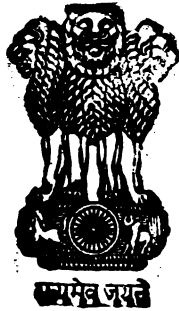


Wednesday, 9th August, 1950



PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

VOLUME V, 1950

(31st July, 1950 to 14th August, 1950)

Second Session

of the

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1950



CONTENTS

Volume V—21st July, 1950 to 14th August, 1950

CONTENTS

MONDAY, 31ST JULY, 1950—

President's Address to Parliament	1—16
---	------

TUESDAY, 1ST AUGUST, 1950—

Business of the House	17
Death of Shri A. B. Lathe	18
Resignations of Dr. John Matthai and Shri Motilal Pandit	18
Leave of absence from the House	18—19
The President's Assent to Bills	20

Papers laid on the Table—

Documents on Korean Affairs	20—21
Treaty of friendship between the Government of India and the Imperial Government of Iran	20—21
Report of the Indian Delegation to the Ninth Session of the United Nations Economic and Social Council	20—21

WEDNESDAY, 2ND AUGUST, 1950—

Death of Mr. Bhaskarrao V. Jadhav	107—108
Leave of absence from the House	108

Papers laid on the Table—

Delhi Road Transport Authority (Motor Vehicles Insurance Fund) Rules, 1950	108
Report on Fourth Session of Transport and Communications Commission	108—109
Delhi Road Transport Authority (Members Allowances and Fees) Rules, 1950	109
Railway Accidents (Compensation) Rules, 1950	109
Report of the Indian Delegation to Second Session of International Rice Commission, February, 1950	109
Report on Second meeting of F. A. O. Nutrition Committee for South East Asia	110
Report on Fifth Annual Conference of Food and Agriculture Organisation	110
Supplementary statement showing the action taken on assurances, promises and undertakings given during November-December Session, 1949	110
Minimum Wages (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	110—111
Motion on Address by the President— <i>Concluded</i>	111—141, 141—214
Member Sworn	141

THURSDAY, 3RD AUGUST, 1950—

Papers laid on the Table—

Amendments to Federal Public Service Commission (Consultation by the Governor-General) Regulations and Union Public Service Commission (Consultation) Regulations	215—216
Revised Regulation 54 of General Regulations of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India	216
Central Excises and Salt Notifications	216
Motion <i>re</i> : Korean Situation— <i>not concluded</i>	217—290

	Columns
FRIDAY, 4TH AUGUST, 1950—	
Message from the President	291
Cooch-Bihar (Assimilation of Laws) Bill—Introduced	291—292
Dentists (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	292
Naval Forces (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill—Introduced	292—293
Motion <i>re</i> : Korean Situation—Adopted	293—299
MONDAY, 7TH AUGUST, 1950—	
Deaths of Shri Akhil Chandra Datta and Shri Gopinath Bardoloi	391—393
Motions for Adjournment—	
Strike by Delhi Tongawalas	393—395
Papers laid on the Table—	
Notifications making certain further amendments to the Indian Aircraft Rules, 1920 and 1937	395—396
Coal Mines Provident Fund and Bonus Schemes (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	396
Ajmer Rural Boards and Municipalities (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	396—397
Allianz Und Stuttgarter Life Insurance Bank (Transfer) Bill—Introduced	397
Contingency Fund of India Bill—Introduced	397
Business of the House	398
Motion <i>re</i> : Bengal Situation— <i>not concluded</i>	398—482
TUESDAY, 8TH AUGUST, 1950—	
Sugar Crisis Enquiring Authority Bill—Introduced	483
Motion <i>re</i> : Bengal Situation— <i>not concluded</i>	483—52
	528—596
Business of the House	526—528
WEDNESDAY, 9TH AUGUST, 1950—	
Members Sworn	597
Motion <i>re</i> : Bengal Situation— <i>concluded</i>	597—623
Census (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	623
Salaries of Ministers (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	623
Preventive Detention (Amendment) Bill—Passed	624—639
Demands for Supplementary Grants for 1950-51	639—706
Demand No. 8—Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department (including Working Expenses)	640—665
Demand No. 9—Cabinet	665—704
Demand No. 11—Ministry of Home Affairs	704—705
Demand No. 13—Ministry of Law	705—706
THURSDAY, 10TH AUGUST, 1950—	
Papers laid on the Table—	
Forty Second Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Explosives in India	707
Business of the House	708—712
Fair Wages Bill—Introduced	712
Motion <i>re</i> : Treaty of Friendship with Iran	712—736
Voluntary Surrender of Salaries (Exemption from Taxation) Bill—Passed	737—742
Cantonment Laws (Extension and Amendment) Bill—Passed, as amended	742—765
Naval Forces (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill—Passed	765—789
Minimum Wages (Amendment) Bill—Passed	789—796
Discussion on Government Housing Factory at Delhi— <i>concluded</i>	796—808

FRIDAY, 11TH AUGUST, 1950—

Papers laid on the Table—

Declarations of Exemption under the Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939	809—810
Annual Report of the Central Electricity Commission for 1948-49	810
Report of the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee	810—811
The Constitution (Removal of Difficulties) Order, No. II (Second Amendment) Order	895—897
Motion <i>re</i> : Report of the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee—Adopted	811—812
Influx from Pakistan (Control) Amendment Bill—Introduced	812
Ajmer Tenancy and Land Records (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	812—813
Salaries of Ministers (Amendment) Bill—Passed	813—839
Census (Amendment) Bill—Passed	840—841
Dentists (Amendment) Bill—Passed	841—871
Contingency Fund of India Bill—Passed	871—891
Demand for Supplementary Grant for 1950-51	892
Demand No. 19-A.—Transfer to the Contingency Fund of India	892
Financial Laws (Amendment) Bill—Motion to consider— <i>not concluded</i>	892—895
Closing of Post Offices on Sundays	898—910

SATURDAY, 12TH AUGUST, 1950—

Appropriation (No. 3) Bill—Introduced	911
Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Amendment Bill—Introduced	911—913
Delhi Premises (Requisition and Eviction) Amendment Bill—Introduced	913
Resolution <i>re</i> : making of laws by Parliament with respect to certain matters in State List for one year—Adopted	913—995
Finance Laws (Amendment) Bill—Passed as amended	995—1008

MONDAY, 14TH AUGUST, 1950—

Motion for Adjournment <i>re</i> : Toofan Express Accident.	1009—1012, 1112—1123
Business of the House	1012
Paper laid on the Table—	
Report of the Indian Delegation to the Fourth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, 1949	1013
Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Amendment Bill—Passed, as amended	1013—1112
Influx from Pakistan (Control) Amendment Bill—Passed	1123—1127
Appropriation (No. 3) Bill—Passed	1127—1128

THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers) .
OFFICIAL REPORT

597

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

Wednesday, 9th August 1950

*The House met at a Quarter to
Eleven of the Clock*

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

(No Questions. Part I not published.)

10-45 A.M.

MEMBERS SWORN

The Honourable Shri Hare Krushna
Mahtab (Minister of Industry and
Supply)

Shri Kala Venkatarao (Madras)

MOTION *RE.* BENGAL SITUATION—*concl'd.*

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): For two full days we have discussed this grave problem and many feeling speeches have been delivered. There have been various viewpoints expressed, often in forcible and passionate language. Whatever the other differences, on one thing we are all agreed, namely, that this is a matter of grave import and of the highest importance. My regret has been that this matter has not been dealt with, if I may say so with all respect, from a constructive point of view, but much more so from—not only a destructive—but rather a political point of view. So far as facts are concerned, there may be a

598

difference of opinion, and that difference can be partly removed by considering all the facts carefully and objectively.

But it is important that we consider more the approach to this question first, because that governs our interpretation of facts and how we proceed with the matter. This question covers many aspects. We have to deal with the international aspect, the national, the political, the economic, the social, the communal and above all, the human aspect of the problem; for it affects millions of our countrymen and naturally anything that affects them has to be considered, apart from other things, from the human aspect.

But in another sense, there is another aspect—an overriding aspect—which has to be kept in mind and, that is, the principles which should govern our approach. By what yardstick do we measure things? What are our ideals and objectives in regard to India? Because unless those objectives are clear, we are likely to flounder or lose ourselves in the morass of detail.

Now, listening to the speeches delivered here in the course of the last two days, I felt that this approach, on principle, was very varied. In fact I felt that there were different approaches entirely. It seems to me that we ought to be—this House as well as this country ought to be—fairly clear as to what our objectives are, what our aims are, what kind of India we are seeking to build up, so that whatever

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]
 steps we might take may fit in with those ideals and objectives and that picture of future India that we seek to build up. If we do not do that, we shall be in continuous difficulty, and I do submit that one of our major difficulties in the past has been this varied and often contradictory approach to such problems, with the result that neither approach yields satisfactory results, because there is a pulling in different directions, for you cannot have an approach which is, if I may say so, friendly and hostile at the same time. Each cancels the other—whether internally or externally in the international field.

Now, it may be said that those of us who have had the honour to belong to the great Congress organisation have had certain fairly definite objectives and ideals, at any rate in regard to such matters. We may differ, perhaps in regard to economic approaches, although even in regard to them there was a basic Congress approach. It may be generally said to be an approach in favour of equality in favour of the under-dog, in favour of raising up the people. But it is true that that was a general approach, not a detailed one. Subsequent Committees of the Congress have gone into details, but it cannot be said that the Congress as a whole, during these past many years, laid down the details of that approach; and so when political freedom was achieved, certain tendencies—rather divergent—came into the field in regard to that economic approach. But so far as this particular question with which we are concerned or rather the background of it, the context of it, the ideals that should govern it are concerned, I submit that the Congress approach for many, many years has been exceedingly clear.

Of course, it is always open not only to this House but certainly to the country and even to the Congress to re-examine its previous approaches and if necessary to vary them. It is open to them and we have to see whether conditions have arisen which compel us to re-examine that approach.

But so long as we do not re-examine it and change it deliberately, naturally we are supposed to follow that basic approach on which we built up our movement for freedom, according to which we struggled for freedom and which we declared after the attainment of freedom and which this House has declared time and again on various occasions. So it is desirable that we should be clear about that.

I am rather sorry that in all likelihood this motion that I have made will be, to put it in the colloquial language, 'talked out'; because I should have liked—whether it is now or whether it is at a later stage—this House to come to grips with this basic approach and principle that should govern our looking at things and come to some clear decision. It is not fair to this House, it is not fair to this Government or to the unfortunate individual who happens to be the Prime Minister, it is not fair to any party concerned, for us to proceed sometimes in different directions because our basic premises may be different. We waste our time and energy in coming into meaningless conflicts of opinion. Therefore, it would be desirable for this House and for the great organisation that many of us here represent to lay down clearly what our approach to the present problem is—what the basic one is; the details may be filled in later.

Now, the Congress approach being clear—at any rate till it is changed—so far as this Government is concerned it is naturally its bounden duty to follow that approach and none other. I can understand my hon. friend Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee expressing himself in a different language and approaching the problem in an entirely different way. He is not bound down by the Congress approach nor has his past activities been conditioned by that. Now, I may disagree—as I did—with Dr. Mookerjee's approach to this problem. But I admit he has a right to follow his own approach and to give expression to it fully. But I do confess that I was greatly surprised and somewhat distressed at the fact that many of our

colleagues in this House, who presumably are supposed to follow that basic approach, on which we have founded ourselves through the major part of our life, tried to treat that casually and in fact to reject it, to by-pass it and to ignore it, as if it did not exist at all or perhaps, to think that in the present circumstances it has no more force left.

If it has no more force left in the present circumstances, then it is for us to examine what is the force left in our past ideology and in our past working? Is there anything left, or are we simply here without any ideology, without any ideals or objectives, just going on from day to day as we react to individual circumstances? It is an important matter, because we are face to face with very grave issues, in India and in the world. We may ignore the world, if you like but as the recent debate in this House showed, it is not a question of our ignoring the world, or the world ignoring us. If there is a war in the world, that is a matter which will affect our individual life and so many other things. Therefore, we have to be quite clear as to how we must look at these problems which act and interact and affect each other.

Now, Dr. Mookerjee referred in his eloquent speech to a number of instances—I think he gave three specific instances—and then he threw at us a vast number of figures which he said his workers had gathered. He also gave certain indications of how he thought we might deal with this problem.

Now, so far as those figures which he threw at us are concerned, it is difficult for me to deal with the matter, because I have no basis, I have nothing in the nature of evidence. We also keep in close touch through such agencies as the Government work with and many private agencies and thereby we gather our own impressions and our own figures. The West Bengal Government naturally helps us; our Deputy High Commissioner helps us; the Central Government apparatus helps us; the Railways help us. In

addition to that fortunately, there are many brave men who are working under difficult circumstances in East Bengal and in West Bengal, who help us. So that we get all these facts and figures and impressions from them and we try to form a picture in our mind.

That picture and those figures differ very greatly from the figures that Dr. Mookerjee placed before the House. I am unable to accept them and I do not see how the House can accept them. In any event one would require some kind of proof and I do submit that Dr. Mookerjee himself if he examined them will not accept them, because they have no *prime facie* evidence or truth behind them. I am referring, for the moment, not to the instances of brutality, etc., but the individual instances that he referred to. He mentioned three cases and they were bad cases, bad in the sense that they were painful cases. I have no doubt that, as he referred to individual cases, those cases must be true; I accept them as individual cases. What I object to is talking about 600 and 1,000 incidents which are gathered from people who have suffered, who are excited, who often talk from horror, who often repeat and sometimes whose cases have been found, on analysis, not to be based on any evidence whatever.

Shrimati Renuka Ray and Shrimati Sucheta Kriplani also spoke feelingly about this matter. It is right that all of us, especially our women members should feel this utter misery that our brothers and sisters suffer. But there are two aspects which I may place before the House. Shrimati Renuka Ray was rather angry, if I may use the word, with the word that Shri Shankarrao Deo used, *kahani* which she perhaps misunderstood. Shri Shankarrao Deo was referring to *kahani* not in the sense of a fable, but in the sense of an incident, a story of an incident.

Anyhow, there is no doubt about it that such incidents have occurred and as Dr. Mookerjee gave three, I am sure many members of this House, certainly I can, add to that number.

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

There is no doubt about it. But the point is, are we going to consider this very grave matter in the light of certain deplorable and unhappy incidents and thus lose ourselves in a sentimental morass and lose grip of the situation? We are a responsible House dealing with a highly difficult, highly important matter, which may affect the fate of the whole nation and may have larger consequences. So, we cannot be swept away as at a public meeting, by a sentimental approach and appeal. We know that. That is why we have met in all seriousness to consider this matter. If those things did not happen, then why should we have been so excited and so worked up? We know that of course. Knowing that, what are we to do? That is the question.

Dr. Mookerjee was good enough to invite me to visit Sealdah Station. I would gladly go there and I shall go there when I have a chance and when I think a visit of mine will be of some profit. I do not want to go there merely to show off as a gesture. That is not fair to those unhappy refugees and it is not fair to me. During the last three years we have had enough of tragedy, we have sipped our fill of horror. We have seen with our own eyes things happen which have left a vivid impression in our minds for the rest of our lives. I do not think anyone who has gone through those experiences whether in Bengal or Punjab, whether in West Pakistan or East Pakistan, or in this city of Delhi itself, will ever forget them. They will ever survive in our memory. We have had enough of them. We seek some ways to put an end to this business. If we cannot put an end to it, then surely our fate is going to be much worse not merely human misery which is terrible, but what is worse, inhuman degradation,—because this kind of thing degrades every party. It degrades the sufferer; it degrades the person who makes that man suffer. It is a process of utter deterioration and disintegration of all life.

Therefore, when these terrible things happened, for the first time in my life,

in my public career, grave doubts came to me and the future of my country, which was rising like a star, looked dim. Not because of what Pakistan did. That was bad enough. But after all my future is going to be governed by what my people do; not by what Pakistan does, as their future will be governed by what their people do. No doubt what they do affect us. But ultimately it is my concern as to what my people do. Doubts came to my mind and I saw the noble edifice that we were seeking to build being undermined and a weakening of that strength and nobility of outline of the structure that we had planned.

May I take the House into my confidence about a certain matter which is perhaps known only to a few of my colleagues? It is a personal matter and therefore I apologize for this intrusion. In the month of March last, when news came from East Bengal and then there were all kinds of evil deeds in East Bengal and their flowing over to West Bengal and then all the kind of evil deeds in West Bengal and in the City of Calcutta and Howrah, I was greatly upset, as the House can well imagine—upset not only as an individual caring for my people and certainly for their miseries but upset as Prime Minister, because I felt that in the ultimate analysis the responsibility was mine. The responsibility was mine, not directly if you like but in some indirect way, for those things that happened in East Pakistan, but the responsibility was mine very directly for things that happened in any part of India. So I thought about this a great deal.

I knew that the military and the police would do their job, well or indifferently as the case might be. But there was something deeper afoot than that. It was not by soldiers and policemen that we solve those problems; we could deal that way with any serious situation like that, certainly. How could I, I felt, affect the minds and hearts of these millions of people, my own countrymen certainly, and also if possible people across the border. I did not see my way clear, government—

tally as Prime Minister. The House will remember that I offered to the Prime Minister of Pakistan to go jointly on a brief tour of East Bengal and West Bengal. He did not accept that offer.

I was in this great difficulty and this painful prospect of not being able to do anything from my chair here in Delhi. Ultimately I came to the decision that perhaps I had exhausted my utility as Prime Minister and there might be other ways in which I could make myself more useful. Having come to that decision I announced it at a full meeting of the Cabinet and I told them that I felt that my duty then lay to go to East Bengal. I had not been allowed to go there in my official capacity. Perhaps I could go there as a simple citizen of India unofficially and nobody would prevent me. And perhaps my going—I could not attach too great a value to it—but perhaps my going might be a gesture which might affect some people's minds, might at least bring some relief to me. I also told the Cabinet of my distress at the way the ideals of the Congress for which we had stood were fading away to the right and to the left and I was being left with nothing to catch hold of, no anchor to hold. So I informed the Cabinet. And it was my full intention to do that.

It so happened that very soon after that events took a new turn. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan came here at my invitation and for six or seven days we discussed matters and out of that discussion emerged this Agreement of April 8th. Now, that Agreement put a new responsibility and a new burden on me. I was responsible for that Agreement, partly at least. That responsibility was later shared by the whole Government and this House. But it was my initial responsibility and I could not see my way then to resign from the Prime Ministership just when that new responsibility had come. So I held on as I did. Whether it was right or not I do not know; whether it is right for me now to hold to this high office I do not know. And the

moment my mind feels that I can serve the country better in some other capacity I shall adopt that different course.

So, when we consider this problem of Bengal let us for the moment put aside one or two things—not that they are not important, they are highly important—but in order to consider it in a more simple fashion. First of all, let us put aside these incidents that had happened. We admit them, we know them. We know that life is insecure in many places. We know all that. We have to find a remedy for them. The second thing is—and that is a very major question—the question of rehabilitation. In a sense that should almost overshadow most other considerations. I wish that this House in the course of this debate had considered that matter more constructively, offered suggestions for us who are groping sometimes in the dark in regard to it, and helped us. But that question was dealt with rather in a spirit of negation and criticism and destruction. I do not mind that. The house and every Member has a right to say that; he can do that. But it did not help me very much. It is a matter which this House, I hope, as a House or individual Members will take great interest in, and we should welcome every kind of interest, every kind of help in it, because it is a question which the Government with all its faith and all the resources at its command cannot solve without a large measure of public support and co-operation and sympathy.

It is too big a question. None of our big questions can be solved by governmental decree or even if we had all the money for it, unless we have a huge measure of public support. And who can give that support more than the hon. Members of this House? I should like some of the hon. Members to go—some of them have gone—but I should like more of them to go to West Bengal and more specially to East Bengal. Let them go and see and let them help in creating the right atmosphere.

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

So in regard to this problem of rehabilitation—I am not going into that now although I consider it the most vital, but if I go into it I lose myself in the details and the theme of the main argument goes—but I do want to tell you that I think that it is by far the most important of all the problems that have come up in this respect.

I gave this House a certain pamphlet containing some figures etc. and many hon. Members cited it. One hon. Member referred to it and said that because it does not contain information about East Pakistan, the rehabilitation etc., therefore, East Pakistan has done nothing; otherwise, Mr. Biswas and Mr. Malik would have given these figures I do not think that that is a right criticism, because that paper was not meant to be an exhaustive paper on the subject. It was given under the Speaker's directions and it contained in a consolidated form answers to some questions that had been put by hon. Members. We did not try to give all the details of the position. In brief, I gave the answers myself. So it is not right to criticize it from that point of view. All the figures we have got were from the West Bengal Government and not from Mr. Biswas or Mr. Malik. The West Bengal Government sent us their figures about their activities and this with some other information that we had, we had that statement prepared and it would be completely incorrect to say that we did not refer to the East Bengal activities, and therefore the figures are not found there. I know that there are some activities in East Bengal, but I cannot immediately tell you what they are in regard to rehabilitation.

Now I shall put aside for the moment this question of rehabilitation, realizing its utter importance and for the moment also having put aside the narrative of the ill deeds that have happened undoubtedly, I shall examine how we have to face the problem. Dr. Mookerjee put forward three proposals. Those proposals, I take it, were taken from the recent resolutions passed by the Refugee Conference. Some Members of this House approved of one or

more of those proposals and some did not approve of them. Anything that Members of this House put forward and what Dr. Mookerjee puts forward, are obviously worthy of full consideration. I had given every possible thought that I can and having given that thought, I have not been able still to get away from a feeling of great surprise that any responsible person should put forward any of those proposals, because looked from any point of view, whether from the high point of view of any objective and ideals, or whether from the low point of view of the practical or the lowest point of view of the opportunist, I say each one fails and completely fails. Analyse them. Let us not in our feeling of anger at what has happened give leave to logic and reason, give leave to the practical aspect. I hope, of course, we should not give leave to the idealistic aspect because I always attach great importance to it but look at it from a strictly practical aspect.

Now, I mentioned in my opening remarks day before yesterday that the whole object of this Agreement of April 8 was to create a certain atmosphere. We have talked here of the feeling of insecurity that prevails in East Bengal. It is right. There is that feeling of insecurity, although, I believe, and I hope, it is not wishful thinking, I think that gradually that is lessening. But anything may happen which may increase that feeling of insecurity or decrease it. I am no prophet and I do not know what will happen. Some Members think that every single Member of the Minority community from there will leave East Bengal. Well, they have a right to have their opinion. I will only submit that I find no reason for thinking so. Further, I would submit that if I had reason for thinking so at present, I would try my utmost even so to prevent it happening and not to say a word or deed which would encourage that process to flow because that very process creates the terrible problem that we have to face.

On the one hand we point out to that terrible problem and on the other

hand we do things which increase that problem and create further difficulty.

This great contradiction has come in our way all this time. What is our approach to this problem? Are we going to approach it with a real desire to solve and so far as such problems can be solved by creating a feeling of security in the minds of minorities all over, whether in Pakistan or in India or while we talk, while we complain of the lack of insecurity, we carry on by speech and action in a way so as to add to that insecurity? All these things have happened. Hon. Members have said that people in East Bengal have not been led to come away because of newspaper articles or by public speeches, that there are other causes. Of course there are other causes. Who says any newspaper speech or an article can make a million people to come away? Nobody can say that, but when there is this huge upset in peoples' minds and people are frightened and are full of fear, then every little thing counts which may move them in this direction or that; we are dealing with not only an economic upset or social upset by a psychological problem of the greatest magnitude.

Here was this Agreement of April 8. Now I think it is admitted all round that the psychological and the practical effect of that agreement was to reduce the fear of the minorities all over. There is no doubt about that. It reduced their fear. Therefore it worked in the right direction and that is all that human beings can do to work in the right direction. It is not for us to think about the results but to create a right atmosphere so that this may help in solving the problem. If that agreement had done nothing at all, it created that tremendous atmosphere in removing from the peoples' minds fear of an immediate disaster. That was a great thing.

Similarly, many things that you and I may do, this debate here that we are having for the last two days, will no doubt have effect elsewhere, of adding to that insecurity or lessening it. It will have that, there is no doubt

about that. Of the speeches that hon. Members make here, even though this is not a public platform, India listens to some extent and the world listens to what they say. Many people do not read newspapers and the many things that are said here may not reach them, but yet we know how impressions spread to millions of people, how a whisper spreads from town to town, from bazar to bazar and how it may be said "Oh the Indian Parliament has decided this, etc." Those who do not read a newspaper still will know the ultimate effect of it.

If my hon. friend Dr. Mookerjee delivers speeches which produce bad impressions in peoples' minds, that things are very insecure, things are becoming more insecure, worse and worse, that itself is undoubtedly something which adds to that insecurity, that undoubtedly comes in the way of any gradual return to normality. It may be, of course that Dr. Mookerjee may try his best and I may try my best but the other factors may be stronger. We cannot control the Pakistan Government, we cannot do this or that. But my point is what we can control we should control and then with the greatest strength, we can try to control the other party. So, there has been this contrary approach. All the time some people, some events, some factors have been working toward creating a feeling of normality gradually and succeeding to some extent and on the other side there have been factors contributing to this feeling of insecurity all the time.

May I take another matter? The very first of the proposals which Dr. Mookerjee put forward was unification of India and Pakistan. It is put in courteous language. But, what does it mean? It means, as every person knows, if we try to do it, war. It means not only war which is bad enough, but it means going back to a state of affairs, after the war, if you like, which would be full of trouble, because every student of major wars knows that wars do not solve problems. They give rise to new problems. We accepted partition not willingly, not

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

happily; but we accepted it because of certain facts of the situation in India which we could not ignore and which were coming in our way. It may have been right or wrong; but the fact remains. Now, all those facts come back; not only those facts, but an enormous number of additional facts which have flowed from the partition. Take these great migrations. They have made a very great difference. So that, when people talk about war, apart from the horrors and futility of war, do they not realise that they are going to produce something which will be very very far from the solution of any problem that they seek to solve?

I shall refer to another matter here. My hon. friend Shri Gopaldaswami Ayyangar yesterday pointed out that again and again in the agreements arrived at between India and Pakistan, we have agreed that we will not permit propaganda of this kind. On some of these occasions, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee himself was a party to these conferences. I should like to remind the House by reading a particular clause in the Agreement of 8th April in regard to this matter. The two Governments further agree—then follow some clauses—that they shall :

“Not permit propaganda in either country directed against the territorial integrity of the other or purporting to incite war between them and shall take prompt and effective action against any individual or organisation guilty of such propaganda.”

Mark these words, and I say I have failed in my duty if I do not act up to them. I cannot act up to them because of a variety of circumstances. Because, primarily, we have a noble Constitution and laws which protect civil liberty in a variety of ways, which even protect uncivil liberty, which even protect licence.

Well, we take the risk. Therefore I cannot give effect to my pledged word and it hurts me if I cannot give effect to that.

Look at it in another way. This talk of unification, behind which lies force, compulsion and war, what does it produce in regard to the security and insecurity of the minorities? Can they become secure? Can they have a feeling of security when they constantly hear that there might be war? They cannot. If the Pakistan Government tells us that you threaten us by talk of war, what is our response and reply to be? We have none except to say that we dissociate ourselves completely, that our Government dissociates itself completely from this wrong and harmful propaganda, that we believe that the country does not support that propaganda and we shall fight it to the utmost. That is all we can say.

Then, normally, it does not require an agreement between two countries to say that we will not seek territorial changes of this type, a liquidation in fact of the country as such. No countries have agreements about it. Because without any agreement that is an acknowledged fact. Countries acknowledge these things. We have an Ambassador sitting at Karachi; they have an Ambassador sitting here. We acknowledge each other generally. We are represented in the United Nations, and all that. It naturally follows, not only I take it in international law, but in every other human and sensible approach to international problems, that one country does not go on propagating the idea of putting an end to the Government or to the system of the other country. And yet, some of our people are irresponsible enough and forgetful enough of these major factors which I have mentioned, and indulge in this propaganda. Why? To solve the problem of exodus. Mark that.

May I mention, today as I am standing here, or may be yesterday, a gentleman who is the President of that organisation of which Dr. Mookerjee is a respected member, is going about East Punjab, right near the border, in the PEPSU, delivering speeches in his own particularly aggressive and pugnacious manner, asking for the annulment of

partition, and the joining of Pakistan and India by force.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (West Bengal) : Does not the Prime Minister know that I resigned my membership long ago?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : I stand corrected. I apologise to Dr. Mookerjee.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee But, I may remain a strong Hindu nonetheless.

Shri J. R. Kapoor (Uttar Pradesh) : Let us also congratulate Dr. Mookerjee.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : But my argument holds because he puts forward the same proposition.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee : If you agree with me once, you will not become a communalist.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : Is it not an extraordinary proposition?—and this applies both to the first proposal and the third proposal. The first proposal was for the liquidation of Pakistan and the third proposal was for chunks of territory to be handed over, territorial redistribution which involves major changes, which can only be brought about by war. Is it not an extraordinary proposition that individuals who are presumably responsible should go about telling the people this, endangering international relations, and embarrassing the relations between the two Governments and generally creating a feeling of insecurity in the country? Leave that out. Coming to the specific problem which has been so much discussed the feeling of insecurity of the minority community in East Bengal, may I, in all humility, ask Dr. Mookerjee or any one else, 'Do you add to the security of the minority community by putting forward these proposals?'

I put it to you, what is the net result, whether you look at it from its reaction on Pakistan or on the minorities? The Pakistan Government feeling that there are groups in India which want war against it, which want to eliminate and liquidate it, naturally, must react in a bad way and

must react in a way which cannot conduce to the security of the minority communities in those areas. Take the minority communities. They also will feel, "Trouble is coming; we cannot be secure." So that, this approach is the worst possible approach in the solution of the problem of creating security. It comes all the time in the way of it.

I have not a shadow of doubt in my mind that if all of us, Dr. Mookerjee and other friends included, had set ourselves—forget the Pact for the moment,—to create that feeling of security for the minorities in East Bengal, in West Bengal, etc., had that approach and tried to work to that end, we may not have completely solved the problem, but we would have gone much farther towards solution and solved it in the right way, solved it in a way which adds to our strength and adds to the strength of the minorities. Because, in the ultimate analysis, a people, a large group or a small group, you cannot protect them by police and military; it must have the strength to protect itself. And the whole object of our non-co-operation and civil disobedience movement, what was the whole object of it? It was to create strength in our people and they did create strength in our people, and even the poorest peasant whose back was broken by centuries of labour, even he stood up, straightened his back and looked at his *zamindar* and others in the face.

So the whole object was to create that morale in the people. Now, I do submit that everything that lessens that morale, whether in India or elsewhere, of the minority, is a disservice, a basic and fundamental disservice, because we are lessening their value as human citizens, as human beings, we are weakening them. This kind of propaganda that has been carried on is a disservice in so far as it preaches ideas that lessen their morale, it frightens them and it adds to the fear that creeps over the land. Therefore, I submit that the two proposals I have mentioned, that is to say, the first

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]
 proposal about unification, and the second about large parts of territory being transferred, are not only completely out of the question, but are proposals which must be resisted to the uttermost by every person who thinks about this matter. What is more, it will now, to-day, to-morrow and the day after, be harmful to the minorities, injurious to them because it weakens them and create greater insecurity for them. Therefore, in no sense can they be of service to them.

Now, I come to the third proposal and that is the one about the exchange of populations. Exchange of populations in this context can only mean forcible exchange of populations. So far as voluntary exchange is concerned, to some extent it is taking place. Obviously the doors are open and people come and people go. In fact, it is taking place at such a pace that we can hardly cope with it, and therefore there is the refugee problem. Now, on the one hand we are told that we cannot cope with this problem at the pace it is taking place, and on the other hand it is suggested that the pace should be increased, that the process should be made speedier. They say it should be a planned exchange, as if the addition of the word "planned" makes any difference. Plan it by all means, who prevents people from doing it? Who prevents them from rehabilitating these people who are coming? But if we fail in this, should we succeed if the problem is much greater, if ten times the number suddenly come? We will fail, and calling it a planned thing makes no difference. Planning depends on the planners, on the human materials and a hundred other factors. It is not confined to the question of money, though of course money is necessary. It is not a question of money alone, if we have the human material we can do it, but we have not got it and we stumble and fall. And so, this planned exchange, this exchange of populations means compulsion.

On the practical side it is clear that it means, number one, even the talk of it if the idea germinates at all, the mere

talk of it again is something that creates insecurity. It creates insecurity in the mind of those minorities everywhere, there, here, not in West or East Bengal alone, but in the whole of India. Also, because once you talk in terms of this process, you cannot draw a line. It spreads and the feeling of insecurity spreads, the feeling of frustration, and you have a vast problem of enormous magnitude which is likely to be beyond us. Certainly to face the problem that we have before us, it is bad enough. But this exchange of populations which some hon. Members indulge in, is a direct encouragement to the feeling of insecurity in the minds of the minorities of East Bengal as well as West Bengal and other places; because if there is going to be exchange how can they settle down there? When this exchange is decided upon all those people, all those minorities, from the moment of that decision, become aliens in the country they are in. Then such responsibility as the government of the day may have vanishes. Then, if incidents occur to-day, far more incidents would occur, because the desire to protect them goes, there is no responsibility. And then people will think, there is going to be exchange of populations, of another ten millions of people going. Let us therefore, pack up and start immediately. The exodus will become bigger and bigger. People will think, let us go ahead of others, if we go with the millions, we might be crushed. Therefore, I say, these proposals are a direct encouragement of the exodus, they directly encourage the feeling of insecurity of the minority there. Is it not amazing that such proposals should be put forward?

These proposals which responsible Members put forward are proposals, apart from the principles behind them—I am not dealing with the principles now—but from the sheer practical aspect of them, the opportunist aspect of them, they are such that they increase the terrible problem, increase the miseries and the dangers of the minorities themselves. In fact, far from taking us towards a solution, they take us miles and miles away from any so-

lution, of the problem. That is why I ventured to say on the first day that when I consider this I do not understand, and I wonder if I am lacking in sanity or whether the other hon. Members are lacking in sanity; because I think I can—I think I may say so in all modesty—I can appreciate the point of view of the other, and I have an open mind; but I cannot appreciate this thing which finds no corner or nook in my mind. It seems to me completely devoid of sanity, reason, logic or any sensible approach to this problem. I say it is an approach which has nothing to do with the problem. This approach can only be due to one of two things. It is either an approach of despair where through anger and passion we look out for a way out and catch hold of anything that somebody says, without realising its consequences. Or it is a definite political approach which has nothing to do with this problem. It is raised for political reasons, just to embarrass the Government, just to create difficulties in the way of this Government, just to come in the way of rehabilitation, in the way of normality coming back to the minds of the minority in East Bengal and elsewhere, so that the trouble may continue. I cannot find any explanation except these two, either it is passion and anger driving one unreasonably to this approach, or it is a deliberate political approach to create trouble.

I do submit that this kind of approach to these problems and especially with respect to the refugee problem as with other problems they are creating trouble because in the course of the next six, eight or ten months the election is coming on and they are prepared perhaps to sacrifice the lives of these millions of people because of that wretched election. I beg this House to consider these matters.

I spoke about the exchange of population, and I dealt with the practical aspect of it; let us now deal with the theoretical aspect of it.

Now an exchange of population must be a compulsory one. It must in-

evitably mean sending out people who do not want to go. It means, of course, as an hon. Member acknowledged, scrapping our Constitution. Scrap it if you want to, but know what you are doing. We have bandied about this word secular, which I dislike. It means our giving up not secularism, which has no particular meaning but giving up every kind of civilised approach to any national problem. I hope I may be permitted to say so with authority that you cannot compare this approach with any similar instance anywhere. It would be unique in the annals of history. It will be unique in its uncivilised approach and it will be a brutal and barbarous approach to the problem and, of course, completely at variance with anything that the Congress has stood for—at variance absolutely. Put an end to it, if you like all that the Congress has stood for and put an end to the Congress itself if you want to, but do so with your eyes open as to what you are doing before the eyes of the world. If any hon. Members put forth such proposals they shame us in the eyes of the world. I say they shame us in the eyes of the world because we are represented to be narrow-minded, petty-minded and parochial bigots, who would talk in terms of democracy, and secularism but actually we have not got out of our narrow, parochial and petty outlook and therefore we are totally incapable of thinking in terms of this great country that we live in, nor thinking in terms of the world and those people who are our citizens and yet to whom we will say “We push you out, because you belong to a particular religion”. It is a fantastic proposition. It is a proposition, which if it dares to raise its voice, will be fought and resisted. It will be fought both non-violently and violently. It is a proposition which if once admitted means the ruin of India, the ruin and destruction of everything that we have stood for. Therefore I say that if that proposition is put forward it will be fought to the uttermost of our strength everywhere in houses, in fields and in market places, wherever it may happen. It will be

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

fought in the Council chambers, it will be fought in the streets and we are not going to permit India to be slaughtered at the altar of these bigots.

So these are the three propositions that have been advanced for the solution of the problem. I put it to you, is it reason to think of any of them? And yet hon. Members are advocating them. What am I to say to such hon. Members except this: because of the sufferings that we see, because of the stories we read we have lost the capacity to reason for the time being. That is the position. So far as this Government is concerned we shall go on to the best of our ability, taking the help of people, taking the help of this country, but we shall not proceed on the lines indicated by some of the hon. Members in regard to these three propositions. That is quite clear.

Now some hon. Members talk about compensation for property, planned exchange of property and this and that. Property is an important thing in human life, no doubt, and we have been trying for the last two and a half years to settle somehow this evacuee property question between West Pakistan and India. We have not gone very far, although I believe I am right in saying that for the first time we see some glimmering of light, which may take us towards a solution. My hon. colleague, Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar, has worked hard on this problem and I believe he also feels that there is some glimmering of light and may be some way out will be found. I can say no more about it. But when we are struggling with this problem for the last two and a half years they come and tell us "Oh, in dealing with East Bengal and West Bengal property about 5,000 crores would cover it". Have we lost all reason when we think in terms of these vague figures which may be right or wrong? Do you remember the first World War, the German reparations and all that? Let us have at least some slight semblance of approach to reason. Otherwise these figures have no value. At

the present moment Pakistan owes us our national debt and they are going to pay it back in fifty years. Now suppose you write on a bit of paper 1,000 crores and please yourself, what exactly does it mean? Where does it come out of? One can imagine some relatively reasonable figure being obtained or gradually realised but talking about thousands of crores, they do not exist. People seem to think that they can sign cheques off for vast sums of money. After all, the wealth of a country is its productive capacity, not the jewels you wear nor what the Maharajas wear. So the wealth of a nation is its productive capacity. If certain proposals are made they should be approached from the point of view of increasing or decreasing the productive capacity of the nation. That is the thing which will make us consider it, not even a large number of empty houses, which you may get, hundreds, thousands or ten thousands. So that we talk vaguely about these problems. [The only possible solution of this problem—if we fail to find it, it would be our misfortune as far as I can see—lies in our pursuing the line of productivity. We have therefore to try to rehabilitate those who come and help them in every way we can.

Again, on this question of rehabilitation money is required. Certainly, but what is ultimately required is the capacity to work. Hon. Members will forgive me if I say that we cannot approach this matter with the mentality of a shopkeeper. He does not produce anything. He just throws his money this way or that and selling his goods make a profit. We have to think of it from the point of view of production and how to make the displaced persons, our refugee brothers and sisters, productive members of the community. Let us give them loans, let us help them in every way but ultimately their becoming productive members of the community is what makes for real rehabilitation and is good for the country. We have to think more on these lines and of course there are other lines also. We have to proceed with this rehabilitation, not merely because it is our duty to do so but

in the interest of the nation we cannot leave these people just as they are, doing nothing and suffering. From the practical point of view that is one aspect of the question which you must deal with. The other is to try our utmost to reduce this feeling of insecurity. In trying to do that it means creating that atmosphere on our side and creating it on the other side also. I am quite convinced that the Pakistan Government wants to do that. They want to do it not for love me or you but because of the facts and circumstances which compel them to do so. I am quite convinced of that. Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar dealt with that as also other Members. It does not mean of course that in a hundred ways they will not give trouble to us. But I am putting the basic problem before you. They want to solve it because they realise, as every sensible person ought to realise, that any other course is ruin for them and is as much ruin for us.

Now, for the last three or four days our Central Government Minister, Shri Biswas, and the Pakistan Minister, Dr. Malik and others were here and we discussed many matters, and we came to a number of agreements—I will not read them to you, there are four or five pages of them about various things, about East Bengal and West Bengal, about requisitioning of houses, and other matters, the normal matters that came up. We came to an agreement. This agreement requires the assent of our Government and the Pakistan Government. I hope that will come. So, step by step we try to solve the problem, step by step we advance, and as we advance we create a feeling of security among those who remain there. Whether it is enough or not I can not say. If in spite of that people come, well, we receive them, we look after them. That is an easier way than saying, "Let all come. Because we can't look after some, let all come!" I don't understand the reason of that. It isn't logic. Therefore, I submit that we should follow these two courses. One is in every way trying to produce a feeling of security in the minds of the

minorities in both the countries and those who come away, we look after them to the best of our ability—because any other course leads to a lack of security, any other course leads gradually to a worsening of the situation, any other course leads, or is meant to lead, to war.

My hon. colleague reminds me that there are three amendments that were proposed. In view of my submission to the House, I hope the House will throw out these amendments.

Mr. Speaker : Before putting the amendments to the vote of the House, I would like to find out whether any of them are going to be withdrawn. Amendment No. 1 moved by Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena. He is not here so we must put it to the House.

The question is :

"That for the original motion the following be substituted :

"That in the opinion of this House, the Bengal situation being extremely grave, the Government and the people of Pakistan having failed to implement the agreement between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan, signed on the 8th April, 1950, the Government should give top priority to this problem and take whatever measures may be necessary to ensure an honourable existence for the Hindu population in East Bengal and proper and immediate arrangements be made for the relief and rehabilitation of all those who decide to stay in India."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker : Then the amendment of Prof. K. T. Shah.

Prof. K. T. Shah (Bihar) : I beg leave to withdraw it in view of the form of the motion.

The amendment was, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker : Then the amendment of Shri Syamnandan Sahaya.

✓ **Shri Syamnandan Sahaya (Bihar) :** My amendment suggests the postponement

[Shri Syamnandan Sahaya]

ment of the realization of the income-tax, and as the hon. Prime Minister did not say anything about this particular amendment I thought I might draw his attention to it....

12 Noon

Mr. Speaker : He is too late. Does he wish me to put his amendment to vote ?

✓ **Shri Syamnandan Sahaya :** No, Sir. I beg leave to withdraw it.

The amendment was, by leave, withdrawn.

Mr. Speaker : So far as the original proposition is concerned, there is nothing to be put to the vote. We will now proceed with the legislative business.

CENSUS (AMENDMENT) BILL

The Minister of Home Affairs and the States (Sardar Patel) : I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Census Act, 1948.

Mr. Speaker : The question is :

“ That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to amend the Census Act, 1948. ”

The motion was adopted.

Sardar Patel : I introduce the Bill.

SALARIES OF MINISTERS (AMENDMENT) BILL

The Minister of Home Affairs and the States (Sardar Patel) : I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Salaries of Ministers Act, 1947.

Mr. Speaker : The question is :

“ That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to amend the Salaries of Ministers Act, 1947. ”

The motion was adopted.

Sardar Patel : I introduce the Bill.

Mr. Speaker : Now we will go to the Preventive Detention (Amendment) Bill.

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh) : What about the Resolution, Sir ?

Mr. Speaker : The Resolution will be taken up tomorrow.

PREVENTIVE DETENTION (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Minister of Home Affairs and the States (Sardar Patel) : I beg to move :

“ That the Bill to amend the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, be taken into consideration. ”

I hope the House will remember that after we passed the Preventive Detention Act in this House, there have been several judicial pronouncements by several High Courts and finally a decision of the Supreme Court. There have been a variety of decisions in which there have been differences of opinion between Judges also, yet there is one point on which there is almost complete unanimity, that is that Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act is *ultra vires*. When we passed the Act we considered it carefully and, though some doubts were expressed, on the whole we were advised that we could go through with the Bill as it was. Now, after the decision of the Supreme Court it is our duty to see that the earliest opportunity be taken to amend the Act in consonance with the decision of the Supreme Court. That has led the Government to take action to bring this Bill forward. There are one or two other minor amendments which are of no importance or consequence. One is designed to empower the Civil Administration of Hyderabad and Additional District Magistrates elsewhere to pass orders of detention under Section 3 of the Act.

On the whole this Bill has a very limited objective. And as I said the other day, we will bring forward, at a later stage and at the proper time, after

full consideration, a well-considered measure. Therefore I hope there will be no time wasted in passing this short measure which seeks to bring the present position in consonance with the decision of the Supreme Court.

Mr. Speaker : Motion moved :

“ That the Bill to amend the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, be taken into consideration. ”

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh) : We are all glad to hear from the Minister of Home Affairs that he will in the near future place before the House a comprehensive and well-considered piece of legislation in this regard. When this Preventive Detention Bill was brought before the House towards the end of February last and rushed through in one day, I had my own doubts about the well-considered aspect of this measure.

I had moved several amendments, particularly to clause 14 of the Bill, but the Attorney-General, who was in the House on that day, in answering my amendments was sure in his own mind that the Bill as a whole and clause 14 in particular satisfied all the articles of the Constitution. These are his words—I am reading from the parliamentary debates dated 25th February 1950 :

“ He (the detenu) will not be able to (furnish evidence against the detention order) for the simple reasons that these are confidential documents. He will be able to tell the court that he has been detained as he threatened public safety or other things. Then the court will have to examine the *habeas corpus* application and see whether he is detained under the procedure provided by law. ”

Then he went on to say that this particular clause 14 was all right and in consonance with the provisions of the Constitution.

Now, we find that the Supreme Court has held otherwise and has declared Section 14 to be *ultra vires* of the Constitution and therefore

void. In my judgment, this is a warning to Parliament to be more careful about our enactments in future lest it be laid at our door that we legislate in haste and repeal at leisure. The Supreme Court has castigated in certain portions of its judgment the way in which this legislation was handled by Parliament and I for one will not be happy in case the Judges of the Supreme Court have an opportunity to say about us that we legislate in haste and repeal at leisure.

The Minister of Home Affairs has referred to only Section 14 of the Act, which is proposed to be repealed by this Bill. I would have liked the very definite and categorical observations made by Mr. Justice Mahajan and Mr. Justice Fazl Ali in regard to Section 12 of the Act had also been taken into consideration. It is true that that is a minority judgment, but the arguments advanced by those two judges have got tremendous force and they certainly appeal to me. I do not know whether the Minister of Home Affairs and the Government of India have given any thought to amending Section 12 also in the light of the observations of these two judges. May I, Sir, with your permission read a brief extract from their observations ?

Mr. Speaker : Order, order. He has sufficiently made the point that the scope of the Bill should have been more comprehensive than it actually is. But as a matter of fact, this Bill is intended to repeal only Section 14. So, it would be beyond the scope of the present Bill, if the hon. Member were to go into those details as to what their Lordships said in regard to Section 12.

Sardar Patel : In view of the fact that I have already promised that Government is going to bring a well considered measure, I think you will agree that hon. Members, if they have anything to suggest, may suggest at that stage when it would be more appropriate. We are not sitting here today as an appellate court or a reviewing court of the Supreme Court, repealing the decisions of the Supreme Court. For the time being, the decisions of the

[Sardar Patel]

majority of the Supreme Court are the final decisions.

Mr. Speaker : Whatever that aspect may be, I am more concerned with the relevancy of the debate and I think it is beyond the scope of the present measure to quote anything from their Lordships' judgment in regard to Section 12. ■

Shri Kamath : As you are pleased to hold, Sir. I shall just conclude. I have given notice of some amendments and one of them seeks to omit part (c) dealing with Sub-Divisional Magistrates. I shall take that up when the amendments are reached. I only hope that the Minister of Home Affairs will as promised bring forward well-considered and comprehensive measure at an early date.

Pandit Kunzru (Uttar Pradesh) : I rise with a great deal of trepidation to make a few observations in regard to the Bill before us. The other day when I referred to the question of civil liberty I drew upon myself the wrath of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. He gave us a very interesting display of the strength for which he enjoys a very high reputation, but I regretfully felt when he was speaking that this strength was more compatible with the idea of good government than with that of representative or responsible government. These forms of government require that we should be willing to admit that we may sometimes be wrong and to listen to criticism. Intolerance of criticism, or assumption of infallibility is wholly inconsistent with them. I say this is no carping spirit, for I admire wholeheartedly the splendid qualities of leadership that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has shown in dealing with some of the most vital and most difficult problems that face us. But these qualities, I am sorry to say, have not been much in evidence in this House during the last four years. It would be a great advantage to this House and, I think, to the country, if my hon. friend realised a little more the implications of parliamentary government.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel met my criticism of the manner in which the Preventive Detention Act or the powers enjoyed by the State Governments under it had been used, partly by indulging in sarcasm. His anger led him so far as to say that the non-Congressmen who filled the legislatures for thirty years before the Congress came into power did not show that regard for civil liberties that I had ventured to plead for. I was rather surprised that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, of all persons, should so completely forget the history of the last thirty years as to deny an undeniable fact. But pride and prejudice cannot obliterate facts and the records of our legislatures bear unchallengeable testimony to the repeated efforts made by non-congressmen to stand up against tyranny and to protect the civil liberties of the people. They may have ailed, as the Congressmen did in the old days. But their failure was not their fault.

My hon. friend Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said the other day that I had charged both the Government of India and the State Governments with a misuse of the powers which the Preventive Detention Act vested in them. I was rather surprised by this charge. I have, therefore, gone through the uncorrected report of my speech and I find nothing in it to justify the misapprehension that I accused the Government of India of having used the extraordinary powers conferred on them by the Preventive Detention Act to shut up a large number of persons without trial.

Mr. Speaker : Order, order. I can appreciate the hon. Member's desire to give a complete reply to some speech in some debate, sometime back. But then, I think this is not the proper occasion for it, because the Bill is now restricted to the repeal of section 14 of the Act. I just wanted to pursue and catch his point of view as to how, it is relevant to the present scope of discussion.

Pandit Kunzru : Sir, I want to refer to that point now in connection

with this debate because I want to point out that while the amendment that has been placed before the House is all right so far as it goes,—in fact it is the result of the compulsion exercised by the decision of the Supreme Court—there is, however, a fear that the amendment will not be of such a character as to make us feel that due regard will be paid to the civil liberties of the people. And I think that even speaking on a Bill with a limited scope, like the Bill before the House, I can refer to such topics which are of considerable interest to the entire country.

Let me disabuse my hon. friend Sardar Patel of the impression that I had accused the Government of India of shutting up large numbers of people without trial in contravention of the provisions of the Preventive Detention Act. All that I said about the Government of India was that by widening the grounds on which people could be detained without trial, it had given the impression that it did not attach that importance to civil liberties which it should even in times like those we are passing through. I ventured only to criticise the State Governments. I referred only to the Bombay Government, but my hon. friend was entirely wrong in assuming that I wanted to single it out for criticism. There was no reason to suppose that I had any animus against the Government of Bombay. I drew attention to what happened in Bombay partly because the decision of the Bombay High Court was fresh in our minds and partly because the views expressed by the High Court led to the release of as many as 105 out of 165 detainees. But in order to assure my hon. friend of my *bona fides* I shall refer to two other cases, one relating to P.E.P.S.U. and the other to Bengal. The other day the Chief Justice of the P.E.P.S.U. High Court had to consider the case of a detenu, Sardar Inder Singh. The Deputy Commissioner who had ordered his detention gave evidence in this case and in the course of his evidence he said that this man had been detained for harbouring two dacoits one of whom was killed about two years ago and the

other had been in jail for six months. It was also shown in this case that there was a delay of one month and eleven days in communicating the grounds of detention to him.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I am inclined to think the hon. Member is going into details. Obviously to my mind, they are irrelevant to the present scope. It is only when a comprehensive Bill dealing with the Detention Act comes in, that all these things can be gone into. But today the scope is very restricted.

Pandit Kunzru: I thought that I could refer to those simple matters but if you rule otherwise I have no option but to bow to your judgment.

Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act, I think, was an attempt on the part of the Government to get round article 32 of the Constitution. The Provincial Public Security Acts ousted the jurisdiction of the courts. Article 32 of the Constitution made this impossible. Section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act sought to achieve the same purpose by preventing the courts from allowing any detenu to disclose in any case before them the grounds on which he had been detained. The decision of the Supreme Court has rendered this attempt illegal. We have therefore before us the amending Bill that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel wants us to consider. There is no one that will vote against the repeal of section 14. But before I sit down I should like to ask him one or two questions. So long as section 14 formed part of the Preventive Detention Act one could understand the reasonableness of not allowing a detenu to appear himself before an Advisory Board or to be represented by a lawyer. But is there any reason after the repeal of this provision for continuing the same restrictions? I wonder whether this point has been overlooked by the hon. the Home Minister and his advisers. It seems to me that it will be in consonance with the spirit of this amendment if a detenu is allow-

[Pandit Kunzru]
 ed to appear before an Advisory Board in person or be represented by a lawyer. Formerly the idea may have been that this might lead to a disclosure of the grounds on which detention had been ordered. But as the Supreme Court has laid it down that the disclosure of these grounds at least to the courts, is not illegal, there is no reason why Government should not go a little further of their own accord and introduce the change to which I have ventured to draw their attention.

The other point on which I should like some light to be thrown is whether the Advisory Boards are provided only with the order of detention or is the entire material on which the Government decide to detain a person, to be placed before them? So far as I remember, in England even during war time the Advisory Boards were informed of all the facts that justified the detention. Possibly such a procedure is being followed here too. But as we have no knowledge of it, I hope that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel will tell us what is the practice that the executive governments have adopted here.

I shall not deal with the Bill in its wider aspects, for you have decided that their consideration will be relevant only when a new Bill is brought before the House. But I should like to say before I sit down that when my hon. friend Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel considers the draft of the new measure that he proposes to place before us later he should consider the desirability of narrowing the grounds on which a man can be detained without trial.

I am referring only to that clause of section 3 which allows the detention of persons for acts considered by the executive to be prejudicial to the maintenance of essential supplies or essential services. Under the old Provincial Public Security Acts, persons endangering these things were liable to a criminal prosecution. They could not be detained without trial but they could be punished after trial. Sardar Patel has given the House

no reason for departing from the provisions of the Provincial Public Security Acts in this respect. It may be that not a single man is detained at present for tampering with essential supplies or essential services. Nevertheless the question of principle that I have raised is an important one and I hope that it will receive the full and sympathetic consideration of my hon. friend.

Dr. Deshmukh (Madhya Pradesh):
 You will probably recollect that I was one of the two hon. Members of this House who had expressed grave doubts with regard to the Bill that was originally passed as being *intra vires* of the present Government. My hon. friend, Mr. Kamath, was the other gentleman who had stated that the provisions embodied in Act IV of 1950 were *ultra vires* and we are glad that our view has been upheld by the Supreme Court. So far as this present Bill is concerned, it is certainly consequential on this judicial pronouncement. I for one do welcome the Government's promptitude in bringing forward the repeal of section 14 of the Act. What I would have, however, liked to be done was to tackle the other section also on the propriety or the legality of which grave doubts have been expressed by hon. Judges of the Supreme Court. Thirdly, and this is my last point, I do not know how far it is correct to embody in this Bill, which is more or less of a repealing nature, a clause which seeks to protect or indemnify the acts that have been done under the old ordinance. So far as I am concerned, the doubt I express refers to the acts done under the old section 14 and no other part. It is probably competent for the executive Government to indemnify from being proceeded against, so far as the rest of the clauses are concerned, but so far as this clause which has been declared invalid and *ultra vires* by the Supreme Court, I doubt how far this can be embodied in a Bill of this nature and how far it would be competent to protect the persons who are intended to be protected. I hope that if not in this Bill, at least a little later, the amending or repeal of sec-

tion 12 of the Preventive Detention Act will be undertaken. I support the Bill as it stands excepting sub-clause (2) of clause 4 of the present Bill.

Sardar Patel : I regret very much that in the speech that I made, I have provoked or at least I seem to have provoked my hon. friend Pandit Kunzru. I did not mean to do so or to give him an offence, but I must confess that in the limited scope of the Bill which I have put forward, nobody can take any exception to it. It would not be right to go into questions which would perhaps cover wider fields and take up a very long time. I have not forgotten the efforts made by the non-official Members when we were in detention nor have I forgotten that many non-official organizations before making any comment on our detention took particular care to please the Government by passing resolutions condemning the activities of the Civil Disobedience Movement. That made the criticism absolutely ineffective. However, that is all past history; I do not wish to enter into that nor do I want to criticize them. All I want to say is that the suggestions that are being made for the improvement of the Bill will, when it is brought before the House, be considered. Of course, we will take into consideration the comments that have been made in the judicial pronouncements. The House will have ample opportunity to bring in amendments also. At that time all the Members who choose to be present will have the right to criticize the Bill and bring in amendments, but for the present, it would not be right for me to go into irrelevant questions, however important they may be. I am glad that some Members have the satisfaction that they have been proved to be right by the judicial pronouncements but the House will remember the circumstances under which I was compelled to bring that Bill at a very short notice when 300 detenus in a troubled place like Calcutta were to be let loose and were ordered to be present in court because of the defects in the past Act. It was because of this that I was forced to bring in this measure. We had the

best possible advice and I had that day also the Attorney General present. I confess to not having the long parliamentary experience of some of the Members here who have passed all their lives in Parliament, I cannot put my case in very presentable parliamentary parlance and therefore I may be at fault. I do not see, however experienced parliamentary men may be, how anybody can take exception to the Bill that I have brought up in order to bring the provisions of the law in consonance with the recent decision of the Court. Hon. Members are aware that this session was called in for a special purpose. It would not be proper for me to rush in with a Bill which would require days of scrutiny and a number of amendments. The only thing on which I have brought forward this Bill is to delete section 14 which is unanimously held as *ultra vires* by the judiciary. I have done nothing extraordinary except to recommend that section 14 be deleted. Therefore I do not wish to take up any more time of the House and I hope the House will also not waste any more time on this Bill.

My hon. friend Dr. Deshmukh has suggested the deletion of the clause on the *bona fide* exercise of powers by officers. I wish he were one of those who had to exercise those powers. I think it is for Parliament to confer that power.

Dr. Deshmukh : I have no objection to exercising these powers.

Sardar Patel : If you like it so much you can have it. Then, you will have another opinion and you will agree with this. After all, it is Parliament that gives the indemnity and not the Government. Therefore, this is the proper course for the proper administration of this Bill.

Mr. Speaker : The question is:

“That the Bill to amend the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, be taken into consideration.”

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker : I will now take the Bill clause by clause. Before I do so, I would like just to invite the attention of our friend Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad who has tabled six amendments, that, in view of our previous agreement, all these are to go to the draftsmen. They refer to punctuations, capital letters or small letters. I am not putting those amendments to the House. That would dispose of clause 2. My idea is to put all the clauses together, if possible. I am only clearing the ground.

Shri Kamath : I have an amendment to clause 2, Sir.

Mr. Speaker : I shall put the clause separately.

Clause 2

(Amendment of section 3, Art. IV of '950)

Shri Kamath : I beg to move :

“In clause 2, in the proposed amendment to sub-section (2) of section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, omit part (c) and re-letter subsequent parts accordingly.”

This clause 2 of the Bill has nothing to do with the judicial pronouncements of the Supreme Court which are the genesis of the repeal of section 14 of the Preventive Detention Act. I held the view on the 25th February 1950, and I hold the view again today that sub-divisional magistrates should not be invested with the power conferred by section 3 of this Act. That section 3 confers very wide powers, that is to say, empowers these officers to detain persons who, in their view, may be acting in any manner, prejudicial to the security of the State or the maintenance of public order or the maintenance of supplies and services essential to the community. The point that I made out then on the 25th February 1950, was that where the District Magistrate has been empowered under this section, the only other officer, apart from the Presidency towns and now Hyderabad, who should be empowered under this section are

those magistrates who hold independent charge of sub-divisions and are therefore invested with the powers of district magistrates, and are designated as additional district magistrates. There is no reason—absolutely none whatsoever, why sub-divisional magistrates should be so empowered. I have been out of touch with the administrative set up and the administrative apparatus since I left the Indian Civil Service over twelve years ago and I do not know if since then any material changes have been made in this apparatus. I gather from the Statement of Objects and Reasons that the Ordinance which was promulgated on the 23rd June 1950, conferred on additional district magistrates specially empowered in this behalf by State Governments the power to issue detention orders under section 3 of the Act. This was necessary as, in certain parts of the country, officers designated as additional district magistrates hold independent charge of part of a district. This was the point I had made in the course of the discussion in February last. I am glad to see that that point of mine, in respect of which I had moved an amendment also, has been accepted by the Home Minister, that additional district magistrates should be empowered in the same manner as district magistrates.

But, now that additional district magistrates have been empowered in this regard under this section, I see no reason why the sub-divisional magistrates should be at all so empowered. Because, this Act, as my hon. friend Pandit Kunzru has observed, is a very drastic measure and may on occasions, unduly violate the liberty of the citizen, especially where, the officers are not men of experience, and who cannot bring to bear the proper outlook on this matter. In the wake of our political freedom, that is to say, after August 1947, because of the exit of several experienced and senior district officers, there was a paucity of trained personnel, and I learn that within the last three years, in the districts especially, several officers have been promoted to positions to which normally, in the ordinary

course, they would not have been so promoted. It was an emergency which confronted the Government and they had to act as best as they could and these officers were promoted to these positions. I am not quite sure whether every one of the sub-divisional magistrates in the various States of our country, there may be, of course quite a number of them who are competent is qualified by this previous experience and by his judgment of men and measures. I am not so sure whether every sub-divisional magistrate will bring to bear the proper outlook on these matters before he takes action under section 3 of this Act. Therefore, I am very definite, very clear in my mind that where the district magistrates and the additional district magistrates have been empowered, there need not be any investment of the sub-divisional magistrates with these powers. Because the sub-divisional magistrates are subordinate either to the district magistrate or the additional district magistrate, and what they have to do is to send a report secret or otherwise to their superior officer, the district magistrate or the additional district magistrate and leave him in possession of the matter and let him pass the requisite orders under section 3 of this Act.

Sardar Patel: The House will remember that Mr. Kamath raised the same point which was considered at the time when the Bill was passed. He has discussed the point, but not the replies that were given at the time. After full consideration, the House accepted that sub-divisional magistrates should have the power. I do not want to have a repetition of the performance made at that time. I do not know whether Mr. Kamath was a sub-divisional magistrate or not. He may have his opinion of his capacity. But, there are many sub-divisional magistrates who are as good as district magistrates. If any question of detention of any individual person arises in his jurisdiction and if it is a question of immediate necessity, then, he has got to have powers if the Bill is to stand. Therefore, there is nothing

unusual in this. This point was considered carefully by the House and I do not propose to say anything more.

Shri Kamath: On a point of clarification, Sir. The point that I made out was that in the Act as originally passed by Parliament, there was no mention of additional district magistrates. That has been accepted now.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is coming to the same argument, he is repeating the same argument.

Shri Kamath: But because of the inclusion of A. D. Ms. the....

Mr. Speaker: But the position has been made quite clear now.

Shri Kamath: Not so clear to me, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: I think the hon. Member wishes me to put his argument to the House.

The question is:

"In clause 2, in the proposed amendment to sub-section (2) of section 3 of the Preventive Detention Act, 1950, omit part (c) and re-letter subsequent parts accordingly."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That clause 2 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.

Clauses 3 and 4

Clauses 3 and 4 were added to the Bill.

Shri Kamath: Are not amendments to the new clauses admissible?

Mr. Speaker: No, they are out of order.

Clause 1, Enacting Formula and Title

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and Title were added to the Bill.

Sardar Patel: I beg to move:

“That the Bill be passed.”

Shri Kamath: Sir, on a point of information. The Supreme Court delivered its judgment on the 19th of May 1950, but the Ordinance was promulgated more than a month later on the 23rd June 1950. What was the reason for this delay?

Sardar Patel: It took some time to get a copy of the Judgment.

Shri Kamath: In getting it from the Supreme Court?

Mr. Speaker: Whatever that may be, we are not entitled to criticise the Court. I was inclined to think that, when the section was declared *ultra vires* it was *ultra vires*. Even if you did not legislate, it is a dead letter.

The question is:

“That the Bill be passed.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMANDS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS FOR 1950-51

Mr. Speaker: The Supplementary Demands will be taken up at 2.30 P.M. and assuming for the sake of argument that we are able to finish the Supplementary Demands earlier, do we utilise the remaining time for the purpose of taking up the Bills?

Some Hon. Members: Yes, Sir.

Shri Sidhva (Madhya Pradesh): On the contrary there is so little time....

Mr. Speaker: Yes, that is why I wanted to get the thing cleared.

Shri Tyagi (Uttar Pradesh): Will the guillotine be applied?

Mr. Speaker: No.

Shri Tirumala Rao (Madras): Can we raise the whole policy of Government on the cut motions on the Supplementary Demands?

Mr. Speaker: Well, I will clarify the position when we re-assemble at 2.30 P.M. But the hon. Member knows that the policy of Government will not be allowed to be discussed on the Supplementary Demands.

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

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

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Mr. Speaker: I should like to know if there is any agreement among the hon. Members that any particular demands or cut motions should be taken up or shall I proceed with the demands one by one as they are on the order paper.

DEMAND NO. 8.—INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT (INCLUDING WORKING EXPENSES)

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

“That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 25,00,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1951, in respect of Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department (including Working Expenses).”

Shri Sidhva: I should like to know whether there will be no general speech from the hon. Finance Minister on the Supplementary Demands. Usually a general speech is made as to why these demands are brought forward.

Mr. Speaker: Is it generally in respect of all the demands or in respect of each individual demand?

Shri Sidhva: It has been the practice, and a right practice, that the Finance Minister comes before the House and tells them why within such a short period these demands are necessary. Some explanation is given on the items, some sort of general resume of all the items. A sum of Rs. 21 crores are demanded now and therefore it is necessary that the House should first be given an explanation. There will

then be a discussion and then each demand may be put to vote.

Dr. Deshmukh (Madhya Pradesh) : I object to this procedure. It will take most of the time allotted

Shri Sidhva : No time is allotted.

Dr. Deshmukh : We try to put forward our points of view. The reasons are given on every demand. If the hon. Finance Minister wishes to summarise them, he can state his reasons at the end of the debate. The reasons are given in the demand book and the necessity for each item is explained there.

Shri Soodhi (Punjab) : We want a general resume as on the General Budget.

Mr. Speaker : That argument is not a valid one. The General Budget is entirely different from this. As the necessary details are already given in the demands for grants, I doubt whether the hon. Finance Minister will have to say anything more at this stage in respect of all the demands.

Shri Sondhi : We only wanted a resume of the administration

Mr. Speaker : Therefore, I wanted to know whether hon. Members want a general discussion in respect of all the demands taken together...

Shri Sidhva : Yes, Sir.

Mr. Speaker : Or in respect of each demand as it is put?

Prof. K. T. Shah (Bihar) : No, no. General.

Mr. Speaker : We shall be taking up time without any result.

Shri Sidhva : We would like to know what the position of the finances is today.

Mr. Speaker : I have no objection, if the Finance Minister is willing to speak.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh) : I have got very little

to add to what I said the other day that the financial position was difficult and that I had just time to review the details of the budget of the first three months of the year. I placed a picture of the Budget which appeared to me as a result of the review before the Standing Finance Committee when we met first and explained the general situation to them. I am quite certain that they had all that information at the back of their minds when they scrutinised all these demands that we placed before them. I do not think any public purpose will be served by my going into the details as to what the position of the Budget shall be at the end of the first quarter. If the House is interested to know the general situation, I anticipate it will be worse than what was assumed for purposes of the Budget as a result of several factors. There again I do not know that it would be in the public interest to set out in detail what those factors are. One factor is, I think, apparent to every one and that is the movement of the displaced persons as a result of the things that happened previous to the Indo-Pakistan Agreement, which we have been discussing for the last two days. All I can say is that in scrutinising these supplementary demands we have taken that into consideration. But it is also my intention, that is to say, the intention of the Ministry of Finance to scrutinise these again, even after the House has voted the grants, to see if there is anything which can possibly be held over in the light of the financial conditions as they appear to us at present. I do not think I can add anything useful to this in a general kind of way and it would be open to the House to discuss each demand on its merits.

Shri Tyagi : I wanted to know 'how do you do?'

Mr. Speaker : It is not a question of "how do you do" but "how do we do". However, I have placed the first demand relating to the Posts and Telegraphs Department, amounting to Rs. 25 lakhs, before the House. I shall

[Mr. Speaker]

take up the various cut motions in respect of this demand. But before I proceed I must point out to hon. Members that a number of cut motions appear to be out of order and they seem to have been tabled under a misapprehension about the scope of the discussion in the case of supplementary demands. I may just invite the attention of the House to the previous rulings on the subject every time the supplementary demands came up. I may mention the relevant point.

The real point is that these are supplementary demands. In the case of the original demands, for whatever objects they were made, the principle as well as the policy of those demands had been discussed thoroughly by this House at the time of the Budget, when the Budget was sanctioned in respect of those demands as also again at the time of the Finance Bill. Any further discussion about the whole demand in respect of the policy pursued or of the principles will be nothing but a repetition of the same arguments over and over again. It is, therefore, that the scope of the discussion will be restricted only to such new things or new items as had not come up for discussion before the House when the Budget was voted upon. That is the principle on which the scope of the discussion is restricted. So, hon. Members would remember that.

We will now take up the cut motions. There are in all four cut motions to Demand No. 8. Out of these, No. 1 of list No. 1 and Nos. 1 to 3 of list No. 2—that means all the cut motions to this Supplementary Demand—seem to be out of order, because they want to discuss the principles of expansion of postal facilities, another wishes to discuss the principles of appointment of Scheduled Caste members, the third wishes to discuss the plan for expansion of postal facilities, and the fourth wishes to discuss that more postal facilities ought to be given to rural people. That is the position. Hon. Members will be pleased to see that the

Supplementary Grant is required, as stated in the book :

“for opening 4,800 new post offices in rural and urban areas in pursuance of the policy of Government of India that—

- (a) Villages or compact group of villages within a radius of 2 miles with a population of 2,000 and above should each have a post office; and
- (b) No one should, except in sparsely populated areas, have to walk more than 5 miles to transact business at a post office.”

These cut motions seek to discuss a much wider issue but hon. Members can discuss the Demand as it is and criticise within the scope of this objective.

Shri Sidhva: On a point of information. The explanation, as you just now read, says that the demand is asked for 4,800 new post offices in rural and urban areas. Will the hon. Minister tell us whether in the Budget any amount was provided for these rural post offices, and if so how much was provided and how many post offices have been opened ?

The Minister of Communications (Shri Kidwai): Originally Rupees five lakhs were provided in the Budget for this item of opening of new rural post offices. But during discussion in the House some hon. Members asked that more funds should be provided for this item. After consulting the then Finance Minister I agreed that by the end of the financial year we will have a post office in all villages with a population of 2,000 and over. It was estimated that we will require about Rs. 30 lakhs, and therefore, we are providing an additional amount of Rs. 25 lakhs for the purpose.

Shri Tyagi: There is mention of urban areas also here. The book says, “The Supplementary grant is required for opening 4,800 new post offices in rural and urban areas....”. May I

know how these two areas are allotted money and what is the proportionate allotment to each area ?

Shri Kidwai : Most of the money is for rural post offices. We have got 4,800 villages with a population of 2,000 or more and we have planned that every such village shall have a post office before the close of the financial year.

Shri Tyagi : But how much will be spent for urban areas ?

Shri Kidwai : All this money will be required in rural areas. In urban areas we don't want to open post offices where we will have to suffer a loss. Therefore, in urban areas there will be no loss and this money will be spent only in rural areas.

Shri Tyagi : Will you permit any comments on this, Sir ?

Mr. Speaker : Certainly.

Dr. Deshmukh : While I have no intention of moving the cut motion, I would like to point out that the discussion of principles of expansion of postal facilities of which I gave notice was intended to discuss the expansion that is contemplated in the Demand itself and nothing beyond that. I am perfectly aware of the ruling you had given and so I was not likely consciously to commit an error or do something that was not in accordance with the rulings.

So far as this expenditure is concerned, I am glad that some explanation has been offered, and that explanation tempts me to say that the hon. Minister has given to the House something by way of a revenge. In the original Budget he had the heart and the courage only to provide for Rs. five lakhs for rural post offices. Here is a Supplementary Demand in which he has asked for Rs. 25 lakhs. It is very generous of him indeed, and that shows the way in which we are prepared on expenditure. Simply because some hon. Members desired that villages should be provided with post offices, it did not mean that we will be committed to such an expenditure

as this without much of a plan without stating all that it means. Secondly, nowhere has it been stated as to how much revenue it was likely to bring. Are we to understand that all these twenty-five lakhs are merely to be expended and there is no revenue at all to be derived from it ? If that is the position, I for one would stoutly and strongly oppose this Demand altogether and would request hon. Members of this House to throw it out. Not that I object to rural post offices but the manner and method of bringing them about.

Then, this expenditure is in my opinion also not fully justified because we have not been able to give any relief to those people who are at the present time using the postal services. The rate of the postcard remains the same, the rate of the envelope remains the same, and what my hon. friend has added to our convenience is by stopping the Sunday delivery and Sunday clearance. That is a novel thing, and I wonder if he wants to leave his name in the annals of the Postal Department of India. Is that why he has thought of all these new things ? I don't wish to dwell upon it, I only wish to point out that whereas on the one hand the hon. Minister is not in a position to keep up the facilities and conveniences which were ours for so many years and he is trying to cut down the facilities still further, on the other hand, he is trying to embark on something as foolish as the re-classification that was resorted to by my friend, Mr. Santhanam, because some Members had expressed a desire for it in the House. I would beg of him not to be so solicitous of the opinions expressed here. He should take care of the finances of the Postal Department and see that a larger number of people receive some concession by way of reduction in postal charges rather than embark upon a Supplementary Demand five times as large as the main Demand. And I don't know how the Finance Minister who is complaining of a financial crisis is prepared to sanction such a foolish demand of Rs. 25 lakhs, especially by way of Supplementary Demand.

Shri Tyagi : On a point of order, Sir. Is the word "foolish" used by the hon. Member parliamentary?

Mr. Speaker : It is a very strong word which need not have been used, but it does not seem to be unparliamentary.

Shri Tyagi : I thought.....

Mr. Speaker : Order, order.

Shri Sidhva : I wholeheartedly support this Demand. All along we have neglected the people in the rural areas. From the time we came into this House, we have been insisting that rural post-offices should be opened in large numbers and the rural people should get this facility. I do not mind if there is no return from these rural post-offices. When we frame our Budget, we need not necessarily think of the return. We have to see the whole picture and see what is the total realisation from post offices as a whole—both urban and rural inclusive. We must see that that part of the country in the rural areas which does not command the facility of a post office is given that facility. From that point of view, I support this Demand.

My point is about the expenses. We do not know what type of post offices will be opened in the rural areas. Generally, what they do is, they entrust it to a school-master, who handles money orders and registered articles in his school. I do not know how far this system is satisfactory. If it has worked satisfactorily, I want to encourage it. But I have seen in European countries that both in rural and in urban areas, post offices are not run by the Postal Department exclusively, but they are entrusted to *bona fide* shopkeepers, and according to the number of articles that are handled, they are paid. Of course, the delivery of letters is done by the Postal Department. I humbly submit that if such a procedure is feasible, it would be easier and cheaper. I do not see why even in small towns persons who can be trusted should not be entrusted with this work. I remember some years ago the work of Cash

Department was entrusted to a particular class of people who gave certain guarantees and securities. It was a great relief to the public and also a saving of expenditure to Government. I know how postage stamps were sold by small shopkeepers and tobacco sellers and *pan-bidwals*. The public derive great advantage by this system. They get the postage stamps wherever they like and at the same time, the expenditure is not much to the exchequer.

Again, as far as sale of postage stamps is concerned, in European countries both in urban and in rural areas they have automatic machines. The man inserts the coin and he gets the stamp. I want to know what kind of improvement our Postal Department has effected. Have they introduced the most modern system prevailing in foreign countries? Again, there are machines for franking the stamps. In India, there were one or two such franking machines in Agra and other places. But that is also incomplete. The Postal Department have no scheme. They are hanging on to the old method. I certainly echo the grievance of the common people that complete stoppage of postal clearance and delivery on Sundays is causing great inconvenience. I do appreciate that a holiday is necessary for postmen, but if the Minister wants to follow European countries in regard to Sunday-off why not follow them in all other respects? May I remind him that on ordinary week days, for twenty-four hours....

Mr. Speaker : This detailed discussion will not, I am afraid, be relevant to this supplementary Demand.

Shri Sidhva : I was merely giving an illustration and mentioning that this Sunday-off is causing a saving. However, I shall not go into details. My point is that while I approve of this Demand, I wish to know how this amount is going to be spent. Merely saying that it is going to be spent on opening rural post offices is not a sufficient guidance to the House. Are

these post offices going to be full-fledged post offices? In my opinion, full-fledged post offices may not be necessary in some villages. Are they going to introduce the latest, modern automatic machines? They must have a systematic planning. Some kind of new improvement must be introduced. Here planning is necessary. From that point of view, while I support this Demand, I would like the hon. Minister to enlighten us as to how he is going to spend the money; how much these post offices are going to cost and whether my points about the latest improvements will be borne in mind, so that there will be economy and at the same time great benefit to the public.

Shri Tyagi : I am very glad that the hon. Minister of Communications has taken to the giving of amenities to villages. For centuries together, villages have been neglected and it is very good that he has taken up the scheme of opening rural post offices. I must particularly thank him myself, because during the last two Budgets it was I who was insisting on this.

An Hon. Member : Why do villages require post offices?

Shri Tyagi : A Post-office is as much a necessity in a village as in a town, because the people in the villages marry and they get their invitation cards and in the villages people die and they get their condolence cards. So a post office is a necessity in both places.

But seeing to the financial conditions of today, I would have liked the hon. Minister to have spread this scheme over two or three years. It was not of course my demand that all the villages should have post-offices within one year. He has misunderstood my demand. He can as well open these post-offices for the present in villages having double the proposed population, and later on open others in villages with a lesser population. I am afraid that opening so many post offices in one year—and that too, in a year half

of which has already elapsed—might mean that more expenditure and waste of money will be involved. That is one comment.

Then I want to know whether all this money is going to be spent on rural post offices or some of it will be spent on urban post offices also. I do not know which to believe: the oral word of the hon. Minister or the written word of the Ministry. I say so because in the foot-note here it is said that this supplementary sum is required for opening 4,800 new post offices in rural and urban areas. I have not yet come across any urban area which has not got one or two post offices. Why are you opening post offices in urban areas again? So, I want to know how much of this is going to urban areas in the name of rural areas. Is half of it going, or more than half or what is the amount? This has given rise to suspicion and I want clarification.

Lastly, whenever supplementary Demands are made, I would request the hon. Minister of Finance, or whichever other Minister is in charge, to provide us with full details.

Last year and the year before also I insisted on it. Here, for instance, in regard to the particulars given in the footnote I would like to know, how many buildings for the use of the post-offices will be taken on rent, how many post masters and postmen will be engaged, what will be their remuneration, etc., etc. It is no use your getting the money and engaging the persons of your own choice. When you come before the House for a new scheme, the House is entitled to know the fullest details regarding the scheme. I am a member of the Estimates Committee and I know of instances where sanction of the House was taken without any proper estimates. For example the first estimate for the Sindri Factory—of course the present Ministry is not responsible for it—consisted of seven lines. The result is that the revised estimate has gone up three times the original estimate. Therefore, when supplementary demands are put

[Sri Tyági]

forward before this House, they must contain all the details relating to the scheme, so that the House may comment on all aspects of it.

Shri Tirumala Rao : I for one do not understand the opposition for this demand by my hon. friend Dr. Punjab-rao Deshmukh, who in season and out of season has always voiced his love for the people in the villages.

Dr. Deshmukh : How many literate people there are and how many people can write letters? My friend does not know, I think.

Shri Tirumala Rao : There are about five and a half lakh villages in the Indian Union. Of these those villages which have a population of over 5,000 are provided with post offices. Now the Minister wants to provide those villages with a population of 2,000 and over with post offices. Out of these 4,800 post offices that are to be opened, about 4,600 are to be in the rural areas. The provision for 200 urban post offices has been made because of the phenomenal growth of population in certain urban areas. Take for instance Delhi. The population of Delhi has increased to 15,00,000 and the city is expanding beyond human conception. People living in places far off from the Central Post Office have to be provided with certain facilities. Considering the amount of money that we are spending on the Department—nearly 31 crores—the amount asked for establishing about 200 urban post offices would be negligible and I cannot understand the opposition, or the meticulous and scrupulous financial conscience exhibited by some of my friends in this matter. In fact the Minister deserves our congratulations.

Shri Chattopadhyay (West Bengal) : It is a matter of satisfaction that the hon. Minister of Communications has come before this House for a sum of about Rs. 25 lakhs for opening 4,800 post offices in rural areas. Anybody who is acquainted with the rural areas will at once realise what useful service

these post offices will render to the rural areas. I congratulate the Hon. Minister for his initiative and drive.

In this connection I would like to bring one matter to the notice of Government. I am glad that the hon. Minister has been opening post office after post office during the last two or three years and if these 4,800 new post offices are opened, there will be no village in India with a population of 2,000 which will not be served by a post office. But, with the increase in the number of post offices, other difficulties are cropping up and that is the increase in the volume of work of Head and Sub-post offices. In the postal head offices specially and also in the branch offices the volume of work has increased enormously during the last few years. In comparison with the pre-war years the volume of work has been so much that it has been difficult for the workers to cope with them in the limited space in which they have to work. I am sorry to say that for the last two years there has not been any increase of accommodation in any of the post offices. I have the misfortune of visiting several post offices in the district and sub-divisional towns and wherever I have gone this complaint has been put forward to me that the volume of work has been increasing beyond measure and the staff do not get sufficient space to work conveniently. The employees have got to work in suffocating atmosphere.

It must be admitted that the larger the number of post offices the better it is for the country and particularly for the people who have so far been denied these amenities of civilisation. Yes, post offices are like doors and windows of civilisation flung open towards undeveloped areas. But strangely enough, the employees who work for the post offices have been very much neglected by the Department. I would request the hon. Minister to consider the urgency of increasing accommodation in the post-offices which are at present in existence. This is a matter to which the

attention of the hon. Minister has been drawn so many times. Here is a concrete suggestion which I would like to make in this connection. Very large amount of money is lying invested by the depositors in post office savings banks. I suggest that a certain portion of these deposits might be utilised and invested for building additional accommodation for the post offices so that the working condition of the employees can be improved.

Again, most of the postal employees have to live in very uncomfortable conditions. In most of the towns there are no good hotels or boarding houses where employees of the Postal Department can stay. I have come across people working in the Department who have to spend their nights in the verandahs of post offices. This to a great extent impairs their efficiency and makes them unsatisfied. I would, therefore, request the hon. Minister to do something for the accommodation of the people who work for the Department and bring so much of revenue. This is not a spending department; it is an earning department. It is all the more reason why people working under it should be kept in a condition as would improve their efficiency and not impair it. It must be seen that they can work with joy and pleasure.

Ch. Ranbir Singh (Punjab): I heartily congratulate the hon. Minister for bringing forward a scheme to establish about 4000 post offices in the rural areas. We are glad that there is at least one Minister who has realised the need of the hour.

[**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair**]

Although the need is realised at a late hour I am glad that he has at least realised that this House has to go to the polls after a few months and everyone of us will have to go to the villager and who will demand from us "What have you been doing for us all this time?" At that time, although the consolation will be very poor, at least we shall be able to say that we have been instrumental for opening four thousand post offices in the villages.

I cannot help saying, however, that in spite of the fact that he has tried to do something for the villagers, he has still love for the urban people. While there are today so many post offices in the urban areas he is thinking of opening eight hundred post offices again in the urban areas. I do not know what are the conditions of those areas where he wants to open these post offices. But I would like to know how much money will be spent for these eight hundred urban post offices and how much will be spent for the four thousand rural post offices.

I congratulate him again for bringing this proposal and affording this poor consolation to the villagers and this House.

Shri Chandrika Ram (Bihar): We have a great satisfaction that the hon. Minister is going to open four thousand post offices in the rural areas. But in this connection I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the plight of the scheduled castes in the lower services even though the Government of India have passed resolutions and issued orders to every Department that the scheduled castes, at least in the lower services, will be taken to the extent of 16½ per cent everywhere. I have to live and move among the villagers and I have some connection with the people who work there. I would request him to look to this matter personally and see that these people are appointed there. What happens is that when there are any vacancies the officers recruit some persons who are their own relations or who pay something to them and keep them on the list. These poor illiterate people belonging to the scheduled caste and Harijan community cannot approach these officers. As a matter of fact they are illiterate, first of all, and secondly, they have no organised society of their own so that they may be bold enough to go and approach them. Even if they are put on the list they are in the last and they never get any appointments. The result is that this order of the Government

[Shri Chandrika Ram]

of India is not observed anywhere. So my simple suggestion to the Ministry and to the hon. Minister who cares much for the depressed and lower class community is to see that these people are appointed.

Another thing I may say in this connection is this that in the matter of appointment promotion and other things the officers do what they like. When these matters are brought before the Ministry they are not carefully examined. This has given rise to great dissatisfaction among the workers in the Postal and Telegraphs Department. In this way the work suffers, proper leave is not given to the people and efficiency goes down.

I would request the hon. Minister to issue orders to all heads of departments under him and P.M.G.'s all over India to see that proper recruitment of the scheduled caste and lower class people is made in the appointments. These things are done by petty officers in villages and small towns. They are not paid enough and so there might be the temptation. As these people are poor and illiterate they cannot approach these officers. Unless you make personal supervision or direct that these people shall be taken in adequate numbers the Government of India's orders and resolutions will not be enforced.

With these few remarks I would like to congratulate the Minister for caring for the village people and opening this large number of post offices in the villages but I would request him to see that these post offices are really conducted in a good way. Some hon. Member suggested that they may be given to shopkeepers or *panwallahs* or *bidiwallahs*. As a matter of fact I live and move among the villagers and I know the mentality of the people. I would therefore request, and earnestly request the hon. Minister not to entrust all this matter of responsibility to those people.

With these few words I again congratulate the hon. Minister and request him again and again to look to the interests of the scheduled castes in matters of appointments.

Dr. Parmar (Himachal Pradesh) : I congratulate the hon. Minister on this proposal of starting about four thousand post offices in the rural areas in the country. I am glad that this Department has after all realized the great necessity of giving opportunities to the people in the villages to contact the rest of the world. In this context I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister particularly to the people of the hills where post offices or postal facilities are so far absolutely unknown. Only the other day I forwarded to him an application from one of the tehsil headquarters in Himachal Pradesh known as Kersog. That tehsil is fortytwo miles from the headquarters of the sub-division, but there is no post office in between the tehsil headquarters and the sub-division headquarters. What happens is that if somebody has got to address a letter to the sub-division headquarters, it has to travel all the distance not from that place to the headquarters of the sub-division but from Kersog it must go to Tattapani, to Mashobra, to Simla, to Kalka, to Ambala, to Amritsar, to Pathankot, to Mandi and then to Sukat, the headquarters of the sub-division. It has got to travel about 600 miles to cover 42 miles of that area ! That, I believe, is enough to show what the state of the postal facilities in those tracts is.

Not only that. In that place we find the greatest desire on the part of the people to work it. They offer their services to do every work free but only if the Postal Department makes arrangements for the post to be delivered to that place. The rest they would manage. In that context when I find here that it is provided that in future no place would be left without any post office and nobody shall have to walk more than five miles, it is welcome. But there is one proviso that it will not be applied to the sparsely populated areas. Unfortunately in the hills the places are sparsely populated. That means they will not be able to avail of this

boon which is coming through this Department. I will therefore humbly request the hon. Minister to bear this in mind and see that this limit of five miles is not applied in the case of the hills. There the distance should be shorter because the difficulties are greater. I represent Himachal Pradesh and Bilaspur, and I would request him to bear this in mind and provide a greater number of post offices in the backward areas particularly of the hills.

Shri Naziruddin Ahmad (West Bengal): I support the demand on two grounds. The first is on the ground that we have to thank the hon. the Minister of Communications for though he has stabbed the inhabitants of urban areas by stopping Sunday deliveries he has slightly compensated it by granting some boons to the villages. The second ground on which I support it is that it has received the blessings of the new Finance Minister. Shri Chintaman Deshmukh comes to this House with great advantages. While his predecessor in office Dr. John Matthai in this House made many dozens of promises which could not be fulfilled, Shri Chintaman Deshmukh on the other hand, made millions of promises in the quietness of his office "I promise to pay the bearer on demand the sum of Rs. 10, and so forth". Each one of these promises were and are being fulfilled vigorously and to the letter. On the ground that Shri Chintaman Deshmukh has given his blessings to this demand, I support it.

Shri Tyagi : What was the total debt on him?

Shri Raj Bahadur (Rajasthan): I think, the hon. Minister does not stand any more in need of congratulations. He has been luckily the recipient of a chorus of encomiums, congratulations, felicitations etc. I simply need remind him that what he proposes to do by providing for the re-opening of these new 4,800 post offices in the villages is the mere discharge of his usual functions. He is doing his duty by the country and by the rural people and nothing more.

At the same time, I want to remind him of another duty he owes to the country and to his colleague the

hon. Finance Minister. Upon him and upon his department is saddled the responsibility of pushing on the sale of National Savings Certificates. It is a painful observation that I have got to make here, that so far, we have not been able to make much headway in this direction. Unfortunately even in urban areas, wherever there are post offices, people find it very difficult to get easily to the post offices and something should be done to facilitate the purchase of National Savings Certificates. I am speaking from personal experience also on this matter. These 4,800 post offices that are being opened, I think will easily provide a very useful and effective media by which he can push forward this work and can make a substantial contribution towards the fulfilment of this important national duty. As has been aptly remarked by my hon. friend, Mr. Chattopadhyay, these post offices would provide the rural section of our population with windows for the outside world. Moreover a good deal of constructive effort could be pushed on through these post offices in the rural areas. Our postmasters, our village school masters, *patwaris* and such other officials constitute an important link between the Government and the people. As such I would also request the hon. Minister of Communications that he should try to chalk out some scheme whereby these officials, who would be responsible for running these post offices in the villages may be made to push on constructive work also. For example, civic consciousness and a sort of civic training can be imparted to the rural section of people through these postmasters. That is also a thing which we should not lose sight of. With these words I welcome the move that has been made and I also congratulate the hon. Minister.

Dr. V. Subramaniam (Madras): I do not want to repeat all the arguments or points put forward by other speakers but I welcome the proposal that more post offices will be opened in places where the population is more than 2,000. A suggestion that I should like to make is that postal facilities should be made available by providing post

[Dr. V. Subramaniam]

boxes in small villages where there are 500 or 1,000 people and mails can be cleared by the peons themselves and taken to the nearest post-office. At the same time, I want to know what will happen to the extra-departmental people, that is, the people who run the post offices at present in villages? They are school masters or petty *mirasidars* and so on. Will this work be carried out purely by the department or the work will be entrusted to the extra-departmental people, who will be appointed? What I want to know is whether the Government is going to run all the post offices through the regular postal service? If so, what about the services of the extra-departmental people? I want some clarification over this point and some arrangement must also be made to see that small villages are also connected to these post offices.

श्री जांगड़े : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे इस बात की बड़ी प्रसन्नता है कि पोस्ट एंड टेलिग्राफ डिपार्टमेंट (Post and Telegraph Department) के काम में उन्नति हो रही है। अभी तक हमने शहरों की उन्नति की ओर ज्यादा ध्यान दिया है पर मुझे बहुत खुशी है कि अब यह मिनिस्ट्री देहात की उन्नति की ओर ध्यान देने के लिये अग्रसर हुई है। अभी हमारे माननीय डाक्टर साहब ने कहा कि हमें इन देहातों में डाक घर खोलने से क्या लाभ होगा हमें इन देहातों से कितनी रकम मिलेगी। इस बारे में उन्होंने कहा है।

डाक्टर बेजामुख : सप्लीमेंटरी डिमांड (Supplementary Demand) में खर्च न हो, इतना ही कहा है।

श्री जांगड़े : यदि आप इस तरह कार्य करें कि जितना खर्च हो उतनी ही आमदनी हो और यदि इस तरह हम सोचें तो देहात में किसी भी हालत में हम किसी प्रकार की भी उन्नति नहीं कर सकते। हमें उनके अंधेरेपन को दूर करना है। जिस हालत में अभी देहात गिरे हुये हैं उस से उनको निकालना है। अभी वह सभ्यता से परे है इष्ट

लिये यदि इस काम में हजारों लाखों रुपयों का नुकसान भी हो तो भी हमें उन की उन्नति के लिये यह काम करने होंगे और इस ओर मिनिस्ट्री ने जो काम किया है उस के लिये मैं उस को हार्दिक बधाई देता हूँ।

इस सम्बन्ध में एक बात मुझे और कहनी है। देहातों के डाकखानों में काम करने वाले कर्मचारियों की तनख्वाहें बहुत ही कम हैं। मुझे बताया गया है कि मध्य प्रदेश में पच्चीस तीस रुपये डाकखाने में काम करने वाले को मिलते हैं। आज कल एक मामूली मजदूर जो काम करता है उसको भी २५ रुपये मिलते हैं और उससे कम में उस का पेट नहीं भर सकता। फिर आप ख्याल करें कि जो आदमी चिट्ठियां बांटते हैं और आज कल बरसात के दिनों में उनके लिये पांच-पांच दस-दस मील जाना कितना कठिन होता है, उनकी पच्चीस तीस रुपये में किस प्रकार गुजर हो सकती है। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि उनका वेतन अधिक बढ़ाया जाय।

दूसरी शिकायत इस मिनिस्ट्री के बारे में यह है कि बहुत से डाकखाने ऐसे हैं जहाँ केवल पत्र इकट्ठे किये जाते हैं और फिर वहाँ से दूसरे डाकखानों को बांटने के लिये भेजे जाते हैं। अब इस प्रकार के डाकखाने एक दूसरे से चार या पांच मील की दूरी पर हैं। हालांकि ये डाकखाने एक दूसरे से चार या पांच मील की दूरी पर ही हैं फिर भी एक चिट्ठी को एक डाकखाने से दूसरे डाकखाने तक पहुंचने में सात या आठ रोज़ लग जाते हैं। उदाहरण के लिये मैं आपको बताऊँ कि चिट्ठियां रायगढ़ हो कर सारंगगढ़ जाती हैं जहां का मैं रहने वाला हूँ। जो चिट्ठी यहां से जाती है मुझे वह सात रोज़, आठ रोज़ और नौ रोज़ में मिलती है। इस लिये मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि ऐसे डाकखानों को वहां के बड़े डाकखाने से इस तरह मिलाया जाये कि जो पास के ब्रांच पोस्ट आफिस हैं उनसे उनका सम्पर्क हो जाये न कि पुराने ब्रांच पोस्ट आफिस से ही उनका सम्पर्क बना रहे।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri Jangde (Madhya Pradesh) : I am pleased to note that the posts and Telegraphs Department is making good progress. So far we have been devoting greater attention to progress in the towns and I am glad to find that this Ministry is now turning its attention to progress in the villages. Dr. Deshmukh stated just now, "What is the good of opening post offices in these villages? What income are they going to yield to us?"

Dr. Deshmukh : All that I stated was that the expenditure should not be incurred out of a supplementary grant.

Shri Jangde : If you were to proceed on the basis that the expenditure to be incurred should be equal to the income, if that were to be our approach then we will not be able to initiate any kind of progress in the villages. We have to remove their ignorance. We have to pull them out of their present degradation. They are yet out of the pale of civilization. We shall have to work for their progress even if in doing so we have to suffer a loss of thousands and lacs of rupees. Hence I congratulate the Ministry for the steps it has taken in that direction.

There is just one thing that I have to say in this connection. People who work in the rural post offices are extremely low paid. I am told the postal employees in Madhya Pradesh are paid from twenty-five to thirty rupees per month. Even an ordinary labourer, these days can earn Rs. 25/- per month and it is hardly enough to give him a full meal. Then think of a man who has to distribute letters and to travel a distance of five to ten miles during the rainy season, how difficult it is for him to live on twenty-five to thirty rupees a month? I feel, therefore, that their salaries should be raised.

I have a second complaint against this Ministry. There are many post offices where letters are collected and then sent on to other post offices for distribution. Now such kind of post offices are situated at distances of four to five miles from one another, and

although the intervening distance is only four to five miles a letter takes seven or eight days to go from one post office to the other. For example let me tell you that a letter for Saranggarh, where I live, goes via Raigarh. The letters sent to me from here take as many as seven, eight or even nine days to reach me. Thus what I mean to say is that the post offices should be so inter-connected that the new village post office may have its connection with the nearest branch post office and not remain linked to the old one.

Dr. Deshmukh : Before the hon. Minister proceeds with his speech, I would like to know what revenue he is going to derive out of this?

Shri Kidwai : I am thankful to Dr. Deshmukh for getting for me so much support for this demand. I wish he had remembered that originally we had provided only Rs. five lakhs for expansion or opening of both rural and urban post offices. It was because we were short of money and we could not provide, for these post offices but when the Postal Budget was taken for consideration in the House there was a demand from every corner that more and more rural post offices should be opened. When the Budget was being discussed, the then Finance Minister kindly agreed to provide more funds and with his approval I undertook and I gave an assurance to this House that before the close of this financial year, we will have post offices in all villages with a population of 2,000 or more and this extra money is being provided to fulfil that undertaking. My hon. friend Shri Tyagi is naturally anxious to know how much of this money will be spent on urban post offices and why new urban post offices are being opened. I hope that he realizes that many new townships have been opened; there are no post offices there and we have to open post offices, for instance, there is going to be one in Faridabad.

Then, there are many refugee colonies and there have been many extensions to the cities. There also post offices have to be opened.

Shri Tyagi : Agreed.

Shri Kidwai : Another hon. Member asked why open 800 urban post offices. The number of urban post offices is only 200. In the urban post offices, we do not suffer any loss. Even in the very first year, we make some profit. It is only in the rural post offices that we suffer some loss. Last year, the House accepted that in the first year, we should agree to a loss of Rs. 750 per post office. It is on that basis that this calculation has been made. Only seven lakhs will be spent on urban post offices and the balance, 23 lakhs, will be spent on rural post offices.

Reference has been made to savings bank transactions and National Savings Certificates. We know that our Savings banks were not working satisfactorily. The Finance Minister has therefore kindly agreed to appoint an expert to look into the working of the savings banks and savings certificates and provide the additional facilities that may be necessary to attract more and more savings funds. That officer, I hope, will start work by the 15th of this month. By the time the Parliament meets again, I hope the report will be in our hands.

Shri Raj Bahadur : Does it apply to the Savings Banks only or to National Savings Certificates also?

Shri Kidwai : It applies to both. So far as the savings banks are concerned, we have to provide more facilities to transact business and attract more money. About the Savings Certificates, you have to do some propaganda also.

Shri Raj Bahadur : Through your post offices?

Shri Kidwai : Another point that has been raised is.....

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : नुझे एक सवाल पुरजना है वह यह है कि यह रुपया कितने दिन में खर्च हो जायेगा और दूसरे यह कि सारे देश में किस हिसाब से बटवारा होगा ?

[**Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar) :** I have to ask a question and that is that in how much time will this money be spent and in what proportion will it be distributed in the whole country?]

Shri Kidwai : I can only say that this money is being provided to be spent before the close of the present financial year. There is no question of *batwara*. Every village which has a population of 2,000 or more will have a post office. But, I can inform the hon. Member that his province will benefit if not the most, the second most. That is, Madras will have the largest number of post offices, and then comes Bihar.

Dr. Deshmukh : U. P. will be the first ?

Shri Kidwai : U. P. will not be even the fourth.

Another point has been raised whether these post offices will be manned by departmental men or by extra-departmental men. All the rural post offices will be manned by extra-departmental men on the lines suggested by my hon. friend, Mr. Sidhva. That is, persons who have got other occupation will, on some payment, be entrusted with this post office work. The extra money that they get would be helpful to them. Our remuneration to extra-departmental men is not very generous. They get Rs. 10 as pay and Rs. 10 as allowance. That may not be sufficient for a whole-time worker. That should be sufficient for a man who is making a living otherwise because it comes as a help. He is not a whole-time post office servant. He works for one hour or two at the most ; in the beginning he has hardly work for more than half an hour. So far as rural post offices are concerned, there will be extra-departmental men.

Mr. Sidhva has made many other useful suggestions. We will consider them. One of the suggestions was that shopkeepers should be allowed

to sell postal stamps. This was the practice before ; but it had to be discontinued because it was found that, in order to earn more commission, they allow a commission to the purchasers and that is an abuse of the contract. That is the reason why it was discontinued. We will again consider that question.

A point was made about the buildings. I have been visiting the different cities and I find that accommodation in the existing post offices is very poor. Our staff can hardly work there. We are trying to get more houses and I hope that something will be done about this.

Another point was made about the employment of scheduled caste men. Again and again instructions have been sent. In the last three years, there has not been any fresh recruitment. One or two or three men have been taken in some places and it is not possible to maintain this percentage, in that small number. We are just now recruiting in larger number and I hope the Scheduled castes will get not only their share, but more than their share.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : The question is :

“That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 25,00,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1951, in respect of ‘Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department (including Working Expenses.)’”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 9—CABINET

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : Motion is :

“That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 77,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of ‘Cabinet.’”

There are cut motions relating to this Demand. First by Mr. Ahmed Meeran. I think it is out of order. Then, Dr. Deshmukh.

Dr. Deshmukh : I do not wish to move any of the cut motions. I wish to speak.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : Cut motion by Tribhuvan Narayan Singh : out of order.

Shri T. N. Singh (Uttar Pradesh) : I believe it is not out of order, but I am not moving.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : Cut Motions by Mr. S. N. Mishra and Mr. Balmiki: Out of order. Not moved.

An Hon. Member : Are they out of order or are they not moved ?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : The hon. Members did not invite my ruling regarding these. If they want, they are out of order.

Shri Sidhva : May we have some information, before the discussion starts, about the item (b), setting up of a Central Statistical organisation from the hon. Prime Minister so that we may have fuller facilities to discuss ?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : If hon. members express any doubt, the hon. Prime Minister will explain ultimately.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru) : About the Central Statistical Organisation ? I think the Finance Minister could do it better.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh : It has been suggested very frequently that a Central Statistical Organisation should be established at the Centre in order to help the Government in planning as well as in co-ordinating its statistical work. The position before this idea was broached was that each Ministry had its own statisticians and they designed their own experiments, sent out their own forms, and there was no machinery for the co-ordination of th

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh]
 work of these statisticians. At a later date, they have some kind of system of a committee of departmental statisticians and it was presided over by someone who was really a professional statistician. Therefore, the idea behind establishing a Central Statistical Office is to secure both these aims. One may be called usual routine aim, that is to say, to co-ordinate current work of the various statistical sections of the Ministries to see that there is no overlapping and to ensure that there is standardisation in their work. The inconvenience that may be caused to the various sectors of the public by reason of lack of co-ordination could be very serious. The other day when some prominent industrialists were consulted about production, one of the reasons which they adduced for lack of production was that they were overwhelmed by a stream of forms which were showered on them by the various authorities. That instances the sort of way in which the Central Statistical Office could function usefully.

In regard to the Planning Commission, the Central Statistical office will have a very special function. The House is aware that our statistical foundation is very meagre and it is not always possible to evolve stable policies just because we lack the statistics. The Central Statistical Office has not yet been fully established, but they have started a small central statistical unit and that unit has already done considerable amount of useful work. The Statistical Consultant to the Government—Prof. Mahalanobis—is a statistician of international reputation and he is helping Government to evolve a scheme for what is called national sample survey. That survey includes sample surveying of 1,800 villages spread all over the country, and the investigators who will be appointed for the work will be instructed to collect a great deal of information bearing on the utilisation of land, on the formation of capital in rural areas. And wherever necessary their operations could be intensified for any special areas or any special needs that we may have. At the

moment, apart from the small central statistical unit, it has not yet been possible to get together the necessary staff although I believe Prof. Mahalanobis has been able to secure the services of one or two statisticians with the requisite experience. For the time being, part of the work of the Central Statistical Office has been made over to the Indian Statistical Institute which has a reservoir of trained statisticians and the provision that is now suggested is to enable Prof. Mahalanobis, in consultation with the Cabinet Secretary, to fill a number of posts in order that he may be able to carry on his work.

Shri T. N. Singh : Do I understand that already you have a Central Statistical Organisation to begin with and that the present proposal is only to help Prof. Mahalanobis by adding one or two men to this Organisation so that he may function properly ?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh : No, the central statistical unit consists of men borrowed from the Indian Statistical Institute, because Prof. Mahalanobis was anxious not to waste time. That unit consists of two or three persons. The intention now is to start a properly organised Central Statistical Office in which naturally the statistical unit will be merged.

Prof. Ranga (Madras) : I wish to make only one or two points in this connection. On several occasions in the past, one wondered why our Prime Minister and the Cabinet did not make up their mind about the repeated request as well as suggestions made on the floor of the House and elsewhere that a cadre of Deputy Ministers should be developed. But instead of that, from time to time we are faced with these proposals, when one more Minister of State is appointed. A little later there will be another proposal also that a Minister Without Portfolio be appointed and so on. So there does not seem to be any system in these appointments. If the Prime Minister is convinced that the Cabinet need not be enlarged, as he told the House some time back...

Shri Goenka (Madras) : Can we discuss policies under the Supplementary Grants ?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : It is not a question so much of policy. One Minister is appointed and then he may feel that one may not be enough and there may be some other category of Ministers.

Prof. Ranga : Thank you, Sir. The Prime Minister told us that he felt the Cabinet was big enough, nevertheless he wanted another Minister of State to be appointed, and so one after another they have been appointed as he found or the Cabinet found the convenience or the necessity for it. Now, the House would like to know at sometime or other, at some stage or other whether it is not necessary that the Cabinet as well as the Prime Minister should come to the conclusion that there should be some policy in these appointments. There must be some idea behind it. Either they have no idea at all or they have some idea. We have been having often and often somebody or other on whom their fancy falls, and afterwards they tell us "We have no need for any more. Therefore all of you who may be thinking of these things, please shut down your hopes." Now, nobody need misunderstand me, because I happen to be too senior in this House to be an aspirant either for a State Ministership or a Deputy Ministership, and I have already assured the Prime Minister that....

Shri Tyagi : It is no crime to aspire.

Prof. Ranga : I am too senior, I tell you, and until after the next elections are over when it may be possible for the masses in this country to send their representatives of a different colour, of a different type and in different strength, some of us, anyhow, are not thinking of serving him, of co-operating with him even from a cabinet rank. However, I wish to put in a plea on behalf of some of my hon. colleagues here in this House, and say that it is time that the

Prime Minister comes to some conclusion and thinks of appointing a cadre of Deputy Ministers and State Ministers and see to it that every Ministry comes to have at least one Deputy Minister, if not a State Minister. Consider the question from the point of view of economy itself. We as a Government, as a Parliament sanction more than fifty per cent of our total revenues for the Defence forces and we have only one Minister to look after our interests and to see that our funds are properly administered, whereas for the other half, we have not less than nine, or ten or twelve worthy gentlemen. Are we to understand that the Defence Minister is more competent than all these ten or twelve men put together, or are we to understand that these twelve are so overburdened with the work of administration and all the rest of it that they think the Defence forces do not need anything more than one ? Surely there must be some sense in the things we do. In England, for instance, they have not one but more than one Minister to look after their Defence forces. So far as our Defence forces are concerned, I am convinced that we should have not less than two Cabinet Ministers. Anyhow, even if the Prime Minister should insist that he should have only one Minister, he should have at least three Deputy Ministers in order to assist the Defence Minister in regard to the three services.

Then I come to the Home Ministry. There also we should have two Ministers, one for the State and one for Home. Then there is my new friend Mr. Mahatab whom I welcome here in this House as one of our new Cabinet Ministers. He should be assisted by two Ministers at least. We have heard so many debates and so many things about the manner in which the Disposals have been mismanaged, about the manner in which purchases are managed, and about the purchase missions that we have in England and America, that they are not as efficient as they should be, and that the various industrial concerns that

[Prof. Ranga]

are in the charge of our Minister are not being properly administered, that their work should be speeded up and that they should be made more efficient. And yet he is given sole charge of the whole thing and he is not given any assistance from this House so far as this House is concerned. Similarly in the case of the Food and Agricultural Ministry.

We used to have a halting Food Minister and now we have a new one. Both have been complaining that they were new to the job and yet they are saddled with two big Ministries, Food and Agriculture. They would need assistance. I can go on like this and anyone can easily imagine the number of Ministries which really need one or more Deputy Ministers.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta (Delhi): May I interrupt my hon. friend to find out from the hon. Prime Minister whether it is not a fact that option was given by him to every Cabinet Minister to select a Deputy Minister if he so desired about a year back?

Prof. Ranga : It is immaterial whether the Ministers themselves are at fault or the Prime Minister. My complaint is against the whole of the Cabinet and the Prime Minister.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta : I want to ask the Prime Minister if it is a fact.

Prof. Ranga : You are welcome to have the answer from the Prime Minister if you want to.

Let us see the experience the House and the country have had of the Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers whom we have had. Who can say that our experience has not been happy?

An Hon. Member : Very happy.

Prof. Ranga : Certainly these Ministers have acquitted themselves creditably. They did not drop from the Heaven. They were taken from this House itself and they have proved their efficiency. If my hon. friend Mr. Gopalswami Ayyangar has found a very able lieutenant in Mr.

Santhanam, our friend Mr. Kidwai has one in his Deputy Mr. Khurshed Lal and there is Mr. Jain, the new Minister of State who has shown himself an efficient Minister and there is also our own Dr. Keskar who is proving himself to be an able lieutenant of our Prime Minister in the Foreign Affairs Department. There is no reason why the Prime Minister and the Cabinet should hesitate to appoint some of our own friends as their lieutenants or deputies to help them see that the Ministries are properly administered and the expenditure that is going on now is properly curtailed and efficiency as well as economy are increased.

Lastly, I have one more observation to make. By appointing so many of our friends as Deputy Ministers or as Ministers of State it would be possible for our Cabinet Ministers to give more satisfaction than they have been able to give. It would then not be necessary for a new Cabinet Minister to come here and say that he is new to the job. Two of our able Parliamentarians have had to confess that they have not had the assistance of people who have had experience of the manner in which this House has to be faced. It would then not be necessary for our Cabinet Ministers to give the answer to questions and supplementaries, except on extraordinary occasions. It would be the job of the Deputy Minister. Whenever necessary the Cabinet Minister can come to his rescue.

It was contended at one time that if the Deputy Ministers were appointed they would be a hinderance rather than assistance, because the civil service was rather unwilling to deal with these gentlemen as their superiors or seniors. I hope that the experience that the Cabinet has had of the Deputy Ministers till now would disabuse their minds of this prejudice and fear. I am sure if the Civil Service were to be worth its salt and if Secretaries of Departments were to take their responsibilities seriously, they would certainly not hesitate to cooperate with the Deputy Ministers.

accept them as their seniors, place before them. All the facts, educate them as it were and afterwards be governed by them.

Shri Tyagi : Is their consent necessary and essential ?

Prof. Ranga : Not consent but co-operation. I do not think I need have to say anything more in regard to this point. I sincerely hope that the Prime Minister and the Cabinet will realise that it is already high time that they should come to some definite decision on this matter and I hope that they would not leave it to the fancies of individual Ministers but on the other hand make a Cabinet decision and leave it to the Prime Minister to make the choice of the Deputy Ministers in consultation with the concerned Cabinet Minister. Especially the Finance Minister ought to have two Deputies.

Dr. Deshmukh : None of the cut motions which I intended to move refers either to the appointment of Deputy or State Ministers and so I would not like to enter into a discussion of that point. I am glad a senior Member of the House like Prof. Ranga has dealt with it. The reason why I got up to speak and the reason behind the cut motions of which I have given notice was to express my humble opinion in regard to the Cabinet as a whole and I did not find any other suitable opportunity to do so except when a supplementary demand on the Cabinet was before the House.

I believe I voice the feeling of a large number of hon. Members, unless they are dishonest,—speaking something in private and not prepared to own it in public—I am sure they are all honest—that their opinion about the efficiency of our Government is very low indeed. That is also reflected in the opinion in the country. On a supplementary demand you, Sir, will not permit me to make a review of the administration, although I would be permitted to point out some reasons to justify my assertion. They are contained in the various

suggestions I have made in the cut motions. I think the distribution of the portfolios among the Members-in themselves very capable, very able and honest and from the public life of India, is probably not absolutely correct. Apart from the choice of individuals there is also a feeling, I might say quite frankly, that persons who are discredited elsewhere and especially in their own provinces find greater honour and responsibility heaped on them here. I do not mean to be rude to anybody and I do not want to mention any names. But there is a feeling among many hon. Members that the choice of people who really matter and who have some following in their States and outside also, would probably benefit the administration and would not contribute to so much dissatisfaction amongst the people as it has done at the present time.

So far as the expenditure on various schemes is concerned, there is a feeling that we are embarking upon all sorts of schemes without any thought as to what benefit the country is going to derive out of them.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : I am afraid all this discussion in general terms is not right. He can take one Ministry after another and talk about the appointment of a Deputy or State Minister but even that is a circumlocutory process or roundabout method. But a general discussion as to whether the Ministries are embarking upon haphazard or unnecessary schemes, I do not think arises out of the demand at all.

Dr. Deshmukh : It was merely to support my argument that there is no proper supervision of expenditure and the plans are not properly coordinated.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : But this related to the appointment of one more Minister.

Dr. Deshmukh : I was referring to an incident which has just happened.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : The instance may be very good and the House may be interested in it but this is not the occasion. This relates to the appointment of one more Minister of State after the budget was framed. If the hon. Member thinks that what has happened has occurred in a Ministry where he thinks a Minister of State should be appointed, in that way he can justify his argument. Otherwise it does not arise at all.

Dr. Deshmukh : I agree. I had probably overstepped the limit that was laid down. All that I can do in the circumstances is to agree with Prof. Ranga's suggestion that if there are more people to look into such schemes there will probably be less wastage and complaints of the sort relating to disposals will be minimised. They will also develop greater contact with the executive part of Government and the people and their representatives. From that point of view it is very necessary and if you choose the younger people their services will be available to the nation for a much longer time.

Shri T. N. Singh : In regard to this demand whatever I have to say relates to part (b) of it, namely statistical organisation. As far as I know we have already an Economics and Statistical Central Organisation, which is responsible for co-ordinating statistical work of the various departments. For instance, whatever statistics are being prepared or collected in the Irrigation Department or the Agriculture Department, after the co-ordinating authority in that particular department has done its work, the job of the Economics and Statistics Department is to see that the various statistics from the Departments are collated, coordinated and brought together. When that is there, I feel that the creation of a new Department may not have been necessary. With a little modification the Central Economic and Statistical Department could have been made to suit the purpose.

4 P. M.

What, I feel, would actually have been more useful and more to the purpose for the Central Cabinet would have been an interpreter of the figures. Our main difficulty is this. Various departments are collecting statistics. There is a great margin of errors and there is need for correcting those errors. Somebody is needed to check them properly, interpret these figures and see how far they are correct and what modification is required, and further see in what light they should be interpreted and brought together. That is where we need a man, and for that purpose I submit we need not a mere mathematical statistician but a man who knows economics as well as statistics. Such a man alone can interpret the statistical figures of the various Departments and co-ordinate them. From what I heard from the Finance Minister in reply to my enquiry, I feel that if that is the object of this expenditure, then the purpose the Cabinet has in view may not be served. I am very much afraid of it.

Further, this mass of figures and statistics that we are getting only confuse us, for the very simple reason that they are not accurate. For instance, I know intimately of some of the statistics that we get from the Agriculture Department. The Minister of Agriculture will please excuse me, but I can say that those statistics are mostly inaccurate and are not of any use to us. For one thing, there are no qualified field workers to collect the figures at the proper moment, rightly and correctly. Secondly, the proper system of transmitting and classifying those figures is also not there, at least so far as I know. So, I feel that unless we have somebody who could properly interpret those figures, correct them or modify them, or ask for new basis of statistics, we will be failing in whatever calculations we make on the basis of the figures supplied by the Statistical Department or even by the Cabinet Secretariat.

So, I would very strongly urge upon the Ministry concerned to look into my suggestion and see if that would be more useful. The more confused or uninterpreted the figures we get, the more likely are your plans of development to be delayed. At present you want to get some figures, somebody says, "This is not correct; let us get it from another point of view; let us get more figures." The process goes on and they are unable to make up their mind. So, I do want that we should have some authoritative person who will be able to interpret figures properly and enlighten the Cabinet on those figures.

Shri B. Das (Orissa): I listened attentively to the speech of the hon. Finance Minister as to why this Statistical Organisation will be placed under the Cabinet and why Prof. Mahalanobis should be appointed. The history of statisticians and economists under the Government of India is a sorry tale after the war. The war organisations required many statisticians so that they could exploit all resources of India. They grew like mushrooms in every Ministry and every Ministry took a pride in having statisticians. Perhaps my friend the hon. Law Minister has no statisticians in his ministry. This state of things grew and it has grown so much that the largest amount of money spent over economists and statisticians is spent in the Ministry of Agriculture. We know what those statistics are. Actually we have found a previous Minister making a statement one day and contradicting himself after a few days: sometimes we have surplus food, some times we have no food.

The Economy Committee that was appointed by this House in 1947 to work out economy in the administration of the Government of India went into great detail and recommended an economy of Rs. 4½ crores. Dr. Matthai retrenched the expenditure on travelling and contingencies and did not retrench any personnel. The present Finance Minister need not be satisfied with the steps but read these reports. The Economy Committee had

definite recommendations on the organisation of Central Statistics. These are given in the General Report, Part I page 20, paragraphs 52 and 53—*Economic and Statistical Organisation*. We suggested that the Statistical organisation should be under the Economic Committee of Cabinet—either under the whole Cabinet or under the Economic Committee of the Cabinet which had three Ministers in the past, I don't know the present personnel of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet. The Economy Committee recommended:

"In order to plan on sound lines and develop the economic life of the country, the Government will need up-to-date statistical data on a variety of subjects and must also secure expert advice on their interpretation and application. Several Ministries and Departments of Government now employ an Economic Adviser and/or a Statistician. But there is no central organisation either to co-ordinate the efforts of these separate officers or to present to the Cabinet an overall appreciation of the economic problems of the country, or to collect the details which would assist such study. We, therefore, recommend that a high-powered Economist and a high-powered Statistician should be attached to the Economic Committee of the Cabinet."

We don't want it to be controlled by the Finance Minister, or by the Commerce Minister as the latter controls the Directorate of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics to which I will come back again.

The Report continues :

"The Economists and Statisticians attached to the various Ministries will continue to work in these Ministries, and the Economist and the Statistician of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet should so arrange their activities as to avoid duplication and employ the existing organisation to the best advantage. The publication of departmental statistics, etc., is already being undertaken in the various Ministries

[Shri B. Dass]

But if it is decided to publish statistics of general interest, the Statistician in the Economic Committee shall be responsible for such publications."

I think my hon. friend Shri C. D. Deshmukh has similar ideas in his mind. He is not new to statistics. As the former Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, under his orders statistics were published. They were the admiration of us all, and we politicians and businessmen all accepted them as truthful statistics, not diluted. I don't know whether in his short period of office he has examined the various statistics that come from the various Ministries, to see whether those wartime officers who must exist and draw their salary, are compiling correct statistics and whether they have got any unified objective. My hon. friends surely know that the Ministry of Commerce does possess a well-organised statistical department known as the Directorate of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics. It was Sir James Grigg's idea, when he was Finance Member of the Government of India, to centralise statistics and for that purpose he brought that gentleman Gregory—I forget his initials who we thought would work wonders for India. But when he left, I for one felt that it was a good riddance for this country. Those who succeeded, both in the Interim Ministry and later on, ought to have taken the lesson to heart, but they didn't. During the enquiry of the Economy Committee, I found that there was no incentive in different Ministries to centralise and co-ordinate their statistical activities. When we began our work in that Committee, there was no Economic Committee of the Cabinet. It was evolved slowly later, but today I am very glad to find that the Economic Committee of the Cabinet acts as the controlling Committee on expenditure and revenues and also as a sort of aid to the Finance Minister to come to decisions in the matter of taxation and also other matters. We all know about this Directorate of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics. We have read its publica-

tions and have utilised its statistics. Even the Finance Minister quoted from them the other day when he spoke on the President's Address. Why should not this huge organisation that reached its saturation point under Sir James Grigg and was giving results be attached to the Economic Committee of the Cabinet, so that we can get all the statistics from one place and there would be no duplication or multiplication of statistical organisations, each going merrily in its own way without any controlling authority to effect coordination? The Finance Minister said the other day when he spoke on the President's Address that there is need for further economy. Further economy measures should no doubt be adopted. But statistics are the basis of any economy. If our economists and statisticians differ among themselves in the different Ministries and give us different statistics, they will lead us to bad economy and heavy expenditure. Statistics and books which they are publishing are read by no one and if we do read them we find that they are all contradictory. Therefore, I do hope that when the Finance Minister replies he will tell us whether he is alive to the need for checking the growth of mushroom statistical organisations in almost every Ministry. While I sanction the continuity in the appointment of Prof. Mahalanobis, I wish to impress on the Finance Minister that economy should be his watch-word, because he is not out of the woods yet and I do not think he will be so soon. He must see that Government plan every expenditure and for this purpose all the statistical organisations must be under the supreme control of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet. I am expressing this view after one and a half years of work in the Economy Committee. I was a party to its report. I have not changed my views. The progress and execution of work by the different Ministries has not been such as to receive from me the same certificate that I gave to the statistics of the Reserve Bank of India. I am proud of those statistics. I do hope that the Finance Minister will not get enthusiastic that he is a Member of the Cabinet

or the Economic Committee of the Cabinet and be soft. He must have as his objective the fact that the country's work must be done. There should be no extra employment of economists and statisticians. He knows himself, I believe, that every economist differs from the other economist and each holds entirely different economic views. I do hope that he will bear this in mind and explain the position to us.

Prof. S. N. Mishra (Bihar) : I rise to refer to a matter which generally hon. Members may consider to be of relatively less importance, but as a man who seeks to serve people in rural areas I feel that I should make a pointed reference to it so that this House may know what is the feeling that people have towards our Ministers. From the observations of the hon. Ministers and my very limited experience that I possess in this House, I can say that generally speaking our Ministers are losing contact with the masses. I am not simply indulging in a facile generalisation. As a matter of fact, I do not suggest that some of our topmost leaders of the nation as they are called—who happen to be in the Cabinet and who have a grip over the feelings and psychology of the people are also losing contacts with the masses. The way, generally speaking, Ministers are trying to conceive their policies is more or less in a drawing room fashion. I have been feeling for some time that there is a hiatus developing between the people on the one hand and the hon. Ministers on the other. There is an unfortunate spectacle of people complaining against Ministers and Ministers complaining against the people. Not only that, while the Provincial Governments have been making complaints against the Central Government, the Central Government has been making complaints against the Provincial Governments. I think all this is due to lack of proper contacts and unplanned tours of our hon. Ministers. Generally, wherever the ministerial caravan goes, the hon. Ministers are surrounded by people from the higher strata of society, who make a show of their pomp and glory and keep the backbone of the Society away.

I shall refer to some vital topics in regard to which I feel that our Ministers are not in touch with the masses. I shall refer to one : the Zamindari abolition. Of course, it is not the concern of our Ministers at the Centre, but from my talks with some of the Ministers and from the advice they are said to have given and the dilatoriness which characterises their advice, I think that they do not feel that some of the important, burning topics of the day should be tackled with what I may call a 'sense of urgency' which they demand. My complaint is not only about the pageantry and pomp that accompany a ministerial tour; my complaint is that these ministerial tours are not conducted properly. Whenever bigger personalities are on tours there are difficulties too. Let us take an instance. When the Leader of the House, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had been to our province only some time ago, he was in a meeting of about ten lakhs of people, but I do not know whether he had the contact with the people of that area or whether he really could gain an idea of their difficulties.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : Order, order. I do not think the hon. Member is quite in order. What is before the House is an additional Demand for Rs. 12,000 under the head "tour expenses". If the hon. Member has got any information as to what items this expenditure is composed of, or if he wishes to point out that this amount has been spent unnecessarily or lavishly, by all means he can say so. But he cannot refer to tours which took place a number of years ago. It is certainly open to any hon. Member to say that these Rs. 12,000 might have been saved there was no purpose in spending them. I have no objection to his saying so, if he knows details about these tours. Otherwise his speech is not quite relevant.

Shri Goenka : These Rs. 12,000 are meant for the new Ministers of State.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : The hon. Member will bear with me and look into the papers.

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

If he has got any information that these Rs. 12,000 were not spent appropriately, it is open to him to raise it. Otherwise, there is no point in going into the general policy.

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh) : But is it for the new Minister of State or all Ministers?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : That is a matter on which the Finance Minister will enlighten us.

Prof. S. N. Mishra : All I want to do is to draw the attention of hon. Members to the fact that tours are not conducted properly. I think I am perfectly within my competence to refer to some of the feelings of hon. Members of the House on this point.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : But not in these general terms. He may reserve his speech for the next Budget session.

Prof. S. N. Mishra : I only want to conclude by saying that there should be less of pageantry and pomp accompanying the Ministers' tours. They should be more businesslike than ceremonial. There should be less formality about them ; there should be more frequent contacts with the people and generally our Ministers should move incognito amongst the masses to know their real conditions and feelings.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : मैं प्रो० रंगा साहब की बड़े जोर से तारीफ करता कि फ़ौरन हर ऐक मिनिस्ट्री के लिये डिप्टी मिनिस्ट्रों का केडर कायम करके डिप्टी मिनिस्टर बनाये जाने चाहिये। आर्मी (Army), नेवी (Navy) और एअर (Air) के लिये अलहदा अहलदा डिप्टी मिनिस्टर होने चाहिये। ऐसा करने से यह खयाल गलत है कि खर्चा बढ़ेगा। मेरी राय में खर्च कम हो जायेगा और देश में गवर्नमेन्ट के प्रति विश्वास बढ़ जायेगा क्योंकि डिप्टी मिनिस्टर कांग्रेस के अनुभवी सिपाही देश सेवा के लिये मुकर्रर किय जायेंगे। दूसरे सभी बड़े मुल्कों

में ऐसे डिप्टी मिनिस्टर बनाने का रिवाज है जो बहुत फ़ायदेमन्द साबित हुआ है। विलायत के किसी बड़े वज़ीर का केरियर (career) देखें तो पता लग जायेगा कि वह सेक्रेटरी व अन्डर सेक्रेटरी व जूनियर मिनिस्टर रह चुका है।

डिप्टी मिनिस्टर बन कर यह नये वज़ीर तालीम और तजुर्बा हासिल कर सकेंगे और देश के लिये सेक्रेन्ड लाइन आफ़ डिफेन्स (second line of defence) मिनिस्ट्री की तैयार हो जायेगी।

मैं यह खयाल करता हुआ डरता हूँ कि जब हमारे बड़े लीडरान जो अनुभवी मिनिस्टर हैं रिटायर (retire) हो जायेंगे तो अगर और तजुर्बेकार मिनिस्टर इनकी जगह लेने को तैयार न होंगे तो देश में कितनी दिक्कत वाक़ेय होगी। आप की अच्छी तरह मालूम है कि मंडले अफ़सरान डिपार्टमेन्ट और मिनिस्टर साहबान के दरम्यान पूरा पूरा राबता पैदा नहीं होता और नहीं हो सकता है। जब आप और हम चन्द मेम्बरान मनोरी गये थे तो चन्द अफ़सरान ने बतलाया था कि अगर उन्हें पता होता कि गवर्नमेन्ट फाइनेन्शल स्ट्रिन्जेन्सी (financial stringency) में है तो वह मकानात को जिन को गिराया जा रहा था ज्यादा अर्सा कायम रखने की रिपोर्ट करते। मैंने खुद पूना व किरकी में हज़ारों मोटर कारें व जीप बाहिर धूप और मह में खड़ी हुई देखी हैं जिनकी कोई परवाह नहीं करता। कल ही हाउस में मिस्टर कामथ ने कपड़े पेश किये थे जो कई करोड़ की मालियत के थे और उन का कोई पुरसां हाल न था। बहुत सी जीपें मदरास बीच (beach) पर बरसों से पड़ी है और कोई जानता नहीं है कि उनका क्या हाल है। मैं ऐसी मिसालें और भी बढ़ा सकता हूँ लेकिन मैं हाउस का

वक्त नहीं लेना चाहता। लेकिन मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब और दूसरे साहबान की खिदमत में अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हाउस के अन्दर बहुत से मेम्बरों की यह राय है, जैसी कि मेरी है, कि अब वक्त आ गया है कि हर एक डिपार्टमेंट के साथ डिप्टी मिनिस्टर लगा दिये जायें, और उनको पूरा अख्तियार दिया जाये ताकि बड़े मिनिस्टर साहबान की कोशिश से वह तजुर्बा हासिल कर सकें और वक्त पड़ने पर खुद भी काम कर सकें। इस लिये मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इसमें देर नहीं करनी चाहिये। अगर चन्द मिनिस्टर साहबान ऐसे हैं जो डिप्टी नहीं रखना चाहते तो हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर और डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर खुद उनको मुक़र्रर करके काम चला सकते हैं। इस हाउस में नौजवानों की कमी नहीं है और वह बड़े जोर शोर से काम कर सकते हैं। लेकिन इसके साथ ही असल बात यह है कि मैं रंगा साहब से भी सहमत नहीं होता। हम सबको अगर देश का काम करना है तो किसी भी हैसियत से करना चाहिये। अगर कोई बड़ा भारी लीडर है, चाहे वह लीडर मिनिस्टर न बना हो, उसे यह नहीं कहना चाहिये कि वह डिप्टी मिनिस्टर नहीं बनेगा। हमें देश का काम करना है, किसी भी हैसियत से करना हो, हमें फ़र्ज अदा करना है। यहां किसी रूतबे का सवाल पैदा नहीं होता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि रंगा साहब भी डिप्टी मिनिस्टर की हैसियत से काम करें। जिसको जो काम दिया जाये वह काम करे, यह कोई बात नहीं है कि वह डिप्टी मिनिस्टर की तरह पर काम न करे। आखिर हम यहां किस लिये आये हैं, क्या तनख्वाह के लिये? मान लीजिये कि डिप्टी मिनिस्टर को कम तनख्वाह मिलती है, मगर हमारे मिनिस्टर साहबान जो हैं उन्हीं को क्या तनख्वाह मिलती है? अभी कुछ दिन हुए, मैं ने अखबारों

में देखा कि जो कुछ पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू को मिलता है वह सब का सब क़रीब क़रीब इन्कम टैक्स में चला जाता है। हमारे सरदार बल्देव सिंह को क्या मिलता है, मयाई साहब को क्या मिलता था? हम यहां नौकरी के वास्ते नहीं आये हैं, रूतबे के वास्ते नहीं आये हैं, हमें देश का काम करना है चाहे वह किसी तरह का काम हो। अगर किसी मिनिस्टर को यहां चपरासी बन कर रहना पड़े तो उस को इन्कार नहीं करना चाहिये। यह बात दूसरी है कि कोई बूढ़ा हो गया या काम करने का एहल नहीं है वह इन्कार कर सकता है। जितने नौजवान हैं, वह आइन्दा के लीडर हैं, उनको इस बात का ख्याल नहीं करना चाहिये, अगर उन को काम करना है तो उन्हें किसी भी हैसियत में काम करना चाहिये। मैं अदब से अर्ज करूंगा और जोर से अपील करूंगा कि इस मामले में ढील करने की ज़रूरत नहीं, फ़ौरन और अभी डिप्टी मिनिस्टर का काइर कायम कर दिया जाये। इस के अलावा मैं इस मर्तबा भी यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ, जैसा कि पेश्तर भी कई बार अर्ज कर चुका हूँ, कि इस मुल्क में अपने अपने डिपार्टमेंट के मिनिस्टर हैं, लेकिन ओवरऑल पिक्चर (overall picture) क्या है इस को देखने वाला कोई नहीं है। मैं अभी आसाम गया था। वहां ऐसे ऐसे सवाल पैदा हो रहे हैं जो वहां के मिनिस्टर हल नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। देश में बहुत से अजीब अजीब सवाल हैं जो कि तभी हल हो सकते हैं जब कि हमारे प्राइममिनिस्टर या डिप्टी प्राइम मिनिस्टर अपने अपने पोर्टफोलियो (portfolios) को छोड़ कर सारे देश का पोर्टफोलियो लें। इसके बग़ैर देश का बहुत बड़ा नुक़सान हो रहा है। इन सवालों को और कोई हल नहीं कर सकता। मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जैसे हमारे यहां एक मिनिस्टर विदाउट

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

पोर्टफोलियो (without portfolio)

ही उसी तरह एक या दो और भी मिनिस्टर होने चाहियें । हमारे यहां कोई सोशल एफ़ेयर्स (Social Affairs) का मिनिस्टर नहीं है । सोशल रिफ़ॉर्म (Social Reforms) करने के लिये हम ने क्रसम साई हुई है । हमने विधान में लिखा है कि हम देश के इन्तिज़ाम को एक खास तरीक़े से चलायेंगे । कौन सा वह मिनिस्टर है जो कि यहां के इन्तिज़ाम को खास तरीक़े से चलाने के लिये है । देश में, प्रान्तों में, लोगों में, और यहां सेंटर (Centre) में भी आपस में कनफ़्लिक्ट (conflict) हो जाती है । हमारे डिप्टी प्राईम मिनिस्टर और प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब के सिवा किसी का इतना असर नहीं है कि जो इस तरह के कनफ़्लिक्ट्स को हटा सके । मैं निहायत अदब से अब कर्हूंगा कि यह सवाल निहायत गौर तलब है और इसके ऊपर जल्दी से जल्दी गौर कर के इस पर अमल होना चाहिये ।

(English translation of the above speech)

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Punjab): I give my strong support to Prof. Ranga in his plea for immediate appointment of a Deputy Minister to each of the Ministries and to have a selected cadre for the same. Further there should be a separate Deputy Minister for each of the three wings of Services namely the Army, Navy and the Air Force. It is wrong to think that we shall be increasing our expenditure thereby. The expenditure shall, rather, according to me, become less. It is so because the Deputy Ministers will be the persons who will be from amongst the experienced soldiers of the Congress, appointed solely to serve the Nation. In all big countries the appointment of the Deputy Ministers has become customary and has proved much beneficial. If the career of any prominent Minister in England is looked into it will be found that he

once held the office of Secretary, Under Secretary or Junior Ministership in early stages. These new Ministers, in the role of a Deputy Minister, will acquire training and experience and a second line of defence will be ready for the service of the country.

I shudder to think of the difficulties which the country may face on the retirement from public life of the present experienced Ministers, and in the absence of other experienced Ministers who could replace them. You are well aware that there exists no complete personal contact between the intermediary officers of the Ministry and the Ministers and it is not also possible under the present set up. On the occasion of a visit to Manori by some Members of this House, I being one of them, some officers had disclosed that had they been aware of the financial stringency in which the Government finds itself these days, then they would have reported for the maintenance of the houses rather than for their demolition. With my own eyes I have seen thousands of motor cars and jeeps at Poona and Kirki lying outside open to the sun and rain and nobody seems to be mindful of this state of affairs. Only yesterday Shri Kamath had displayed before the House some specimen clothes whose price ran into several crores of rupees but about which none expresses any concern.

A large number of jeeps have been lying on the Madras Beach for several years and nobody seems to know about their condition. I am in a position to multiply such instances but I have no wish to take any more time of the House. I may, however, convey to the Prime Minister and all concerned that what I say is not merely my opinion but it is shared by many Members of this House. In my opinion a time has come when a Deputy Minister should be appointed to every Ministry and who in turn should gain experience through the efforts of the Ministers and thus become capable of working in times of need. I, therefore, submit that these appointments be delayed no further. Should some Ministers however be opposed to appoint Deputies

it is open to the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister to proceed to make appointments on their own and thereby carry on the work. There is no dearth of young talent in this House who are, no doubt, capable to display enthusiasm in any work entrusted to them. The fact however remains that I do not agree with Prof. Ranga inasmuch as a desire to serve the country need not be qualified by any condition as to the capacity in which that service is to be done. A leader, howsoever prominent and irrespective of the fact that he has not been a Minister before, should not grudge being asked to accept the Deputy Ministership. We are to carry on work of the Nation and do our duty towards the country, no matter in whatsoever capacity we may be required to do it. No question of rank should arise in that. I wish Prof. Ranga may also work in the position of a Deputy Minister. Let everyone be mindful of the task that is entrusted to him or her. It is simply untenable that one is not prepared to work as a Deputy Minister. Why are we here after all? Are we here to draw fat salaries? Admitted that a Deputy Minister is paid less but let us pause to know what pay is drawn by a Minister after all. It was only a few days back that I came across a news item according to which everything drawn by Pandit Nehru is almost lost to him by way of income-tax. What does the hon. Sardar Baldev Singh get or for that matter what Dr. Matthai used to get? We are not here to seek a remunerative employment or an elevated rank or position. We are here on behalf of the Nation to do its work of whatsoever nature it be. Here a Minister if required to be reduced to the status of a peon should not refuse his new assignment. It is, however, a different matter if one is not capable of doing anything or else has become old and infirm. Personally I count myself as one belonging to this group and do not regard myself to be fit enough for that kind of work. As for the younger persons amongst us, they should not be actuated by such considerations. If they entertain a desire to serve they ought to be prepared to accept

any position for doing that service. It is my respectful yet emphatic appeal that no further delay should be made in this matter and the appointments of the Deputy Ministers should be made without any loss of time.

Further as submitted by me several times before, we have in this country separate Ministers for separate Ministries. But there is, however, no one to take into consideration the overall picture of their cumulative working. Recently I had an occasion to visit Assam. Problems of such complicated nature are coming up in that State that the local Ministers are finding themselves incapable of solving them. Problems of very diverse nature are facing our country today, and these can be solved only if the Prime Minister or the Deputy Prime Minister were to give up their present portfolios and bestow their undivided attention to the country as a whole. The country is suffering much as a result of not following that course. There is none else to solve these problems. My submission is that we should have one or two more Ministers Without Portfolio like the one we have got already. We have no Minister of Social Affairs. We have laid down in the Constitution that the administration of the country will be carried on in accordance with a definite plan. Who is the Minister here to see that the administration is run as such? There is a conflict between the people both in the States and here in the Centre also. Barring the Prime Minister and the Deputy Minister none seems to wield sufficient influence to root out such conflicts. I submit that the question is one requiring serious consideration and after such a consideration there is also a need of translating its conclusions into action.

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : सभापति महोदय, मैं सब से प्रथम आप से एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। वह यह है कि जो वक्ताओं का चुनाव होता है वह किस नियम से होता है यह पता नहीं लगता है। मैं आप से अर्ज करूँगा कि सारे संसार के पार्लियामेंटों में

[बाबू रामनारायण सिंह]

यह नियम है कि जिस पर पहले प्रेज़ीडेंट की नज़र पड़े वही बोलता है लेकिन यहां पर पता नहीं लगता कि आप किस तरह से चुनाव करते हैं ।

श्री त्यागी : वह आपकी बात को समझ नहीं रहे हैं ।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे अध्यक्ष महोदय, इतनी हिन्दी समझ लेते हैं कि जो मैं कह रहा हूँ उस का भाव समझ लें । जो मैं कह रहा हूँ उसका आशय यही है कि जिस तरह से यहां वक्ताओं का चुनाव होता है वह ठीक नहीं है और वह ठीक से होना चाहिये ।

अभी प्रोफ़ेसर रंगा साहब ने एक सवाल उठाया था और उसका समर्थन पण्डित ठाकुरदास जी ने बड़े जोरों से किया । मैं भी उस का जोर से समर्थन किये देता हूँ और उस में मेरा प्रधान मन्त्री जी से और दूसरे अधिकारियों से एक सवाल होता है, और वह सवाल सीधा सादा सवाल है । जब यह हाउस में बहुत दिनों से कहा जा रहा है कि डिप्टी मिनिस्टर और स्टेट मिनिस्टर बहाल किये जायें तो अभी तक यह क्यों नहीं हुआ । इस के क्या माने हैं कि वही समूचे राज्य के मालिक हो गये और किसी का कोई अधिकार ही नहीं है । इस सरकार को बने तीन बरस से फ़ायदा हुआ लेकिन यहां लोगों को अभी तक नहीं मालूम है कि कितने मिनिस्टर होने चाहियें और कितने डिप्टी मिनिस्टर होने चाहियें । बीच बीच में मालूम होता है कि एक दो स्टेट मिनिस्टर बहाल होने चाहियें या कभी यह मालूम होता है कि एक डिप्टी मिनिस्टर बहाल हो गये । इसके क्या मानी हैं । ऐसा मालूम होता है कि वह मालिक है । अगर किसी पर प्रसन्न हो गये या मर्ज़ी हो गई तो किसी को एक दे दिया । मैं चाहता

हूँ कि प्रधान मन्त्री जी को या उन के अधिकारियों को इस सवाल पर विचार कर के इसको सदा के लिये तै कर देना चाहिये कि कितने मिनिस्टर होंगे और कितने डिप्टी मिनिस्टर होंगे यह बात साफ़ हो जानी चाहिये और ज्यादा मिनिस्टर हों या नहीं इससे मुझे कोई मतलब नहीं ।

एक दफ़ा मैं ने एक पत्र में एक कार्टून देखा था कि एक मकान में बहुत से मिनिस्टर, डिप्टी मिनिस्टर और स्टेट मिनिस्टर भरे हुए हैं और बाहर से एक चपरासी आ रहा है और कह रहा है, 'आर वी टू बी डिस्-प्लेस्ड बाई दी मिनिस्टर्स ?' चपरासी यह कह रहा था कि कहीं यह मिनिस्टर और डिप्टी मिनिस्टर हमारी जगह भी न ले लें । साथ ही मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि जनता के पैसे का खर्च ठीक तरह होना चाहिये । मैं देखता हूँ कि खर्च बढ़ता जा रहा है । जनता के पैसे के लिये सरकार की जिम्मेदारी है । इस पैसे का खर्च बड़ी ईमानदारी से और किफ़ायत से होना चाहिये । लेकिन मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि सभी जगह, सूबों में और यहां भी, जनता का पैसा पानी की तरह खर्च किया जा रहा है । हमारी कांग्रेस ने तो कराची में पास किया था कि सब से ऊंचा वेतन पांच सौ रुपया होना चाहिये, लेकिन यहां अधिकारी कितना ले रहे हैं उस का हिसाब तो वह ही जानते होंगे । पण्डित जी और बलदेव सिंह जी का वेतन तो उनको मिलता ही नहीं । वह तो इनकम टैक्स में कट जाता है । तो जब सारा वेतन इनकम टैक्स में ही कट जाता है तो साढ़े तीन हजार लेने की ही क्या ज़रूरत है । क्यों नहीं उस को पांच सौ कर देते हैं । यह कांग्रेस के सिद्धान्त के अनुकूल भी होगा ।

पण्डित ठाकुर दास भागंश : पांच सौ में गुज़ारा कैसे होगा ?

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह: इस की शिक्षा देने के लिये देश में गुरु भरे हुए हैं। यह कहा जाता है कि पांच सौ में गुजारा कैसे होगा? गुजारा तो पचास रुपये में भी होता है, वैसे खर्च करने को तो हम दो लाख रुपया घण्टे भर में खर्च कर सकते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि अगर और डिप्टी मिनिस्टर बहाल हों तो उनका वेतन पांच सौ से ज्यादा नहीं होना चाहिये। और मिनिस्टर बहाल हों उससे हमारा मतलब यह है कि आप लोगों का अपने डिपार्टमेंटों पर अधिकार हो सके। अब तक का तो मेरा अनुभव यह है कि जो मिनिस्टर लोग यहां बैठे हैं उनका अपने डिपार्टमेंटों पर कोई भी अधिकार नहीं है। जो कुछ सेक्रेटरी या डिपार्टमेंट के लोग आ कर उन से कह देते हैं और उनको समझा देते हैं वही यह लोग करते हैं। शायद एक आध कोई मिनिस्टर ऐसा हो जो एक आध विषय में अपना जोर चलाता हो और नहीं तो जितने मिनिस्टर हैं वह वही करते हैं जो डिपार्टमेंट के लोग उन से कहते हैं। जो हमारी सरकार कहलाती है उस को इन डिपार्टमेंटों पर कोई अधिकार नहीं है। इस लिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे कांग्रेस वालों की संख्या गवर्नमेंट में बढ़े, मिनिस्टर के रूप में और डिप्टी मिनिस्टर के रूप में या किसी और रूप में ताकि धीरे धीरे डिपार्टमेंट्स पर सरकार का कुछ दखल हो। अभी तो सरकार का उन पर कोई दखल नहीं है।

रंगा साहब ने जो प्रस्ताव दिया है उस पर विचार होना चाहिये, लेकिन जो बात मैं ने वेतन के बारे में कही है उस पर भी विचार होना चाहिये।

(English translation of the above speech)

Babu Ramnarayan Singh : First of all I have to express my inability to understand the procedure governing the

selection of speakers. I submit that in the Parliaments of all the countries of the world the general rule followed is that a member first catching the eye of the Chair is entitled to speak first. Here, however, I do not make out as to what rule or consideration governs the selection by you.

Shri Tyagi : I am afraid the Chair is not following you.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh : It is my impression that the Chair knows sufficient Hindi to understand the sense of my submission. I mean to say that the selection of speakers is not a proper one and that it should be proper.

Just now a point was made by hon. Prof. Ranga and which was strongly supported by Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava. I wish to put one simple and straightforward question, which I will like to address to the hon. the Prime Minister and others in office, and I also extend my strong support. My question is that why the appointment of the Deputy Ministers and Ministers of State is delayed when more than once a demand for their appointment has been made in this House. May I take it that they are the only persons competent to administer the country and none else has any right to it? Although it is more than three years that the present Government took over the reins of the Government till now the people do not know as to how many Ministers and Deputy Ministers the country should have. Off and on we come to know of the desirability of appointing one or two Ministers of State or of the actual appointment of a Deputy Minister. What does all this mean? It appears as if they are the masters who can confer these ranks on any one out of sheer inclination or pleasure. I would like the Prime Minister or his officials to settle, after full thought, this question once and for all the number of Ministers and Deputy Ministers the country shall have. It must be made quite clear. Whether they are more or less in number, I am little concerned.

I remember once having seen a cartoon in a paper. A room was shown, full

[Babu Ramnarayan Singh]

of Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Ministers of State. A peon was shown peeping from outside and the caption to the cartoon read "Are we to be displaced by the Ministers?" In other words the peon was expressing an apprehension lest that Ministers and the Deputy Ministers may some day replace even persons of his category of service. I also mean to draw attention of the desirability of spending public funds in a more proper way. I note that public expenditure is daily on the increase. The Government are responsible for this money and it is very necessary that it is utilized in a most honest and economic way. It pains me, however, to submit that everywhere, whether in the States or here in the Centre, public funds are being wasted in the most thoughtless manner. This very Congress, in a resolution passed at Karachi, had set the highest salary of Rs. 500/- per month. But they alone know of the fat salaries which the officials are drawing these days. Panditji and Sardar Baldev Singh are stated to be getting nothing by way of pay. The whole of their pay is stated to be deducted as income-tax. Why then fix their pay at Rs. 3,500/- a month when the whole of it is simply deducted by way of income-tax? Why not fix it at Rs. 500/- p.m. which would be more consistent with the Congress principles?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava : How would they be able to pull on in five hundred rupees only?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh : This country is full of the 'gurus' who can instruct this part. It is put forward how one can be expected to make both ends meet in bare five hundred rupees. One can pull on in bare fifty rupees, otherwise even two lacs of rupees can be spent in an hour only. Should it be decided to appoint more Deputy ministers I would like to have their salaries fixed not higher than Rs. 500/- per month. Our aim in appointing more Ministers is to control the activities of the various Ministries in a more thorough way. Experience gained by me so far is that our Ministers sitting

opposite have not the least control over their respective Ministries. They do only that which their Secretaries or other Officers of their Ministries ask them to do. There might be an exception of one or two amongst them who may be exercising their authority here or there, but generally speaking, all of them are acting on the information supplied to them by their departmental officers. Government, which is known as 'Our Government' has not very much of a control on these Ministries. That is why I want the presence of more and more of congressmen in the Government, may they be there in the capacity of a Minister, or a Deputy Minister or in any other position so that the Government may gradually have a grip on the working of the Ministries, which they have failed to exercise so far. The proposal made by Prof. Ranga deserves consideration but along with it my submission with regard to salaries must also be given due thought.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : I have been so powerfully affected by Mr. Ramnarayan Singh's speech....

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta : I hope at least today the Prime Minister will speak in Hindi.

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : कुछ हिन्दी में कहे देता हूँ। जो कुछ बाबू रामनारायण सिंह ने कहा है उस से जाहिर होता है कि यहाँ जो मेम्बर मौजूद हैं वह उन से कितने सहमत हैं। उन की बातों से यह फ़ौरन जाहिर हो गया था। इसमें कोई शक़ नहीं है कि बहुत सी बातें जो उन्होंने कही हैं वह माकूल हैं। फ़िज़ूल खर्ची होती है। अक्सर काफ़ी मिनिस्टर्स पर दबाव रहता है, काफ़ी वह ख़ुश देखभाल नहीं कर सकते और उनको दूसरों की आंखों से देखना पड़ता है। इस लिये बातें तो बिल्कुल सही हैं और हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि जहाँ भी ग़ल्ती है उसको हटाया जाये।

उन्होंने दो बातें खास तौर से कहीं। एक तो यह कि इतने मिनिस्टर न हों जायँ

कि चपरासी कम करने पड़ें। शायद इतनी तादाद की तो जरूरत न हो लेकिन इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि किसी किस्म के डिप्टी मिनिस्टर (Deputy Minister) या मिनिस्टर आफ स्टेट (Minister of State) बढ़ाना मनासिब है। मेरी यह राय एक अरसे से है और मैं ने अक्सर आप से कहा भी है। लेकिन इसके माने यह तो नहीं है, जैसा कि प्रोफ़ेसर रंगा ने बार बार कहा, कि यह किसी कायदे से होना चाहिये और यह भी एक क़ानून का जुज़ होना चाहिये कि कितने डिप्टी मिनिस्टर हों। यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। मैं समझता हूँ कि डिप्टी मिनिस्टर या इस किस्म के मिनिस्टर होने चाहियें और जहां जहां जरूरत हो और जितनी तादाद में जरूरत हो होने चाहियें। लेकिन यह सिलसिला तो कुछ मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि चाहे जरूरत हो या न हो हम हर जगह एक काफ़ी तादाद में उन को पेश कर दें। बाक़आ तो यह है कि कोई डिप्टी मिनिस्टर हो या कोई और मिनिस्टर हो, अगर कोई एक आदमी बढ़ाया जाय तो ज़ाहिर है कि उसको अपने मिनिस्टर के साथ पूरी तरह सहयोग कर के काम करना है। उस में दो बातें जरूरी हो जाती हैं, एक तो यह कि उसको प्राइम मिनिस्टर चुने, और दूसरे यह कि जो मिनिस्ट्री का मिनिस्टर हो वह उसको पसन्द करे। यह दोनों बातें होनी चाहियें। इनके अलावा एक और बात यह भी होनी चाहिये कि वह मिनिस्टर साहब इस बात को पसन्द करें कि और कोई आदमी आवे।

श्री त्यागी: अगर पसन्द नहीं करे तो उस मिनिस्टर को हटा दीजिये।

पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू: अब आप देखें कि करीब डेढ़ बरस हुआ, मुझे ठीक याद नहीं, जब हमने दो डिप्टी मिनिस्टर,

डाक्टर केसकर और श्री खुर्शीदलाल, नियुक्त किये। उस वक़्त हमारे जितने कैबिनेट के मिनिस्टर थे उन से मैं ने कहा था कि आप में से जो जो साहब डिप्टी मिनिस्टर रखना चाहते हैं वह जरूर रख सकते हैं, या कम से कम मुझे आप कोई नाम भेज दीजिये कि मैं शौर करूं। नतीजा यह हुआ कि मुझे डिप्टी मिनिस्टर रखने की ख्वाहिश थी और मैं ने डाक्टर केसकर को फ़ौरन चुना। मेरे एक और साथी रफ़ी अहमद साहब ने खुर्शीदलाल जी को चुना। बाक़ी और जो मिनिस्टर थे उन में से किसी ने अज़हद ख्वाहिश इसके लिये ज़ाहिर नहीं की।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I would say something in Hindi also. Whatever Babu Ramnarayan Singh has given out clearly indicates as to what extent the hon. Members present here agree with him. It was clearly evident from his speech. There is no doubt about the fact that many things that he has said are quite reasonable. Extravagance does take place. The Ministers are often hard pressed with work; they cannot go deep down into the matters themselves so they have to depend upon others. For this reason the things mentioned are quite correct and we should try to eliminate mistakes wherever they occur.

He mentioned two things in particular. The first thing he mentioned is that lest there may be so many Ministers that it may become necessary to retrench Chaprasis. Probably so many Ministers may not be required but there is no doubt about the fact that it is essential to increase the number of some sort of Deputy Ministers or Ministers of State. I have been holding this view since long and have also expressed it before on several occasions. But it does not mean, as Prof. Ranga has repeatedly suggested, that this should be done in accordance with some

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru]

certain set procedure and an enactment be made to fix the number of Deputy Ministers. I do not agree with this view. What I hold is that Deputy Ministers or some Ministers should be appointed and the number should depend upon the necessity of the various departments. But I do not follow this logic that may they be required or not we must provide them in sufficient numbers at every place. The fact is that may the person appointed be a Minister or a Deputy Minister, if any additions are made then it is quite clear that he has to work in fullest co-operation with the Minister concerned. Thus two things become essential one that the selection be made by the Prime Minister, and secondly the Minister-in-charge of the Ministry may approve his selection. Both these things should be done. Besides this there must be a provision that the incumbent may be changed if desired by the Minister concerned.

Shri Tyagi : If the incumbent be not approved then remove the Minister.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru : As you know, some 1½ years back, I do not remember the date exactly, we appointed two Deputy Ministers Dr. Keskar and Shri Khurshed Lal. At that time I had asked all the Ministers of the Cabinet to have Deputy Ministers if they liked, or else to suggest names for my consideration. The result was that as I desired to have a Deputy Minister so I at once selected Dr. Keskar for that post. One of my colleagues Shri Rafi Ahmad Kidwai selected Shri Khurshed Lal. The rest of the Ministers did not signify any eagerness on their part for this.

Shri Tyagi : I am sure you are not sorry for the choices that you have made.

श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू : Not at all.

बौं तो एक आष मिनिस्टर आऊ स्टेट भी हुए ।

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : Not at all One or two Ministers of State were also appointed.]

Shri Ramalingam Chettiar (Madras) : Is it intended for the Hindi-speaking people, or is it intended for the whole House? We do not understand what is going on.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : I stand corrected. I shall continue in English. I was saying that I do believe that from a variety of points of view and even from the point of view of the development of parliamentary institutions and a continuity in various grades of Ministerships and officers that there should be a number of Deputy Ministers and the like. Otherwise, you may have clever people and most intelligent people but they are not in touch with the machinery of administration and when they come in, they take a little time to get in touch with administrative details and so far as this principle is concerned, I do agree with it. It was really Prof. Ranga who put it forward—I was either not completely able to follow it or I did not fully agree with it and he said something to the effect that this kind of training should be done on a mass scale. He did not use the word "mass"....

Prof. Ranga : Just as your Cabinet Ministers were appointed on a mass scale, Parliamentary Secretaries may also come in.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : I do not think that so far as the procedure is concerned, and otherwise too, it is desirable to proceed exactly in that way because we do not utilize everybody to the full. As a matter of fact, what happens is that for some time there is a great deal of talk in rushing about for rooms and accommodation. A Deputy Minister wants a Personal Assistant, chaprassis and all that kind of thing; otherwise establishment and other officers of the Government are kept busy and there is practically no room left in the Government Secretariat or in the surrounding buildings. The result is that some people are pushed out and some people are pushed in and there is general discomfort and dissatisfaction all round. However, that is a very minor thing. What I suggest is this: This kind of thing in order to

be effective has to be put down not on the mass scale. Prof. Ranga said: "Why did you appoint the Cabinet Ministers on the mass scale?" To put it at the lowest level under the present rules of Government there is provision for Cabinet Ministers and they can start off immediately. However, in principle, I do think that should be done and I said as much about a year and half ago and felt as much. So far as my own Ministry was concerned, I selected Dr. Keskar and after his experience of a year and a half, I can say and as Mr. Tyagi reminded me, it was a very happy selection and my colleague Mr. Kidwai also selected his Deputy Minister. Mr. Khurshed Lal. For the rest, I would ask all my colleagues in the Cabinet to send me names, if they so choose of Deputy Ministers to their Ministries. Some one or two definitely said that they do not require them. Others took no other steps and so that is where we are. It is true I could go ahead and appoint them because the final choice lies with the Prime Minister but for a variety of reasons this matter went on to be postponed. But I agree that some steps should be taken in the near future.

Now Dr. Deshmukh, I think, talked about distribution of portfolios. I do not know if this is either a proper or a suitable subject to be discussed in this House at any time and more especially now. He talked also about the efficiency of the Government. It is rather embarrassing for me to speak about that. Anyhow modesty forbids me to talk about it.

Shri Kamath : May I ask what portfolio is held by the Minister of State appointed after the Budget was passed?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : You mean Mr. Biswas. He holds a portfolio for the implementation of the Agreement of April 8th.

Shri Kamath : Is it right to describe him as the Minister of State for Minorities?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : I do not think it is right. He is not that at all. Unfortunately even officially he is

sometimes described as that. The A. I. R. is responsible for describing him as that.

Shri B. Das : I would like the hon. Finance Minister to say a few words.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh : Of the two speakers who interested themselves in the Statistical Organisation, Mr. Singh seemed to me to take an over-simplified view of statistics. According to him, statistical work principally consists of compilation. As a matter of fact, it involves far more intricate operations than that. I think it is this which led him to consider that this branch of work could be managed by the Economic and Statistical section of the Cabinet. As a matter of fact, that title is a misnomer. The head of the Economic and Statistical section is really an economist. He is not a mathematician or statistician at all. It is true that certain investigators and economists under him compile statistics: that is to say, collect statistics about whole-sale prices and various other things and analyse them in the way of economists. But, that does not exhaust the work of a statistician proper. Now, what is proposed is to add another wing of the Cabinet Secretariat, and that is the Central Statistical Organisation. I should not have thought that any elaborate justification for a proposal of this kind was required. The main function of the Statistical Organisation would be: (i) to advise the Ministries and other Government agencies on statistical matters and to arrange inter-departmental consideration of statistical problems; (ii) to coordinate the statistical work of the Ministries and other Government agencies with a view to eliminate from time to time duplication and reducing the overall cost to a minimum; and (iii) to develop definitions and standards for improving national and international comparability and to give continued attention to the improvement of the quality of information required for administrative purposes. In regard to the second of these functions, I should like to point out that the Central Statistical Organisation will concern itself with statistical work not only of the Ministries at the Centre, but also

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh]

with the statistical organisations at the various States. That is a kind of work which no department or ministerial statistician is capable of performing.

Mr. Singh referred, I think, to the unsatisfactory nature of the information in regard to agricultural production. I think that he is labouring under a misapprehension. There is a very competent statistician attached to the Agriculture Ministry and under the general supervision of the ICAR, he is conducting sample experiments in crop cutting over a number of provinces, I believe there are about five provinces, in rice and wheat, and the information which he has been able to collect has accuracy of a very high order.

My hon. friend Mr. B. Das referred to the recommendations of the Economy Committee. I gathered that generally he was in favour of and had a great deal of sympathy for the establishment of a Central Statistical Organisation and that his point was that it should be brought under the general guidance and direction of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet. I do not know whether there is very much of a difference between placing this organisation as a wing of the Cabinet Secretariat and attaching it specifically to the Economic Committee of the Cabinet. Actually, as a matter of convenient arrangement, the Secretary of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet is a Joint Secretary of the Cabinet Secretariat and liaison is secured in one way in that manner. The other method of securing liaison is that the Minister of Finance is the Vice-President of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet and certain functions which are discharged with the help of the Central Statistical Organisation like the organisation of National Sample Survey, are handed over to the Ministry of Finance, so that there is another method in which liaison is effected. I do not think that there are any practical reasons why a change should be made in the present arrangements in which at least, it has been found by experience, that those arrangements are satisfactory.

Mr. B. Das also referred to the possibility of bringing the work done by the Commercial Intelligence and Statistical Branch under the Central Statistical Organisation, if I heard him aright. There I think he is under a wrong impression, because, the work done by the Commercial Intelligence and Statistical Organisation is largely one of collecting and compiling routine statistics relating to trade and business, customs traffic and external trade and so on. Largely, therefore, it is a work of compilation. As I have read out the functions of the Central Statistical Organisation, it would have become clear to the House that there is no great point in bringing that kind of work under the Central Statistical Organisation. It will only over-burden them with a responsibility which the Commerce Ministry, under whom this particular organisation is working, is capable of discharging quite well. It is in the interests of everybody concerned that the Central Statistical Organisation should be free to discharge its professional and technical functions, unencumbered by routine matters. I hope that he is satisfied with this explanation and that the House will now agree to this particular part of the Demand.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : The question is :

“That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 77,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1951, in respect of ‘Cabinet’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND NO. 11.—MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : Motion is :

“That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,83,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of ‘Ministry of Home Affairs’.”

I do not find any out motion so far tabled regarding this Demand.

The question is :

“That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,83,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of ‘Ministry of Home Affairs’.”

The Motion was adopted

DEMAND NO. 13.—MINISTRY OF LAW.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : Motion is :

“That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 53,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of ‘Ministry of Law’.”

Shri Kamath : This Supplementary Demand is in respect of the post-budget creation of a central agency in the Ministry of Law for the conduct of cases in the Supreme Court on behalf of the Central and State Governments. Looking at the items (b)(i), (b)(ii), (b)(iii), (b)(iv) and (b)(v), we find that the total of Rs. 63,000 is reduced to Rs. 53,000 because of the recovery from State Governments to the extent of Rs. 10,000, that is, item (b)(v). Otherwise the total demand would have been Rs. 63,000. Recoveries from other Governments totalling Rs. 10,000 have been taken into account and therefore, the present Supplementary Demand is for Rs. 53,000 only. I would like to know how exactly in the first place these two amounts of Rs. 53,000 and Rs. 10,000 separately were allocated to the Central Government and the State Governments, and secondly, on what basis this sum of Rs. 10,000 is allocated

among the various State Governments. There are about twenty or more State Governments in India and it will be of interest to know from the hon. Minister of Law in what way this amount of Rs. 10,000 is proposed to be allocated or distributed among these various State Governments in India and on what basis. I want to know first how these amounts were computed, Rs. 53,000 for the Central Government and Rs. 10,000 for all the State Governments together, and how this sum of 5 P. M. Rs. 10,000 is going to be distributed among the various State Governments.

Shri Jajoo (Madhya Bharat) : I want to take this opportunity to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister of Law certain anomalies that still exist in spite of our passing our Constitution and our working that Constitution. A person enrolled as an advocate here in the Supreme Court can be debarred in certain High Courts from practising there, because of certain rules in those Courts which debar advocates of other High Courts from appearing. Such rules do exist in some of the High Courts. I want to bring this to the notice of the hon. Minister of Law so that he may take immediate steps to remove this anomaly so that an advocate in any High Court may have the privilege of practising in any other High Court, subject to certain conditions which may be fixed by Parliament.

The Minister of Law (Dr. Ambedkar) : I can deal with these to-morrow.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker : The House will now stand adjourned to 10-45 A.M. to-morrow.

The House then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Thursday the 10th August, 1950.