of the community who are backward in education, health, and in economic and social conditions?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: No steps have thus far been taken to open such a department which will inevitably overlap with existing departments and thus probably lead to some confusion. It is however the declared policy of Government to advance in every way the backward sections of the community in education, health and in economic and social status.

PROTECTION AND SUBSIDY TO INDUSTRIES.

632. ***Prof. N. G. Ranga:** Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state:

(a) when Government expect to formulate their policy in regard to the offer of protection, subvention or subsidy to industries;

(b) whether Government propose to appoint any committee to advise them in this regard before they take final decisions;

(c) if so, whether representatives of rural people, peasants and workers will also be consulted;

(d) whether Government propose to appoint a permanent Tariff Board;

(e) the period for which the present Tariff Board is appointed and its terms of reference; and

(f) whether any Cabinet Sub-Committee has considered these terms of reference?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: (a) Government have already announced their policy with regard to claims from industries, which have been started or developed in wartime, to assistance or protection during the transition period in the late Department of Commerce Resolution published on the 3rd November 1945, a copy of which will be found in the Library.

(b) and (c). Does not arise.

(d) The question of appointing a permanent Tariff Board will no doubt be taken up for consideration when economic conditions in India and in foreign countries return to some degree of normalcy.

(e) The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the Ministry of Commerce Resolution dated 28th November 1947, a copy of which will be found in the Library.

† Answer to this question laid on the table, the questioner being absent.

(f) While it would not be proper for me to disclose details of Cabinet procedure, I may assure the Honourable Member that this Resolution issued with the full authority of the Government of India.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: But, Sir, will Government take care to see that before they give effect to any of the recommendations of the Tariff Board in regard to giving any assistance or protection to any one particular industry, the representative organizations of rural people, peasants and other people who are likely to be affected by such protection or assistance are also taken into consultation?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: During the enquiry by the Tariff Board it is open to all rural organizations or urban organizations to present their respective points of view.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: But my point is this. In view of the fact that Government first of all refer a particular question to the Tariff Board and then give their consideration to the report of the Tariff Board, before they actually decide upon their own policy, will Government consider the advisability of consulting these organizations at that stage before they actually take their decisions in regard to the recommendations of the Tariff Board?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The stage for consultation is not the one visualized by my honourable friend. Before the Tariff Board comes to any conclusion, it is up to such organizations, as I said, to put their respective points of view. When the Tariff Board makes certain recommendations, those recommendations are taken into consideration by the Government and such other matters which Government thinks relevant to be taken into consideration.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Arising out of the answer to part (d) of the question, when do the Government envisage the return to normalcy of conditions in India and abroad?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: As soon as normal conditions prevail.

Shri H. V. Kamath: When do the Government anticipate a return to normal conditions?

Mr. Speaker: The question is very vague. It ought to be more specific.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the broadcast appeal made by the President of the Tariff Board to all industrialists to send in their applications for assistance or protection?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Yes, Sir.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: Is it not a fact, Sir, that it is not the function of the President of the Tariff Board or of the Tariff Board to send out broadcast appeals like that, but rather to wait for these appeals for State assistance to go to them and then look into whether any particular appeal made is justifiable or not?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Probably the President did it on account of his great consideration for economy of time and stationery.

Shri K. Santhanam: May I know whether this Tariff Board is also to perform the functions of the late lamented Commodity Prices Board?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: To some extent it is true, Sir.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: May I ask, Sir, arising out of the Honourable Minister's answer to part (e) of the question, whether it is difficult for him to give a fuller answer about the period for which the present Tariff Board is appointed?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: It is given in the resolution itself.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: What is the position of the Tariff Board? Is it to decide whether any particular industry deserves any protection to be given by the State or is it to be manned by industrialists themselves and to have the power to decide what protection is to be given to themselves and their industries?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The industries are expected to present their cases before the Tariff Board. The Tariff Board, after having made proper enquiry and taken all relevant considerations into consideration, makes recommendations and it is for the Government to consider what, if any, recommendations should be implemented.

Prof. N. G. Ranga: How many of the Members of the Tariff Board had themselves been industrialists and capitalists?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: It is very difficult to define who is an "industrialist", but as far as I am able to say, the Chairman is an employee of a big industrialist.

Shri Khandubhai K. Desai: Is not the Tariff Board a standing invitation to the industrialists to be as inefficient as possible?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I do not concur with that view, Sir.

Shri Raj Krishna Bose: What policy have the Government formulated in regard to cottage industries?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I think the general policy of the Government is to encourage cottage industries as far as possible.

Shri H. V. Kamath: The Honourable the Minister for Commerce said that it was difficult to define an industrialist, and in the same breath he mentioned "big industrialist". May I know what he means by a "big industrialist"?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I think the Honourable Member understands it pretty well.

Shri H. V. Kamath: I do not understand that, Sir, and I seek enlightenment.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: It is not such a thing which can be understood in a couple of minutes.

Seth Govinddas: Sir, in view of the fact that the questions for the day are exhausted and that there are certain questions standing* in the name of Pandit Hirday Nath Kanzen which are important, will you kindly allow me to put those questions on his behalf?

Mr. Speaker: Has he given any authority for it?

Seth Govinddas: No Sir.

Mr. Speaker: I am sorry.

REPORT OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT DELEGATES TO 20TH SESSION OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE, MONTREAL.

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram (Minister for Labour): Sir, I beg to lay on the table a copy of the ' Report of the Delegates of the Government of India to the twenty-ninth Session of the International Labour Conference held at Montreal.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: May I know, Sir, if copies of this Report will be supplied to Members if they want it?

Mr. Speaker: Yes, copies will be circulated to Members.

CONVENTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ADOPTED AT 28TH SESSION OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONFERENCE, SEATTLE.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil (Minister for Works, Mines and Power): Sir, I beg to lay on the table a copy of the ' Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference at its twenty-eighth session

*Printed serially in these Debates.—*Ed. of D.*

†Not printed in these Debates. A copy placed in the Library of the House.—*Ed. of D.*

held at Seattle in June 1946 in accordance with paragraph 5 of Article 19 of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: Will a copy of this also be made available to Members, Sir?

Mr. Speaker: No.

GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*contd.*

SECOND STAGE—*contd.*

DEMAND No. 29.—MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND SUPPLY—*contd.*

Removal of controls over cloth, yarn and commodities other than food

Mr. Speaker: Yesterday the House was discussing Demand No. 29, and the Cut Motion by Shri Mohan Lal Saksena "to discuss the desirability of removing control over cloth, yarn and commodities other than food".

Mr. B. K. Sidhwa (C.P. and Berar: General): Sir, I rise to support the motion moved by my Honourable Friend Mr. Saksena. I am a firm believer in control, but notwithstanding that, I am supporting this motion for reasons which I shall presently mention.

Sir, it is stated that control is a curse; but I feel that control as a principle is a necessity and has at times proved a blessing. But the policy as well as the machinery of control is very defective and for that reason it has become very unpopular.

Sir, control was introduced in various foreign countries and became very popular, particularly during the War. When the War started in 1939, the Government of Britain immediately introduced control on almost all the essential commodities; at the same time its distributive machinery and administrative machinery was absolutely perfect with the result that the people of that country had very little to complain about the availability of commodities at the prices actually fixed for them.

In India control came as late as about 1941 after the people have clamoured again and again that they have not been getting the commodities to which they were entitled and that whichever commodities were available, were at very fabulous prices. At that time, Sir, several representations were made by the representatives of the consumers and of the people to the Provincial Governments but the British administrators were not prepared to introduce control in India, simply because they knew that if controls were introduced, the commodities which they required for war purposes will not be available as a major quantity of those commodities will be consumed by the people of India.

That, originally, was their main idea in refusing to introduce control. But when there was a great clamour and it was seen that certain essential articles were not available, they were compelled to introduce control. They introduced controls half-heartedly and they fixed prices. But for administrative purposes, instead of creating special department with men who knew something about distribution of the various essential commodities required by the consumer for his daily needs, they entrusted the work to the Collector of the District in addition to his work of collecting revenue. Sir, most of the Collectors did not know really what control was and how it could be made successful, with the result that things went on dragging notwithstanding the clamour from

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 the people to put matters right. This legacy of unpopular controls is one introduced by the previous Government and handed over to the present popular Government.

Now, Sir, I must say one thing. Notwithstanding this defective system of controls and the non-availability of essential articles in the market, the people who wanted to get these articles were able to get them from the black-market at its own price, at a much higher price. Who used to buy them from the blackmarket? The people who could afford to pay high prices—not the average person, not the man in service, the employee, the labourer or the lower class. It was the lower class people who could not afford to pay for them in the black-market.

So, these Ration Shops have been useful to a very great extent. I can tell you, Sir, from experience that notwithstanding the difficulty and hardships the consumers had to suffer in standing in queues for a number of hours, these people had the satisfaction that they got some kind of share or quota to which they were entitled.

Now, Sir, that is the position of the control system. But control has brought with it corruption because, as I said, the indifference shown by the Department helped the interests of many of the traders and manufacturers with the result that this corruption spread from one part to the other. Let me tell you, Sir, black-marketing is not confined to the big industrialist or the big man alone, I have seen even the lower people—small shopkeepers—also indulge in this evil. These people feel that there is no other alternative for them to make money and even they followed the principle which the big had adopted.

Now, Sir, why do we ask for de-control today? The Honourable the Finance Minister, in winding up the Debate on the Budget stated that we "all admit that the machinery of controls has failed and that Government are not able to improve it. Then why have it?" Well, Sir, that was not a reasonable answer; the popular Government should have made every effort to improve it. No doubt they are engrossed in many other things; probably their attention may not have been diverted to that extent which is required, but surely the popular Government should have taken into confidence persons who are interested in this matter and tried to find out some ways and means to improve this machinery of controls. But when the Finance Minister says that it was not possible; therefore, it was desirable to remove it, we have no other alternative but to maintain the name of the popular Government by letting the control go, and as far as I am concerned, I only want the control of the cloth to go. I am not discussing food control at present; when the matter comes before the House, I shall give my views on it. But why I am in favour of removal of cloth control is this. The industrialists who are manufacturing this cloth have been responsible for hoarding the cloth and selling it in the black-market at very high price. Notwithstanding so many facts that were brought to their notice, I remember a very big textile industrialist in Nagpur who exposed his own colleagues that thousands of bales were lying in the various industrial godowns. They were not prepared to release them and that resulted in corruption and non-availability of cloth to the consumers.

I know, Sir, hundreds of families who have not received their ordinary quota for the last 18 months, not because they did not want the cloth but because they were told that the cloth was not available. They wanted the cloth, they went to the ration shops and waited in the queues, but they were told that cloth was not available, although the cloth was there. It was sold somewhere else. That is the all-round position.

Sir, the system prevailing in some Provinces is that these licences are confined to particular dealers. The *bona fide* traders who were actually doing this kind of business are not given licences for reasons best known to the Provincial Governments, with the result that they are restricted to the consumer to obtain his cloth requirements from a particular shop where they have registered their card. If it had been open to get the cloth from any dealer, the difficulty would not have arisen.

Sir, when I discussed this question with the then Honourable Minister in charge of Industries and Supplies about four months ago, I gave him a scheme for the complete revolutionisation of the present one. The Textile Commissioner's office in Bombay is a scandal. The very foundation of that office requires to be thoroughly reorganised. It might take time, about three to four months, to re-organise the cloth control, so that it could be kept intact for the benefit of the consumers for whom it was meant. But the Honourable Minister then told me that he was looking into the matter and will come to some decision. After two months, I again saw him and he said "Government had practically come to the decision and will make an announcement that there should be de-control. When I went from Delhi, I read in the paper a week afterwards that the Government were not prepared to de-control. That is the position.

I quite appreciate, Sir, the difficulty under which the Ministers may be working. I understand they are going to bring about an increase in production. I do not know whether the industrialists will help them or not. The Honourable the Finance Minister while winding up the debate on the Budget made an appeal to the industrialists to co-operate with this popular Government, when he raises any loan. Why not these industrialists help the Government in cloth control also? They have made huge profits. They can co-operate with the Government by increasing production without any legislation and see that the control automatically goes away and the people are satisfied. But, no, Sir, If they have made Rs. 5 crores; they want to make Rs. 10 crores. Their greed has no limit. Howsoever you may tax them, they are very competent and clever to dodge it. Just as they are dodging Government in taxes, so they are dodging Government in this control system. In the Bombay market, in the Karachi market, ready-made clothes in bales used to be imported. Where did this come from? Imported cloth was not available then and ready-made cloth was not controlled. See the fancy of it, Sir. The system was so defective that hundreds of thousands of bales from the Industries Department went out by this backdoor method, and were sold in the black market and the clothes were made and were sold at fancy price in the form of shirts, pyjamas, pants, jackets, trousers and so on. Is there then any surprise that there should be scarcity of cloth? Therefore, Sir, I am supporting this cut-motion, because it is the first measure for de-controlling cloth where risk can be taken. Govt. in my opinion, Sir, should de-control cloth instead of seriously contemplating de-control of food which in my opinion if not properly handled will bring disaster to the consumers. I am talking of small class of people. I am particularly concerned with the urban areas. I asked the Honourable Minister yesterday as to what was the policy of the Government, whether they were going to de-control. He told me that the matter will be considered when the cut-motion came up. I again put him a question, whether it would not be advisable to let us know in advance, so that it may facilitate us in the discussion of the question. He said, "Control will be removed as soon as possible." The meaning of that is that control is not going to be removed.

Now, Sir, I do not know the policy of this Government as to when the control is to be removed and whether start will be made with articles which will

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be less harmful to the consumer, I know, Sir, that prices will shoot up if control is removed. I do not doubt it. I know what happened to sugar. My friend Pandit Sharma said the price had shot up from Rs. 21 to Rs. 50. The Secretary of the Sugar Syndicate says it is not Rs. 50 but 85 and that they are going to keep it at 85. Now from 21 to 85 is 60 per cent. more.

I will finish just now, Sir. I am sure the prices will go up. I am also sure that probably the cloth may not be available, but I do not mind it. I do not mind because people are not going to starve, if cloth is not available. People have remained without cloth for a number of years, and they can pull on without it for some time more. Therefore to retain the good name of this Government, I for one am supporting this cut-motion that the control should go. Let the Government also have an experience as to whether it is going to be successful or not. From this point of view, and believing firmly in the continuance of the control until we have supplies available, I am supporting this motion for the reason that I have stated, not because this motion is brought today—I have been clamouring for it since 1946—but because the Textile Department requires radical improvement.

Dr. H. B. Khare (Alwar State): Sir, I also rise to support this cut-motion for de-control, merely because, Sir, things have now come to this pass. When one begins to talk of control, it is impossible to control oneself. Sir, it is the fashion nowadays to attribute everything to the Government that has gone behind. Everything is supposed to be a legacy left by the past Government. Of course that may be correct in some respects, but it is not correct in all respects; it cannot be taken as an axiom. I can make a positive statement that the whole business of control has become much worse than what it was during the regime of the past Government. You may question me and say: "You have no right". I will say I have also a right to give my opinion. You cannot restrain me. The reason is patent enough and that is that the past Government or its machinery were not in such close and intimate association with the mercantile community, as the present Government or its machinery is, and the present Government are functioning democratically with a vengeance. Almost all Congressmen are somehow or other in touch with these matters. I am not alone in saying this, I have got the support of a Congress Minister in Bihar who recited in the Legislature of that province a long list of names of top-ranking congressmen as racketeers in control matters. I challenge anybody to deny that statement.

Sir, I support this motion, not because control is still not needed, but because the management of this control is an evil and I firmly think, Sir, that we shall be much better off without control than with control as is being managed under present conditions.

I am questioned; I am attacked; I am criticised; I am ridiculed and I am insulted, I bear all that; it is an ordinary thing in democracy. But I cannot comprehend when people say that my speech is not understood. At the same time, Sir, I feel flattered with the very touching reference to my speech that was made yesterday by no less a person than the Honourable the Prime Minister and I really cannot understand if anybody does not understand my speeches. It is only a question of average intelligence and nothing else. It was said that my criticism was inconsequential; I admit it is inconsequential, but at the same time I am doubly grateful that my right to criticise is conceded in a most generous spirit. My criticisms are inconsequential, not because they have got no sense but because there are serried ranks of mechanized voting automata to vote them down, I mean those who have pawned their conscience and commonsense. I have nothing more to say.

चौधरी रनबीर सिंह : माननीय स्पीकर साहब, मैं कटौती के प्रस्ताव का कपड़े आदि पर से कन्ट्रोल हटाने के प्रश्न पर विचार करने के लिये समर्थन करने के लिये खड़ा हुआ हूँ—हालांकि मैं किसान हूँ और मैं खूब अच्छी तरह से समझता हूँ कि अगर अनाज पर कन्ट्रोल रक्खा जाय और दूसरी चीजों पर से कन्ट्रोल हटा दिया जायगा तो उससे किसानों के आर्थिक हितों को कुछ न कुछ अवश्य घक्का पहुंचेगा।

मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन जैसा कि सिधवा साहब ने शहरियों के दृष्टिकोण को सामने रखकर किया है मैं उस तरह से इसका समर्थन नहीं करूंगा। क्योंकि मैं समझता हूँ और ठीक प्रकार से समझता हूँ कि यह भारत देश किसानों का देश है, शहरियों का देश नहीं है, अतः इस देश की पौलिसी निणित करने में केवल १५ फी सदी शहरियों का हित ही सामने नहीं होना चाहिये, बल्कि ८५ फी सदी देश के दहातियों और किसानों का हित ही प्रभुत्व में रखना चाहिये, मैं तो केवल किसानों के नुक्तेनिगाह से इसका समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ।

मैं कपड़े के बारे में पंजाब के किसानों का जिक्र करता हूँ। पंजाब के किसान के सर पर एक पगड़ी होती है और शरीर में एक कुर्ता और नीचे एक धोती होती है। धोती हमारे यहां आमतौर से १० गज की तथा पगड़ी करीब ५ या ६ गज की पहनी जाती है और कुर्ता में कम से कम ३ गज या ३।१ गज वस्त्र जरूर लग जाता है, इस तरह से हर किसान को वर्ष में करीब १८ गज कपड़े की जरूरत होती है परम् मिलता केवल १२ गज है अतः होता क्या है, उसका उदाहरण केवल धोती के सबन्ध में ही मैं अपने गांव की मिसाल देकर बतलाऊंगा मेरे गांव में तीन चार और गांवों का भी कपड़ा आता है मेरे ग्राम की आबादी ५ हजार है और उसके आस पास वाले ग्रामों की आबादी भी तकरीबन ५ हजार की है...इस तरह से सब गांवों की आबादी १० हजार बन जाती है और उनके लिए कम से कम १० हजार धोती के जोड़े वहां आने चाहिये लेकिन वहां त्रिमासिक कोटा (quota) में केवल २५० धोती के जोड़े पहुंचे हैं। १० हजार आदमियों के कम से कम २ हजार कुन्बे होते हैं और उन १० हजार आदमियों के हिस्से में, इन २ धोतियों में से मुश्किल से ४० आदमियों के हिस्से में एक धोती का जोड़ा आता है पिछले साल वहां चार बार कोटा आया और मुश्किल से एक कुटुम्ब के हिस्से में एक जोड़ा धोती का आया होगा, और इस वर्ष तो शायद उनको एक धोती का जोड़ा भी हिस्से में न आये, अतः उनको चोर बाजार से भी वस्त्र हासिल करने पड़ते हैं, और गांव वालों को चोर बाजार से एक धोती जोड़े के लिये १० रुपया १२ रुपया और २० रुपया तक देना पड़ता है। जबकि एक धोती जोड़े के दाम केवल ५ रुपया है इसलिये मेरा मत है कि अगर कपड़े को डी-कन्ट्रोल कर (Decontrol) कर भी दिया जाय तो ज्यादा से ज्यादा धोती के लिये १० रुपये से १३ रुपये तक ही देने पड़ेंगे। इसके अलावा एक बात यह है कि कन्ट्रोल होने की वजह से जितना कष्ट हो गया है वह दूर हो जायगा। जातीय तजुर्वा है कि किसानों को विवाह आदि के लिये कपड़ा

[चौधरी रनबीर सिंह]

लेने के लिये डिस्ट्रिक्ट हेडक्वार्टर (District Head quarter) में जाना पड़ता है और वहां अफसरों की खुशामद करनी पड़ती है और उनको आने जाने में काफ़ी खर्चा करना पड़ता है। अगर इन खर्चों से जितना वे आने जाने में करते हैं अगर चोर बाजार से कपड़ा खरीदे तो उनको सस्ता पड़ेगा। और इन दिक्कतों का सामना भी नहीं करना पड़ेगा। इन सब मुश्किलों को सामने रखते हुए मैं यह प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि कपड़े से कन्ट्रोल हटा दिया जाये। लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ मुझ यह भी विश्वास है कि सरकार हिन्दुस्तान के किसानों के हितों का भी जरूर ख्याल रखेगी।

मैं यह भी आशा करता हूँ कि इस ३ महीने के बाद जब तक गल्ले का नया स्टॉक आया तो इसका भी तजुर्बा हो जायेगा। आया डी-कंट्रोल (Decontrol) का तजुर्बा कामयाब होता है कि नहीं और कामयाब होता है तो गवर्नमेंट गल्ले को भी डी-कंट्रोल (Decontrol) कर देगी।

इसमें ज्यादा न कहना हुआ और एक बार फिर इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ और साथ ही साथ सरकार से यह अपील करता हूँ कि सिधवा साहब ने जिस तरह से शहर वालों के मुद्दा के बारे में कहा है उसी तरह से सरकार को गांव वालों के हितों का भी पूरा ध्यान रखने की प्रार्थना करते हुए स्थान ग्रहण करता हूँ।

(English translation of the above speech)

Chaudhri Ranbir Singh (East Punjab: General): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the cut motion moved to discuss the desirability of removing control over cloth, etc. Although I am an agriculturist and can very well realise that if foodgrains are controlled and other commodities decontrolled, it would surely produce some repercussion in the economic interests of the agriculturists.

I will not support this motion in the same manner as Mr. Sidhwa has done it by keeping in view the angle of vision of the urbanites, because I understand it and have correctly understood it that India is the land of agriculturists, and not of the inhabitants of towns. Therefore, in determining the policy of this country, we should not keep in view the interests of only 15 per cent of the people living in the cities, but should also appraise the supremacy of the rights of 85 per cent of those in this land who are living in rural areas and are agriculturists. I rose to support this from the point of view of agriculturists only.

As regards cloth, I mention the case of the Punjab agriculturists. The dress of the Punjab farmer comprises of one *puggie* (turban) on his head, one *kurta* (shirt) and one *dhoti* worn round the loin. Generally we wear *Dhoties* and *Pagnies* (turbans) measuring about 10 yards and 5 or 6 yards respectively and atleast three or 8½ yard of cloth is required for making the shirt (*kurta*). In this way, every farmer requires about 18 yards of cloth annually, but actually he gets 12 yards. Then what happens? I will explain this by quoting an example from my own village which pertains to the use of '*dhoti*'. My village also gets the cloth quota of other three or four villages. The population of my village is 5 thousand and that of the neighbouring villages also is approximately five thousand. So, the population of all these villages comes to ten thousand, and atleast ten thousand pairs of *dhoties* should be supplied for the use of the villagers. But in the quarterly quota only 250 *dhoties* have been received. Ten thousand people have at least 200 families. And out of these *dhoties* hardly one pair of a *dhoti* falls to the lot of 40 men

out of the quota for ten thousand people. Last year the quota was received there frequently, and hardly one pair of *dhoti* would have fallen to the share of each family. And it is possible that this year they may not be able to get even one pair of *dhoti*. Therefore, they are forced to buy cloth from the black-market also. The villagers are thus made to pay ten to twelve rupees and even to the extent of rupees twenty for buying one pair of *dhoti* from the black-market—when the control rate for one *dhoti* is Rs. 5. Therefore, my belief is that even if cloth is decontrolled, then it would cost Rs. 10 to 15 at the most to purchase a *dhoti*.

Besides this, there is another point and that is that all the difficulties which have arisen on account of operation of the control would disappear. It is my personal experience that the villagers have got to go to the District Headquarters to obtain cloth for marriage and other purposes and there they have to flatter the officers and this journeying involves ample expenditure also. If they purchase the cloth from black-market with these expenses which they have to incur in travelling, it would cost them less and moreover they will not also have to face these hardships. Keeping in view all these difficulties, I would request that the control on cloth should be removed. But all the same I have a belief that this Government will surely look into the interests of agriculturists in India.

I further hope that after the expiry of these three months when the fresh stock of foodgrains arrives, we will have experience in this aspect as well. Whether this experiment of decontrol is successful or not, and if it is successful, then the Government will decontrol the foodgrains also.

Without saying anything further, I once again support this motion and also appeal to the Government that it should devote equal attention towards the welfare of the people living in the rural areas just as Mr. Sidhwa has spoken about the interests of those living in the urban area.

With these words, I resume my seat.

Sir Padampat Singhanla (U.P.: General): Sir, ordinarily I would have no desire to speak on this subject of decontrol but since I am in this House and many things have been said which have no relation to facts, I think I must say something so that people may take a more realistic view as regards the improvement of production and the method of control in this country. Before dealing with the subject of this cut motion I should like with your permission to make a few general remarks on the budget.

Mr. Speaker: I am afraid a general discussion will not be permissible but the Honourable Member may cover a part of it as a background on which to make his remarks on the present motion.

Mr. E. K. Sidhwa: Sir, we want to hear something about controls from the Honourable Member who is one of the largest industrialists of this country.

Mr. Speaker: I am not much concerned as to who is who; I am only concerned with the relevancy of the speech.

Sir Padampat Singhanla: Sir, after 1944-45 when this country was in great need of industrialisation there was much enthusiasm in the country about it; but the difficulty in the last 25 or 30 years has been that people have been inclined more towards moneylending than towards industrialisation. But after this war people have become very industrially minded. Very often I have had opportunities of meeting people from other countries like England and America, and their opinion was that there is great enthusiasm here for industrialisation and if this is put into effect India will become industrially self-sufficient. Then after the Grady Mission and some other Missions our Government has come into power and there was a Coalition Government with the Congress and the Muslim League members in the Cabinet. At that time it

[Sir Padampat Singhania]

was the desire that it is not the big industrialists but the ordinary middle class men who would bring about the industrialisation of this country. Then came the budget as a result of which that big enthusiasm has been killed. I am very grateful to the Cabinet that instead of waiting for a few months more they have brought this interim budget. It has created a big effect on the market and the middle class people particularly feel that it is not the desire of the Government to kill the enthusiasm of the people but that they will go in for industrialisation. I hope by the time the next budget is brought in they will tell us as to how many companies, out of those registered in this country during the last two or three years, have actually been in a position to promote the industrialisation of this country and how many have not yet been able to get their capital subscribed.

Sir as regards this cut motion various allegations have been made,—*vis.* that industrialists have no desire to increase production, that production has been smuggled out, that if only the industrialists would co-operate with the Government the national production would increase, etc. People who make these allegations are not, I am afraid, in touch with real facts as to why the production has gone down and people are suffering. It is said that production has gone down from 4,500 million yards to 2,800 million yards. Actually production has not gone down to that extent. It is said that cloth is smuggled out into the black market. That is not a fact; actually it is cotton consumption which has gone down, and without cotton you cannot produce cloth. A study of the facts would show that it is not cloth which has gone out but actually there is no production. That is one of the important points in connection with this allegation about cloth being smuggled out.

Then it is said that the reason for less production is not labour or less working hours but that cloth has been made finer. That, Sir, is not a fact. In 1945 the position of this country in the matter of cloth was very high and the production of cotton manufactured goods was 4500 million yards, which had never happened before in the history of the cotton textile industry of this country. Before the war the production was something like 3,200 million yards and it was not expected that it would rise to that figure of 4,500 million yards. And production was maintained at that figure because cloth was of great necessity in the world. It got a big priority because India had a big bargaining power in the world. We could get stores and supplies from other countries because we had this cloth. And His Majesty's Government also wanted this cloth and we got the first priority in the matter of stores and implements for the cotton textile industry. The reason was that cloth was not only a great necessity during war but there was a great shortage of it in those countries. We then thought that with this big bargaining power in our hands we could maintain the level of that production. But the British people and the British officers in the Government of India felt that if India's cotton textile production was maintained at that figure there was also a possibility of increasing it and India would be able after the war to capture other markets besides supplying her own domestic requirements. What happened afterwards? What happened? Our big Honourable Members here in touch with labour have been pressing for a kind of international legislation to the effect that Indian labour which is working 54 hours a week should have their working hours cut down to 48 hours. We have made all kinds of endeavours to stop this. We have met the Honourable Member in various Conferences. We have suggested that once you cut down the working hours the production will go down and in spite of our great appeal to the workers, they will not come forward and increase the working hours. The result was that because Honourable Members were wanting popularity they pressed for this cutting down. I say this not by way of criticism. But I am stating the fact. We have even suggested that you may pay twice the wages of one hour but do not let the

working hours go down, because India has only this cloth by which she has a very powerful bargaining power in the world. But legislation has been passed and working hours have been lowered from 54 to 48 hours and orders have been issued to provinces that circulars should be sent round to cut down the working hours. It was not only the reduction of six working hours per week but all the multiple shifts that used to work in the various mills also went down and the production of handmade cloth has also gone down.

With the change of Government labour feels that it is their own Government and they should take as much advantage of it as possible. The real problem before us is that production has gone down from 4,500,000,000 yards to 3,200,000,000 yards. Therefore my request is as some of the Honourable Members have said who represent labour here, that labour should be asked to increase production. I would request them in this House that they must consider that it is this country which has great bargaining power in the world and instead of going abegging to other people for their food supply and other requirements, they must come forward and ask the workers to bring up the cloth production, and if the cloth production will go up, then India will have such great bargaining power that India will be able to get all the food and all other supplies that she wants, instead of Ministers going and abegging our Embassies, and we will be able to solve much of our troubles.

پلڈت تھاکر داس بہارگو : ماتھور سہیکر صاحب ! کلتھ اور ہارن اور دوسری چھڑوں کے کلتھوں کے متعلق بحث ہوتی رہی ہے۔ میں جلاب کی خدمت میں ایک اور چھڑو جو کہ کلتھ اور yarn سے ضرورت میں ان دونوں سے کچھ کم نہیں ہے کے متعلق بولنا چاہتا ہوں۔ میں یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کلتھوں صرف اس صورت میں کامیاب ہو سکتا ہے جب کہ supply اور demand دونوں چھڑوں پر کلتھوں ہو۔ اگر ان دونوں چھڑوں کا equilibrium برابر نہ ہو تو اسکا نتیجہ وہی ہوتا ہے جو کہ ہمارے سامنے اسوقت ہے۔ کلتھوں کرنے کی صورت میں ہمیں یہ دیکھنا ہو گا کہ ہمارے پاس کتنی supply ہے اور اسکے ساتھ ساتھ اسکی demand کتنی ہے۔ اور اس کے مطابق اس کو regulate کیا جاتا ہے۔ اسوقت ایسا ہوتا ہے کہ یا تو demand کم ہو جاتی ہے یا supply بڑھ جاتی ہے۔ اور یہ بات بغیر ان چھڑوں کے جن کی اس ملک میں supply نہیں ہے سب چھڑوں کے بارے میں ہے۔

اگر یہ کہا جائے کہ کھانے کی چھڑیں اس ملک میں نہیں ہیں اور ہو ایک کو مہیا نہیں کی جا سکتی تو اسکو ان ہی basis پر کلتھوں کہا جائے۔ کھڑے کے بارے میں اگر یہ کہا جائے کہ production کم اور demand زیادہ ہے۔ اور اس کے equitable distribution کی وجہ سے کلتھوں ضروری ہے تو میں یہ سمجھتا ہوں کہ اسکے لئے جواز ہے لیکن اس کے اندر ہم نے یہ دیکھا ہے کہ جو آدمی اس کے natural equilibrium کو واپس لاتے ہیں انکے متعلق ہمیں کافی تلخ تجربہ ہے۔ حکومت ہند نے چند سال ہوئے grow more food campaign شروع کیا۔ لیکن اس کے چند سال شروع کرنے کے بعد منسٹر صاحب متعلقہ نے اس ہاؤس میں یہ کہدیا کہ ہمیں اس میں ناکامیابی ہوئی ہے۔ کلتھ کے بارے میں کلتھ کے ایک بڑے manufacturer

[پلڈت تھارکر داس بھارگو]

فرماتے ہیں کہ اسکی supply پہلے سے کم ہوگئی ہے۔ اس کے معنی یہ ہیں کہ اسپر کنٹرول آئندہ بھی رائج رہے۔ انہوں نے فرمایا ہے کہ اسکی supply نہیں بڑھ سکتی ہے۔ اور ثابت ہوا ہے کہ کنٹرول سے supply نہیں بڑھی ہے دوسری چیز جو ہمیں معلوم ہے وہ یہ ہے جسے ہندوستان کا ایک اندھا آدمی بھی دیکھ سکتا ہے کہ ہندوستان میں اسقدر corruption بڑھ گیا ہے جسکا ذکر کرنا محال ہے۔ میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ میں نے اپنی عمر میں کسی شخص کو اتنا خراب اور corrupt نہیں سنا ہے جتنا کہ Supply Deptt: خراب اور بے ایمان سنا ہے۔ مجھے دہلی کے متعلق خاص علم نہیں ہے لیکن میں جانتا ہوں کہ ہمارے ضلع میں کس قسم کی کارروایاں ہوتی ہیں۔ وہاں پر ایک سول سہائی آفسر جس کی نظروں پر پانچ یا چار سو روپیہ ماہوار ہے۔ وہ پہلے میں دس دس ہزار کی آمدنی پیدا کرتا ہے۔ چھوٹے چھوٹے افسران کا کہنا ہی کیا ہے۔ زمینداروں کو کوئی چیز شہر کے ریلے والوں کے قاعدہ کے مطابق مہر نہیں ہوتی ہے۔ جب تک کہ وہ رشوت نہ دیں۔ اس کنٹرول کے یہ نتائج ہیں۔ اگر ہم کسی چیز کو کنٹرول کرنا چاہتے ہیں تو ہمیں چاہئے کہ اسکی Supply کو بڑھا دیں۔ دوسری بات یہ صاف ہے کہ کنٹرول کی وجہ سے Corruption اتنا بڑھ گیا ہے جس نے ہماری life پر بہت خراب اثر ڈال دیا ہے۔ یہ دونوں چیزیں دیکھ کر ہمیں سبق لینا چاہئے اور کنٹرول کو ہٹا دینا چاہئے۔

میں جناب کی خدمت میں کسی خاص فوف سے عرض کرنے کے لئے کھڑا ہوا ہوں۔ اور وہ یہ کہ میں ان چیزوں کے متعلق عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں جنکی کہ اس ملک میں کسی نہیں ہے۔ ابھی لوگوں کو وہ چیزیں مہر نہیں ہیں مثلاً نمک کے production اور distribution کے متعلق گورنمنٹ کی طرف سے بہت سالوں سے ہر سال اس ہاؤس میں ذکر ہوتا رہا ہے۔ میں یہ سمجھتا تھا کہ آئندہ کے لئے ہاؤس میں اسکا ذکر آنا ضروری نہ ہوگا۔ گاندھی جی کی blessings سے نمک کا ٹیکس فریب ہندوستانوں سے اٹھ گیا تھا۔ پچھلی دفع آنریبل فالنس منسٹر نے کہا تھا کہ نمک کی اب اس ملک میں تکلیف نہیں ہوگی اور لوگوں کو کھانے کے علاوہ Industrial purposes کے لئے بھی نمک بہ آسانی مل کرے گا۔ چاروں کو skins کے لئے نمک چاہئے اور مٹی گھروں کو مچھلیوں کے لئے نمک کی بہت ضرورت رہتی ہے۔ ان فریبوں کو اُسید تھی کہ اب ہمیں نمک سستا اور بہ آسانی مل کرے گا۔ لیکن جب اب اسکو راشن میں کر دیا گیا ہے۔ تو اب لوگ یہ کہتے ہیں حکومت کو چاہئے کہ ہوا اور پانی پر بھی ٹیکس لگائے۔ اور اگر اب نمک کا بھی راشن کیا جاتا ہے۔ تو ہوا اور پانی کا بھی راشن کیا جائے۔ اس سے

حکومت کو اور بھی فائدہ ہوگا۔ یہ جو باتیں ہیں یہ ایسی ہیں کہ جنکو آدمی سمجھ نہیں سکتا کہ ایسا کیوں ہو رہا ہے۔ ہمارے دیش میں پانچ ہزار میل کا Surface سندر کا ہے۔ جہاں سے کافی نمک پیدا ہو سکتا ہے۔ اور اسکے علاوہ بہت سی جگہوں میں نمک زمین کے اندر بھی ہے اور اس وجہ سے اس زمین میں کوئی پیداوار نہیں ہوتی ہے۔ ایک طرف تو یہ حالت ہے۔ لیکن دوسری طرف یہ حالت ہے کہ پو۔ پی میں تین روپیہ سیر نمک اور دہلی میں ایک روپیہ سیر نمک بلیک مارکیٹ میں بکتا ہے۔ یہ بہت ہی تعجب کی بات ہے اور آدمی حیران ہو جاتا ہے کہ جب اسقدر نمک پیدا کیا جا سکتا ہے۔ تو نمک پر کیوں کنٹرول کیا گیا ہے۔ مجھے فارسی کا ایک مسئلہ اس بارے میں یاد آتا ہے۔ وہ یہ ہے ہر چہ در کان نمک رفت نمک شد۔ جو کہ نمک کی کان میں گیا نمک ہو گیا۔ کیا جو آدمی بیروکرسی کی جگہ پر چلا جاتا ہے وہ بھی بیروکرسی ہو جاتا ہے نمک جیسے ضروری اور سستی چیز کا انتظام نہونے کے معنی یہ ہیں کہ authorities want of imagination بہت افسوس سے کہنا پڑتا ہے کہ ان لوگوں نے جنکے ہاتھ میں ہماری قسمت ہے ہماری مشکلات کو محسوس نہیں کیا ہے۔ اور یہ لوگوں کی تکلیف کو زیر نظر نہیں لاتے ہیں

مجھے یہ دیکھ کر بہت دکھ ہوتا ہے کہ اس ملک میں لوگوں کو نمک کی تکلیف ہے۔ میں یہ جانتا ہوں کہ transport کی difficulties ضرور تھیں۔ لیکن اس بات کا allowance دیکر بھی مجھے یہ بات دکھ کے ساتھ کہلی پڑتی ہے کہ کیا جو ستھہ گرا گاندھی جی نے اسبارے میں کہا تھا وہ سہل نہیں ہوا ہے کیا ہندوستانوں کو نمک بنانے کا اختیار نہیں ہے؟ مک کے production کو کیوں control کیا گیا ہے؟ نمک کر کنٹرول میں لانے کے لئے اور ہندوستانوں کو نمک کے بنانے کا اختیار نہ دینے میں حکومت کے پاس کوئی جوازیت نہیں ہے۔

یہاں سے ۵۰ میل دور ایک جگہ فرخنگر ضلع گورگٹوں میں ہے وہاں پر نمک بنانے کی بڑی بڑی Industries تھیں اور وہاں پر کافی نمک پیدا ہوتا تھا

An Hon. Member : Sir, Salt does not come in the subject matter of the motion

پلڈت تھا کہ داس بہارگو : اگر میرے دوست دیکھیں انکو معلوم ہوگا کہ اس کے Cloth, yarn and commodities other than these میں لکھا ہے۔

جو جناب: میں عرض کر رہا تھا کہ وہاں فرخنگر میں اتنا صاف اور عمدہ نمک پیدا ہوتا ہے جو اس علاقہ کے دو یا تین کروڑ آدمیوں کے لئے کافی ہو سکتا ہے۔

[پلنڈے تھارکو داس بھارگو]

اس طرح سے ضلع حصار میں 1913ء اور پچھلی لڑائی میں لاکھوں روپیہ کا ضررہ بنا تھا لیکن اب ہم یہ دیکھتے ہیں کہ وہاں پر اس بارے میں بہت باتیں ہیں اور حکومت کی پالیسی کی وجہ سے اس Industry کو کئی نقصان ہوتا ہے۔ اب یہاں کے Production کو بڑھانے کی بجائے دن بدن کم کیا جا رہا ہے۔ اس قسم کا جو یہ کنٹرول ہے وہ کامیاب نہیں ہو سکتا ہے۔ مہری یہ گزارش ہے کہ جن جگہوں پر زمینیں میں نیک موجود ہے وہاں پر زمینوں سے یہ نیک نکال دیا جائے اور ان زمینوں کو قابل کاشت بنا دیا جائے۔ اور یہ تب ہی ہو سکتا ہے کہ لوگوں کو نیک Manufacture کرنے کی اجازت دی جائے۔ مہرے خیال میں کوئی وجہ نہیں کہ اتنے تجربے کے بعد بھی حکومت اپنی پالیسی کو تبدیل نہ کرے۔ سارے دیہی میں اس وقت اس بارے میں بہت وارنہ ہو رہا ہے۔ اور ہر شخص یہی کہتا ہے کہ اسکو کنٹرول نہ کیا جائے۔ ہدی رائے میں Food کو بھی decontrol کیا جائے۔ میں اس علاقے سے تعلق رکھتا ہوں جہاں پر food کی کمی نہیں ہے۔ اسلئے شاید مہری یہ رائے درست نہ ہو۔ لیکن میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ اگر food کو decontrol کیا جائے تو grow more food campaign کامیاب ہو جائے اور ہر ایک چیز کی supply بڑھ جائے گی۔ آجکل جو چیزیں ہمارے ضلع میں پیدا ہوتی ہیں انکو بلیک مارکیٹ میں خریدنے کے لئے ہسکو مجبور کیا جاتا ہے۔ یہ ایک بہت بڑی چیز ہے۔ اگر حکومت بلیک مارکیٹ کو جرم قرار دیتی ہے تو اسکی پالیسی یہ ہونے چاہئے کہ ایسے حالات پیدا نہ کئے جائیں جن پر کہ بلیک مارکیٹ depend کرتا ہے۔ جناب میں یہ گزارش کرنا چاہتا ہوں جب ایک شخص کچھ پیداوار ملتا ہے تو اسکو بلیک مارکیٹ میں دس روپیہ پر کنٹرول کی گئی ہے اور ایک شخص جس کو ضرورت ہوتی ہے وہ اس کے پاس جا کر دس روپیہ کے بجائے بیس روپیہ دیتا ہے اور اس کے گھر پر لگی لا کر کہتا ہے کہ یہ نقد روپیہ لے لو اور مجھکو یہ چیز دیدو۔ تو جب اس آدمی کو یہ temptation دی جائے تو کہا وہ کہیں اس کو چھوڑ سکتا ہے۔

کہا میں آریہیل مسٹر سے یہ پوچھ سکتا ہوں کہا انکی نظر میں پٹرول میں بلیک مارکیٹ نہیں کہا گیا۔ اگر ایک چیز میں بلیک مارکیٹ کرنا جرم ہے تو وہ سب چیزوں کے لئے جرم ہے۔ دہلی کے متعلق معزز ممبران کو تجربہ ہوا کہ بہت سے دن لوگوں کو چارل ہی ملتے ہیں اور گندم یا آٹا نہیں ملتا ہے اور اگر کسی کے گھر میں آ جائے تو وہ اسکو یہ نہیں کہہ سکتا ہے کہ روٹی کھاؤ۔ تو ان حالات میں moral اور moral stamina کو بگاڑنے کے لئے کنٹرول کے علاقہ اور کوئی چیز نہیں ہے۔ اسلئے ان حالات کو مدنظر رکھتے ہوئے کنٹرول کو ہٹا دینا چاہئے۔ گزشتہ سال کنٹرول کو قائم رکھنے کے لئے اس ہاؤس کی اتنی زبردست feeling تھی کہ جب راجہ صاحب

جو کہ اسوقت Industries and supply کے ملسترو انچارج تھے۔ انہیں debate کا جواب دینا مشکل ہو گیا تھا۔ اور اس درمیانی عرصہ میں اس کا کیا اثر ہوا ہے وہ ہم سب کو معلوم ہے۔ اس دیکھنے کی سب سے بڑی طاقت مہاتما گاندھی اب جو کہ ہمیشہ ملک کے رت کو دیکھتے ہیں۔ نے فیصلہ کیا ہے کہ کنٹرول کو ختم کرنا چاہئے لیکن کنٹرول سے ان چیزوں کی supply نہیں رہ سکتی اور نہ تھیک Distribute ہوا نہ ہو سکتا ہے اسلئے کنٹرول ختم کر دئے جائیں۔

میں نہایت ادب سے نریہل ملسترو کی خدمت میں عرض کرونگا کہ یہاں پر ایسے حالات پیدا ہو سکتے ہیں جن سے کہ food اور cloth کافی پیدا ہو سکتا ہے اور لوگوں کی موجودہ تکالیف دور ہو سکتی ہیں اور لوگ ان سے بچ سکتے ہیں۔

(English translation of the above speech)

Fundit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): Mr. Speaker. Sir. Discussions have taken place here on control over cloth, yarn and other commodities. I want to speak today on an item which is in no way less important than cloth or yarn. I like to say, Sir, that controls can only be successful if the Demand and Supply of commodities are also controlled. If the equilibrium of demand and supply is not balanced the result is bound to be what we have witnessed, ourselves. When we want to impose control over certain things, we must study the positions of their supply and the demand; the control over an item should be regulated according to these two factors. What is going on at this time is that either the demand for an item decreases or its supply increases. This is the case with all things except those which are scarce in India.

If it is said that there is a shortage of food in this country and if they cannot be supplied to every individual according to his wants, then, I think this should form the basis on which these things should be brought under control. If it is said about cloth that its 'production' is less than its 'demand', and that for its 'equitable distribution' it is required to be controlled, I think, there is some justification. But have we not had bitter experiences with these who are entrusted with the responsibility of balancing this "Natural equilibrium"? A few years back the Government of India launched the "Grow More Food Campaign". After a few years of its inception the hon'ble minister incharge stated before this House that this campaign had failed to achieve its object. About cloth a big manufacturer has said that its supply this year has been less than before. He suggests that the control over the cloth should be continued. This manufacturer says that it is not possible to increase the supply of cloth. It has been proved that the cloth control has not helped to increase its supplies.

The second thing about the system of controls is—and this even the most insensitive Indian can feel—that in this country corruption has become too rampant to be described in words. I may say that in all my life I have not come across any department which can be compared with the Supply Department, in corruption and inefficiency. I do not know much about Delhi, but I know what sort of malpractices are going on in my district. There is a Civil Supplies Officer whose salary is about four to five hundred rupees per month but he is making not less than ten thousand rupees a month. When this is the condition of the Officer in Charge, what do you think must be the behaviour of the junior officers. The less said about them the better! Their corrupt practices defy description. Nothing is given to the Zamindars according to the rules in force in the cities. Until and unless they grease the palms of

[Pt. Thakur Das Bhargava]

the officers, it is not possible for the villagers to get anything. This is what our system of controls has given us. If we want to control an item, we must see that its supplies are increased. The second effect of the Controls has been that corruption has increased, and this is having a very bad effect on the people. We must take lessons from these two things and abolish controls.

Sir, I have stood up to bring to your notice a particular point. It is this. I want to speak on those things of which India is not short. In spite of the fact that there is no shortage of these things in our country it is not easy for the people to get them. For example, take salt. For the last so many years, in every session of the Assembly, the House has been discussing the policy of the Government for the production and distribution of common salt. I had been thinking that now there would be no necessity for the House to discuss this subject; because by the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi, poor Indians have been relieved of the Salt Tax. During the last session the Honourable the Finance Minister assured the House that people would have no more difficulties in procuring salt. Besides getting it for eating purposes people would also get enough salt for Industrial purposes. The tanners need salt for skins and hides, and the fishermen want it for preserving the fish. These poor men were given hopes that they would get salt easily and at cheaper rates. But now when it has been made a rationed article people have got an opportunity for saying: "Why don't Government impose taxes on air and water? If the Government think that supplies of salt should be rationed, why don't they also ration the supplies of water and air? This will bring more money into the Government treasury". These are remarks which are not made without a cause. India has a coast which is five thousand miles long. Enough salt can be made from the sea water. We have, moreover places where salt is found underground. The presence of salt in these places renders the land there useless for agricultural purposes. On the one hand we have such potentialities, whereas, on the other we find that salt is selling in the black market at rupees three per seer in the U.P. and at rupee one per seer in Delhi. This is very strange. One is surprised to find that salt has been rationed in the face of this thing that it can be manufactured on so large a scale. This reminds me of a Persian sentence, which literally means that whosoever goes into a salt mine comes out with salt all over his person: In other words it means that a dyer cannot dye without dyeing his hands. He who joins bureaucracy is bound to become bureaucratic. The absence of proper arrangements for the supply of a cheap and essential commodity like salt shows a want of imagination, on the part of authorities. I regret to say that those men in whose hands lie our destinies have not realised the difficulties of the public. They do not even care to study these difficulties. I am pained to find that people cannot get salt. I know that this is due to the difficulties in transport. But even after making allowance for this 'difficulty'. I am grieved to find that Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha in this connection has borne no fruit. Have the Indians no right to manufacture salt? Why has the production of salt been controlled? For the imposition of control over salt and for the failure to let people manufacture salt in India, the Government have no answer.

At a distance of about 50 miles from here there is a place in District Gurgaon known as Furrukhnagar. There were pretty big industries for manufacturing salt, and enough salt has been produced there.

An Honourable Member: Sir, salt does not come in the subject matter of the motion.

Fundit Thakur Das Bhargava: If my Honourable friend cares to read the Constitution, he will find written therein "Cloth, Yarn and commodities other than these."

Sir, I was saying that Farrukhnagar produces such a fine quality of salt in such a big quantity as can suffice to meet the demands of two to three crores of people inhabiting this part of the country. Similarly, in the year 1914, and during the last war the district of Hissar produced nitre worth lakhs of rupees. But now we find many difficulties there. This industry has received a big set back on account of the present policy of the Government. Instead of getting encouragement to increase the production of salt people are being discouraged and the production is falling day by day. This sort of control can not be successful. Sir, I have to request, that where salt is present in the ground it should be taken out so that these places are rendered fit for cultivation. This can only be achieved if people are allowed to manufacture salt. I find no reason why the Government should not change its present policy about it. People are dissatisfied all over this country; every body wants that this item should not be controlled.

In my opinion, we should also decontrol food. I belong to a place which is not a deficit area. It is quite likely that I may not be correct. But I will state that if food is decontrolled, the Grow More Food Campaign will also bear fruits, and supplies of every commodity will increase. We are forced to-day to go to the black market for buying even those things which are produced in our own districts. This is deplorable. If the Government consider the black market unlawful they should not pursue a policy which creates circumstances favourable to the Black Market. Care should be taken to see that those factors do not rise on which the black market depends. Sir, I want to say that a man produces a certain thing, for example wheat. Suppose its price has been fixed at Rs. 10/- per maund. Another man who needs wheat goes to the producer's place with an empty cart and offers to buy it there and then by paying cash at the rate of twenty rupees per maund. When the producer is given this temptation, do you think Sir, he will not be tempted? May I ask the Honourable Minister for food if he thinks that foodstuffs have been selling at controlled prices and not in the black market. If it is a crime to sell one thing in the black market, it should be so with all things. My Honourable friends know that in Delhi for many days people have been getting only rice; no wheat or *atta* has been given them. If a man receives a guest, he cannot offer him meals. Nothing can exhaust the 'moral stamina' or spoil the 'morale' of the public more than the existing system of controls. Keeping these things in view, we should, therefore, for the time being, abolish the system of controls. Last year the feelings of the House about the continuation of the controls were so excited that when the then Minister for Industries and Supplies, the Honourable Rajaji rose to answer the debate, it was very difficult for him to speak. What effects it has had on us during the interval which has lapsed between the two Sessions, is not unknown to the Honourable Members. Today even the beacon light of this country, the strongest force of this nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who always cherishes the welfare of the masses, has come to the conclusion that the controls must go for they have neither helped to increase the production nor have they succeeded in making equitable distribution. With great respect I would like to say to the Honourable Minister that such circumstances can arise here as will increase the production of both food and cloth. That will allay the present difficulties of the public and they will get a big relief if these controls are removed.

Shri S. K. Patil (Bombay: General): Sir, I rise to support this cut, particularly because it is meant for raising a discussion on the policy of cloth control. I am not going into the larger question as to whether free economy or controlled economy should be the rule of the administration. Although I am an incorrigible protagonist of free economy. I can conceive circumstances where controlled economy becomes necessary. In 1943-44 cloth control became necessary, as circumstances were such. There was a shortage of cloth and there was a clamour from the poorer people especially that cloth should be controlled and hence the

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control came. I have no quarrel with the control but the trouble is that it is not a question whether the control is good or bad but the real question is: how is the administration of that control? During the last three years if there has been an outstanding example of corruption, and something worse than that in the whole administration, it is in the cloth control and it is not exaggerating facts if people call it a 'scandal'. It is a scandal and to call a spade a spade is no offence at all. From the top to the bottom I really do not know who is free from corruption so far as the management and administration of this cloth control is concerned. Besides there has been so much of confusion in the orders that have been issued from time to time so far as the administration of this control is concerned, that even an educated man hardly understands really what are his rights within the four corners of this control.

I have been associated with this control and its working during the last three years, almost ever since its inception I have found so much confusion and chaos throughout this period, that I am convinced that the time has come when this control ought not to remain even for a day longer. The resolution of the A.I.C.C. has been quoted. I am aware that the resolution gives a caution that the controls have got to be lifted without detriment to the public good. I do understand that. It may apply to food and other necessities of life. But so far as the control of cloth is concerned, the way that it is administered in this country, the sooner it goes the better. There will be no detriment to the public good. I can give you some instances about my city, the City of Bombay which is the main city from where most of the cloth comes. This control is operated in a very funny manner there. There have been loopholes everywhere. Wherever you go you find an exception and therefore it becomes confusing to know what the rule is. In our city apart from the quota holders who are given the cloth—and how these quota holders operate this cloth is a known thing and I will not dilate upon it—in addition to these, every millowner is given half per cent of the cloth production to be used in any manner he likes, namely for himself, for the shareholders, for his friends and so on. Whenever a millowner is caught in possession of cloth he can always point out that it is out of that half per cent which he has got. Nobody knows whether any account is maintained of all this—possibly some account is maintained. The system varies from place to place. In Bombay you have to declare how you are going to use that half per cent. In Ahmedabad no such restriction exists. So there is no uniformity as to how that half per cent is to be used. I do not object to giving half per cent to the millowner. Give him even 5 per cent if he is made answerable as to how he is going to use it and if some control is exercised on his discretion. But no control is exercised. There is control on everything but absolutely no control on those who are exercising this control and who are supposed to manage and administer it.

There is another very funny provision in this control so far as the city of Bombay is concerned. I do not know what conventions obtain elsewhere. In addition to the 10 yards of cloth which is permissible to every man, a worker in the mill industry is allowed 18 yards per head for himself and for all his dependents. Luckily, Sir, a majority of us are Hindus and you can imagine how many dependents there can be in a joint family in Hindu society. I mean the number of nephews and nieces. There is no rule anywhere as to who are the dependents of a worker with the result that if the quarter of a million of our workers, which is the full complement of the textile workers, have each got 10 dependents—they may even have more. I do not know—it will come to millions and millions of yards of cloth in addition to the 10 yards of cloth per head which is permissible under the controlling order. What is the result of it? You have been saying that there have been corruption and demoralisation in the higher society. Leave alone the higher society who can digest the corruption and who are answerable to their God. But to the people who have had no

opportunities of corruption you are throwing them in their way by saying 'if you like, take 18 yards more because you are a worker'. I quite understand the justification for that decision. Why should they not get a little more than the others? But what is the result of giving that cloth in such a large quantity? On an average a man will have four to ten dependents. Even on the basis of four, for a quarter of a million people it comes to something like a million people. And multiplying it by 18 you get something like 2 crores of yards of cloth which is freely going into the market. The result is if the cloth is issued just now the next morning you can find it in the black market. In this connection I should mention the suggestion which I made to a very high government official. I said "You are giving the prices of controlled articles in the Gazette. Why not give the black market prices also in the Gazette so that people can understand this is the control price and this is the black market price". Let the law of supply and demand operate even in black market, so that those poor victims who have to resort to the black market will have the advantage of choosing between two people from whom to buy. There are markets in the city of Bombay where you can go and make any purchase—I am not talking of the markets of the quota holders but I am coming to the last stratum of society from which you did not expect this sin, because there were no opportunities for them of committing it. Having thrown this temptation you find there is so much of cloth going. If you go to these markets and say that you want a particular brand of cloth, so many yards, even thousand yards, by tomorrow 8 o'clock, within 24 hours, you can have it for the black market price. Therefore, these are all the things that you find as a result of the control. The administration is so rotten—I do not know what is not rotten about it. If anything has remained un-rotten, by the time you finish this control the whole thing will be rotten. There will be nothing to choose from top to bottom.

Let us not confuse ourselves and confuse the main issue as if there is a war between controlled economy and free economy. Honourable Members on the Government benches also make a plea that when the times are difficult the economy has to be controlled. I agree it has to be controlled. But at the time of instituting the control you must know that the machinery that you are employing is a machinery that is charged with the highest integrity, that it is an honest machinery that administers it. If there are faults here and there it is pardonable, but when the whole machinery is rotten what is to be done? There was a question in respect of the Rationing Department in our city—in some other department and not cloth, but the illustration is quite apt for it also—that the congress should supply some volunteers to go round from house to house to check up whether the cards issued really bore any proportion to the actual number of people existing. Naturally I said 'Very well; I can help the Government; what is wrong in it; it is a social service; why not give volunteers in order to have a check-up of those cards?' But within an hour I got a telephone from the President of the Union who controls these men. He asked 'Is it true that you have promised a thousand volunteers to the Government in order to help them in checking up the number of cards?' I said 'Yes, what is wrong about it?' He said 'There is everything wrong'. I at once smelt the rat. I could understand what was wrong, namely that if our volunteers went and made a check-up they would realize that there were more cards than there were persons. Sir, population is growing more in our ration cards than actually. I give this merely as an illustration. There is not only a card for food ration in our city, but that is also a card for cloth ration. In our city where there is a population of about 28 lakhs there are 35 lakhs of cards, and these additional 7 lakh cards are characterised as ghost cards because the holders in respect of them are not actually existing. Imagine, if in an administration where there are thousands of people working including so many officers getting astounding rates of pay but who are yet demanding every day more and more pay, a city could not be

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managed and outside this 28 lakhs cards there are 7 lakh of ghost cards both in food ration and cloth ration, then you can very well understand the quality of the administration that you have set in motion. I do not blame you. You are not responsible for setting it in motion and you cannot even improve it. If there was a little patch somewhere, you can improve it. But when the whole thing has gone wrong and is rotten it is beyond improvement. The only thing that can improve it is a clear-cut operation and that is immediate de-control. It is no matter what happens as a result thereof. If anything happens the society will adjust itself to it. But here the administration has come to a point where it is absolutely impossible to improve it so far as the operation of these controls is concerned. Therefore the sooner cloth is de-controlled the better. It is not merely for the sake of argument that I am suggesting this. If the greatest hardships are to be borne by the masses it is not because of the shortages but because of these controls as a result of which there is the unequal match between the rich and the poor. They cannot stand against the rich when the administration becomes as rotten as it has become. The remedy is de-control.

Sir, with these words I support the cut motion moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Saksena.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee (Minister for Industry and Supply): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the last speaker has analysed the situation in a very realistic manner. I believe, Sir, the question before the House is not whether control as a system is good or bad, but whether the control system has got to be withdrawn in view of the manner in which it is being worked in the country today. I can at once remove, Sir, one impression from the minds of my friends. Since last year Government has withdrawn control over 105 commodities, and at present control exists with regard to only a few items. Perhaps Honourable Members would be interested to know what the items exactly are. First is iron and steel, second is cloth and yarn, third is coal, fourth is paper, which is only partially controlled now. These are the items which fall within the Ministry of Industry and Supply. There are three items which fall within the Ministry of Works, Mines and Power, and also partially Railways, namely motor spirit, kerosene and mica. With regard to all other items, control has been withdrawn. So far as salt is concerned, I felt rather curious when I was hearing the speaker. The Salt Control Order has not yet been put into force, and whatever has been happening in different parts of India due to the scarcity of salt has been in absence of the Salt Control Order and not on account of it. In fact the difficulties which my honourable friend was pointing out, I believe, lead to the conclusion that the Salt Control Order should be imposed at once and rigorously applied in different parts of the country. I shall however deal with the salt matter and give certain facts and figures before the House later on. But let me come back, Sir, to the main items which are now under control. So far as iron and steel are concerned, I have not heard anything from any member yet. I do not wish to speak much on this item, but I would just point out that today India's capacity for production comes up to 1,250,000 tons per year. Our need, Sir, is between 2 and 2½ million tons per year, but actually we are producing between 800,000 and 900,000 tons per year. That is a bare statement of fact. So far as the import position is concerned, this year we budgeted for 150,000 tons to be imported. Unfortunately we have got only about 15,000 tons. So there is no doubt that there exists an overall scarcity of iron and steel in the country. In these circumstances I do not think anyone would suggest in this House that iron and steel should be decontrolled immediately.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: But there is great corruption in its control.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: It is suggested that there is great corruption in the working of the administration. Now, Sir, with regard to the method of distribution in respect of iron and steel and corruption generally. I shall welcome any constructive suggestions which Members of the House may make. Now let us look at the matter from a practical standpoint. Mr. Patil said, and so many other Members have said, that there is a lot of corruption, so that although control may be desirable and necessary, on account of corruption we must decontrol. This is like the argument of the man who may say that since in spite of the Indian Penal Code, there are lots of murder cases going on in the country which you cannot check, let us abolish the Indian Penal Code itself and let people commit murder as much as they choose. If you feel that control is necessary in respect of certain commodities, we must have the courage and the capacity to put up a machinery which will be beyond criticism. Government is fully prepared to do it. Whatever might have happened in the past, we might have felt helpless and only thrown discredit or blame at this or that other officer—since the 15th of August 1947, when we claim to have taken full control over the affairs of our country, it does not lie in our mouth to say that although in respect of a particular commodity control is necessary, we are not fit to administer this control, and therefore we should run away from our duty. Sir, as the Minister responsible for this department I would suggest to every Member of the House, and indeed to others outside this House to give us concrete instances of corruption, and if after that you find that Government is slow to proceed against an individual, no matter whether he is high or low, you can come and criticize the Government.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya (Madras: General): That is not our business, Sir.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: It may not be the business of the Member who interrupted, but I believe, Sir, it is the business of every responsible citizen, who comes to know of any specific instance of corruption not to keep it within his own mind but at any rate confidentially to inform the Government as to what it is about. I ask here for full co-operation and I did not expect a veteran leader like Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya to get up and say that it is not his business to help the Government to eradicate the evil.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: Because you throw the burden upon the opposite party.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: No, Sir. I am quite sure the Honourable Member will be protected. We do not wish to drag him into a court of law, against his will. We can hold an enquiry.

Shri Biswanath Das (Orissa: General): I should like to know the sort of illustration in corruptive method that the Honourable Minister wants. We are fully willing to co-operate with him, but what is the sort of instance that he wants? There are various kinds of instances. . .

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: I would like to have all kinds of instances. If the Honourable Member has information which he thinks would lead to some result, we shall welcome it,—not only Ministers, but also responsible officials in charge of the departments concerned. Now Sir, let me proceed with the other facts.

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Ishaq Seth (Madras: Muslim): The Honourable Minister referred to protection being given to the man who gave information. I was not clear about what he said.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: What I said was that if the matter goes to a court of law and if the Honourable Member is cited as a witness, the question of protection arises, but in many cases information may be

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sent to the department of suspected cases where there is a *prima facie* evidence before the Member and we shall not shirk enquiry being made into such allegations.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena (U. P.: General): Is the Honourable Member aware that definite instances were published in the newspapers? What action has been taken on them?

Mr. Speaker: The Honourable Minister need not reply to all these interruptions now, otherwise there will be no end to them.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: I shall next come to coal. Now with regard to coal, there also quite naturally no one has suggested that control should be withdrawn at the present stage. On account of various difficulties, and particularly on account of transport difficulties, it is not possible for us to utilise coal to the best advantage of the country, and therefore some sort of regulated control is necessary.

I am not referring to paper, Sir, because practically that is decontrolled except with regard to paper which is manufactured in India. But there also it is interesting to find that while our annual capacity comes to about 120,000 tons, we are actually producing between 85,000 and 90,000 tons.

I therefore come back to the main item which has been discussed since yesterday, and that is with regard to textile control. Mr. Patil pointed out that in 1943 control was necessary in view of the shortage in the country. There was clamour from the consumers, there was clamour from P.M. different sections of the people, and therefore control had to be imposed. I have before me, Sir, the total production figures in India since 1938. It appears in 1943 India produced 4,715 million yards of mill-cloth. That quantity was not apparently sufficient to meet the requirements of the people. Now, this year.

Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri (Assam: General): May I know how much of these millions of yards was only bandages and *patties*? Many mills in 1942 and 1943 gave up producing *dhoties* and shirts and were busy in making only bandages and *patties* for troops.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: So far as the military requirements are concerned, I have not got the exact figure—it will be about 600 million yards. But I am giving you an overall picture. In 1943, the year in which control was imposed, India was producing mill-made cloth to the extent of 4,715 million yards of which six to seven hundred million yards were to be consumed for military purposes. Now, today our production has gone down; it has come to 4,000 million yards. It might be a little less this year.

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa: What was it last year?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: I am talking of last year.

Mr. 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 re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock.
Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Marlandkar) in the Chair.*

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: Sir, I was placing before the House the production figures during the year control was imposed. A question was raised as to what was the quantity which was taken for defence purposes during this period. I have got here a complete statement of the production for the years from 1935-36 to 1946 and also the figures for export and for defence purposes. It appears that in 1943-44, the year in which control was imposed, India had a balance of 5,470 million yards of cloth, including

handloom and mill-made, for distribution amongst the population. Now, that compares very unfavourably with 1946 figures. In 1946, the total quantity available for distribution amongst the civilian population was 4,888 million yards. In other words, if Mr. Patil's proposition was correct, that there was ample justification for having control over textiles in 1943, my submission is that the situation in the country so far as production goes has not improved—rather, it has deteriorated.

Then, Sir, a question was raised as regards the production in recent months. I have got here a complete account of production by the mills from 1946 January right up to 1947 October. It appears, Sir, that after control was introduced in 1943, production increased for the first year and very slightly decreased next year. Then from 1946 onwards, production started decreasing more rapidly. What the reasons are, I need not dilate upon. They are well known to the members of the House. There were communal disturbances. There were the 8-hours day programme, strikes and other difficulties coming in the way of larger production.

Now, it has been said by my friend Shri Khandubhai Desai who is an acknowledged authority on the subject that the mills are making enormous profits. That is true. But here also, I have not been able to see the exact logic of the argument—if the mills are today making enormous profits inspite of control, how will the mills be prevented from making more profit if control is withdrawn? For instance, I am taking from Shri Khandubhai Desai's pamphlet certain illuminating figures. In 1943, the year in which control was imposed, the gross profit was Rs. 109 crores for the textile industry in its entirety. The net profit, however, was Rs. 21 crores because of taxation and other considerations. In 1944, the profit decreased to Rs. 85 crores. As soon as the control started operation, the profit also started decreasing. The net profit was Rs. 18 crores for 1944. In 1945 the gross profit was Rs. 61 crores and net profit Rs. 13 crores. In 1946 the gross profit was estimated at Rs. 41 crores and net profit Rs. 9 crores.

Shri K. Santhanam (Madras: General): May I ask if this was due to price reduction or some other cause?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: I am not saying that it was due entirely to price reduction. What I am saying is that the reduction in profit followed the introduction of control, and if control is withdrawn then profits are likely to increase.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad (West Bengal: Muslim): There are secret profits.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: I am talking of open profits. I have no access to the secret profits of the mills.

Now, Sir, let me emphasise here that the present Government is not enamoured of control as such. Far from it. We accept the principle that de-control should be introduced as soon as circumstances permit. Here, the prime consideration is the welfare of the masses of the people. We have made an experiment with de-control of sugar. Within 24 hours of the unofficial announcement—the order of de-control has not yet been officially announced by the Government of India—prices jumped up from Rs. 20-8-0 to nearly Rs. 40 to 50. Now, who was responsible for this?

An Honourable Member: Speculators.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: Quite so, speculators. If by a sudden de-control we would help in the reign of lawlessness otherwise by speculators, that will be a matter which I know the House will certainly not like. But look at the manufacturers themselves. Only yesterday they came out with a statement that the price will go up to Rs. 35. So the net result of de-control of sugar, according to the manufacturers themselves, would be an increase of nearly 80 per cent. I do not ignore the fact that it is proposed to

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increase the price of sugar-cane from Rs. 1-4 to Rs. 1-12 or Rs. 2, which means 60 per cent. more. But the immediate increase relates mostly to existing stocks.

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma (U. P.: General): May I know, Sir, if that would not encourage the growing of commercial crops and thus not redound upon the success of our "Grow More Food Campaign"?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: It is not for me to go into that question, but I just mentioned it as an illustration of the danger which might follow if de-control is effected without a proper guarantee that speculators, manufacturers or traders or the middlemen will not take advantage of such de-control and allow the prices to rise up to such an extent that it will put the man-in-the-street in extreme difficulty.

Now, Sir, let me come to the present scheme of Government regarding the textile industry. My friend, Mr. Saksena, pointed out in his speech to Mr. Vadilal's schemes which he had suggested to my predecessor, Mr. Rajagopalachari. That scheme was in the nature of standardizing the production of cloth. I need not go into details, Sir, but I can tell the House that Government had already appointed an *ad hoc* Committee for the purpose of going into this question. What is the main question? The main question is to increase production. This question was gone into by the *ad hoc* Committee and the *ad hoc* Committee recommended that production of cloth should be standardized. There should be less production of finer cloths and more production of medium cloth so that in quantity we can have more supplies for distribution among the masses of the people. That report was discussed with representatives of the industry and accepted by Government with some modification. The question then arose that if mills were asked to produce these standardized varieties, there would be some loss over the production of the medium and the coarser type of cloth; the demand was made by the Industry that price of cloth should be increased. The present Government was not satisfied that the increase was going to affect all the mills. In fact, I tried in vain to obtain definite figures as to how many mills were going to lose by the adoption of the standardized scheme. Some said that it would be only ten per cent; some others said that it would be 20 or 30 per cent. Government, therefore felt, that it would be undesirable to allow a general increase of prices in cloth which would go to benefit a large number of mills, who are already making huge profits, on the pretext of subsidising a small number of mills who might perhaps lose on account of having given effect to the standardized scheme. What is the decision that Government reached? Government decided that immediate steps should be taken to speed up production. Therefore, Government called upon the Textile Industry to adopt this standardized scheme. At the same time, Government assured the Industry that while the Government was not going to allow a general increase of prices, they will be prepared to have this question examined by the Tariff Board, as allegations were made that the *ad hoc* Committee had not examined the detailed working of a sufficiently large number of mills. After that is done, Government would decide on the question of increase in price.

Now, here it came to our notice that there were certain defects in the present system which required alteration. One Honourable Member referred to the Quota-holder system. Now the quota-holders used to get about 3 per cent. commission, which meant nearly about 9 crores of Rupees, which many thought was unjustifiable. Government therefore reduced the quota-holders' percentage from 3 to 1½. This has already been announced to come into effect from the 1st January 1948.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: That is too high.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: Some, I know consider this also high. We are considering whether we cannot abolish the quota-holder system altogether and allow the ordinary trade channels to flow as they formerly used to do. That also is a matter which is under investigation, but I am giving you facts which would go to show in which direction the policy of the present Government is moving. I was impressed by the arguments which were put forward by my friend, Mr. Khandubhai Desai, as also the Mover of the amendment, that Government might consider the question of having control over production alone and withdraw control so far as distribution and prices go. That is a matter which has already occurred to us, and I can say this without disclosing any secret, because there is no secret between the Government and the House so far as this matter is concerned. I have already taken up that matter for examination. That I believe, Sir, will be a fair *via media*. Some sort of control over production is necessary. Now Government is today faced with a charge which is brought forward by a large number of consumers and also from Labour that the mills are producing much more, but that has not come into the open market. That allegation has been made on the floor of this House here yesterday and today. I was trying to compare the total quantity of cotton that has been used and the total quantity of cloth that is produced according to the open market figures, and roughly speaking approximately one co-relates to the other, but, of course, it is very difficult to arrive at a correct figure. Now on this important question, what has the Government done? Government has decided and that also has been announced that Unit Production Committees will be appointed in respect of each mill. I will request the House to examine the potentiality of such a step which Government has taken for the first time in this country. In England such Unit Production Committees are functioning. Our object is that with each mill will be associated a Unit Production Committee on which representatives of Labour and also all representative experts from the mills will sit, and it will be their function to see that there is no wastage or leakage so far as production goes. I have asked the Industry to accept in good spirit this decision of ours. Industry did not like it, but I pointed out that instead of allowing the cleavage to grow between the employer and the labour, it is much better, if there is nothing to be hidden by the Industry, for it to agree to accept such a Committee, so that within a few months we can see whether really there is any leakage or any wastage or not. My idea is that over and above such Unit Production Committees we can set up Regional Committees, so that on the question of production there will be one over-all policy within a particular region. We can also have Provincial Committees and an All India Committee to control production of mill cloth in the country. So far as methods of distribution are concerned, Government will re-consider any points that may be raised and I am going to consult Provincial Governments and the Standing Committee on this matter. We do want some sort of direction to continue so far as *ad hoc* distribution among the Provinces goes. Now, it is well known that there are certain Provinces in India which produce the bulk of the textile cloth. Bombay Presidency produces nearly 70 per cent; Bengal used to give us some previously but now a number of mills has gone into Eastern Pakistan; in the United Provinces there is some production; Madras also has considerable production so far as handloom cloth is concerned. Now, is it not desirable that in the initial stage, at any rate, there should be some direction given that a certain minimum quantity must flow into each province, so that Provinces like Orissa, C.P. or other Provinces which are deficient may not find themselves in considerable difficulty? Supposing Bombay will allow 18 or 20 yards per head to the people of Bombay Presidency, then obviously that may seriously affect the position of people living in other provinces. If we can carry both together, if we can set up a machinery which will ensure that production will speed up and at the same time if there can be some sort of general directive given

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as regards the minimum cloth which is to flow to each Province, the rest we can leave to the mills and to the normal trade channels. Even now, Sir, the Central Government has nothing to do with regard to detailed provincial distribution. The detailed distribution of cloth and yarn within the Province is a matter which has to be decided by the Provincial Government itself.

My Honourable friend spoke today about ghost ration cards in Bombay. Obviously that is not a thing with which the Central Government has anything to do; whether ghosts exist in Bombay or not is a matter which Mr. Patil should settle in consultation with his own provincial Government over which he has full control. We do not like ghosts anywhere, whether in Bombay or Delhi or in any other part of the country. But I am saying that even today there is decentralisation to a very considerable extent. The Central Government through its Textile Commissioner allots a quota to the provinces and the rest is left in the hands of the provinces themselves. For instance, as regards the 18 yards which were given to mill workers, I went into that question. The answer which I got was that if mill workers were not given this extra quota it will be difficult to make them produce more. These are local matters which have to be properly adjusted. But I may go back again to my original proposition that if there is an all-out effort for increasing production, all these questions will disappear in no time. In fact this is a matter which affects not the textile industry alone. We are calling the Industries' Conference to meet here on the 15th and 16th December. India is today really on the brink of a precipice; we are facing a very grave economic crisis. With regard to almost every industry that matters we are producing much less than what we should; and unless we can put our heads together and produce to the maximum of our capacity I see before me very dark days indeed. That is a matter which depends on the co-operation of the industries themselves, of labour, of the people, and a forward policy to be pursued by the Central Government and the provincial Governments. I had a talk with representatives of industries; they sometimes are apt to throw the entire blame on labour, and labour is apt to throw the entire blame on industry. (But it will not do for us to tolerate the continuance of such a state of affairs. The industries also must recognise that labour has to be satisfied in a reasonable manner, because after all without the full co-operation of labour no capitalist and no industrialist can produce anything, not even Sir Padampat Singhania or Sir J. P. Srivastava. We are therefore considering this question as to how we can have a proper adjustment made so that during the next few years at any rate we can have no strikes, no lock outs and no interference with our normal production and we can give India the most that we can produce.

Sir, I hope my Honourable friend Mr. Saksena, in view of the assurance that I have given that Government is fully aware of the volume of public opinion which exists on the question of future control of textiles, will withdraw his motion and will help us in evolving a policy which will make it possible for us to produce more and also to withdraw the restrictions that now exist as soon as possible.

With regard to the reduction of staff, when I heard from my Honourable friend Mr. Saksena yesterday about the 10 or 12 pages of names of officers which he found in the Telephone Directory, I went and found out from my office that in the last two years there has been a reduction of 66 per cent. in the total staff of the Industries and Supplies Ministry. I believe the Honourable Member will allow at least one-third of the personnel to continue; otherwise whatever we are doing will not be possible for us to do. So far as the question of corruption is concerned, of course only vague allegations have been made; no specific case has been mentioned, and it breaks my heart to think that all these allegations that we make here or

outside are not today directed against any foreigner; whatever allegation is made is against our own countrymen. In fact it is not officers alone. Mr. Patil rightly pointed out that the 18 yards of cloth per head which are going to thousands and thousands of workers are not being utilised for their own use but that all that is going straight into the black market where a prevailing price already rules. If these allegations are true, if ghost ration cards are moving about from one part of the country to another, if workers get their cloth and do not use it for their own purposes and send it to the black market, obviously there is something rotten in our own country and we have got to set our own house in order. If critics have an opportunity of criticising us perhaps they may also say things which may put us to shame; it is no use our making vague allegations about corruption. Corruption is one of the many war legacies and we have to tackle it. As I said at the beginning, Government do not want to encourage corruption in any form or shape whatever. We can put up a machinery for the purpose of receiving complaints. If any specific information is sent to us I can give this assurance that we shall not hesitate to go into that matter and we shall spare no one, however high or low he may be placed.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: What about the Disposals Department?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: So far as the Disposals Department is concerned, I do not think that comes within the purview of this motion. But I can correct one misunderstanding. The other day I gave that information about aeroplanes but the officer concerned is not in the Department of Disposals but belongs to the Department of Communications. I am saying so for the reason that I have received a number of communications on that matter from various people. However, that is a question which we may go into at some other time.

An Honourable Member: There is joint responsibility.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: Government, this House and the people are all jointly responsible for the present state of affairs.

Sir, with regard to salt I think there has been some misunderstanding. Salt is not under control now. As is known to Honourable Members, it was under the Finance Ministry as a revenue paying commodity; now of course it has been transferred to my Ministry for the purpose of increasing production and securing better distribution. There is no salt control as such. We passed a Salt Control Order only a few days ago and that is how my Honourable friend Mr. Bhargava's intervention in the debate became relevant. During the last few months there was a decrease in production in the west coast, that is a fact which is well known and it appeared in the papers. There was a shortage of shipping in pending imports, then there was a deadlock regarding transport, arising out of difficulties regarding locomotives and wagons; salt manufactured in Pakistan also ceased to come; and last but not the least, all this gave ample temptation to the profiteers to make hay while the sun shines.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena (U. P.: General): In view of the importance of salt could not all these difficulties be overcome and this most essential article of people's diet be made available to them?

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: That is exactly what we have done; the position is gradually improving now. I have got the details but I do not wish to go into them now; I can very briefly say that in the last two months transport has improved from 90 wagons to 160 wagons to the U.P.; it was that province and part of Bihar which informed us that the situation there had assumed serious proportions. And the latest report which I got only two days ago from the various provinces enables me to say that the salt position has considerably improved and now salt is being distri-

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buted in different parts of the country in a much better way than it used to be done about a couple of months ago.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: A fortnight back it was selling at Rs. 2 a seer in the Gorakhpur district of the U.P.

The Honourable Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee: As against that I may refer to other districts where the prices have gone down. In fact I have made an analysis of 88 districts in the U.P. and I find that increase has taken place in only about 8 or 9 places; but the prices are steadily going down in view of the larger supply of salt which is now coming forward.

Briefly the salt position is this. We produce about 5½ crore maunds of salt in India whereas we require according to present calculations about 3 crore maunds; so there is a shortage of 50 lakh maunds, which we are now importing. Of course so far as the production of salt in India is concerned, that occupies one of the most dark and dismal chapters in Indo-British relationship. The way in which the salt industry was destroyed in India was indeed shameful. That was done deliberately for the purpose of bringing foreign salt into India. In fact in my own province of Bengal, as you know, up till 1861 nearly 60 lakh maunds of salt used to be manufactured, and since 1862 practically nothing has been produced except a small quantity which is produced for local consumption,—just a few lakh maunds which can be deemed as negligible. But the policy of the present Government is fully to implement the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi who was responsible

3 P. M. for the withdrawal of the salt duty. Now the Salt Control Order has been published—or is going to be published in a day or two. Here is a matter in respect of which Government has taken the power to control if necessary, not that Government is going to control everywhere. But Government thought this was such an important matter, which affected the daily lives of millions of India's population, that Government must have a centralised policy so that the people might be benefited by a larger production of salt. Our decision is to manufacture salt within India under Government aegis wherever possible on a large scale. We shall also allow private enterprise to develop under a licensed system. We are extremely anxious that the quality of salt must be preserved and also raised. We shall also allow every private individual to manufacture salt for his own consumption or for local consumption, as is being done in different parts of India. I have no doubt that if Government and private enterprise combined together for producing salt and improving its quality, within two or three years we shall be able to produce all that we require.

Here, as the House may be interested to know, our *per capita* consumption today is only 12 lbs. as against the average world figure of 30 lbs. While we take our average consumption as 12 lbs. we do not take into consideration consumption for agricultural purposes, specially for consumption by cattle. Our cattle—who counted them I do not know, but I am told—are about 20 crores in number in India. If they have to be, or if a portion of them have to be supplied with salt for improving our agricultural conditions, then we require a larger production of salt and that Government intends to have. This is a matter for which we shall have to work in co-operation with some of the States. My friend the Prime Minister of Jaipur is one of the main persons who will be involved in this matter and I have discussed this with him and also with the Maharaja of Jodhpur. I am assured of co-operation from various States. Whatever the States may say of not allowing the Indian Union Government to interfere, except with regard to defence, foreign relations and communications, at any rate with regard to salt there is complete unanimity of opinion that India must be treated as one country and produce all the salt that she can.

With these words I would now suggest that my Honourable friend may withdraw the motion.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: In deference to the wish of the Honourable Minister, I seek the permission of the House to withdraw my cut motion.

Mr. Speaker: Has the Honourable Member permission to withdraw his cut motion?

The cut motion was by leave of the Assembly withdrawn.

DEMAND No. 21.—MINISTRY OF COMMERCE

The Honourable Shri B. K. Shanmukham Chetty (Minister for Finance):
Sir, I move:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 28,13,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of ‘Ministry of Commerce.’”

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 28,13,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of ‘Ministry of Commerce.’”

There are two cut motions. They deal with the same subject—one more general and the other more restrictive. I would like both to be moved so that the discussion may be common.

Corruption in working of Import and Export Licensing

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta (Delhi): Before moving the cut motion, may I seek your permission to correct a typographical error which escaped my attention. The last word “Board” has to be dropped and I would further seek your permission to permit me to enlarge the scope of the discussion. It is really speaking the Commerce Ministry which is under discussion. So it should not be restricted to imports. It may apply to export also. Sir, I move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Ministry of Commerce’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Mr. Speaker: I will put this motion to the House. Then after the Finance Minister has moved Demand No. 10 the Cut Motion of Mr. Naziruddin Ahmed may be moved and then discussion may proceed on both the motions.

Cut motion moved:

“That the demand under the head ‘Ministry of Commerce’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

DEMAND No. 10 —CABINET

The Honourable Shri B. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Sir, I move:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,63,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of ‘Cabinet.’”

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,63,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of ‘Cabinet.’”

Corruption in Government Departments

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: Sir, I move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Cabinet’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Mr. Speaker: Cut motion moved:

“That the demand under the head ‘Cabinet’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

شری دیھو بلدھو گھتا : جلاب صدر ! مہرے لائق دوست ڈاکٹر شام پرشاد مکر جی نے ابھی آپے جوابی تقریر میں ہاؤس کی توجہ اس طرف کھینچی ہے کہ ہمیں اس بات کا خیال رکھنا چاہئے کہ ہمارے ملنے سے کوئی ایسی بات نہ نکلے جس کی وجہ سے سارے ملک کی ندامت ہو۔ میں قائم مقام کامرس منسٹر اور دیگر آنریبل ممبروں کو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ نہ صرف مجھکو بلکہ ہاؤس کے ہر ایک ممبر جب کبھی کسی متحکمہ کی corruption کیطرف کورنٹ کی توجہ دلائی پڑتی ہے تو اس سے خوشی حاصل نہیں ہوتی۔ آج جبکہ اتنے سالوں کی جدوجہد کے بعد ہمارا ملک آزاد ہوا ہے۔ اور آزاد ملک کے اس آزاد پارلیمنٹ میں پہلا بجٹ پیش کیا گیا ہے اچھا ہوتا کہ ہم میں سے کسی کو کسی تیارنٹ کے متعلق اس طرح کی شکایت نہ ہوتی۔ اور انگلی اٹھا کر یہ کہنا نہ پڑتا کہ فلاں تیارنٹ میں کریشن اور inefficiency ہے۔ جناب! میں آپکو یقین دلاتا ہوں کہ آج کامرس تیارنٹ کے متعلق یہ کٹ موشن move کرنے کا موقع دیا گیا۔ اسکی مجھے کوئی خوشی نہیں ہے۔ اب سے پیشتر مہرے لائق دوست جو اب وزرات کے بلچوں پر بیٹھے ہیں وہ اپوزیشن بلچوں پر بیٹھا کرتے تھے۔ اور گو اسوقت کے بجٹ کی بحث پر نظر ڈالی جائے تو معلوم ہوگا کہ وہ خود بھی حکومت کیخلاف اس قسم کی تقریریں کیا کرتے تھے۔ جیسی کہ آج اُنکے خلاف کہگئی ہیں میں مانتا ہوں کہ صدیوں کے گناہ دنوں میں نہیں دھوئے جاسکتے لیکن ہمیں تو یہ دیکھنا ہے کہ اس بلڈرہ ماہ کے عرصہ میں جب سے ان حضرات نے حکومت کی باگ ڈور ہاتھ میں لی ہے یعنی بارہ ماہ انگریز حکومت کے اور تین ماہ آزاد حکومت کے وزرا کی حکمت سے انہوں نے ان تمام شکایات کا کس حد تک ازالہ کیا چونکہ ہمیں فہرہ ملکی دوسری حکومت کیخلاف تھیں۔ دیکھنا یہ ہے آیا اب بھی وہ شکایات اسی طرح موجود ہیں یا نہیں۔ مجھے یاد ہے جب ہمارے پرائم منسٹر صاحب جگ کے زمانے میں تقریریں کیا کرتے تھے تو وہ بڑے زور سے کہا کرتے تھے کہ شاید اسقدر کریشن اور inefficiency دنیا کے کسی گورنٹ میں نہیں ہے جسقدر کہ ہندوستان میں ہے۔ اور درحقیقت یہ بات تھی بھی درست لیکن آج اگر ہم ذرا اپنی طرف توجہ کریں تو ہمیں یہ ماننا پڑے گا کہ ملک نے جو آشائیں حکومت سے لگائی تھیں وہ اس عرصہ میں پوری نہیں ہوئیں۔ چنانچہ کل خد آنریبل ممبروں نے اس امر کو تسلیم کیا کہ آج بھی بہت سی وہ باتیں متدرج معام ہوتی ہیں جو وہ اسوقت کہا کرتے تھے جب کہ وہ اپوزیشن کے بلچوں پر بیٹھا کرتے تھے۔ ان حالات میں یہ بات فور طلب ہے کہ اس صورت حالات کو بدلنے کے لئے ہمیں کیا کرنے کی ضرورت ہے۔ یوں تو اسوقت تک ہاؤس میں چلنے بھی out motions پھیں گئے گئے ہیں انکا نچوڑہ ہی ہے کہ تقریباً سب تیارنٹ میں بہت زیادہ کریشن موجود ہے۔ لیکن میں کہتا ہوں کہ کامرس تیارنٹ کی خصوصیت کے ساتھ ایسا تیارنٹ ہے جسکے متعلق ایک نہیں دو نہیں بلکہ سب

کی یہی رائے ہے کہ اس میں بے حد کرپشن اور inefficiency ہے۔ اسکی وجہ شاید یہ ہو کہ اس محکمہ میں اتنی بڑی temptations ہیں کہ بڑے بڑے آدمی بھی اپنی جگہ سے ہل جاتے ہیں اور ایسا محسوس ہونے لگتا ہے کہ خود باز کھپت کو کہا رہی ہے۔ میں یہ بات صاف کر دینا چاہتا ہوں مجھے موجودہ وزارت کی نیت پر کسی قسم کا شک نہیں ہے بلکہ میرے کہنے کا مقصد محض یہ ہے کہ ہمیں سنجیدگی کے ساتھ دیکھنا یہ ہے کہ ہم اپنے ارادوں میں کس حد تک کامیاب ہوئے ہیں اور ہم اس سے آئندہ کیا امید کر سکتے ہیں۔ کامرس ٹیپوگرافی کے بارے میں میں جو کچھ سنتا ہوں اس سے مجھے بہت حیرت ہوتی ہے۔ یہ مہرا special subject نہیں تھا۔ مگر اتفاق سے ایک روز میری نظر ایک اخبار میں شائع شدہ خبر کی طرف لگی جسکا heading تھا وہ کریشن ان کامرس ٹیپوگرافی ہے۔ میں نے اسکو پڑھا اور پوچھنا کی تو پتہ چلا کہ آج کل Export اور امپورٹ لائسنس حاصل کرنے میں لوگوں کو بہت مشکلات پیش آتی ہیں اور محکمہ کے کچھ لوگ اس سلسلہ میں اپنی پوزیشن کا ناجائز فائدہ اٹھا رہے ہیں اور حکومت کے لئے بدنامی کا باعث بنے ہوئے ہیں۔ اس سے پیشتر مہرا خیال نہیں تھا کہ اس محکمہ میں اتنی برائی ہے۔ اگرچہ اخباروں میں اکثر اسکے متعلق کچھ نہ کچھ نکلتا رہتا تھا مگر اب تو ایسا محسوس ہوتا ہے کہ پہاڑ کے چہلکے کی طرح اس محکمہ کا بھی یہ حال ہے جتنا کویدو اتنی ہی زیادہ خرابی نظر آتی ہے۔ آج ہی میرے ایک دوست نے بتایا کہ ایک صاحب کو ایک چھوڑے Export کرنے کے لئے لائسنس ملا، مگر جلدی کی وجہ سے اُسٹھن ایک Zero ٹائپ ہونے سے رہ گیا، جب مال جہاز پر لانے کا موقع آیا تو اُسکو معلوم ہوا کہ لائسنس میں ایک صفر رہ گیا ہے۔ کاغذات سب موجود تھے اور صاف پتہ چلتا تھا کہ یہ صرف Typography کی غلطی ہے۔ جب اس غلطی کو درست کرنے کیلئے دفتر سے کہا گیا تو اسکیلئے دس ہزار روپیہ طلب کیا گیا۔ اس پر ایک آنریبل ممبر کی توجہ اسکی طرف دلائی گئی۔ اُنہوں نے اس معاملہ کو اپنے ہاتھ میں لیا تب کہیں خدا خدا کرکے اُنکی مداخلت سے یہ غلطی تھپک کھنکی۔ اگر آپ آج بستی یا کلکتہ چلے جائیں تو آپ کو معلوم ہوگا کہ وہاں پر کد حالات ہیں۔ آنریبل کامرس ممبر بھی بستی کے ہیں اُنکو بھی معلوم ہی ہوگا کہ وہاں کی یہ حالت ہے کہ اگر وہاں پر کسی کو دس ہزار گز کھڑے کا اکسپورٹ لائسنس ملا ہے تو وہ اُسکو لیکر بازار میں دس ہزار یا آٹھ ہزار روپیہ میں فروخت کر سکتا ہے۔ ایسی صرف ایک instance نہیں ہے بلکہ سینکڑوں مثالیں ایسی ہیں اور یہ کام وہاں پر بازاروں میں کھلے طور پر ہوتا ہے۔ اس سے آپ اندازہ لگا سکتے ہیں کہ دس ہزار گز کھڑے کے export کے پرمٹ کو دس ہزار روپیہ میں بازار میں کھلے طور پر فروخت کیا جاتا ہے تو اس پرمٹ کو حاصل کرنے کے لئے دفتر کے لوگوں پر دو تین ہزار روپیہ خرچ کر دیا جائے تو یہ ایک معمولی بات ہے corruption کا یہ اتنا بڑا دروازہ ہم نے اپنی غلط

[شری دیپھ بلمدھو گوٹا]

پالہسی سے کہو ہا ہے جسکی رو سے اُن لوگوں کو بھی لائسنس دئے جانے چاہئے جو امپورٹ اکسپورٹ کا کام نہیں کرتے۔ افسوس ہے کہ اس پر بھی کوئی توجہ نہیں دی جاتی۔ مجھے موجودہ حکومت کی مشکلات کا اندازہ ہے اور اُس کے ساتھ کافی ہمدردی ہے میں جانتا ہوں اس ڈیپارٹمنٹ کے انچارج منسٹر صاحب کا کام آسان نہیں ہوسکا جمع ہوا ہوا کوزا ایک دن صاف نہیں کیا جا سکتا۔ اس لئے میں اُس سے کسی جادو کی توقع نہیں رکھتا لیکن ہمدوں دیکھنا یہ ہے کہ موجودہ حکومت نے اس چار ماہ کے عرصہ میں اُن حالات کو درست کرنے کے لئے کیا کیا قدم اُٹھائے ہیں اور اس خرابی کو دور کرنے کے لئے کونسی تدبیریں اختیار کی ہیں نیز کونسا ایسا تھلگ سوچا ہے جس سے یہ کرپشن بلمدھو چائے۔ اگر لائق وزیر صاحب شانتی سے اس بات پر فور کرینگے تو انہیں ماننا پوچھا کہ وہ اس سوال کا جواب نفی میں ہے وہ ہاں ہے۔ درحقیقت کامرس ڈیپارٹمنٹ میں import & export لائسنسوں کے بارے صاف اور واضح پالہسی نہ ہونیکے باعث نیز غیر کاروباری آدمیوں کو لائسنس دینے کا طریقہ جاری رکھنے کی وجہ آج corruption انتہا درجہ کو پہنچ گئی ہے اور اتنی بری حالت ہوگئی ہے۔ کہ آپکو دہلی کے ہوٹلوں میں ایسے سہلکروں لوگ پڑے ہوئے ملینگے جو ہر روز کامرس ڈیپارٹمنٹ کے دروازوں پر دستک دیتے ہیں اور کسی نہ کسی طرح لائسنس حاصل کرنا شروع کرتے رہتے ہیں۔ پہلی فسطی ہم سے یہ ہوئی ہے کہ ہم نے ۱۹۳۶ء میں جنرل سٹورٹنگ اپریا کے ملکوں کیلئے جنرل امپورٹ لائسنس کی پالہسی اختیار کی اور ڈالر اپریا کیلئے فری لائسنس کی پالہسی اختیار کی گئی جسکا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ بہت تھوڑے عرصہ میں ملک میں کروڑوں روپے کا سامان اُگھا اور جن چیزوں کی خاص ضرورت ملک میں نہ تھی وہ بھی ملک میں ضرورت سے زیادہ مقدار میں آگئی مثلاً توتہ برہن - فونٹین پین - Cosmetics وغیرہ۔ ہمیں چاہیئے تھا کہ ہم ایسی چیزوں پر کنٹرول اور ان کے درآمد کو بلمدھو ہی کرتے۔ ایسا ہونے کی وجہ سے نہ صرف کروڑوں ڈالر اور پونڈ خرچ ہوگئے بلکہ اس ملک کی انڈسٹری پر بہت برا اثر ہوا ہے۔ اسوقت ان چیزوں کی درآمد کو جو غیر ضروری تھیں بلمدھو نہیں کیا گیا لیکن آج جو چیزیں ضروری ہیں اُنکو بلمدھو کرنا پڑ رہا ہے۔ مثال کے طور پر ہمارے ملک میں جنگ سے پہلے کاسٹک سوڈے کا average import ستائیس یا اٹھائیس ہزار ٹن تھا اور اب سات ہزار ٹن کے قریب کیا جاتا ہے۔ یہ تھیک ہے کہ اب یہاں پر بھی کاسٹک بلمدھو لگا ہے۔ لیکن اس ساری پیداوار کو ملا کر بھی مشکل سے چودہ ہزار ٹن بلمدھو ہیں۔ اسطریق پر کاسٹک سوڈے کی کسی کی وجہ سے کئی انڈسٹریاں خاص کر جو صابن بنانے کے کارخانے جنگ کے زمانہ میں بلمدھو گئے تھے اُن میں سے بہت سے بلمدھو گئے ہیں اور جو باقی بچے ہیں اُنہیں سے بھی کچھ بلمدھو ہوتے نظر آ رہے ہیں۔ ہماری دوسری فسطی یہ ہے کہ کچھ عرصہ سے یہ پالہسی اختیار کی گئی ہے کہ جو لوگ امپورٹ یا اکسپورٹ trade سے کوئی

تعلق نہیں رکھتے ہیں اُنکو بھی پچیس فیصدی لائسنس دیئے جاتے ہیں۔ اس پالیسی کا مقصد کیا تھا اور اسکا نتیجہ کیا ہوا میں اُسکی تفصیل میں نہیں جانا چاہتا لیکن اس سے جو نقصان پونچا ہے وہ صاف ہے۔ ایک تو Corruption بڑھ گئی دوسرے غیر ضروری چیزوں پر ملک کی دولت خرچ ہوگئی۔ کوئی باقاعدہ پلان نہ ہونے سے اور نان تجربہ کار لوگوں کو لائسنس مل جانے سے پنسلین جیسی دوائی کی درآمد کے لئے اتنے لائسنس دیدئے گئے کہ اب اُسکی معیاد ختم ہونے کی وجہ سے کافی سٹاک ملک میں خراب ہو رہا ہے۔ اسطرح اور بہت سی ایسی ہی چیزیں ملک میں آئیں جو ملک کے کام نہیں آ رہی۔ مثلاً Paints اور ڈائیز۔ معلوم ہوا ہے کہ ملک میں تین کروڑ کی ڈائیز (رنگ) ایکوم آگئیں اور انہیں سے بیشتر ایسی ہیں کہ جو کام کے نہیں تھے۔ میں لائق وزیر صاحب کی توجہ اس طرف دلانا چاہتا ہوں اور پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ کیا انہوں نے اس سارے چار ماہ کے عرصہ میں یہ دیکھنے کی کوشش کی کہ کامرس ڈیپارٹمنٹ میں کیا ہوتا رہا ہے؟ آج بھی کامرس ڈیپارٹمنٹ کی یہ حالت ہے کہ ایک کنٹرولر اور ڈپٹی کنٹرولر آف انسپکٹرز ہیٹھا ہوا ہوتا ہے اور اُس نے چند کلرک ہوتے ہیں۔ باہر ایک نوٹس بورڈ لگا ہے جس پر لکھا ہوا ہے - "No interviews allowed" رجسٹرڈ چٹھیوں کا جواب نہیں دیا جاتا۔ اگر کوئی آدمی خود جا کر کچھ دریافت کرنا چاہے تو اُس سے کہا جاتا ہے کہ آپ نے نوٹس بورڈ کو نہیں دیکھا ہے اُسہیں تو لکھا ہے کہ "No interviews allowed" اسکا نتیجہ یہ ہے کہ جن فرموں کی طرف سے لائسنس کھلئے درخواستیں دی ہوئی ہوتی ہیں پریشان ہو جاتے ہیں۔ اور وقت پر لائسنس نہ ملنے سے سوروں کی معیاد گزر جاتی ہے۔ اور جب تک کہ وہ کسی Subordinate کو oblige نہ کریں اور اُس کی ہتھیلی گرم نہ کریں تب تک کچھ بھی نہیں بلتا۔

مجھے خود اس کا تلخ تجربہ ہوا ہے۔ میرے ایک جرنلسٹ دوست نے مجھے بمبئی سے تھیلڈون کیا کہ میں نے printing machinery کے لئے import لائسنس کی درخواست بھیجی تھی مگر بار بار یاد دہانی کرانے پر بھی ابھی تک کوئی جواب نہیں آیا۔ میں نے Indian and Eastern News papers Society کے سکریٹری سے کہا۔ اُس نے دو تین دفعہ کوشش کی لیکن دفتر سے جواب دے دیا گیا کہ فائل نہیں ملتی۔ دفتر کی حالت اتنی خراب ہے کہ اکثر اوقات ایسا ہوتا ہے کہ جب درخواست نہ ملے اور کوئی آدمی ذرا اثر رسوخ والا ہو تو اس کو کہا جاتا ہے کہ تم ایک fresh application دیدو۔ اُس کو ہم original application treat کرینگے۔ عام طور پر لوگوں کی درخواستیں آتی ہیں تو وہ کہتے ہیں چلی جاتی ہیں اور پھر انکا کوئی پتہ آسانی سے نہیں چلتا یہ انکی inefficiency کا ایک پہلو ہے۔ اس سلسلہ میں ایک اور مثال دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ مدراس گورنمنٹ نے سٹارٹس کی کہ ایک فرم کو Bone grish export کرنے کی اجازت دی جائے۔ اول تو کوئی وجہ نہ تھی کہ جب بمبئی۔ کراچی اور کلکتہ

[شری دیپس بلدھوگھٹا]

سے یہ export ہوتی رہی ہے تو مدرس پر کہوں پابندی لگائی گئی۔ غالباً یہی گورنمنٹ نے ایک یورپین فرم کو favour کرنے کے لئے ایسا کیا تھا۔ یہ شکایت تو بنگلہ دیش گورنمنٹ نے جب اس بارے میں توجہ دلائی گئی دور کرنے اور یہی سدا رہے کے ساتھ مدرس گورنمنٹ نے ایکسپورت لائسنس کی درخواست سرکار ہند کو بھیجی۔ مگر اسے باوجود نہیں دیا گیا۔ اور عذر کہا گیا کہ درخواست نہیں ملتی اس پر کافی خط و کتابت ہوئی اور ابھی تک کامیابی نہیں ہوئی۔ یہ ہے یہاں کی inefficiency کی حالت اس لئے پھستر اس کے کہ میں اپنی تقریر کو conclude کروں میں اپنے لائق دوست کی پہچان اب اس تمیہارٹمنٹ کے انتہارج میں۔ توجہ اس تقریر کی طرف دلانا چاہتا ہوں۔ جو کہ انہوں نے اس سے پھستر سالانہ بجٹ کے موقعہ پر اسی محکمہ کے متعلق کی تھی۔ - میرے لائق دوست شری پت گڈگل نے اپنی اس تقریر میں فرمایا تھا۔ -

"Take every other Department, particularly where the control system obtains. A man who had nothing to do with a particular business is given a monopoly of that business. A man who cannot distinguish between a pillar and a post suddenly becomes a building contractor. A man who does not know how to deal with cotton—whether to weigh it or measure it—becomes a licence holder. A man who does not know about the trade suddenly gets a licence, although the policy of the Government is not to disturb normal trade-channels. Why is this done? Is it efficiency or corruption?"

I want to make a present of these few lines to my Honourable friend and ask him to see that as long as he is there—and he is of course there as part of the Government—no occasion is given to this House to make such observations in respect of any Department of the Government.

(English translation of the above speech.)

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta (Delhi): Mr. Speaker, my able friend Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee has, in his reply, just drawn the attention of the House to the fact that we should bear in mind that no such word escapes our

S P. M.: mouth as might defame our country. I assure the acting Commerce Minister and other Honourable Ministers that not only myself, but no other member of the House feels happy, whenever we have to draw the attention of the Government to the corruption in any department. Today, when our country has achieved freedom after so many years' endeavours, and in the independent Parliament of an independent country, the first Budget has been presented how much happy we would have been if we had no occasion to point our fingers towards any department saying that it was corrupt and inefficient. Sir, I assure you that, to-day, in moving the cut motion on the Commerce Department, I feel no happiness at all. Formerly, my able friends who are now occupying Ministerial seats used to sit on the opposition benches, and if we glance at some Budget of the corresponding period we will find that they themselves were delivering similar speeches against the Government. Admitting that sin of centuries cannot be washed in days; we have to see that during this fifteen months time these ministers have taken the responsibility of administration, how far, as ministers, they have succeeded in redressing the grievances, which we had against the alien rule, during this period of fifteen months (i.e. 12 months of Interim Government and 3 months of independent administration), since they have shouldered responsibility of administration. It is to be seen whether those complaints still exist as such? I recollect that, during the war, when our Prime Minister used to say, emphatically, in his speech that probably so much corruption and inefficiency did not exist in any Government in the world, as it did in India. And, as a matter of fact, this was correct. But, if we direct our attention to this matter to-day,

we will note that during this period the Administration could not act up to the expectations of the country. The Honourable Minister for Finance himself confessed yesterday that even today many of the matters he criticized previously, while sitting on opposition benches, seem to be still in existence. Under these circumstances, it is worth consideration what should we do to change these conditions. The essence of all the cut motions presented before the House upto this time is that almost every department has much corruption in it. But, I would say that the Commerce Department, in particular, is such a Department, about which one and all are of the opinion that it is extremely corrupt and inefficient. The cause is that this Department provides so great temptations that even big people fall a prey to them, and one feels as if the protective hedge itself is feeding upon the field. I should make it clear that I have no doubts at all of the good intentions of the existing ministry, but, what I mean to say is that we have to see seriously how far we have succeeded in our efforts, and what can we expect from it in the future?

As regards the Commerce Department, whatever I have heard is simply astonishing. This was not my special subject, but, by chance, one day I happened to glance over a news, published in a paper, the heading of which ran "Corruption in the Commerce Department". I read it, and after making enquiries it was discovered that the people are facing great difficulties now-a-days in obtaining Export and Import licences, and that some of the men in the department have been taking unfair advantage of their positions, and have become a source of bringing a bad name to the administration. Formerly, I did not think that this department was so corrupt, in spite of the fact that in the papers, some malpractices in the department were often pointed out. But, now, I find that the deeper you go into the working of this department the more you discover its worthlessness, like an addled onion.

Today, a friend told me that a certain man obtained a licence to export a commodity but in haste one zero could not be typed in it. At the time of loading the goods on the ship, he found that a cypher was left out in the licence. All the documents were there, and it was clear that it was simply a typographical mistake. But, when the office was asked to rectify this mistake a sum of Rs. 10,000 was demanded for the work. The attention of an Honourable Member was drawn to this fact. He took this matter in his hands, and then only after much ado through his efforts the mistake was corrected.

You will come to know what conditions are in Bombay or in Calcutta, if you just go there. As the Honourable Commerce Minister also hails from Bombay, he too must be knowing that the situation there is such that a man, who has obtained a licence for the export of ten thousand yards of cloth, can sell it for rupees eight or ten thousands, in the market. Such instances are not uncommon; there are hundreds of such examples. Such transactions are made there openly.

From this, one can judge one thing that if the permit to export ten thousand yards of cloth can be sold for rupees ten thousands in the open market, then to spend rupees two or three thousands in bribing the people in the office is a simple affair.

By following the wrong policy we have opened this big gate of 'Corruption', and through it those people also who are neither exporters nor importers obtain licences. It is regretted that no attention is paid to it. I appreciate the difficulties of the existing Government, and I have full sympathy with them. Admitting that the Honourable Minister in charge of this Department has not an easy task to do, and the accumulated rubbish of years cannot be cleared in a day, I do not expect magic results. But, we have to see what steps have been taken to set these things right, and what measures have been adopted by the present Government to remove the evils during this period of four months, and also what plans have been designed to put an end to the corruption. If

[Shri Deshbandhu Gupta]

the Honourable Minister will consider this matter dispassionately, his answer to this question will be in the negative, not in the affirmative. As a matter of fact, firstly, in the absence of any clear cut policy of the Commerce Department in granting licences for Export and Import of goods and secondly the continuation of the practice of issuing such licences to non-businessmen have led to extreme corruption which we are witnessing today. In the hotels of Delhi, you will find hundreds of such people who daily knock at the doors of the Commerce Department and try their best to obtain Export or Import licences by fair means or foul.

The first mistake that was committed by us was that we adopted the policies of granting General Import Licence for the Sterling Area and of Free Licence for the Dollar Area countries. The result was that in a short time the country was flooded with crores worth of articles like tooth brushes, fountain pens, cosmetics that were not wanted and in such a quantity as far exceeded its requirements.

We ought to have exercised control over such articles and stopped their imports, but as it was not done, not only crores of dollars and pounds were wasted, but the country's industry was badly hit. At that time the import of such articles that were unnecessary was not stopped, but today we find that the import of things that are necessary has to be stopped. For instance, our country imported before the war, 27 to 28 thousand tons of caustic soda, but now it is hardly 7 thousand tons. It is correct to say that even here the manufacture of caustic soda has been started. But still adding to this production the total quantity of caustic soda comes to 14 thousand tons only. Thus, due to the scarcity of caustic soda, several of the industries, especially the soap factories, which were started during the war time have been perforce stopped; and some of the rest are being closed.

Our another mistake is that a short time ago we have adopted the policy of granting 25 per cent. of the licences even to those who have no concern whatsoever with Export and Import business. I do not want to go into the details regarding the objects and results of this policy. But the evil results this policy has given, are manifest. Firstly, corruption has increased, and secondly waste of country's revenue on purchase of non essential goods have been riuised.

In the absence of a regular plan, and by issuing licences to inexperienced people, so many licences were issued for importing of such a costly medicine as penicillin that due to the expiry of the period of its efficacy a considerable stock is still lying useless in the country. In this manner many other such articles were imported as are unserviceable to the country, for instance paints, and dyes. It has come to light that dyes and colours worth 8 crores of rupees were imported all of a sudden, and a majority of them were such as were quite useless.

I want to draw the attention of the Honourable Minister to this matter, and would like to ask whether he has tried to see during this period of 4 months what is going on in the Commerce Department. Today also, the condition of the Commerce Department is that there are a Controller and a Deputy Controller of Licences, and a few clerks. There is a notice board outside, on which is written "No interviews allowed". No reply is given to the registered letters. If any body wants to enquire for himself, he is told, that he has not seen the notice board on which is written "No interviews are allowed". The result of this is that the firms which applied for licences are put to harassment and owing to not obtaining the licences in time, the time limit of the transactions expires, and until they oblige any subordinate, bribe him, no results can be expected.

I myself have had its bitter experience. A journalist friend of mine phoned me from Bombay that he sent an application for obtaining a license to import printing machinery, but inspite of repeated reminders to the department he got no reply at all. I, on my part, mentioned the fact to the Secretary, Indian and Eastern News Papers Society, who tried twice or thrice, and was told by the office that the file was not traceable.

The condition of the office is so deplorable, that it often happens that when an application is not traceable and if it is from an influential man, he is told that he should put in a fresh application which will be treated as an original application. In the ordinary course, the applications of the people are received and are put in the waste-paper-basket, and then they are not traceable easily. This is one side of the picture of the inefficiency of the department. In this connection, I would like to quote one more instance. The Government of Madras, recommended to the Central Government that a certain firm be permitted to export crushed bones. Firstly there was no reason why any restrictions were laid on Madras, when this article was being exported from Karachi, Bombay and Calcutta. Probably, the previous Government have done so to favour a European firm. This complaint was removed by the Congress Government when its attention was drawn to this matter and the Government of Madras forwarded the application for Export Licences with its recommendations to the Government of India, but in spite of that, no license was issued and an excuse was offered that the application was not traceable. Correspondence followed, but still no success has been achieved so far.

Such is the condition of the inefficiency of this Department.

Before I conclude my speech I would like to draw the attention of the Honourable Minister for Commerce to that speech which he delivered at the Annual Budget, in connection with this department. My Honourable friend Shri Gadgil said in this speech:

"Take every other Department, particularly where the control system obtains. A man who had nothing to do with a particular business is given a monopoly of that business. A man who cannot distinguish between a pillar and a post suddenly becomes a building contractor. A man who does not know how to deal with cotton—whether to weigh it or measure it—becomes a licence holder. A man who does not know about the trade suddenly gets licence, although the policy of the Government is not to disturb normal trade channels. Why is this done? Is it efficiency or corruption?"

I want to make a present of these few lines to my Honourable friend and ask him to see that as long as he is there—and he is of course there as part of the Government—no occasion is given to this House to make such observations in respect of any Department of the Government.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the last speaker has read out an illuminating passage from the speech of the Minister in charge of the Department concerned. I would simply appeal to Mr. Gadgil the old Member of the House rather than Mr. Gadgil the present Minister. Sir, an eminent Minister who comes from my Province, Dr. Mookerjee, advanced a somewhat strange argument that in discussing corruption we should take care to see that we do not bring down the fair name of Indians before the world. If we accept that advice this debate on the cut motion would be absolutely untenable. To yield to it would be to disclose an inferiority complex. There are now no foreigners to rule over us, we are our own masters; and it is up to us to remove corruption and for that purpose to discuss it. My view however is that everybody in India is not corrupt. It is only the few well placed men who are corrupt. The alleged connivance of the public in the corruption is due only to the helpless condition in which they find themselves. Corruption is not in the public or the general consumers as such. They are forced to submit to certain exactions and pay some fines in order to procure their necessities of life. They are victims of crime rather than criminals. In making my remarks to this House about corruption, therefore, I want to point out that they are not directed towards the community as such but towards a few criminals and bad characters a

[Mr. Naziruddin Ahinad]

microscopic minority who masquerade in government offices. There are again a few men who ply their trade whose occupation is a kind of corridor practice in government offices. They are the go-between the public and the officials. Corrupted officials form only a microscopic minority among the officials. Whatever has been or will be said in this House must therefore be understood to be directed towards those few notorious people who have tarnished the fair name of India.

Sir, it is not my purpose to narrate to the House examples of corruption in the country. It is so notorious. The subject has been dealt with so ably and so fully in connection with the previous cut motions as well as on other occasions that it is not necessary for me to revert to them again. I take it that it is an accepted fact both in the House as well as outside the House that corruption exists in gigantic proportions and that it has got to be put down.

In this connection I wish to submit to the House only one or two queer results of control of cloth. In Bengal we are supposed to get nine yards in the Province and 25 yards in the town of Calcutta. Apart from that inconsistency there is no guarantee that the nine yards of cloth would be *dhoties* or *sarees* or cloth which can be made into *pyjamas* or *kurtas* as the consumers may need. But you are only entitled, if you are fortunate, to get your nine yards.

It has happened in some cases men who wanted their quota of *dhoties* and *sarees*, were given nine yards of cloth, but that cloth was suitable only for making pillow cases. The entire consignment in the shop then consisted of cloth for pillow cases. So the quota had to be taken in cloth suitable for pillow cases only. If anyone objected, the reply was 'you have got to take it or leave it'. One gentleman has made a pillow case out of this cloth and has adapted it to a coat. He has taken off the ends and has put two arms of another coat, and has adapted it as the Government of India Act has been adapted in consequence of the Indian Independence Act. This gentleman adapted it to make it wearable. His idea was that as soon as suitable cloth would be available, he would reconvert it into a pillow case and use the cloth available to make *kurtas*. This is how control stands. There is another story of a gentleman who was suffering from cloth control. A friend of his went to him in the evening and found him sitting in darkness in his parlour. When asked the reason he said, 'first of all I am suffering from kerosene control'. The friend said 'Well, I am prepared to lend you something from my quota'. The other then explained 'That is not all. There is another kind of control, the cloth control.' When the former wanted to have more light, he said 'I am an honest man, I do not go to the black market; between me and my wife, we have only one *saree* and no *dhoti* for me; my wife has a visitor, a lady friend, in her apartment and so she is wearing the *saree* and I have now to remain in darkness'. After some time when he was sure that his wife's visitor had gone away, he went in and came back wearing a *saree*. The lamp in the parlour was then lit. These are only some of the hundreds of other stories which may be recited in the House. These are the lighter sides of control. There are certainly the darker aspects. We have to laugh at these things because we have grown so much accustomed to these things. We submit to troubles, difficulties and privations relying upon God.

I submit that it is not necessary for me to deal any further with that aspect of the case. Dr. Mookerjee has said that we should give him specific instances, and he qualified his remark by saying that 'if' there is corruption, 'if' there are these excuses here and there, and 'if' they are reported to him, then of course he will move. I think the instances cited before him are quite enough for him to look into them, and I think he can easily verify them by going into the common men's houses or by sending some trusted officers to verify them. Sir, in these circumstances I beg to submit that Dr. Mookerjee should try to check corruption and the existing evil practice, and proceed to apply the remedy.

The 'but'-and-'if' way of approach to the subject will not do. I shall try to suggest some remedies. The remedies that have been followed so far are very inadequate and sometimes most ludicrous, and they were bound to fail. In fact there were detections and prosecutions of the poorest people. A small dealer who is supposed to have bought kerosene at eight annas per seer in the black market had to sell it for nine annas. A small village dealer like him is prosecuted but the big fries are allowed to escape, and then when these prosecutions are launched, the cases are most negligently and badly conducted. When the cases come before the court, it is within the knowledge of all lawyers that they are very badly managed and ultimately the accused persons are allowed to escape, but in all this business the smaller fry is always in the wrong and the bigger fries are allowed to go scot free. If you go to any government official, he will say "I am ready to help you 'if' you catch hold of the culprit." May I ask in all humility whose duty it is, as was asked by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya? It is certainly the duty of the Government and their officials to find out all the things which are happening undoubtedly around us and almost under our nose. It is within their reach only if they will care to find out. I therefore submit that a new kind of approach should be made in trying to cure the situation. There were anti-corruption bodies set up. But somehow or other the anti-corruption bodies themselves became corrupt, and so it would be necessary to set up another anti-corruption body or the Gestapo to set them right. I submit that Government should show rather more dash, greater initiative, more strength and greater promptness in dealing with these cases. If the Honourable Minister went in disguise to any of the shops in New Delhi, he would find how things are being managed and it is up to him to take serious steps and to call upon the officials who are in charge of these things to remedy matters. There is a suggestion by an Honourable Member to my left that he would be killed. I think it would be better for him to be killed rather than that he should allow millions of our people to be killed by slow degrees. I think he should take the risk and see how matters stand. If there is fear of being killed and if that should be a sufficient ground for a Minister to prevent him from looking into these things, I think the Ministry should go, but I should think that a little promptness and a little boldness on the part of the Government in approaching the problem would be enough. These black-marketeers, bad characters and blood suckers, should feel that real steps are being taken to catch hold of them. Unless you introduce this amount of fear in their minds, the existing corruption will not cease. But corruption goes on merrily apace.

Then Sir, I think that stringent law should be passed and this should provide summary trials and it should also provide for summary punishment, and in some suitable cases flogging should be administered as Mr. Kamath suggests. I think there should be no limit to the drastic character of the law that should be introduced at once. Then again it is not mere law that will effect the cure. It is necessary for the Government, from the highest quarters to the lowest, to be alert. It is only by drastic, strong and quick executive drive that you can touch or check evil doers.

There is however one bright spot in the administration, it is the attitude of the Government of West Bengal. In West Bengal the new Ministry is in fact very wide awake. It is not slow to make enquiries. It is not afraid even to touch the highest officials. A District Judge who was in office has been prosecuted, and a retired District Magistrate is going to be prosecuted. I think the manner in which the Ministry in West Bengal has begun the work shows great promise, and I would request the Central Government to emulate their methods if possible. The Government may adopt a similar attitude if they like. If they like they can stop corruption altogether. With these few words, Sir, I move my motion.

گہانی گرمکھ سنگھ مسافر: صاحب صدر! جو دو کٹ موٹرز اسوقت ہاؤس کے سامنے پیسے ہوئی ہیں۔ ان میں سے جو کامرس ڈیپارٹمنٹ سے تعلق رکھتی ہے۔ اُس کے متعلق میں صرف دو باتیں کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ Import licences کے دیلے کے لئے جو Procedure یا way of working ہے اُس میں ایک بہت بڑا نقص ہے۔ جسکی وجہ سے بعض دفعہ لائسنس لہلے والوں کو بجائے فائدہ کے نقصان ہوتا ہے۔ وہ جب لائسنس لہلے کے لئے درخواستیں دیلے آتے ہیں تو انکو اس بات کی شہورتی دیلی پڑتی ہے کہ وہ manufacturers انکو وہ چیز supply کر سکتے ہیں جن کو کہ انہوں نے آرڈر دیا ہو۔ دونوں باتوں کے باہمی فوہاء کے بعد انکو اس محکمہ کی ناقص Procedure کے مطابق لائسنس لہلے میں دو یا تین ماہ لگتے ہیں اور بعض دفعہ ایسا ہونے میں چھوڑوں کی قیمتیں بدل جاتی ہے۔ اور وہ اُنکا آرڈر منسوخ نہیں کر سکتے۔ اور انہیں وہ چیزیں اُس قیمت پر لہلی پڑتی ہیں۔ جس کے مطابق انہوں نے پہلے آرڈر دیا ہوتا ہے۔ اس طرح قیمت میں فرق پڑنے کی وجہ سے لائسنس ہولڈرز کو بجائے فائدہ کے نقصان اُٹھانا پڑتا ہے۔ اسلئے پہلی بات جو میں صاحب صدر آپ کی اجازت اور وساطت سے اس ہاؤس کے ذریعہ آنریبل منسٹر فار کامرس کے نوٹس میں لانا چاہتا ہوں کہ اس طرح کے نقائص کو دور کرنے کے لئے اور تمام working کو درست کرنے کے لئے جہاں کہ اس کٹ موشن کے الفاظ سے ظاہر ہے ایک نان آفیشل انکوائری کمیٹی بنانی چاہئے۔ جو اس تمام working اور Procedure کو ٹھیک کر دے۔ دوسری بات جو میں عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں وہ یہ ہے Exchange کی تجارت پر پہلے ہی Restrictions پڑی ہیں ان Restrictions کو بڑھانے سے خرابی اور بڑھ جائیگی میرے دوست شری بہت دیس بلندھو گھتا چلہوں۔ کامرس ڈیپارٹمنٹ کے متعلق یہ کٹ موشن پیش کیا ہے۔ اپنی تقریر میں کہا ہے کہ جو لوگ لائسنس کے لئے درخواست کرتے ہیں ان سے پہلے کام کے ثبوت اور سارٹیفیکٹ مانگے جاتے ہیں مگر اگر کوئی ان لوگوں کا ہاتھ گرم کرے تو اُسکو لائسنس مل جاتا ہے ایک بات اور بھی ہے نئے آدمی کو لائسنس نہیں دیا جانا اس بارے میں میں آنریبل منسٹر انچارج کامرس سے یہ گزارش کرونگا کہ اس پابندی کو اُڑا دیا جائے۔ اُس وقت ہماری سرکار refugees اور evacuees کی problem کی طرف خاص توجہ دے رہی ہے۔ جو لوگ پاکستان یا ہندسٹ مذجاب سے آئے ہیں اور وہاں کے شہروں میں مدتوں سے اسی وقت وغیرہ کا کام کرتے آئے ہیں۔ ان کے پاس کوئی ثبوت یا سارٹیفیکٹ اس وقت نہیں ہے۔ کہونکہ اُنکا سب کچھ وہاں پر ضایع ہو گیا ہے اور وہ تین کھڑوں میں یہاں آئے ہیں۔ ایسے آدمیوں کو کام دیلے کے لئے خاص طور پر سارٹیفیکٹ کو تھیلا کیا جائے۔ صاحب صدر! آپ ہمارے صدر ہونے کی وجہ سے سرتاج میں ہم مسٹر ان کو بھی جو تکلیف پیش آ رہی ہیں اُنکو دور کرنے کا آپکو انتظام کرنا چاہئے۔ اور میں یہ انتہا کرونگا کہ سرکار کو اس امر کی طرف دھیان دینا ہی پڑے گا یہاں evacuees کی پراپرٹی کے متعلق جو محکمہ بنایا گیا ہے اُسکا دفتر ہمارے اس اسمبلی ہال کے بالکل نزدیک ہے۔ ہر ایک مسٹر جب اس اسمبلی سے اُٹھکر جاتا ہے تو اُسکو اس دفتر کے سامنے سے ہی گزر کر جانا پڑتا ہے۔ جن مسٹر صاحبان کے پاس موٹریں ہیں وہ تو آرام سے گزر جاتے ہیں۔ لیکن دوسروں کو کافی تکلیف کا ساملا کرنا پڑتا ہے۔

پنجاب کے ممبران کی حالت خاص طور پر قابل رحم ہے جب وہ اسمبلی ہال سے باہر نکلتے ہیں تو لوگ اُنکے گرد جمع ہو جاتے ہیں کھڑوں سے پکڑ کر کھڑا کر لیتے ہیں اور مطالبہ کرتے ہیں کہ ہماری بات سن کر ہمارا انتظام کرو آج میرے ساتھ یہی واقع ہوا کہ جب میں لنچ کے لئے باہر نکلا تو نین چار وکیل اور تاجر دوستوں نے مجھے پکڑ لیا اور کہا کہ آپ لوگ سوئے ہوئے ہیں تمہیں جاگنا چاہئے اور معاموم کرنا چاہئے کہ ہماری کیا حالت ہے اُنہوں نے کہا کہ ہم سب کچھ کر سکتے ہیں مگر نہیں کر سکتے کیونکہ ہمکو کام نہیں ملنا لائسنس نہیں ملتا۔ صاحب صدر! میں گزارش کرونگا کہ ایسے صہبت زدہ لوگوں کو پھر سے کام پر لگانے کے لئے کسی حد تک کامرس تمپارٹمنٹ مددگار ثابت ہو سکتا ہے اگر وہ انکو کام دیتے وقت نئے پرانے اور لحاظ ملاحظہ کا خیال چھوڑ دے اس بات کی پوتال کیلئے refugees میں سے کون کون پہلے امپورٹ کا کام کرنے آئے ہیں ایک چار پانچ آدمیوں کی کمیٹی بنا دی جائے۔ اس کمیٹی میں پنجاب کے M. L. As. یا ان Refugees میں سے ہی ممبر لئے جاسکتے ہیں جو پوتال کر کے سرٹیفیکٹ دے سکتے ہیں۔ جن کے پاس اس طرح کے سرٹیفیکٹ ہوں محکمہ انکو لائسنس دے سکتا ہے۔

غور کرنے سے معاموم ہوگا کہ آجکل جہاں کہیں بھی گڑ بڑ ہو جانی ہے وہ ہمارے ان بھائیوں کے ذمہ لگتی ہے جو پاکستانی علاقوں سے برباد ہو کر آئے ہیں اور جلکے لئے ابھی تک کوئی انتظام نہیں ہو سکا۔ انتظام نہ ہو سکنے کی وجہ سے وہ Dis-satisfied ہیں۔ ان کو کام پر لگانا امن کیلئے بہت مددگار ثابت ہو سکتا ہے۔ حکومت پر صرف نقطہ چینی کرنے کا میرا مطلب نہیں ہے۔ میں جب بھی اس ہاؤس میں کچھ کہنے کے لئے آتا ہوں تو دو کشتیوں میں سوار ہوتا ہوں۔ دل میں کچھ تذبذب ہوتا ہے۔ ایک طرف اپنی نیشنل حکومت کو دیکھتا ہوں اور دوسری طرف ان لوگوں کو دیکھتا ہوں جلکے کہ ہم یہاں نمائندے ہیں۔ جو درد ہمکو ان لوگوں کے ساتھ ہے وہی درد اس اپنی حکومت کے ساتھ بھی ہے۔ میری حالت فارسی کے اس شعر کے مصداق ہے

عجب درد یشمت اندر دل اگر گویم زبان سوزد

وگر دم درکشم تو سم کہ مغز و استخوان سوزد

میرے دل کے اندر ایک عجیب درد ہے اگر ظاہر کرنا چاہوں تو زبان جلنے کا اندیشہ ہے اور دوسری طرف سے اگر اس درد کو ظاہر نہ کریں اور اندر ہی رکھیں تو مغز اور ہڈیاں جلنے کا اندیشہ ہے۔

[گیاتی گرمکھ سنگھ مسافر]

ڈاکٹر پتیاہائی نے جب یہ کہا کہ گورنمنٹ کو ان باتوں کا علاج کرنا چاہئے تو ڈاکٹر مکر جی نے کہا کہ آپ بھی تو مسرہ ہیں اور گورنمنٹ کا حصہ ہیں آگے چل کر ڈاکٹر مکر جی نے کہا کہ ہلدوستان کی سب جلتا ذمہ وار ہے۔ میں اس بات کو اچھی طرح سمجھتا ہوں کہ اگر رشوت دینے والے نہ ہوں تو رشوت لینے والے بھی نہیں ہو سکتے۔ مگر میں یہ عرض کرونگا کہ گورنمنٹ نے پاس آٹکا علاج ضرور ہے۔ یہاں کے لوگوں کا خیال یہ ہے کہ اب ہماری اپنی حکومت ہے۔ اسلئے انہیں یہی اُسد ہے کہ وہ ان خرابیوں کو خود دور کرنے کے اقدام عمل میں لائیں یہ حال صرف کامرس ڈیپارٹمنٹ میں ہی نہیں ہے بلکہ ہر ایک ڈیپارٹمنٹ میں کچھ نہ کچھ خرابیاں نظر آتی ہیں۔ اس میں شک نہیں کہ یہ جو خرابیاں نظر آ رہی ہیں! میں صرف گورنمنٹ کا ہی تصور نہیں ہے۔ بلکہ دوسرے لوگوں کا بھی تصور ہے۔ ہم لوگوں کے دل میں یہ خیال ہے کہ اب ہماری اپنی حکومت ہے اور یہ خود ہی سب انتظام کرے گی اپنی حکومت سے کئی لوگ یہ مطالب سمجھتے لگ جاتے ہیں کہ بس اب کسی قاعدے قانون کی ضرورت نہیں۔ اس سلسلہ میں مجھے ایک دلچسپ مثال یاد ہے۔ بہار میں جب پہلی دفعہ کانگریس وزارت بنی تو ان دنوں مجھے یقلہ جانیکا اتفاق ہوا۔ میں نے ایف بی کے وانے سے پوچھا کہ اب تم لوگوں کا کیا حال ہے۔ اب تو یہاں پر کانگریس کی سرکار ہو گئی ہے۔ اب تم لوگوں کی موج ہے۔ بہت اچھی سرکار بن گئی ہے۔ وہ کہتے لگا کہ کیا اچھی سرکار ہے۔ ہم نے تو یہ سمجھا تھا کہ اب اس سرکار میں ہم لوگوں کو موج ہوگی۔ لیکن اب بھی ہمیں توکا جاتا ہے کہ یہ کہ میں رشلی نہیں ہے اپنے ہاتھ چاؤ یہ کرو وہ کرو۔ اب بھی وہی۔ تینٹا ہے جو پہلے تھا۔ میں نے اُس سے کہا کہ کیا تمہارا مطالب یہ تھا نہ جب گورنمنٹ اپنی بن جائے تو کوئی قاعدہ یا قانون نہیں رہنا چاہئے اس مثال سے میرا مطلب یہ ہے کہ کئی دفعہ اپنے لوگوں میں اس طرح کی غلط فہمی سرکاری ضبط کو قیلا کرینکا باعث بن جاتی ہے۔ اپنے لوگوں سے مجھے یہی کہنا ہے کہ تمام مشکلات کو دور کرنے میں اپنی سرکار کی مدد کرنی چاہئے۔ مگر کرین کو تو سرکار ہی دور کر سکتی ہے اس جگہ مجھے جھل کی ایک مثال یاد آتی ہے۔ پنجاب کے سہ کسانوں میں دودھ کو سلندر کہا جاتا ہے۔ پڑوہاں دفعہ جب ہم جھل میں تھ تو ایک اخلاقی قہندی نے مجھ سے پوچھا کہ سہ لوگ دودھ کو سلندر کوں کہتے ہیں۔ میرے جواب سے اُس کی تسلی نہ ہوئی تو وہ کہتے لگا کہ میں تمکو بتانا ہوں۔ جھل میں جو تھیکیدار دودھ لانا ہے وہ ادعا پانی گھر سے ملا لتا ہے۔ دودھ جب جھل کی تھوڑھی میں پہنچتا ہے تو دربان اپنی جائے کے لئے نکل کر اتنا ہی پانی ملا دیتا ہے۔ اس نے بعد دودھ جب تھوڑھی سے اندر جھل کی Compound میں پہنچتا ہے تو انچارج بابو اپنی جائے کے لئے نکلتا ہے۔ پھر لنگر کے لنگری اپنا حصہ نکالتے ہیں۔

اور پانی ملا کر دودھ کی مقدار کو پورا کر دیتے ہیں۔ اور جب آخر کار دودھ قہنی کے پاس پہنچتا ہے تو وہ واقعی سمندر ہی بنا ہوتا ہے۔ اتنی بات سنانے کے بعد وہ اخلاقی قہنی کہنے لگا کہ پنجاب کے سکھ کسان نے دودھ کو جہل میں دیکھ کر ہی شاید اُسکا نام سمندر رکھا ہوگا۔

جناب والا! میں زخم خوردہ ہوں مجھکو دو منٹ کی اور اجازت دی جائے۔ اس کے علاوہ میں یہ گزارش کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ آج اگر کسی آدمی کو سفر کرنا ہو تو اسے پہلے ٹکٹ خریدتے وقت بابو کی خاطر کرنی پوتی ہے۔ اور اُس کے بعد قلی کی۔ آچکل ایک ایک قلی دس دس اور پندرہ پندرہ روپیہ مزدوری لیتا ہے۔ اور جب تک قلی کو دس یا پندرہ روپیہ تہ دئے جائیں تب تک فریب مسافر اپنا سامان کماڑی پر بہ آسانی نہیں رکھ سکتا ہے۔ جناب والا! کیا کہوں ڈاکٹر مکرچی نے کہا ہے کہ رشوت کی کوئی خاص مثال دی جائے۔ میں کہتا ہوں کہ مثال کوئی ایک تھوڑی ہی ہے۔ کون کون سی مثال دی جائے۔

یک چاک ہو تو سی لون ہمدم گرہماں اپنا

ظالم نے پہاڑ ڈالا ہے تار تار کر کے

میں نے پہلے بھی عرض کی ہے کہ اسمیں صرف حکومت کا ہی تصور نہیں ہے۔ بلکہ ساتھ ساتھ لوگوں کا بھی قدر ہے۔ پھر سے بساتے والے محکمہ کی بابت میں اتنا ہی کہونگا کہ جو لوگ ویسٹ پنجاب سے آئے ہیں وہ ہمارے مکانوں پر آتے ہیں اور ہمکو کہتے ہیں کہ ہمیں مکن دلاؤ دوکان دلاؤ اور جب ہم اُنکو کہتے ہیں کہ یہ بات ہمارے ہاتھ میں نہیں ہے اور اس میں ہمارا کوئی اختیار نہیں ہے تو وہ چلے جاتے ہیں اُن مہوں سے کچھ ایک دو چار روز کے بعد آکر کہتے ہیں کہ آپ سے مکن یا دوکان دلانے کے لئے کہا تھا آپ نے نہیں دلایا۔ مگر ہم نے لے ہی لیا ہے۔ جب ہم پوچھتے ہیں کہ گہے ملا تو وہ کہتے ہیں اسبات کو رھنے دو کہ کس طرح سے ملا ہے۔ یہ حالات اسوقت موجود ہیں۔ میں پھر دھرانا ہوں کہ اِن باتوں کا ذکر کرنے سے کوئی سرکار کی بدنامی مطلوب نہیں ہے۔ نہ ہی ایسا کوئی ارادہ ہے۔ جھسا کہ ویر گوتا نے کہا ہے ہمارا مطلب صرف ان خرابیوں کو اور نقایص کو دور کرنے کا ہے۔ لوگوں کے حالات Disturbances کی وجہ سے بہت خراب ہو گئے ہیں۔ اسلئے حکومت کو چاہیئے کہ ان کی حالت کے سدھار کے لئے انتظام کرے۔ تاکہ یہ حکومت بدنام نہ ہو اور ہم یہ فخر سے کہیں کہ پہلی حکومت میں جو تکالیف لوگوں کو تھیں وہ اب اپنی حکومت میں نہیں ہیں۔ اور جو نقایص پہلے تھے وہ اب دور ہو گئے ہیں۔ اور ہم پہلی حکومت اور موجودہ حکومت کا فرق اُن لوگوں سے کہہ سکیں جن کے ہم نمایندے ہیں۔ اور دنیا کو روشن ہو جائے کہ ہم نے اپنی حکومت میں ان تمام نقایص اور تکالیف کو ختم کر دیا ہے۔

(English translation of the above speech)

Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir (East Punjab: Sikh): Mr. Speaker, of the two cut motions which have just been moved in the House, I desire to say only two things concerning that which relates to the Commerce Department.

A very great defect in the procedure or in the way of working of the Import Licensing Board is that sometimes licencees suffer loss instead of gain. Thus, when they come to the office to put in their applications to get licences they have to give surety whether the articles can be supplied by those manufacturers with whom they have placed the order. Even when the agreements have been reached between the Importer and the Manufacturers, they have to wait for two or three months in getting licences, due to the defective procedure followed in this Department, and sometimes while this procedure is going on, prices of the articles change; the order cannot be cancelled and the same must be bought at the prices quoted in the orders. Thus, owing to the change in the price, a licence holder loses instead of gaining.

The first point which I want to bring to the notice of the Honourable Minister for Commerce with the permission and help of you, Sir, is that a Non-Official Enquiry Committee should be formed in order that it may remove all the defects and set right the whole working of the Import Licensing Board referred to in the cut motion.

The second point which I want to mention is that there are already many restrictions on the exchange business and imposition of still more restrictions would make matters worse.

My friend, the Honourable Shri Deshbandhu Gupta, who moved the cut motion on the Commerce Department, has said in his speech that proofs and certificates of previous business done by them are demanded of those who apply for licences by the Government employees, but if anybody bribes them he gets the licence. One more point is that a man new to the business does not get the licence. In this connection, I will request the Honourable Minister for Commerce to remove this restriction, particularly at this time when our Government is devoting special attention to the problem of Refugees and Evacuees. Those who have come from Pakistan or from the West Punjab and were for years carrying on Import Business in the cities of that Province have naturally got no such proof or certificate with them at this time, since they have lost their all and have come here in three pieces of garment. The restrictions should be relaxed considerably to provide occupation to such people.

Mr. Speaker, as our Chairman you are our head and you should therefore arrange to remove the difficulties with which we are faced. I would request that the Government must devote their attention to this matter.

In Delhi, the office of the Department, which has been started for the Evacuees' Property, is quite close to this Assembly Hall, and on leaving the Assembly every Member has to pass it. Those members who have got cars escape the notice of the refugees, but others have to face considerable difficulty. The condition of the Assembly members from the Punjab is pitiable: as when they come out of the Assembly Hall, they are surrounded by these people, who pull their clothes and force them to halt and listen to their grievances and arrange to redress them. Today, I too met such a fate, when I came out for lunch. I was caught by three or four Vakils and merchant friends who said "You are sleep, you should wake up and should find out what is our plight. We can do everything, but we can't do anything, because we get neither work, nor a licence."

Mr. Speaker, I will state that to some extent Commerce Department can prove helpful in providing work to such people if it overlooks the idea of old

or new and observes strict impartiality. To investigate which of the refugees previously were doing import business, a Committee consisting of four or five men, may be formed. The members of this committee may either be M.L.As. of the Punjab or the refugees themselves. They can grant certificates after making inquiries, and those who will get such certificates, will obtain licence from the Department.

You will observe that in these days, wherever, there is any incident, our outraged brethren from Pakistan for whose livelihood no arrangement has yet been made, and who thus are dissatisfied are held responsible. To put such men to work will prove much helpful in keeping law and order.

Only criticism of Government is not my object. Whenever, I rise to speak in this House, I row, as it were, in two boats: one my National Government, the other the people whom we represent here. I feel as much sympathy for these people as I do for my Government. My state of mind accords with the following Persian couplet:

Ajab dardest under dil, agar goyam zaban sozad

Wagar dam dar kasham, tarsam maghs-o-ustakhan sozad.

English translation of which is: My heart cherishes a strange pain, which if I express it with my tongue, there is likelihood of its being burnt, but on the other hand if I don't express this pain and keep it pent up in my heart, then I am afraid my brain and bones will burn.

When Dr. Pattabhi said that the Government should remedy these defects, Dr. Mukerjee remarked "You are also a member and part of the Government" and further added "All the citizens of India are responsible". I fully understand the fact that if there are no bribe-offerer there can be no bribe-acceptor. But, I will state that the Government does have its remedy. The idea of the people of this country is that they have now their own Government, which will by itself as they expect, take steps to remove these defects.

These defects lie not only in the Commerce Department, but also in other departments. There is no doubt that the defects which are being seen, the Government only is not to blame for them, but public also is to be blamed, because we have in our mind, this idea that now, we have our own Government and it will do all by itself. By the word National Government, several people are led to think that now, no rule or law is necessary to observe and in this connection I recollect one interesting incident. I had a chance of visiting Patna when in Bihar the Congress Ministry was formed for the first time. There I asked a *Ekka* driver "How are you getting on these days, now here it is the Government of the Congress, you must have a happy time, a very good Government has been formed". He replied, "How do you say so? We thought that under this Government we would have a happy time, but still we are being harassed for such trifling matters as 'there is no light on the *Ekka*, keep to your left, do this and that. In these days also, we have the same worries as before". I said, "Do you mean that when our National Government is formed, there should be no law and order". What I mean, by this illustration, is this that several times misunderstanding of such sorts cause relaxation in Government discipline. The only advice to my people is that they should assist their Government; but the corruption can be removed by the Government only. In this connection, I recollect my experience in a jail. Among the Sikh peasants of the Punjab milk is called *Samundar* (Ocean). Last time when we were in jail, a political prisoner asked me, why the Sikh call milk, *Samundar*. As my reply did not satisfy him he said that he would tell me. He said that the contractor who brings milk in the jail, brings it as half milk and half water. When milk reaches the entrance of the jail, the Durwan takes out some of it for his tea and mixes as much water. Next when passing the entrance it reaches the compound, the Incharge Babu takes

[Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir]

out some for his tea and then the cooks also in the kitchen take out their share of milk, and mix the rest with water for making up for the loss. Finally, when milk reaches the prisoner it is really the *Samundar* (Ocean). Having related this story, the political prisoner said that the Sikh peasant of the Punjab might have called milk *Samundar* (Ocean), after seeing all this in the jail.

Sir, I am a wounded person, I may be given time for two minutes more.

In addition to this, I want to say that if anybody has to go on a journey he has first to bribe the Babu at the time of purchasing the ticket, then the cooly. In these days, each cooly charges ten to fifteen rupees for his labour and until ten to fifteen rupees are given to the Cooly, the poor passenger cannot easily put his luggage into the train. Sir, what more should I say. Dr. Mukerjee asked that a specific instance of corruption should be given. I say that there is not one instance but hundreds and how many need be given.

I have already said, that the Government only is not to blame, but side by side with it the people also are to blame.

In connection with the Rehabilitation Department, I would only say this that those who have come from the West Punjab, come to our houses and ask us to get either houses or shops. They go away, when we say to them that we have no hand in this matter and we have no authority. Some of them come back to us after a couple of days and say to us that they asked us to get houses or shop, and we did not get any, but now they have got them themselves. When we ask them how they got it, they say, better leave this question unanswered. These are the conditions prevailing here, in these days. I repeat that by mentioning these facts, it is not my object to discredit the Government, nor such is my intention. As my friend, Mr. Gupta has put, our object is only to remove this evil and defects.

The circumstances of the people due to disturbances are rendered worse, so the Government should improve them so that this Government may not get a bad name and we may say with pride that the difficulties which people experienced in the previous Government are not felt now and that the old defects are no more. And we may be able to point out the difference between the previous Government and the existing Government to the people whom we represent and the world may know that we have put an end to all of these defects and troubles during our administration.

By Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava (one of the Panel of Chairman).]

[At this stage, Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil (Minister for Works, Mines and Power): Normally, Sir, a politician in office does not like to be told what he has spoken or done while in opposition, but I enjoyed the reference made to one of my speeches delivered on the floor of this House a few months ago, and I can assure my Honourable friend Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta that what I said then was entirely correct and my general outlook has not undergone any radical change. But I can assure him all the same that things have improved in the course of last three months and a half.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Not in the Commerce Department.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Sir, the wording of the out motion contemplates two counts—one of corruption and the other of lack of a clear-cut policy with respect to import and export licences. I shall first deal with the former count.

My Honourable friend Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta referred to a period of 15 months. It is somewhat delicate to deal with a period prior to 15th of August, for it was a Government which can only be compared to a divided House. To be more particular, Sir, the Department which I have to answer

for today was under the management of people who believed that there must be representation on communal lines in commerce also. The examples I cited in the speech which was referred to by my friend Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta were examples which illustrated what I said now.

I will not mention any name, but I will only give one example to show to what extent the evil had gone. A certain member of this House who knew nothing about cotton got an export license, went to one of the

Export merchants in Bombay and asked him to purchase it. He

4 P.M. declined. He said: "I would buy cotton for you; the license is in your name. You will export it." Ultimately the Honourable Member got a customer. I only want to say that you must divide the period, the period before the 15th of August and the period after the 15th of August. I do not pretend to say, because it will be contrary to facts that the present Government has

achieved some sort of a wonderful revolution in the course of 3½ months. Nothing of that kind. Corruption increased in the course of War period so much that it would be a mild description if I were to say that it has become a National problem and a National evil for us to solve and eliminate. Neither the few members of this Government nor the few Members of this House, but the entire

national must make up its mind that at least in Free India, it may not be anything else, but certainly it will not be a Government in which corruption would be so rampant as were the case before. I would therefore most earnestly request that whenever we talk about corruption—apparently it may be against a few officials and a few merchants here and outside,—but it means that the whole community is corrupt. I think it is a matter for us to put our heads together and find a way out of this dilemma for the general community and the consumer.

Is there no way out of it? Either they must be victims of corrupt officials or corrupt merchants. Is there no way out of this? I am sure if we apply our mind we will be able in the course of a year or two to radically change the machinery and I am sure a better account would be available.

Now speaking about the period after the 15th of August, I might inform the House, Mr. Chairman that so far as the Department with which I am concerned, namely, Works, Mines and Power, 22 persons including Executive Engineers and contractors and high officials are being prosecuted. I have taken disciplinary action against many; against many disciplinary action will be taken in the near future. But let me tell the House that corruption is a process in which two persons are involved, the bribe-taker and the bribe-giver and that is a matter within the knowledge of both and probably not fully known by any other third party. I have got published in newspapers and I have told newspaper friends, who are very kindly to me that whenever they hear any report, they can come to my office; there is no formality of granting an interview; they can come at any time of the day; and whenever they have communicated any information to me in private. I have acted upon it; sometimes it was exaggerated; sometimes the information was wrong, but wherever it was found to be correct, steps have been taken.

An Honourable Member: What is the percentage of correct information?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I will give an example: I received an anonymous letter that a particular officer has got his son-in-law and sister of his son-in-law appointed. That was a clear case, *prima facie* of nepotism. I personally called the officer, asked for his explanation, went through the whole file; I found there was nothing irregular, but I appealed to him: "Look here, your reputation is my reputation and our reputation is the reputation of our country. Do you not think that it would be far better for you to ask your son-in-law and the sister of your son-in-law to resign?" He was good enough to secure the resignations of both.

Now, going further, Sir, it may be within the knowledge of this House that a Bill was enacted last year, which was piloted by the Honourable Sardar

[Shri N. V. Gadgil]

Vallabhbhai Patel, in which it has been laid down that if an officer is found with property which cannot be reasonably accounted for, the Court is entitled to draw a presumption that it has been illegally and wrongfully earned. But I am sure that merely passing enactment after enactment will not result in cleaning the whole administration. What I want to suggest, S.r, is that we must take all precautionary measures; in fact I may also inform the House that I have asked every officer of my Department to give me full particulars of his property up-to-date. But you know in this world the ingenuity is so much that all human efforts after all are not enough to cope with it. They have wives, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, obliging maternal uncles and so on and good many friends also from all ranks and all parties. Anyway, whatever suggestions that may be made in this House or outside it, all I can promise is that they will be duly considered.

As regards information, the Honourable Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya was somewhat angry. I think it is the duty of every good citizen when asking for protection, boldly to come and say: "Well, here is an example of corruption and nepotism". And if I am asked to speak about it, on oath, I shall do it. It is a duty.

An Honourable Member: Even under the Evidence Act, protection is necessary.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: If the man is a party then even under the present provisions of the law he is given protection. There is no question of protection being now made available. It is always given. He is, so to say a King's witness. All that I want to say, Sir, is that if everyone of us looks upon this as a matter of duty, as an urgent task and if we carry it out in each Department, I have no doubt there will be no more occasion hereafter to refer to corruption, nepotism and things of that sort.

Then I come to the second count about the lack of clear-cut policy in the working of the import licenses. Although the original cut motion referred only to imports, it was later on changed to include export policy also. What I want to convey to the House is that there is a clear-cut policy. If there is any trouble, the trouble is in the implementation of the same. Now with respect to the import policy, I may just inform the House that that policy is mainly decided by consideration of our decision with respect to Dollar Exchange. For some time early this year Government were liberal but later on it was discovered that within a short period 100 million pounds was the balance of payments against us. That was not a happy state of affairs and Government changed the policy and decided to conserve our dollar resources; a new policy was enunciated and the same has been published in a communique dated the 3rd July 1947. It was on these lines: Certain commodities were kept on the free list; certain commodities were banned because it was thought that they were not essential but were more or less articles which could be classed as luxuries. Then with respect to commodities not covered by these two categories a policy was laid down under which for every commodity a ceiling in terms of money was laid down and that ceiling was laid down because of the over-all consideration for exchange resources. I agree that it is extremely difficult to work out this policy although it is not very difficult to lay it down. If it is decided that licenses to the extent of one lakh of rupees should be granted with respect to commodity "X", the real trouble is among whom and on what principles this "X" is to be distributed. Is it to be distributed on communal lines? Is it to be distributed on regional lines? Are these to be given to those who are in the trade from before or shall we have a policy by which we can encourage new entrants? These are factors which have got to be taken into consideration when the question of distribution comes. I may inform the House that all these considerations were with the department and with the officials concerned and licenses are granted on certain defined principles.

Shri M. S. Aney (Deccan and Madras States Group): May I interrupt the Honourable Minister? Have not Government laid down a policy with regard to these points which might be a guide to the officers concerned?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Yes, that is exactly so.

Now some point was made with regard to the delay caused. I may tell my Honourable friend Shri Deshbandhu Gupta that on account of the partition more than 33 per cent. of the staff had to go, so far as this section of the Commerce Department is concerned. Why this particular section had such a high proportion of those who opted for Pakistan is a matter which we can easily understand; but that is a fact. That is one cause of the delay; another cause was that in the month of September and a few days of October the situation in Delhi was such that there was no normal attendance in the offices. Speaking for my own department, for four days the only people present were the Honourable Minister and the Secretary and one chaprassie. The work naturally accumulated; and if I were to give you some idea of the work you will at least in sheer justice say that some of these matters have been exaggerated. Here are some of the facts about the number of applications: 1,67,655 was the number for import licenses from January to June, 1947, from July to November it was 1,43,186; the total is 3,10,841, out of which 1,60,000 applications for revalidation of licenses were also received during the period July to November 1947. This is with respect to import licenses only. About export licenses the number is roughly about 70,000. Now, you can imagine, Sir, that if every letter and every inquiry and every reference were to be acknowledged, I do not know what the Finance Minister would have to say about that but an army of clerks would be required. Therefore some principles were observed; but at the same time I assure my Honourable friend Shri Deshbandhu Gupta that hereafter as a result of some sort of adjustment there will be as little delay as possible and letters and references will be acknowledged.

Now as regards the granting of interviews I shudder to think what must be the fate of the officer concerned if all these applicants insist on coming and interviewing him. The officer concerned did try that experiment in the month of October and he reported to me that out of six hours 5½ hours were exhausted in granting interviews and he had no time left for work. Therefore he decided on a system of screening, a sort of inquiry office, where some sort of scrutiny was done, and only in certain cases the officer concerned used to grant interviews. Somehow or other this aspect assumed greater importance than it ought to, because I happened to be in charge of this department and whosoever came to me I gave them half a minute or a minute or two, and so by way of sad contrast it assumed unnecessary importance. But you will imagine that if you have to interview 60 or 100 or 200 people every day, you cannot manage it. They do not talk about one problem but hundreds of problems from lipsticks to machinery, every sort of commodity and every sort of region and every sort of communal consideration; some come with notes from Honourable Members; some come with notes from Congress workers; some come from this body and that body, all well-intentioned and all wanting just and fair treatment. But the man must have some time to look into it and say whether just and fair treatment is possible or not.

Shri K. Santhanam: Why not ban all interviews and do things merely from the records?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I am answering the criticism that interviews were not granted.

Then as far as I am able to see, if licenses are granted and sold as negotiable instruments in the markets of Bombay and Calcutta, the only radical remedy to avoid all this is to nationalise foreign trade, and nothing else. But I am sure those who are complaining about these difficulties know very well that if

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nationalisation comes something else will happen. Anyway, what I want to urge is that so far as the charge of lack of clear-cut policy is concerned it is not borne out by facts.

Now with respect to export license policy.....

Shri B. A. Khimji (Western India States Group): The Honourable Minister has not mentioned the policy as regards the grant of these licenses. What is the policy exactly?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: The first consideration is whether the man has been in the line; secondly, whether the man has really opened letters of credit, that he has really booked his order; thirdly, whether the articles to be imported are really necessary. All these things are taken into consideration and then the licenses are granted.

With regard to the export policy.....

Shri B. A. Khimji: Is turnover taken into consideration by particular parties?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: Naturally.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya: Are letters of credit opened before licenses are granted?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: A general letter of credit is often done.

As regards the policy with respect to export, I may inform the House that as soon as war was over the position was reviewed and nearly 200 articles have been removed from control altogether. Now there are restrictions on a few and even there the policy followed is whether the man is an established shipper and an established shipper has been defined as one who was in the line in a particular, or as is technically called a representative year. But even here another principle has had to be taken into consideration, and that is 25 per cent. so far as cloth export is concerned is reserved for new-comers and 10 per cent. so far as jute is concerned. These are the principles which constitute what may be called the export policy in this limited sense.

Prof. N. G. Ranga (Madras: General): Are you satisfied with that?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: That is another matter. The issue raised is that there is lack of a clear-cut policy. I think the policy has been abundantly clear. The only grievance is that in working it out some unfair things may be happening, that is because of the general atmosphere prevalent in the country. I make no apology to say this but I still want to say that if you allow private trading and if you have control, whatever you may do you will be able to reduce the evil considerably, but you will never be able to eliminate it. You can only eliminate it when, as I suggested, you nationalise the entire foreign trade.

My friend, Sardar Musafar Saheb raised some interesting points and he said that some consideration must be shown to refugees who have come from Punjab and who were traders. All I can say at this stage is that I shall consider this very sympathetically.

I only want to end by saying that this is a problem which is not to be exclusively solved by the Government. This is a problem in the right solution of which the Government as well as the members, in fact the whole community is interested. That being so, I appeal to every Member of this House to help the Government in bringing about a state of affairs which is to their heart.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: May I with your permission ask one question? What is the policy followed in selecting newcomers—persons who are in a new trade?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I am almost tempted to say discretions. It was said, that the discretion of the Chancellor varies according to the length of his toe. It may be so here also!

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Home, Information and Broadcasting and States): This annual opportunity which comes for a discussion to draw the attention of the Government on this vital question which effects the good name of the administration is welcome. Every year we see and hear a discussion on the question of the general tone of the administration, and its object is to keep the administration in trim and to keep those in charge of administration up to their sense of responsibility and duty. It is a good opportunity and we shall make the best use of it.

I have been listening to the debate since this morning. Most of it—in fact all the cut motions moved today concentrated on the question of corruption in administration. Undoubtedly there is a lot of corruption of which we hear almost every day wherever we go. I get about 500 people to interview me in the mornings from 5 to 6—early morning. Most of them are from Punjab. All of them have come to Delhi as refugees. They want housing accommodation in the City of Delhi. There is not enough accommodation. We cannot provide for these people in this city where they have come in very large numbers. Already there are over 2½ lakhs of people. Many of them are residing in the houses of their relations but many others are in the open and almost all of them had a very good status in life and were living in good houses. They are very bitter and angry and complain that they must be provided somewhere. I hear them patiently. I tell them sometimes: "Please, see our difficulties. We cannot accommodate you all. Why don't you go to some other city? Why do you come here, all of you? But, if you do not find any place to go to, will you go to the officer in charge of this Department or the Minister in charge?" They say: "It is no use, Sir." And they complain of many things from which people infer that they have not been fairly treated.

Now it is not an easy thing. How far the stories I hear of their complaints are true and how much false it is difficult to ascertain, because it is an established fact that we have very little accommodation and there is a considerable demand. We cannot meet the demands. I do not say all of them tell tales. But 50 per cent. of them do because if they do not get anything and somebody else does, they conclude they must have paid money and that they must be corrupt. In some cases it may be true but in other cases it cannot be true.

We must go to the root cause which has led to this state of affairs—general corruption in all departments. It is a general demoralisation that has set in as the result of war. The war conditions brought about a general deterioration all over the world. It is not in this country alone. The aftermath of the war has not ended. You have got controls, you have the licenses and you have got the general deficiency in the necessaries of life and therefore these tight controls and these licenses give considerable scope for corruption. My Honourable friend from Bombay said, that the thing is so rotten that there is nothing to mend and if the corruption is so bad and is so rampant in all departments, the only thing remains is to shut up the shop because there is no room to mend. But that fortunately is not the case. During my experience of a short period, however short it may be, I have had the pleasure of working with many officials I may say that to work with many of them would be a matter of pride and I am proud of them. Most of them today are our own people and I feel very proud of their ability, of their integrity and of their sense of duty. You may take it that if I find the slightest suspicion in any

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of my officers who are in charge of the administration I would not stand it even for a moment.

When I came here as a member of the Government the first thing that I did was to see what could be done to remedy this evil. Those who were in this House will remember that the first two measures that I brought before this House were the Special Police Establishment Bill and the Prevention of Corruption Bill, in which the normal law of evidence was relaxed and the responsibility was placed on the accused to prove his *bona fides*. Also in some cases the minimum sentence was prescribed. The House was good enough to give me almost unanimous support. I had not to make any speeches from which quotations may be flung in my face. Therefore you will remember that the first measures that we passed in this House were these two measures with a view to check this evil.

Subsequently we met with a serious crisis in this country. You all know that the year through which we have passed is a type of year which we have not seen in the history of this country. We have passed through a period during which in a short period we have had complete transfer of power. We have had a partition of the country to which all of us were opposed. We have had the partition of the provinces to which many were opposed, we have partitioned the defence forces of the country, we have partitioned the civil administration of the country. We have done all this in a very short space of time. Along with this we have accomplished the transfer of a population of ten million people. That transfer was not voluntary: it was an involuntary or forcible transfer. Do you think any country could stand this strain?

I like this criticism that you have been making here. It is the privilege of the Opposition. It is a good thing but we are not in a House in which the Opposition is functioning in the old fashion. Here is a responsible administration and here instead of quoting the speeches of the Members in charge of the Administration you have to replace them and take charge yourself. If you think that a particular member who made a speech the other day of a particular type is behaving in a contrary fashion, the man who quotes it against him has to take his place and show that he can do better. Therefore although we hate corruption and we must all of us put our heads together to strangle that evil as soon as possible, we must not create an atmosphere in which the remedy may prove to be worse than the disease. If you create a general atmosphere of criticism, that all our services are corrupt, the administration is corrupt, there is nothing good left in it, remember you dispirit the people and drive them to desperation: people who have a sense of honour, who have a sense of integrity and a sense of duty feel that there is no appreciation here and it was no use serving. Let us not create that position. I appreciate; therefore, your criticism fully but we must be discriminating in our criticism. We must see what is good in our services. You must also remember that our services are broken to bits. 50 per cent. of the services have left. We had 1,250 officers, who were called the steel frame of this country, of which 50 per cent. have left, because we did not want them or they did not want to stay. Even if they wanted to stay they found conditions unsuitable. Out of the 50 per cent. several of them went to the other side of the country; they opted to serve in a country where they thought it would be better for them. Beginning from the highest administrative post down to that of a chaprassi people were given the option to choose where they would serve. If you have a shrewd sense or in-sight you will find in the departments where you might go that there has been a considerable change. When I came here and was entering my office I found crowds of chaprassies sitting round fire places and I was told that there were 18,000 chaprassies. Before the war there were only three or four thousand. I am only giving you an instance. The departments were inflated during the period of the

war and it was difficult to retrench any of them. When we came here, conditions were such that we could do nothing. If we proposed retrenchment we were threatened that there would be a general strike. Then the partition came and I issued a general order that those people who opted out should be allowed to go and their places should not be filled then. We found an opportunity. We find now that there is considerable improvement. We have now to man the services again and we have to find the men.

When you think that nothing is being done I will just give you for your information as an example how action is being taken. After this special Police department was created the action taken up to September 1947 was 1,224 cases were investigated, 750 cases were sent up for trial and out of them 407 ended in conviction. 120 cases are still under trial. 180 cases were recommended for departmental action, out of which 145 people have been dismissed. But mere actions of dismissal or prosecution will not be enough. We will have to change the atmosphere in the country. We must raise the general tone of the people. Today the giver is as ready and willing to give as the taker is willing and anxious to take. Bribe-giving and bribe-taking have become a normal thing and when it becomes a normality it is not a crime; it is not regarded as a crime. I remember a case 25 years ago when a railway officer, a station master, was being prosecuted for taking bribes; for every wagon he was giving he was taking a huge amount. When investigations were made, and he was caught and prosecuted he defended himself openly that he had not committed any offence, that was not bribery, that was *dasturi* or recognised practice, that it was being done not only by him but by every man from the Agent down to the lowest clerk in the railway department. Why it was called a crime he did not know. After all that there was a technical conviction. He had to pay only Rs. 200 fine, because the practice was recognised by the trying judge.

Shri M. S. Aney: It was recognised by the courts.

The Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: Yes. Therefore if conditions become such then the moral sense deteriorates. Let us not create that condition. Of course so long as the practice of licenses, permits, and controls continue bribery and corruption are their handmaids. Therefore we have to check it and we are taking measures as quickly as possible to do away with licenses and controls. But it is not an easy thing.

My friend the Minister in charge of the Commerce Department who has left for America has talked to me several times on this subject. He asked me "What can I do about these licences and these permits for import? The goods dumped in this country as a result of the permits given have been so much that there is no market for them, and the licences given are so many that they are being sold in the market. What can I do about these things?" I told him "You can do nothing. It is a past history. Let us close it and begin afresh." It has to be forgotten and there is no use criticising it. The conditions were different. The stage on which we functioned was quite a different one. We have worked for a year and only we know how and under what conditions we worked. It was not a Coalition. It was a different Government for which there is no parallel in history. Therefore, all this criticism is not with reference to a normal situation but a very abnormal situation. Those who had worked it, they alone know what it was. Honourable Members here cannot have an idea of it. Therefore whilst I appreciate the criticism and whilst I appreciate the *bona fides* of Honourable Members to keep their Government awake I appeal to accept what my friend Dr. Svama Prasad has said, namely that we have a collective responsibility. It means, not collective responsibility among the members on the Treasury Benches alone, but collective responsibility of the whole House as well as of the whole population. To drive out corruption is not an easy thing. It is an abnormal

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situation which has to be reduced to normality and we must raise the general moral tone as also the tone of the services. That is all I have to say.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: I would like to withdraw my cut motion.

Mr. Nasiruddin Ahmad: I too would like to withdraw my cut motion.

Mr. Chairman: Have the Honourable Members leave of the House to withdraw their cut motions?

The cut motions were, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Planning and development programme for India

Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar (Madras: General): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Cabinet' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Sir, the whole country is aware that after long struggle extending over 25 years under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and the sacrifice of millions of men, young and old, we have won freedom for this country. That freedom is not worth anything to the ordinary man in the street unless the other freedoms are also won—freedom from want, freedom from danger and freedom from illiteracy or ignorance. These are more material. The one freedom that was obtained is only a means to obtaining the other freedoms. Even while the war was on, in expectation of its drawing to a close, various countries in the world had planned for reconstruction of their countries after the war. America is the only country in the world that recovered much more easily than other countries even though it had to sacrifice a large portion of its men, money and goods. After it recovered it has started a plan of rehabilitation of the devastated countries. It is known as the Marshall plan of 21,000 billion dollars for the rehabilitation of the devastated countries of Europe. Not being satisfied with that it has also sponsored the International Bank with 10,000 million dollars to rehabilitate the other devastated countries in the world. Russia has started on an economic plan, a drive to increase its production and war potential also, its industry and agriculture. Only yesterday we heard from the Honourable the Prime Minister in answer to a question that to equip the household of our Ambassador, chairs and other items of furniture were being brought from Sweden. He also said, that the Russians were devoting their attention to equipping their country with various industries and other materials that might be necessary immediately and that they did not mind if they had to go with torn trousers and worn out boots. That is the way in which Russia is trying to rehabilitate itself. Now, Sir, the war clouds are thick in the air. You do not know when another war might come. The interval between peace and war seems to become shorter and shorter. In our own country the bureaucrats who were ruling, before the war came to a close, made a maiden attempt for a future plan of reconstruction of this country. In 1945 a Member for Planning was appointed. A Board of Planning was appointed and a policy was also enunciated in 1945 regarding industrial planning. A number of Panels were appointed to go into various matters, rehabilitation of agriculture, rehabilitation of industry, health, education and various other kindred matters. They have made their Reports. Simultaneously with this there were non-official agencies also who came forward with their plans. You would have heard, Sir, of the Industrialists' Plan of Bombay in which they envisaged an expenditure of nearly Rs. 15,000 and odd crores spread over a period of years. Then there was the Aggarwal Plan modelled on Gandhiji's principle of decentralisation of the industries of this country. Even Mr. Roy was not behind others in bringing forward a Plan stating that agriculture must be improved and that preference and priority should be given to the improvement of agriculture before industries are placed on their footing. These Plans have been there, and recently there was also the Congress Plan under the presidency

of no less a person than the Honourable the Prime Minister. After he took charge of the administration the Prime Minister appointed a Committee presided over by our Honourable Minister, Mr. K. C. Neogy, which was entrusted with the task of co-ordinating all these Plans. He submitted a Report. That was about four or five months ago. What has happened till now? Is there time to lose? I am sorry to say and I was extremely disappointed that in the lengthy speech of the Honourable the Finance Minister introducing the Budget there was not a single reference to any planning. Have all the efforts which have been made till now gone a waste? Is there no planning necessary for this country? There was no reference to planning and he further said that there will be no control in this country. I wonder if he wants to take this country back to the days of the nineteenth century with its doctrines of *laissez faire*, uncontrolled capital, private industry and cut-throat competition. I am absolutely unable to understand what exactly the Honourable the Finance Minister meant when he wanted to say that it is only a question of distribution, that there is no difference between his principle and the principles of socialism, that it is only a question of distribution and nothing more. I am surprised at his statement that there is no difference between the one and the other thing. It is not a question of distribution but of production also. He should know, and I am sure he knows it well, that in a socialistic economy more attention is paid to production for the purpose of consumption and not for profit. In capitalist economy production is even curtailed so that profits may increase. That is the way in which I am afraid the whole planning system is likely to be sabotaged and thrown into a reckless spirit of competition in which the rich may become richer and the poor poorer. An impetus will be given to wild and unchecked growth. Industries might come into existence as wild trees and in some cases as mushroom growths. There may be reckless competition. There may be concentration of industries. It is already there, namely of paper industry in Bengal, of sugar in U.P. and of textiles in Ahmedabad and Bombay.

Are Ahmedabad and Bombay the only places where raw material for the textile industry is available in plenty? I represented in the previous Legislative Assembly 5 districts, 4 of which have the largest area under cotton cultivation. There is not a single spinning mill there. Why should you bring all the cotton to Ahmedabad to be spun into yarn and woven into cloth, and sent back to the very place where it has come from? Is that not the very fact against which we had been fighting, that cotton which is produced in this country was being taken to Manchester to be woven into cloth and sent back to us? Was it not for that we fought the British imperialists? Are we going to supplant one imperialism by another imperialism? I am really surprised there is not a single word in the Honourable the Finance Minister's speech relating to planning. Is not the Honourable the Premier still in office? I do think that hereafter the primary priority must be given in the Ministry to a Planning Minister. All other Ministers of other departments must be subordinate to him. There is a Minister for Agriculture, there is a Minister for Education, there is a Minister for Health, but there is no Minister for Planning. Industry is no doubt a provincial subject; agriculture is a provincial subject; education is a provincial subject; health is a provincial subject. Why then have we got Ministers here? It is not now the old doctrine that Government is there for policing against internal disturbances. That theory is gone to the wall. A Government really exists not merely for policing purposes, but for social reconstruction, to increase wealth, provide employment, and make every man to feel happy and contented. That is the primary function of the State. I therefore feel that a united effort, a central effort, an organized effort, must be made at the Centre for the purpose. The moment we have won freedom, the other things have to be attacked. There is absolutely no effort made. I wonder why the Honourable the Finance Minister.

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when he has budgeted for an expenditure of 171 crores, has not thought it fit to budget for a small expenditure on a Minister for Planning, and a Board to assist him in that matter. That is the foremost thing that he has to do. As to the ways in which planning should be done, I would say that first of all priority should be given to make ourselves self-sufficient in both food and clothing. Even today controls might go. Planning and control go together. Want of control is recklessness, nothing more. The Honourable the Finance Minister said he is in favour of mixed economy. Mixed economy means some industries for state enterprise, others for private enterprise. In principle I am for socialism out and out, but it has to be achieved in stages. This is a good beginning too if he wants to make a beginning of having state enterprise in respect of certain industries. If he allows controls to be lifted, where would you get steel or cement for the purpose of building industries? In my place steel and iron were being taken away to cinema houses in preference to being used for primary needs, such as labourers' and other houses. I would say the same thing would happen everywhere. Every town will be flooded with cinema halls and steel and iron are already in short supply. The Honourable the Supply Minister said that 800,000 tons of steel is being produced as against a demand of 2 million tons a year for this country, and so far as cement is concerned, it is 110,000 tons per month as against a demand of 200,000 tons. We are in short supply. How then could we achieve this business of industrialising this country, whether we have mixed economy or complete economy. I would say it is like allowing the horses to escape and thereafter going to bolt the door. Therefore it is impossible to remove control. On the other hand the more you plan, the greater control you have taken. First let us make ourselves self-sufficient in food. We are, in our part of the country, having only 8 ounces of ration, and the north-east monsoon is finished this year. I do not know what is going to be our fate. Before the war we were getting 1½ million tons from Burma of rice. It is not coming now. Now therefore an impetus has to be given to agriculture. A Board of Agriculture and a Central Planning Commission for agriculture should come into existence. All major projects will have to be taken over by the Centre. Waste lands should be converted into cultivable lands. Ryots should be helped by the Centre either by loans or subsidy and power should be taken to their very doors. Wells have to be dug, canals have to be dug. In addition to that, I would suggest various other supplementary kinds of food have to be given. Gardens have to be grown. Therefore it is necessary that there must be a Planning Board centrally devoted to agriculture. That is the first thing. I have moved this cut that there may be a 5-year Plan. I am now envisaging that in 8 years we may have a war. There was the 5-year plan of Russia. Hitler thought that in 4 years he must have a plan. I do think in 8 years we must have a plan. If there is a cataclysm, we do not know where we will stand. We will die like flies for want of food, as in Brazil. Clothing has also to be attended to. The next thing is industries. Let us now decide what the policy is. It is no good merely enunciating policy. I would say so far as industries are concerned, our basic industries should be taken over by the State. Even for that purpose planning is necessary, priority is necessary. Capital goods have to be imported from foreign countries. So far as private industries are concerned, they should not be concentrated in a particular place. Private industry also should be given priority. Let capital issues be given not merely priority, let it be insisted upon that that money will be devoted for them. Let there then be cottage industries. The whole economic system cannot rest completely on big industries. Cottage industries should be taken over by provinces. Planning therefore is necessary. I would urge upon the Honourable the Finance Minister and upon the entire

Government to have this matter before them for their immediate consideration. Let the Honourable Premier take charge of this Plan and bring it to fruition. There are various panels, there are various reports but without any concerted plan. The plan has not been finalized. The plan has to be finalized, policy has to be enunciated, programme has to be evolved, and a Commission has to be appointed to work out the programme and execution. It has to be watched with a thousand eyes. Progress has to be watched from time to time. In less than 3 years I hope the wealth of the nation will increase, unemployment will go away from our land; there will not be these disturbances constantly between labour and capital. Labour must be given a share of the profits in industry, and a basic rate of wage should be paid to labour. Labour must be given a share so as to avoid either strikes or lockouts. That is the only way in which our economy will improve. Otherwise the freedom that we have won will go to waste. Sir, I would urge upon this Government.....

Mr. Chairman: Order, order, the Honourable Member's time is up. I am going to put the motion before the House. Demand No. 19 has already been disposed of.

The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the third column of the Order Paper, except in case of head of Demand No. 19, be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to the 31st March, 1948, in respect of the corresponding heads of Demands entered in the second column thereof."

The motion was adopted.

[As directed by Mr. Chairman the motions for Demands for Grants which were adopted by the Assembly are reproduced below (Ed. of Deb.).]

DEMAND NO. 1—CUSTOMS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 68,98,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Customs'."

DEMAND NO. 2—CENTRAL EXCISE AND SALT

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,29,59,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Central Excise and Salt'."

DEMAND NO. 3—TAXES ON INCOME INCLUDING CORPORATION TAX.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 94,54,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Taxes on Income including Corporation tax'."

DEMAND NO. 4—OPIUM.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,53,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Opium'."

DEMAND NO. 5—PROVINCIAL EXCISE.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,75,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Provincial Excise'."

DEMAND NO. 6—STAMPS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 63,54,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Stamps'."

DEMAND NO. 7—FOREST.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,43,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Forest'."

**DEMAND NO. 8 — IRRIGATION, NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS
(MET FROM REVENUES).**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,71,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Irrigation, Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works (Met from Revenues)'."

DEMAND NO. 9 — INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,31,57,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department'."

DEMAND NO. 10—CABINET.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,63,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Cabinet'."

DEMAND NO. 11—CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,75,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Constituent Assembly of India'."

DEMAND NO. 12—CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE).

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,29,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative)'."

DEMAND NO. 13—MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,17,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Home Affairs'."

DEMAND NO. 14—MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 28,02,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Information & Broadcasting'."

DEMAND NO. 15—MINISTRY OF LAW.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,49,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Law'."

DEMAND NO. 16—MINISTRY OF EDUCATION.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,29,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Education'."

DEMAND NO. 17—MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,69,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Agriculture'."

DEMAND NO. 18—MINISTRY OF HEALTH.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,75,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Health'."

DEMAND NO. 20—MINISTRY OF FINANCE.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 49,55,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Finance'."

DEMAND NO. 21—MINISTRY OF COMMERCE.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 28,13,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Commerce'."

DEMAND NO. 22—MINISTRY OF LABOUR.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,78,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Labour'."

DEMAND NO. 23—MINISTRY OF WORKS, MINES AND POWER.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 11,28,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Works, Mines and Power'."

DEMAND NO. 24—MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,03,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Communications'."

DEMAND NO. 25—MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,58,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Transport'."

DEMAND NO. 26—MINISTRY OF FOOD.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 30,68,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Food'."

DEMAND NO. 27—MINISTRY OF STATES.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,71,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of States'."

DEMAND NO. 28—MINISTRY OF DEFENCE.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,70,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Defence'."

DEMAND NO. 29—MINISTRY OF INDUSTRY AND SUPPLY.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,03,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Industry and Supply'."

DEMAND NO. 30—MINISTRY OF RELIEF AND REHABILITATION.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,00,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation'."

DEMAND NO. 31—MINISTRY WITHOUT PORTFOLIO.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,10,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ministry Without Portfolio'."

DEMAND NO. 32—PAYMENTS TO OTHER GOVERNMENTS, DEPARTMENTS, ETC. ON ACCOUNT OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF AGENCY SUBJECTS AND MANAGEMENT OF TREASURIES, ETC.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,86,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Payments to other Governments, Departments, etc., on account of the Administration of Agency Subjects and management of Treasuries, etc.'"

DEMAND No. 33—AUDIT.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,08,55,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Audit'."

DEMAND No. 34—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,60,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Administration of Justice'."

DEMAND No. 35—JAILS AND CONVICT SETTLEMENTS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Jails and Convict Settlements'."

DEMAND No. 36—POLICE.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 11,50,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Police'."

DEMAND No. 37—PORTS AND PILOTAGE.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,53,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ports and Pilotage'."

DEMAND No. 38—LIGHTHOUSES AND LIGHTSHIPS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,73,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Lighthouses and Lightships'."

DEMAND No. 39—ECCLIASTICAL.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,21,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ecclesiastical'."

DEMAND No. 40—TRIBAL AREAS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 55,23,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Tribal Areas'."

DEMAND No. 41—EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,11,13,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'External Affairs'."

DEMAND No. 42—SURVEY OF INDIA.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 64,91,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Survey of India'."

DEMAND No. 43—BOTANICAL SURVEY.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,43,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Botanical Survey'."

DEMAND No. 44—ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,92,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Zoological Survey'."

DEMAND NO. 45—GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,15,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Geological Survey'."

DEMAND NO. 46—MINES.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,80,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Mines'."

DEMAND NO. 47—ARCHAEOLOGY.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,61,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Archæology'."

DEMAND NO. 48—METEOROLOGY.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 30,93,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Meteorology'."

DEMAND NO. 49—OTHER SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENTS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 68,12,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Other Scientific Departments'."

DEMAND NO. 50—EDUCATION.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 79,51,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Education'."

DEMAND NO. 51—MEDICAL SERVICES.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,19,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Medical Services'."

DEMAND NO. 52—PUBLIC HEALTH.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 36,31,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Public Health'."

DEMAND NO. 53—AGRICULTURE.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,14,29,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Agriculture'."

DEMAND NO. 54—CIVIL VETERINARY SERVICES.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,37,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Civil Veterinary Services'."

DEMAND NO. 55—INDUSTRIES AND SUPPLIES.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,98,79,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Industries and Supplies'."

DEMAND NO. 56—OVERSEAS COMMUNICATIONS SERVICE.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,17,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Overseas Communications Service'."

DEMAND NO. 57—AVIATION.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,08,62,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Aviation'."

DEMAND NO. 58—BROADCASTING.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 57,22,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Broadcasting'."

DEMAND NO. 59—EMIGRATION.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Emigration'."

DEMAND NO. 60—COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND STATISTICS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 27,99,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics'."

DEMAND NO. 61—CENSUS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,50,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Census'."

DEMAND NO. 62—JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,32,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Joint-Stock Companies'."

DEMAND NO. 63—INDIAN DAIRY DEPARTMENT.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,39,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Indian Dairy Department'."

DEMAND NO. 64—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 78,94,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Departments'."

DEMAND NO. 65—CURRENCY.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 52,38,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Currency'."

DEMAND NO. 66—MINT.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 66,43,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Mint'."

DEMAND NO. 67—CIVIL WORKS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,20,44,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948 in respect of 'Civil Works'."

DEMAND NO. 68—CENTRAL ROAD FUND.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 86,65,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Central Road Fund'."

DEMAND No. 69—TERRITORIAL AND POLITICAL PENSIONS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,69,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Territorial and Political Pensions'."

DEMAND No. 70—SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES AND PENSIONS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,69,36,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Superannuation Allowances and Pensions'."

DEMAND No. 71—STATIONERY AND PRINTING.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,14,80,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Stationery and Printing'."

DEMAND No. 72—MISCELLANEOUS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,32,69,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Miscellaneous'."

DEMAND No. 73—EXPENDITURE ON REFUGEES.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 22,00,00,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Expenditure on Refugees'."

DEMAND No. 74—DEFENCE SERVICES, EFFECTIVE ARMY.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 57,47,19,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective Army'."

DEMAND No. 75—DEFENCE SERVICES, EFFECTIVE (ROYAL INDIAN NAVY).

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,91,43,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective (Royal Indian Navy)'."

DEMAND No. 76—DEFENCE SERVICES, EFFECTIVE (AIR FORCES).

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,22,50,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective (Air Forces)'."

DEMAND No. 77—DEFENCE SERVICES, EFFECTIVE (SUPPLIES AND STORES).

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,01,67,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective (Supplies and Stores)'."

DEMAND No. 78—DEFENCE SERVICES, NON-EFFECTIVE CHARGES.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 33,01,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Defence Services, Non-Effective Charges'."

DEMAND No. 79—MISCELLANEOUS ADJUSTMENTS BETWEEN THE CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 33,01,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Adjustments between the Central and Provincial Governments'."

DEMAND No. 80—RESETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,59,78,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of 'Resettlement and Development'."

DEMAND NO. 81—CIVIL DEFENCE.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,08,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Civil Defence'."

DEMAND NO. 82—DELHI.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 98,78,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Delhi'."

DEMAND NO. 83—AJMER-MERWARA.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 42,64,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Ajmer-Merwara'."

DEMAND NO. 84—PANTH PIPLODA.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Panth Piploda'."

DEMAND NO. 85—ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 56,90,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Andaman and Nicobar Islands'."

DEMAND NO. 86—RELATIONS WITH INDIAN STATES

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 26,92,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Relations with Indian States'."

DEMAND NO. 87—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON FOREST.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 33,01,000 be granted to the Governor-General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Forests'."

DEMAND NO. 88—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON THE INDIA SECURITY PRESS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,02,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on the India Security Press'."

DEMAND NO. 89—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS (NOT MET FROM REVENUE).

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,11,70,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Indian Posts and Telegraphs (Not met from Revenue)'."

DEMAND NO. 89—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS (NOT MET REVENUE).

"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 period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Indian Posts and Telegraphs—Stores Suspense (Not met from Revenue)'."

DEMAND NO. 91—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,30,92,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Industrial Development'."

DEMAND NO. 92—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON CIVIL AVIATIONS.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,58,65,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Civil Aviation'."

DEMAND NO. 93—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON BROADCASTING.

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 32,78,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of ‘Capital Outlay on Broadcasting’.”

DEMAND NO. 94—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON MINTS.

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 57,45,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of ‘Capital Outlay on Mints’.”

DEMAND NO. 95—DELHI CAPITAL OUTLAY.

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 62,04,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of ‘Delhi Capital Outlay’.”

DEMAND NO. 96—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON CIVIL WORKS.

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 64,21,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of ‘Capital Outlay on Civil Works’.”

DEMAND NO. 97—COMMUTED VALUE OF PENSIONS.

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,02,000 be granted to the Governor General to draw the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of ‘Commuted Value of Pensions’.”

DEMAND NO. 98—PAYMENTS TO RETRENCHED PERSONNEL.

“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 period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of ‘Payments to Retrenched Personnel’.”

DEMAND NO. 99—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON SCHEMES OF STATE TRADING

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,32,71,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of ‘Capital Outlay on Schemes of State Trading’.”

DEMAND NO. 100—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON DEVELOPMENT.

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 24,27,64,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March 1948, in respect of ‘Capital Outlay on Development’.”

DEMAND NO. 101—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON CURRENCY.

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,20,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of ‘Capital Outlay on Currency’.”

DEMAND NO. 102—INTEREST-FREE AND INTEREST-BEARING ADVANCES.

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,55,05,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the period 15th August, 1947 to 31st March, 1948, in respect of ‘Interest-free and Interest-bearing Advances’.”

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, the 6th December, 1947.