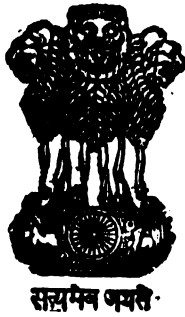


Monday, 3rd March, 1952



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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part I—Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

VOLUME I, 1952

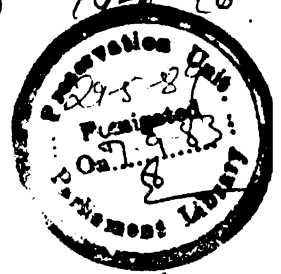
(6th February to 5th March, 1952)

Fifth Session

of

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1952



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**THE
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES
(Part I—Questions and Answers)
OFFICIAL REPORT**

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PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

Monday, 3rd March, 1952.

*The House met at Half Past Nine
of the Clock.*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

**ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS
GOLD SMUGGLING**

*284. **Shri Deogirikar:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) the amount of gold smuggled into India from Goa and later confiscated in India in the years 1950, 1951 and 1952;

(b) whether the Government of India have brought this fact to the notice of the Portuguese Government; and

(c) if so, with what result?

The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): (a) It is obviously not possible to find out the amount of gold actually smuggled into India from Goa. Particulars of the quantity and value of gold confiscated on being smuggled into India from Goa during the three years are, however, shown below:

Year	Quantity	Value
	Tolas	Rs.
1950	11,058	12,93,87
1951	14,635	16,12,747
1952 (upto middle of February)	3,397	3,72,879

(b) Yes. The attention of the Government of Portuguese India has been drawn to the fact several times.

(c) The Portuguese Indian authorities have taken measures to regulate the import of gold into Goa so that gold is not available so readily in Goa for being smuggled into India. Smuggling into India has however not stopped.

415 PSD

Shri Deogirikar: May I know how many persons were arrested in connection with this gold smuggling?

Shri Tyagi: The hon. Member could have added that as part (d) to his question and I would have obtained the information. Now I do not have the figure; but if he is anxious to have it, I shall collect it and give it to him.

Shri Deogirikar: May I know how many police officers were removed from service for neglect of duty in connection with the smuggling of gold?

Shri Tyagi: That is for the State Governments to know.

Shri Amolakh Chand: May I know whether the recent seizures are due to stricter supervision by the authorities or increased activities on the part of the smugglers?

Shri Tyagi: I do not know whether the smuggling has actually increased, but our process of detection and supervision is stricter in the case of gold and other contraband articles and various measures have been taken to stop the practice of smuggling.

Shri Amolakh Chand: What is the amount of gold that has been forfeited during the years 1950-51 and 1951-52?

Shri Tyagi: All the gold that is seized is confiscated. The gold seized in 1951-52 was 59,259 tolas and 629 gold sovereigns, i.e. up to 31st December only; and the value of that is Rs. 63,24,267/10/-.

Shri Deogirikar: To what country do these smugglers generally belong?

Shri Tyagi: Mostly when the gold is in the process of being smuggled, the smugglers are found to be our own nationals. They are used as carriers to pass on the gold from territory to territory. The actual people who smuggle the gold do not carry this gold themselves but use others as their employees or agents and these carry the gold and get some commission.

सेठ गोंविन्द दास: गोवा के सिवा और कौन कन से स्थान हैं कि जहाँ पर इस प्रकार का ए.गलिंग चला रहा है और उस को रिपोर्ट गवनेमेन्ट के पास आई है ?

[Seth Govind Das: What are the places apart from Goa from where the Government have received reports of this kind of smuggling?]

श्री त्यागी : गोवा के अलावा जा और समुद्री बन्दरगाह हैं उा पर से भी लोग सोना चुरा कर लाते हैं और फ्रांस के जो पजेशंस हैं जैसे पन्डिचेरी, कार्किल, माह वर्गूरह और समुद्री किनारे पर अक्सर लोग सोने को छिपा कर क्रिश्चियनों में लाने की कोशिश करते हैं।

[Shri Tyagi: They smuggle gold into India also from ports other than Goa. Often people have been found smuggling gold into India by boats from French possessions like Pondcherry, Karaikal, and Mahe as also other coastal places.]

Shri M. Naik: May I know what is the difference in the prices of gold in Gao and in India that gives arise to constant smuggling of gold into India?

Shri Tyagi: I have no information about the price of gold in Goa; but in India as the hon Member knows, the price of gold is higher than anywhere else.

U.P.S.C. (ANGLO-INDIANS)

*285. Shri Massey: Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) the number of Anglo-Indians who have appeared before the F.P.S.C. or U.P.S.C. for selection to various appointments under the Government of India since 1947 up to date; and

(b) the number who have been successful?

The Minister of State for Home Affairs (Shri Sidhva): (a) and (b). Since 1948 particulars regarding communities are not required to be furnished in applications made to the Union Public Service Commission except for communities for which reservations are in force. As reservations for Anglo-Indians exist only for certain specified posts and services there is no means of obtaining the information asked for the bulk of the recruitment made by the Union Pub-

lic Service Commission. Endeavour is, however, being made to collect the information for such recruitment, if any, made by the Union Public Service Commission for which reservations for Anglo-Indians exist. The information when ready will be placed on the Table of the House.

LABOUR FORCE IN ANDAMANS

*286. Shri M. Naik: (a) Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state what was the total strength of the Labour Force maintained in the Andaman Islands during the years 1948, 1949 and 1951?

(b) What was the total expenditure involved in each of these years?

The Minister of State for Home Affairs (Shri Sidhva): (a) and (b). I lay on the Table of the House a statement containing the information asked for.

STATEMENT

Year	Strength	Expenditure
		Rs
1948-49	699	3,14,262
1949-50	697	3,30,367
1951-52	590	3,20,900

Shri M. Naik: May I know what is the special purpose for which this Labour Force is being maintained?

Shri Sidhva: This labour is maintained as a regular force to meet the requirements of different departments of Government. In addition to stevedore work this force in 1951 cleared 100 acres of land for refugees settlements, repaired bunds for safeguarding land from saltwater inundations. Labour was also supplied to the Public Works Department in emergencies and also to the Agricultural Department and to assist horticulture officers in experimental works. It also rebuilt dak bungalows for visitors at Port Blair and supplied labour to other Departments on call.

Shri M. Naik: What are the sources from which this labour is being recruited? Are they all from the Andamans or are they recruited from India also?

Shri Sidhva: This force is recruited from the mainland as well as locally, but preference is given to the local people, displaced people settled in the Andamans. It is maintained as a regular force to meet the requirements of Government as the local population cannot provide sufficient labour.

Shri M. Naik: May I know whether the Government have considered the

desirability of starting some sort of a cooperative organisation for maintaining such labour in the Andamans?

Shri Sidhva: Government have no intention so far.

Mr. Speaker: It is more or less a suggestion for action which Government may take into consideration.

Shri R. Velayudhan: According to the Five Year Plan for the Andamans envisaged by Government is there a proposal for the settling of Indian labour there, and if so will it be only labour or will be the settling of families?

Shri Sidhva: That plan is under consideration and I cannot answer the question until it has matured.

Shri M. Naik: To what extent has this Labour Force been recruited from the ex-convicts?

Shri Sidhva: I have no information; I don't think there are any ex-convicts among them. Anyway I have no definite information now.

Shri J. N. Hazarika: Is it a fact that these persons in the Labour Force are used by the high officials for the transport of luggage and other work?

Mr. Speaker: What is the idea? Does the hon. Member want to know whether they are kept for domestic work also or only for public purposes?

Shri Sidhva: I have given the details of the objects for which this force is kept.

Mr. Speaker: But he wants to know whether this Labour Force is exclusively for public purposes?

Shri Sidhva: Yes, only for public purposes.

ORDNANCE STORES

*288. **Dr. M. M. Das:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that no registers are maintained containing verified and corrected up-to-date balances of the Ordnance Stores and Indian Air Force Stores;

(b) whether it is a fact that the absence of such a register has given rise to some irregularities detected by the Audit in the recent past;

(c) whether it is a fact that large quantities of stores, procured during the war, of which the packages have not yet been opened and the outside markings or labels of the packages bear no relation, either in type or in

quantity to their contents, are lying in the depots; and

(d) whether it is a fact that the Ministry of Defence has informed the Accountant General that the stock verification of these stores cannot be completed before 31st March, 1954?

The Minister of Defence (Sardar Baldev Singh): (a) No, it is not a fact.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) and (d). It is true that considerable quantities of stores are in packages which are believed to be described inadequately and incorrectly. Arrangements have been made for opening all such packages and checking their contents with ledger balances. It is expected that this work of verification will be completed in the last quarter of 1953 after which adjustment of book balances will take sometime longer, possibly upto 31st March 1954. The discrepancies, as they are established, are being adjusted in consultation with Audit authorities.

Dr. M. M. Das: In reply to parts (c) and (d) of the question the hon. Minister stated that as the packages are opened the contents are checked and listed during the process. Am I to understand that there exists no register? Is it a fact that the packages have not yet all been opened and the contents listed?

Sardar Baldev Singh: I have stated that we got from the authorities in the last war a very large number of packages. It is not possible to open all the packages for they run into millions. They are stored at suitable places and it is very difficult to compare the contents, unless they are opened. As and when accommodation is available and other arrangements are complete the packages are opened and the contents are examined. If there is any discrepancy it is adjusted in consultation with the audit authorities.

Dr. M. M. Das: Am I to understand that the packages have not all been opened and the contents have not yet been fully listed?

Sardar Baldev Singh: Yes, Sir. It is true that in some cases we have got requirements which will last for seventy years and the hon. Member will realise that it is not possible to open all those packages, unless arrangements are made to stock the contents.

Dr. M. M. Das: What are the reasons why during the last five or six

years, since the end of the war, Government have not been able to open all these packages and find out the contents and list them?

Sardar Baldev Singh: As I have already mentioned, when the packages are opened there should be proper store rooms and proper arrangements have got to be made before the packages can be opened. It would be waste of labour if the packages are opened, checked and then repacked. We must have suitable arrangements to store the contents of these packages before they are opened.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : अभी माननीय मंत्री जी ने इस प्रश्न को (ए) और (बी) भाग के बारे में कहा कि यह बात सही नहीं है। क्या माननीय मंत्री जी को यह बात मालूम है कि जहाँ तक जबलपुर के आर्डनेन्स डिपो का सम्बन्ध है यह सूचियाँ वहाँ पर पूरी नहीं हैं और समय समय पर इस सम्बन्ध में वहाँ पर बहुत चोरियाँ होती हैं। क्या चूँकि यह सूचियाँ पूरी नहीं हैं चोरियों की इतना माननीय मंत्री जी के पास नहीं आती हैं।

[Seth Govind Das: In reply to parts (a) and (b) of the question the hon. Minister stated that it was not a fact. Is the hon. Minister aware of the fact that so far as the Ordnance Depot at Jubbulpore is concerned the lists of goods are not complete and that occasionally there are cases of theft and pilferage? Is it on account of non-availability of complete lists that the hon. Minister is unaware of these cases?]

सरदार बलदेव सिंह : जहाँ तक चोरियों का ताल्लुक है, मेरा ख्याल है कि चोरियाँ हर जगह होती हैं, इस से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता। बावजूद इस के कि वहाँ पर पहरे, बहारदीवारी बगरह का इतना तसल्ली-बकश इन्तजाम हो सकता है, कुछ न कुछ बाधमी ऐसे हैं जिनकी आदत ही चोरी करना है। तो यह कहना कि चोरी बिल्कुल नहीं होती यह मुश्किल है, लेकिन हर एक बन्दोबस्त किया जाता है कि जिस की वजह से चोरी बंद हो सके।

[Sardar Baldev Singh: So far as theft is concerned, there is no denying that it takes place everywhere. Despite every arrangement for keeping strict watch and providing strong fencing there are certain persons who would commit theft. It is, therefore, difficult to claim that no thefts take place; nevertheless, every care is taken to check theft.]

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या यह बात सही नहीं है कि जहाँ तक जबलपुर आर्डनेन्स डिपो का सम्बन्ध है वहाँ तक इन चोरियों की बहुत ज्यादा शिकायतें माननीय मंत्री जी के पास पहुँची हैं, लेकिन उन पर कोई सन्तोषजनक कार्रवाई नहीं हो सकी है।

[Seth Govind Das: Is it not a fact that with regard to the Ordnance Factory at Jubbulpore the hon. Minister has received a large number of complaints but no satisfactory action has so far been taken with respect to them?]

वित्त राज्य-मंत्री (श्री त्यागी) : यह क्रसुर शहर का है।

[The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): The fault lies with the city itself.]

सरदार बलदेव सिंह : जहाँ तक जबलपुर का ताल्लुक है, मेरा ख्याल है एक या दो ऐसे बाकयात मेरे सामने आय हैं, अगर कोई और ऐसे बाकयात आनरेबल मॅम्बर के पास हैं और अगर वह मुझे इतला दें तो मैं तहकीकात करूँगा।

[Sardar Baldev Singh: So far as the Ordnance Depot at Jubbulpore is concerned, I think I have come across a couple of cases. If the hon. Member is in know of any more cases he may bring them to my notice and I will look into them]

Dr. M. M. Das: How was it possible for Government to place orders with foreign countries without having a detailed knowledge of our own stores?

Sardar Baldev Singh: The packages are marked on the top, the numbers are marked and the contents are marked. So in some cases we have to believe what is written on the

packages. That is how we assess our requirements and those stocks which are supposed to be in the packages are not ordered. Those packages are opened and if the contents differ from what is stated on the box, then only new stocks are ordered.

Shri Amolakh Chand: May I know if all the packages lying in store have been paid for or the price is to be paid without checking the contents?

Sardar Baldev Singh: For the information of the hon. Member I may tell him that when we took over the stocks the price had already been paid to America for the whole lot in a lump-sum.

RARE EARTHS LTD.

*289. **Dr. M. M. Das:** (a) Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state how far the factory of Messrs. Rare Earths Ltd., has been completed?

(b) When is the factory expected to begin production?

(c) Is it a fact that the Company has entered into an agreement with a European firm for technical assistance and if so, what are the terms of the agreement?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) The erection of the factory at Alwaye (Travancore-Cochin State) is nearing completion.

(b) The factory is expected to begin production in May, 1952.

(c) Yes, Sir. An agreement has been entered into with Societe de Produits Chimiques des Terres Rares, Paris. The hon. Member will please appreciate that it would not be in the public interest to give the further information asked for.

Dr. M. M. Das: What is the total expenditure incurred by Government for setting up this factory?

Shri Buragohain: The subscribed capital of the company has recently been increased to 80 lakhs and this has been paid by the Government of India and the Government of Travancore-Cochin in the proportion of 55 to 45 per cent.

Dr. M. M. Das: What will be the capacity of this factory? What will be the quantity of monozite sand that will be processed per day or per year?

Shri Buragohain: The factory will be able to process 1500 tons of monozite sand in a year. Does the hon. Member want to know about the products?

Dr. M. M. Das: Yes, Sir.

Shri Buragohain: It is expected that the main products from the treatment of 1500 tons of monozite sand per year will be Rare Earths Chlorides and Rare Earth Carbonates, 1000 tons of the former and 450 tons of the latter. The by-products will be trisodium phosphate 1500 to 1800 tons, caustic soda 1½ to 2 million gallons of a 10-12 per cent. solution.

As regards other products there is a residue which when suitably treated can yield approximately 205 to 225 tons of thorium nitrate. This residue will be treated by a factory being set up by the Atomic Energy Commission for the production of uranium and thorium compounds.

Dr. M. M. Das: May I know whether all these products are exported or there is some arrangement in this country for their consumption?

Shri Buragohain: India requires thorium nitrate for her gas mantle industry. The rare earth chlorides and carbonates are used in metallurgical operations for the manufacture of flints, aluminium base alloys, etc. Trisodium phosphate is used for pharmaceutical purposes, for wetting out of yarn in Indian mills as a cheap detergent. Caustic lye is used in soap manufacture. Among other industries for which the products of this factory could be utilised directly or indirectly may be mentioned cigarette lighters, misch metal for steel casting, special glass for lenses and optical goods, enamelling of steel. Up to now India has had to import thorium nitrate from abroad, mainly from the U.S.A. and with the setting up of the factory India will not only be able to meet her own requirements of thorium nitrate but will also have a surplus for research in India and for sale abroad.

Dr. M. M. Das: Is the hon. Minister in a position to give an idea about the foreign exchange that will be saved when this factory will come into operation?

Shri Buragohain: I should like to have notice.

Shri R. Velavudhan: What is the number of employees who have been now recruited by the factory there and may I know whether the Government of India have any control over the recruitment?

Shri Buragohain: This company is managed by a board of directors of which the Government of India have

four nominees out of seven. With regard to the number of persons employed I should like to have notice.

Shri R. Velayudhan: May I know whether any officer has been lent by the Government of India (Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research) to this factory?

Shri Buragohain: The nominees of the Government of India on the Board of Directors are all officers of the Government of India.

Shri Alexander: Do Government propose to start any other factory for the utilisation of the by-products in Alway?

Shri Buragohain: I have already stated that with regard to the residue the idea is to have a separate factory and that is likely to be self-sufficient.

Shri Alexander: Where is it to be started?

Shri Buragohain: It will be started along with this factory, subject of course to correction.

TOBACCO

*291. **Shri M. Naik:** (a) Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state the total production of tobacco during the year 1951-52 as against 1950-51, 1949-50, and 1948-49, both in volume and value?

(b) What are the figures for the same periods of internal consumption and exports?

(c) What are the Excise and Export Duties realised during the above periods?

(d) What are the different forms of tobacco and the countries to which it is exported?

The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): (a) to (c). Three Statements I to III are laid on the Table of the House. (See Appendix II, annexure No. 12) There is no export duty on unmanufactured tobacco exported outside India.

(d) The forms of unmanufactured tobacco which are exported outside India are (i) Fluecured and (ii) Air-cured. The former variety is exported mainly to the U.K., Holland, Belgium, Germany, Pakistan, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Ireland, Sweden, China and Denmark and, on a minor scale, to a few other countries such as Scandinavia, Ceylon and Italy. The Air-cured variety is chiefly exported to Pakistan, the U.K., Aden, Japan, and

Belgium, and on a small scale, to U.S.S.R., Holland, Yugoslavia, Egypt and Germany.

Shri M. Naik: From the statement I find that no figures are yet available for the year 1951-52 of the quantity of unmanufactured tobacco produced. May I ask whether Government is in a position to state whether the production figures are on the increase or on the decrease.

Shri Tyagi: It will be too early for me to hazard an appraisal of the figures received. I might be in a position to lay a statement on the Table of the House as soon as the figures are available.

Shri M. Naik: How does the price of tobacco during this year compare with the prices that prevailed during the previous years?

Shri Tyagi: The prices have been on the increase.

خواجه - نمايت اللہ : کہا حکومت

بتا سکتی ہے کہ ان سالوں میں صوبہ

بہار میں تمباکو کا کتنا پراڈکشن ہوا

ہے اور وہاں سے تیلی ایکسائز کتنی

گورنمنٹ کو ملی ہے -

[Khwaja Inait Ullah: Will the hon. Minister kindly state how much tobacco has been produced in Bihar during these years and what amount of money has been realised there by the Government in the form of excise duty?]

श्री त्यागी : इन सालों का सालाना ब्यौर इस समय हमारे पास नहीं है ।

[Shri Tyagi: Figures for each of these years are not available just now.]

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether the hon. Minister has received any representation from the Banaras Biri Vyapari Sangh as regards the difficulties and hardships in the trade in raw tobacco used in biris and for chewing purposes?

श्री त्यागी : यहाँ बनारस से आये दिन इस किस्म की शिकायत आती रहती है ।

[Shri Tyagi: Yes Sir, complaints to this effect are occasionally received from Banaras.]

Shri S. C. Samanta: What steps have Government taken?

Shri Tyagi: Their complaints pertain to a change of the total policy of levying the excise duty. What they wanted was a flat rate to which Government could not agree. In fact, the question of levying of a flat rate of duty on tobacco was considered last time on the occasion of the Budget but it was not found possible because there are tobaccos of various grades, varying from the valuable variety used for making zarda and biris to tobacco dust, and it is not possible to levy a flat rate of duty on all these varieties.

Dr. M. M. Das: Is it a fact that the amount of excise duty collected on tobaccos during the current year is less than that of the previous year?

Shri Tyagi: It is not correct to say it is less than that of the previous year but it is decidedly less than what we thought it would be at the time of the presentation of the Budget last year.

Dr. M. M. Das: What the reasons for this reduced amount?

Shri Tyagi: It is very difficult for me just now to let the hon. Member know the reasons.

Shri Saranđhar Das: May I know if the decrease in revenue is due to the fact that the acreage of tobacco is going down?

Shri Tyagi: I have no information on that.

Shri Saranđhar Das: May I know if it is a fact that the tobacco duty is levied by counting the young plants before they mature?

Shri Tyagi: No Sir. The duty is levied when the tobacco is sold by the tobacco owner from either the warehouses or the bonded warehouse.

KANGRA POWER PROJECT

*292. **Shri M. Naik:** (a) Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state when the Kangra Power Project is expected to go into operation?

(b) Is there any possibility of Delhi getting any quota of power supply from the project when in operation?

(c) What are the other sources of such supply of power in case the Kangra Project is not able to supply the necessary power for Delhi?

(d) Of the total requirement of power of Delhi, how much is for industrial purposes?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (**Shri Buragohain**):

(a) There is no such project.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) Electric Power requirements of Delhi are proposed to be met by,

(i) installation of a new Power Station of total installed capacity of 20,000 kw;

(ii) taking whatever load can be spared from the Faridabad Power House; and

(iii) taking supply from the Nangal Project of the Punjab Government.

(d) Requirements of industrial power are expected to be about 50 per cent. of the total power used in Delhi.

Shri M. Naik: May I know to what extent the total supply of electricity intended for Greater Delhi has materialised so far?

Shri Buragohain: I have already stated the sources of power from the three places. If my hon. friend wants the figures I can give him, but I believe Greater Delhi has been taken into consideration in assessing the requirements.

NATH BANK LTD.

*296. **Shri A. C. Guha:** (a) Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state when has the Nath Bank Ltd. closed its transaction?

(b) When has it been ordered to be sent to liquidation?

(c) When was the Reserve Bank removed from the part of official liquidator and private individuals have been appointed liquidators?

(d) What are the terms of their appointment and remuneration?

(e) What have been the expenses so far incurred since the Bank has stopped payment?

(f) How far has the liquidation proceeded and what amount, if any, has been given to the creditors?

(g) What were the assets and liabilities of the Bank at the time of its failure?

The Minister of Finance (**Shri C. D. Deshmukh**): (a) The Nath Bank Ltd. suspended payment on the 17th February, 1950.

(b) The bank was ordered to be wound up on the 8th May, 1950.

(c) By an order dated the 7th September, 1950, the Calcutta High Court

discharged the Reserve Bank from the office of the Official Liquidator and appointed Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Dr. S. B. Dutt and Mr. S. K. Sanjal as Official Liquidators. The new Liquidators took over charge on the 16th December, 1950.

(d) The new liquidators will continue to act as such until their further continuance is terminated by an order of the High Court at Calcutta. It is also understood that the High Court has decided that the new Liquidators would be entitled to a commission of 3 per cent on realisations in excess of the amount payable to the Reserve Bank out of the assets of the Bank.

(e) Government have no information.

(f) When the Reserve Bank handed over charge to the new Liquidators, about Rs. 30 lakhs had been realised. Subsequently, a sum of about Rs. 12.29 lakhs is understood to have been realised up to the 2nd February, 1952, by the new liquidators. As regards payments to creditors, the Calcutta High Court, by its order dated the 10th September, 1951, ordered payment of a dividend of 10 per cent to the depositors and Rs. 28,000/- to the preferential creditors. Government have no information regarding the total amount actually disbursed in pursuance of this order.

(g) The statement of assets and liabilities of the bank as on the 17th February, 1950, showed that the book value of the assets was Rs. 443,62,643-12-2 and that the liabilities including the paid up capital of Rs. 53,92,207-15-4 and the reserve fund of Rs. 22,50,000/- was of the same amount.

Shri A. C. Guha: I have not been able to follow the answer to part (g). Am I to understand that the liability was only Rs. 53 lakhs including the paid-up capital?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Part (g) says that the assets and liabilities were equal and the liabilities included the paid-up capital of Rs. 53 lakhs 92 thousand and the reserve fund of Rs. 22 lakhs 50 thousand.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know the reason why the Reserve Bank was discharged from the post of liquidator?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Because they were interested in the results of the liquidation as secured creditors.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know if any of the non-official liquidators have

any connection with the bank directly or indirectly? Did Government ascertain this?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. [I do not think that that question is proper here. It is a matter of discretion of the High Court. That Court must have taken all factors into consideration. We cannot go into the merits of this question.]

Shri A. C. Guha: My point is this. According to the Banking Companies Act, the Reserve Bank is generally to be the official liquidator, but in case that Bank is discharged, it is the function and duty of that Bank to point out to the High Court all these things

Mr. Speaker: [I think the matter must have been placed before the High Court and that Court must have considered it. We are now going into the merits of the High Court's order.]

Shri A. C. Guha: I want to know whether the Reserve Bank pointed out this thing or not.

Dr. Pattabhi: The hon. Member is arguing his whole case.

Mr. Speaker: [This is part of the pleading in court. He must take it that the Reserve Bank must have raised that point. We cannot sit in judgment over the proceedings of the High Court.]

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know if the Government has enquired whether the present liquidators have paid any amount to the depositors, as directed by the High Court?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I have given the figures of payments made by the present liquidators.

Mr. Speaker: I think he said that it is 10 per cent, but he also added that he was not sure of what was paid.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I have given information in regard to what has been ordered to be paid and I have added that I have no information regarding the total disbursed.

Mr. Speaker: I think the hon. Member's question is whether Government will make enquiries.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: We can try, but our difficulty is that we do not get the information and we have no right to demand the information.

Shri A. C. Guha: Does this 3 per cent remuneration include all office expenses or is this the remuneration to be paid to the three liquidators?

Mr. Speaker: Again the hon. Member is going into the arrangements made by the High Court. But he is making a distinction. He wants information only. He wants to know whether the hon. Minister has any information about how much has been allowed for establishment charges etc. If the hon. Minister knows, he can supply the information.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I have got a copy of the High Court order here. It does not go into the details of how the 3 per cent. is made up.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know what is the total amount due to the Reserve Bank?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Rs. 40 lakhs.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know whether the liquidators will get 3 per cent. remuneration over all assets of the Rs. 4 crores minus the Reserve Bank's Rs. 40 lakhs expected to be realized?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I expect so. It is a question of interpretation of the High Court's order.

Shri A. C. Guha: I would like to make one submission to you, Mr. Speaker. I think you must have noticed that this matter is coming before the House repeatedly and almost every time we are faced with the stone wall of not being able to go into the Court's orders.

Mr. Speaker: If the hon. Member remembers what the hon. Finance Minister said on the last occasion, he will recollect that it involves a change of the company law and in that context the proceedings of the High Court and other matters will be considered.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: That matter is under active consideration.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I, in the meantime, submit to you that you may forward to the High Court the proceedings of this House on this matter so that the High Court's attention may be drawn to the state of affairs? I do not think it would amount to contempt of court.

Mr. Speaker: I think it might be considered as interference in the course of justice.

An Hon. Member: As contempt of court also.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: It might be possible to forward the proceedings to the Committee when one is appointed. It might help them in their deliberations.

Mr. Speaker: That is all right.

Now, next question.

SUNNI MAJLIS-I-AUQAQ, DELHI

*297. **Maulvi Wajed Ali:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) how many meetings of the Sunni Majlis-i-Auqaq, Delhi were held during the year 1951;

(b) whether Government propose to lay on the Table of the House a copy of the Budget of the Board for the year 1951-52;

(c) whether the accounts of the said Board are audited by Government Auditors;

(d) whether out of the 5 members of the Board from the Constituent Assembly of India one is dead and others have ceased to be Members of Parliament; and

(e) if so, whether Government will consider the advisability of electing five new members from Parliament in place of old members?

The Minister of State for Home Affairs (Shri Sidhva): (a) 9.

(b) A copy of the Budget Estimate for the year 1951-52 is placed on the Table of the House. [Copy placed in the Library. See No. P-277/52.]

(c) Yes.

(d) Yes.

(e) The election of five new Members of Parliament has been deferred till such time as the new Houses of Parliament come into being.

Maulvi Wajed Ali: In the Budget Estimates supplied I find that the salary of the staff is given as Rs. 19,250 and then again commission Rs. 2,750. Will the hon. Minister kindly enquire how there can be both salary to the staff as well as commission?

Shri Sidhva: It is for the Board to think of this. As my hon. friend knows, all these estimates are being considered by the Board and after all, Government cannot interfere with an independent Board.

Maulvi Wajed Ali: I am only requesting you to bring this matter to the notice of the Board.

Mr. Speaker: He can get a copy of the Board's report and study it and then put questions.

Maulvi Wajed Ali: In this Budget I do not find any provision for repairs

to the minarets of the Jumma Masjid which were reported to have been badly cracked.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. That is a point which he may raise during the debate on budget estimates, if he gets a chance.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

*297-A. **Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) the value of the total imports to India in the year 1951 (calendar year) and the value of total exports from India in the same year;

(b) whether there were any items of receipts from and payments to foreign countries during this period; and

(c) if there was any unfavourable trade balance, how Government propose to make up the gap in future?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) India's total imports and exports during 1951 are computed provisionally at Rs. 857 crores and Rs. 775 crores respectively.

(b) Other items of receipts and payments consist of inward and outward remittances of funds for various purposes other than purchase or sale of goods.

(c) The deficit on account of the adverse balance of trade was met partly from net invisible receipts, partly by drawing on the sterling balances and partly from the U.S. Food Loan. The first two items could be expected to make up the gap, if any, during the next few years.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know the total amount of invisible receipts and the respective items?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I am giving the estimates for 1951.

	Rs.
Transportation	40 crores
Insurance	7 "
Investment income	6.6 "
Donation	17 "
Others	85.8 "

KAZAKS IN INDIA

*297-B. **Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state the number of Kazak migrants still within the State of Jammu and Kashmir and in any other parts of India?

The Minister of State for Home Affairs (Shri Sidhva): There are about 400 Kazak migrants in India and all of them are in Jammu and Kashmir.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know if they are going to be permanent residents and have applied for permission as such or have they applied only for temporary residence?

Shri Sidhva: No, they are not permanent. The original intention was that none of the Kazaks should be permitted to enter India, but since these persons had already arrived on the borders it was considered that they may be allowed to enter India on humanitarian grounds. All efforts are being made to send them back when the circumstances permit.

Shri A. C. Guha: How long have they been in India?

Shri Sidhva: They came in three batches about eighteen months ago. One batch consisted of 55, another of 177 and another of 28.

Shri A. C. Guha: Is there any new infiltration of Kazaks now?

Shri Sidhva: Not to our knowledge so far.

Shri Kamath: Have any of these Kazaks, after entering Kashmir or India, migrated to Pakistan and if so, how many?

Shri Sidhva: None so far to our knowledge. I have no information as to whether they have gone to Pakistan.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know if they are domiciled in some camps, or have they been settled on lands and if so, what are the conditions in which they are at present kept there?

Shri Sidhva: They entered Jammu and Kashmir and were brought down to Srinagar and were put in camps.

VISIT OF MR. GRAHAM D. CLIFFORD

*297-C. **Shri Kamath:** Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Mr. Graham D. Clifford, General Secretary of the British Institute of Radio Engineers, has recently arrived in India; and

(b) the purpose of his visit?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) Yes, Sir. Mr. G. D. Clifford arrived in India on 31st October 1951 and left on 21st February 1952.

(b) The purpose of Mr. Clifford's visit was:

- (i) to advise the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research on the establishment of Electronics and Radio Engineering Research Institute;
- (ii) to visit the various technical and educational centres dealing with radio tele-communication; and
- (iii) to open local sections of the Institution of Radio Engineers (U.K.) and to set up an Indian Advisory Committee to co-ordinate the work of the local sections.

Shri Kamath: Has the Advisory Committee been set up and if so what is the personnel of the Committee?

Shri Buragohain: It has not yet been set up. But it will be set up to co-ordinate the work of the local sections that are existing now?

Shri Kamath: Where are these local sections in existence?

Shri Buragohain: They are in various places mainly in the University centres.

Shri Kamath: Did Mr. Clifford meet the members of the Planning Commission as well?

Shri Buragohain: Yes; I believe he did meet them. He also was in contact with the various Departments of the Government of India and also the Universities.

REGIONAL ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES

*297-D. **Shri J. N. Hazarika:** (a) Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state when the post of a Regional Assistant Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Classes was filled up?

(b) How many candidates offered for the post?

(c) How many of the candidates were called for interview?

The Minister of State for Home Affairs (Shri Sidhva): (a) 29th January, 1952.

(b) 132.

(c) 20.

Shri J. N. Hazarika: May I know what are the desirable and necessary qualifications expected of the candidates for appointment?

Shri Sidhva: The qualifications are: graduates of a recognised University; interest in welfare of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and detachment from social prejudices as evidenced by experience in this connection or of any other social or public work done.

Shri J. N. Hazarika: Is the appointment on a temporary or permanent basis?

Shri Sidhva: These appointments have been made on the recommendation of the Public Service Commission, of course, on probation.

Shri J. N. Hazarika: What is the name of the person appointed and what are his qualifications?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. It is no use putting questions about individual appointments or the merits of individual officers.

Shri P. Kodanda Ramiah: Has any Commissioner been appointed for Madras?

Shri Sidhva: The appointment for the Region of Assam, Bengal, Manipur and Tripura has been made. The other regions are for Bihar and Orissa; Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh; Ajmer, Rajasthan and Bombay. No appointment, for the present, is proposed to be made in Madras.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether these candidates have foreign qualifications in social works?

Shri Sidhva: I would like to have notice of that question.

AERODROMES IN ASSAM

*298. **Shri J. N. Hazarika:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government propose to maintain the aerodromes constructed in Assam during the World War II;

(b) whether it is a fact that the Government of India propose to establish an I.A.F. Station at Jorhat Aerodrome; and

(c) if the answer to part (b) above be in the affirmative, when the work will be undertaken?

The Minister of Defence (Sardar Baldev Singh): (a) Of the Aerodromes constructed in Assam during the

last War, 8 are in regular use at present and are maintained by Government. The rest have either been abandoned or are unserviceable.

(b) and (c). The suitability of Jorhat for use by the I.A.F. is under examination. It is not in the public interest to give information regarding specific airfields which the Air Force use or contemplate using.

Shri J. N. Hazarika: May I know the names of aerodromes abandoned?

Sardar Baldev Singh: I am afraid if I give the names of aerodromes abandoned that will give the information which I do not want to give.

PARTY PROPAGANDA

*299. **Shri Kamath:** Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that in reply to starred question No. 639 asked on the 30th August, 1951 Government declared that the All India Radio would not be available for party propaganda during the General Elections;

(b) whether it is a fact that during the recent General Elections, speeches of the Congress President in connection with these elections were broadcast by the A.I.R.;

(c) if so, whether similar facilities were also allowed to the leaders of other political parties contesting the election; and

(d) if not, why not?

The Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting (Shri Diwakar):
(a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c). No speeches by the Congress President were broadcast. Speeches by him, as by leaders of other political parties, were, however, noticed in AIR's news bulletins, with due regard to their news value.

(d) Does not arise.

Shri Kamath: Was there, Sir, any truth in certain press reports which appeared about the middle of December that the Election Commission had informed the All India Radio that they would take serious notice of broadcasts of speeches by Ministers of Government, apart from Government's policy statements?

Shri Diwakar: I am not aware of any such reports nor of their implications.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : क्या यह बात सही नहीं है कि कांग्रेस सभापति के जो भाषण ब्राडकास्ट हुए वे केवल समाचार के रूप में हुए। जिस प्रकार दूसरे नेताओं के भी भाषण हुए थे। और दूसरे नेताओं के भाषण कम इसलिए ब्राडकास्ट हुए कि उन्होंने चुनावों में कोई काम ही नहीं किया था और कांग्रेस सभापति ने बहुत अधिक काम किया था।

[Seth Govind Das: Is it not a fact that whatever speeches of the Congress President, as of leaders of other political parties, were broadcast from the All India Radio formed part of the news and that the speeches of other leaders found lesser space in the news bulletins simply because those leaders did little in connection with these elections while the Congress President did much more?]

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

PAKISTAN FIRMS

*293. **Shri A. C. Guha** (on behalf of **Shri Jnani Ram**): Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state the number of firms carrying on business in Pakistan whose shares are sold in the Share Markets of India?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): Presumably the hon. Member wishes to have information about firms which have their registered offices in Pakistan and whose shares are sold in the Share markets in India. Government of India have no accurate information on this point. It is, however, understood that the Bombay Stock Exchange had in 1949 banned dealings in such shares and the Calcutta Stock Exchange is also reported to have recently prohibited such dealings.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know what is the international convention and practice in this respect?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: There is no convention or practice. It is part of the regulations of foreign exchange, particularly capital transfers.

Shri A. C. Guha: Has there been any negotiations with the Pakistan Government and the Government of India in this respect?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: No, Sir.

Shri A. C. Guha: Are the shares of any Indian companies negotiable in Pakistan markets?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: We have no information, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: Is it the concern of the stock exchange? Have Government anything to do with it?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Yes, we have, because they can be used as a means for transferring capital. Therefore, the approval of the Reserve Bank is required before any securities are transferred.

JUTE CULTIVATION BY D.V.C.

*294. **Shri A. C. Guha** (on behalf of **Shri Jnani Ram**): Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state:

(a) the area under jute cultivation by the D.V.C.;

(b) the other kinds of crops produced; and

(c) the approximate cost incurred thereon?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain):

(a) An area of 1.69 acres in the Upper Valley is under jute cultivation for experimental seed production.

(b) *Lower Valley:* Boro paddy and wheat.

Upper Valley: Paddy, vegetable crops, sugar cane, maize, peanuts and tuber crops in experimental farms; paddy, pulses, oil-seeds and miscellaneous as test crops on nearly reclaimed fields; and Dhaincha and Sunhemo-green manuring crops for nearly reclaimed fields.

(c) *Upper Valley:* Rs. 1,82,000 by the Damodar Valley Corporation up to the end of December, 1951.

Lower Valley: Rs. 69,300 by the Government of West Bengal and Rs. 65,400 by D.V.C. up to the end of 1951-52.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know if this land is irrigated by any small irrigation system of the D. V. C. or it is simply land which was previously under cultivation?

Shri Buragohain: Yes, the irrigation water is being provided and no cost is charged.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know how far the experiment in respect of jute cultivation has succeeded?

Shri Buragohain: I am afraid I have not got the information here.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I enquire if the Government is satisfied that the expenses incurred so far have been commensurate with the results achieved?

Shri Buragohain: This is a matter primarily for the D. V. C., Sir.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: What are the irrigation facilities provided to irrigate those lands, may I know?

Shri Buragohain: I have said that the farmers are supplied with irrigation water free of cost. They are also supplied with seeds, fertilizers and sometimes tractor services, etc.

Shri A. C. Guha: Am I to understand from the answer given by the hon. Minister to my last supplementary that the Government has no concern as to how the D. V. C. is spending the money in any experiment or in any scheme?

Shri Buragohain: Certainly, Government receives reports from time to time and those reports are considered by Government, and if necessary I believe comments are also made and sent to the D.V.C.

Shri S. C. Samanta: May I know whether cotton cultivation was experimented or will be experimented in the near future?

Shri Buragohain: I have not got that information with me, Sir.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: The hon. Minister said that the cultivators are provided with some irrigation facilities. May I know what are the means through which the irrigation facilities are provided?

Mr. Speaker: What does the hon. Member mean by "means". The question is not clear to me. The hon. Minister has stated that irrigation water is supplied.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: By what way the irrigation facilities are provided.

Mr. Speaker: That is, through channels or pipes etc.?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Yes, whether by means of wells, tube-wells and so on.

Shri Buragohain: In the usual way that irrigation water is supplied. Sir

Shri M. Naik: May I ask whether the crop growing experiments are done directly by the D.V.C. itself or

whether some leased agencies are being employed for this purpose?

Shri Buragohain: I think the experiments are carried on departmentally by the D. V. C.

Shri M. Naik: I want to know whether any of the lands are leased to tenants.

Mr. Speaker: I think the hon. Member did not hear the answer. He said that the experiments are carried on departmentally.

TALAIYA DAM

*295. **Shri A. C. Guha** (on behalf of **Shri Jnani Ram**): Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state:

(a) the quantity of electricity produced per month at the Talaiya Dam site;

(b) the quantity out of this taken by the Bihar Government; and

(c) the quantity used for agricultural purposes?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) and (b). A statement giving the required information is laid on the Table of the House. [See Appendix II, annexure No. 13.]

(c) After meeting the construction demands, the remainder of the power generated is sold in bulk to the Bihar Government. Details of energy distributed by that Government for agricultural purposes have been called for from the State Government and will be placed on the Table of the House when received.

Shri A. C. Guha: From the table I find that out of 13 lakh kilo watts only 4 lakh kilo watts have been sold to the Bihar Government. May I know what is being done with the remaining 9 lakh kilo watts?

Shri Buragohain: The main purpose is to use that power for constructional purposes, and it is only the balance that is supplied to the Bihar Government.

Shri A. C. Guha: Do I understand that the whole of the 9 lakh kilo watts is used for constructional purposes and nothing is given to any party, governmental or private?

Shri Buragohain: Nothing else can be spared perhaps.

Shri Kamath: The statement laid on the Table shows that the production of electricity fell in the month of July 1951. What are the reasons for this fall in production?

Shri Buragohain: I should like to have notice on that point.

Pandit Maltra: Is it not a fact that power is already being supplied from this to the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works?

Shri Buragohain: I cannot reply to that question offhand, Sir. I have not got the information here.

Shri B. K. Das: What is the revenue received from the sale of this electricity, may I know?

Shri Buragohain: I should like to have notice with regard to that also. But I think this is adjusted against the money for expenses loaned by the Central Government to the Bihar Government.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: May I know whether any more electricity can be produced by this power plant and, if so, what will be the use of it?

Shri Buragohain: I have already said this was set up only to supply power for constructional purposes at Talaiya Dam and after meeting the construction demands the remainder of the power is being sold to the Government of Bihar.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: I wanted to know whether any more electricity can be produced by this plant.

Mr. Speaker: What is the potential capacity of the plant to produce further electricity—that is what he is asking.

Shri Buragohain: I have not got that information also with me, Sir.

Shri A. C. Guha: May I know the average cost per unit.

Shri Buragohain: I am afraid I cannot answer that question also.

Short Notice Question and Answer

FINANCING OF PROJECTS

Shri Kamath: Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether there were any talks between members of Government or of the Planning Commission on the one hand and Mr. Eugene Black on the other regarding the financing of projects included in the Five Year Plan;

(b) if so, which specific projects were discussed; and

(c) whether the President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has given any assurance of aid, and if so, its form and substance?

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): (a) to (c), Mr. Eugene R. Black, President of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, visited India with a view to familiarising himself personally with India's problems of economic development in the background of the Five Year Plan. He had informal discussions with members of the Government and with the Planning Commission on economic problems in general and, more particularly, on the broad aspects of the development programme. Specific projects discussed were those for the development of power and irrigation and for increased production of fertilisers and iron and steel. While no assurance was given by Mr. Black, in his Press Conference at Bombay, he stated that he would recommend, to the Board of Executive Directors of the Bank, grant of further loans of a substantial amount to finance such of these projects as are found to be suitable after further examination.

Shri Kamath: Was this visit of Mr. Black a corollary to or rather a follow up of the visit of the Bank Mission in November 1951, or was it for any specific inquiry or investigation?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I think Mr. Black has himself made clear in the Press Conferences, that he gave, the object of his visit. Briefly, it was to acquaint himself personally with India's manifold problems of economic development in the background of the Five Year Plan.

Shri Kamath: Are negotiations in progress for the grant of loans by the Bank for financing specific projects, and if so, which projects?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Negotiations have not actually begun, because the preliminary talks are in various stages. They have probably sent technical experts in order to examine the hydro-electric power and iron and steel schemes as well as the Mysore Fertilizer project. Then there is some suggestion that a loan may be given to the Industrial Finance Corporation. That also requires a certain amount of preliminary examination and actual loan negotiations can begin only after the completion of this preliminary and technical scrutiny.

Shri Kamath: The Budget White Paper on page 7 states that negotiations for the grant of further loans by the Bank for financing a number of schemes are in progress. The word used is 'negotiations'. May I know at what stage the negotiations are?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I am trying to be more accurate than what is said in the White Paper.

Shri Kamath: Has the Minister's attention been drawn to the statement of the Prime Minister made at his Press Conference last week, to the effect that the Five Year Plan has been so drawn up as to be able to carry it on with the least foreign aid and that the basic plan would not be affected whether there was foreign aid or not, and if so, for which specific purposes is this aid being sought or secured?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: That requires a re-statement of a part of the Draft Outline. It has been made clear there that there would be a gap left after we receive revenue resources internally by the usual means and there it has been indicated that if we do not receive foreign assistance then we would have to adopt other means for bridging the gap.

Shri Kamath: Has Government prepared an estimate of the total foreign aid, apart from internal capital that may be raised, that may be required for financing these projects included in the Five Year Plan, and if so, has Government got an idea or expectation about the loans that might be received from the World Bank and from foreign countries such as the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: The Planning Commission has made an estimate; for the first part of the plan the gap is Rs. 293 crores. As regards Government's expectations about the loans from the International Bank, all I can say at the moment is that I should be surprised if its next instalment is smaller than the amount of the loan we received already in the past.

Shri Kamath: Has the offer of assistance from the U.S.S.R. in the form of capital goods or technical assistance been considered?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I said in answer to a question the other day or in the course of debate that it has been noted. As far as I can understand, it is a promise and an undertaking to supply capital goods in the ordinary course of trade. It therefore, does not amount to the same thing as the foreign assistance we are now discussing.

Shri Kamath: Has the Minister's attention been drawn to a statement made by Mr. Black in Bombay, published in the newspapers of last week, that there was lack of information about India in America, and if so, have Government taken any steps or any

action to publicise at least the Five Year Plan in America?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I have here a copy of the World Bank President's farewell message and I cannot find anything here to substantiate the hon. Member's statement that there is ignorance about this country in the U.S.A.

Mr. Speaker: We will now proceed with the next question.

WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

*287. **Shri S. N. Das:** Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state:

(a) the number and names of Development Projects for which the Government of the State of Bihar has applied for help and loan from the Central Government; and

(b) the number and names of projects for which the Central Government have agreed to give help or loan, giving the total amount in each case?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) and (b). Two projects, viz. the Damodar Valley Project and the Kosi-Project Investigations. In the case of the Damodar Valley Project Government have agreed to advance loans to the Government of Bihar to the extent of their contribution to the funds of the D. V. C. In regard to the Kosi Project Investigations, Government are advancing the funds and carrying out the work.

ELECTRICITY

*290. **Giani G. S. Musafir:** (a) Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state the amount of electricity produced at present by the Thermal plant at Panipat (East Punjab)?

(b) What is the maximum amount of electricity which can be produced by this plant?

(c) How much of this production is being utilised for agricultural purposes and how much for industries?

(d) Is it a fact that many villages situated on the line from Panipat to Sonapat have applied for electricity for agricultural purposes?

(e) Is it also a fact that many of the tube-wells recently sunk in these villages are not being run for want of electric connections?

(f) If so, when do Government propose to give electric connections to these villages?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain): (a) The maximum demand on the plant at Panipat in February 1952 was 1,200 kw.

(b) 2,000 kw.

(c) Connected load for industrial purposes is 795 kw and for agricultural purposes 87 kw.

(d) Yes, Sir.

(e) No data is available with regard to tube-wells actually installed but not being run for want of electric power.

(f) Work is in hand to supply electric power to 24 tube-wells. The rest of the applications are under examination. Load which is found feasible (technically and financially) will be connected very shortly.

FACILITIES FOR ELECTION

39. **Shri Kamath:** Will the Minister of Home Affairs be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that in some Centrally Administered Areas detenus were denied facilities for filing nominations for election to the various legislatures; and

(b) if so, what action was taken in the matter?

The Minister of State for Home Affairs (Shri Sidhva): (a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

NATIONAL REGISTER

41. **Shri Raj Kanwar:** Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state how far the work of classification of scientific and technical personnel entered in the National Register has progressed and when it is likely to be completed?

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain): The compilation of the National Register of Scientific and Technical Personnel in India has been exhausted to

the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

The Register is being published in three volumes, each volume having a number of parts. Volume I gives the name, year of birth, academic and professional qualifications, practical experience, present address and present occupation of engineers. Two parts of this volume containing 8,200 names have been published and the third part containing 3,509 names of engineers is in press. This part comple-

tes the 1st Volume. Volume II gives similar information regarding Medical Personnel including dentists. Two parts of this volume containing 8,800 names have been published. Two more parts of this volume are likely to be published. Volume III will give detailed information regarding scientists and technologists representing various branches of science and technology. The manuscript of the first part of this volume containing 5,000 names will be sent to the press shortly.

Monday, 3rd March, 1952

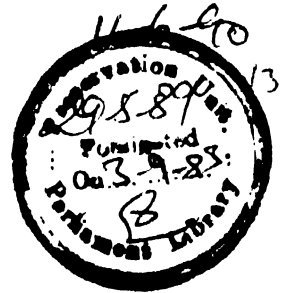


PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

VOLUME II, 1952



(1st March, 1952 to 5th March, 1952)

Fifth Session
of the
PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1952

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CORRIGENDA

to

the Parliamentary Debates (Part II—Other than Questions and Answers), Fifth Session, 1952

In Volume II,—

1. No. 1, dated the 1st March, 1952,—
 - (i) Col. 1662 for existing line 40 read "11 A.M."
 2. No. 2, dated the 3rd March, 1952,—
 - (i) Col. 1773, line 23 delete "in the".
 - (ii) Col. 1851, line 17 from bottom for "Rs. 38" read "Rs. 88".
 3. No. 3, dated the 4th March, 1952,—
 - (i) Col. 1890, line 18 from bottom for "where" read "when".
 - (ii) Col. 1907, after line 49 insert "immediately a thing is taken up the".
 - (iii) Col. 1936, delete existing last line.
 - (iv) Col. 1975, between lines 12 and 13 from bottom insert "Rs. 8,85,96,000 be granted to the".
 4. No. 4, dated the 5th March, 1952,—
 - (i) Col. 2002, line 12 delete the words "less than" occurring twice in the line.
-

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

1761

1762

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

Monday, 3rd March, 1952

—

*The House met at Half Past Nine
of the Clock.*

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

—

10-36 A.M.

RESIGNATION OF MEMBER

Mr. Speaker: I have to inform hon. Members that Moulvi Faiznūr Ali has resigned his seat in Parliament with effect from the 20th February, 1952.

—

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

**DAMODAR VALLEY CORPORATION
BUDGET ESTIMATES**

The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Damodar Valley Corporation Budget Estimates for 1952-53, in accordance with sub-section (3) of section 44 of the Damodar Valley Corporation Act, 1948. [*Placed in Library. See No. IV. M.4(9).*]

—

**STATEMENT *re* MEETING OF STANDING
ADVISORY COMMITTEES**

The Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): I beg to lay on the Table a Consolidated Statement regarding meetings of the Standing Committees attached to various Ministries, and

423 P.S.D.

subjects discussed at such meetings during the year 1951-52. [*Placed in Library. See No. IP-269/52.*]

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh): In this connection, may I bring to your notice a difficulty and request you to resolve it? The life of these Committees will come to a close on the 31st of March next, while Parliament's life will continue till the new Parliament is summoned and it actually meets. Is it not necessary, so as to keep these Committees alive during the interregnum between the 1st of April and the date of the meeting of the new Parliament that a resolution of the House be passed?

Mr. Speaker: Well, it is comparatively a minor matter. The question of the Committees themselves and their existence is, I believe, in the melting pot. That is one thing, and secondly, the hon. Member is under a misapprehension that this Parliament continues till the next Parliament sits. The position is that the moment the summons for the next Parliament is issued, this Parliament comes to an end.

There will be some interregnum, perhaps of 2 or 3 weeks. Looking to the dates of elections in the various States and assuming that the next Parliament is summoned, say, by about the middle of April or the third week of April, it may meet by about the middle or the third week of May. Generally a month is taken in that process. The interregnum which the hon. Member is afraid of does not go beyond three weeks.

Shri Kamath: A month.

Mr. Speaker: Not even a month. I should not expect it to be a month unless of course unforeseen circumstances take place. Practically in view of the fact that the consideration of the whole question is on hand and the short duration and the functions of this Government, which is described by the hon. Finance

[Mr. Speaker]

Minister himself as a caretaker Government, I do not think that question need be seriously gone into.

Shri Kamath: We may have caretaker committees.

Mr. Speaker: Not necessary at all.

GENERAL BUDGET—1952-53

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up the discussion of the General Budget. But before doing so, I have to announce to the House that under Rule 132, I fix that the time-limit for speeches will ordinarily be 10 minutes for each hon. Member excepting the hon. Finance Minister for whom 30 minutes or more will be allowed, if necessary.

We will begin the discussion of the Budget.

Prof. S. L. Saksena (Uttar Pradesh): This Budget has been received in the country without much notice. It is a sort of a *status quo* Budget. But people have objected to the continuance of the heavy taxation which had been imposed last time to the extent of fifty crores of rupees. It was expected that in view of the easy position now, there would be some relief; but it has not been forthcoming. There has also been an increase in the freight on coal. That would be an additional burden. In view of the present easy position, I think there should be some relief to the lower income groups in Income-tax also, and also in respect of some taxes like the tobacco and Biri tax which are taxes on the poor man's small recreation.

Next I wish to say something about the food situation in the country. Probably people are not aware of the acuteness of the distress about food in the eastern districts of the U. P. During the elections we got an opportunity to move in villages in connection with propaganda. I was shocked to find that in the districts of Gorakhpur, Basti and Deoria, there is almost complete famine. I have seen villages where out of 100 houses only four or five cooked their meals in the evening in the whole day. I have seen places where people are literally starving. I know the food position in the country is difficult. But, what I complain against is that enough has not been done to relieve distress in these areas. I

therefore want to bring this fact to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister and the Food Minister also that in the Eastern districts of U. P. where three crops have successively failed, some arrangement should be made for the despatch of foodgrains immediately. The poor people should be given foodgrains at very much cheaper rates. I also wish to draw the attention of the Government to one serious thing which is going to occur in the month of May. Normally, the cultivator keeps the seeds for next sowing. Now, all that seed has been eaten away for food on account of famine. Therefore, there will be virtually famine of seed in the month of May and June with the result that lakhs of acres of land may remain unsown if seeds do not reach there in time. Last year, I drew the attention of the House to the fact that lakhs of acres of land, ploughed fields, remained unsown because seeds were not sent in time. I hope that the Government will take care to see that there is enough provision for seed so that when the time for sowing comes in June or July, there is ample seed available and the fields are not left unsown, in Eastern U. P. which will otherwise result in a famine next year.

Then, I wish to refer to the cloth situation in that area. I had expected that there will be some improvement; but I was shocked to find that even now people are complaining about cloth more than about anything else. In fact, I found that many women could not come out of their houses in the open day because they had no cloth to wear. But, in the markets, I was surprised to find that there is only superfine cloth available for sale to the rural folk who do not require it. When they want coarse cloth, it is not given to them; when they want *dhoties*, they are not given to them; even if they are given, they are forced also to purchase some other cloth which they do not require. This is something extraordinary. There must be a proper distribution of cloth and these people should have the cloth they require.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Then, I want to say something about the recent unfortunate disturbances in Jammu. I have seen the versions of the Praja Parishad and the Government. I am sorry to have to say one thing. The hon. Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar is dealing with this complicated subject and I

do not wish to say much. But, I want to say that in the present situation, the Government of Kashmir should have been very careful to see that such incidents do not take place. It was a small matter; it could have been easily settled. Even the Government version admits that there was display of a Party Flag at a Government function. They had a right to do so. To arrest the leaders like Prem Nath Dogra and Sant Ram Baru, fine them Rs. 100 and then send them to jail when they went on fast was not proper. I have great respect for Sheikh Abdullah as a leader. He should set some ideals before himself. It has been tried to make out that it was a movement without support. But, the admission that a thousand ladies took part in it, that thousands of people took part, that in fact, the Indian Military had to be called to aid shows that the movement had a large appeal behind it. I, therefore, hope that the hon. Minister will try to see that such things do not happen. I am an admirer of Sheikh Abdullah. I wish that he should set standards which people should follow. If such things happen in our provinces, there will be blaze. I expect that in Jammu he will try to deal with the situation calmly and peacefully and see that the present tangle is ended soon. Prem Nath Dogra and Sant Ram Baru have been arrested and externed. I understand that Prem Nath Dogra has been taken to Srinagar jail in these cold January and February months. He is a man of seventy. This is not fair. I hope that these remarks of mine will be taken in the spirit in which I have made them. I do wish that we in India should regard Kashmir as the standard-bearer of Hindu Muslim Unity. This is the only opposition party there. There is no other opposition party, K.M.P. or any other. Even though we may not like their politics, we must deal with the delicate situation in a nice way. I suppose these remarks will be sufficient and I hope the troubles there will soon come to an end and the leaders will be asked to break their fast.

The other day I was discussing the question of the re-organisation of our Cabinet. The hon. Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar was in charge of the scheme. Many complaints have come to me about injustices done to people on account of the re-shuffling. An experienced administrator that he is, he should see that nobody with a higher service is replaced by one junior in service. It has been said that some people have been favoured while to

others with a longer service their due promotions have not been given. This should not happen in a Government especially when the matter is dealt with by a man of the experience of Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar.

Shri R. Velayudhan (Travancore-Cochin): Is it a new thing?

Prof. S. L. Saksena: I do not think. I should not say that even though it may not be a new thing, I hope the hon. Minister will take steps to rectify the injustices done.

Then I want to draw attention to the complaint against ballot boxes all over the country, and particularly in the U.P. I may tell you, Sir, that in my own constituency, I was able to open 24 boxes without breaking the seals.

Dr. C. D. Pande (Uttar Pradesh): Even then you could not win.

Prof. S. L. Saksena: Therefore I could not win, as my hon. friend knows very well. The Returning Officer was himself forced to admit that the boxes could be opened because they were not properly sealed.

This is what the Returning Officer of my constituency has stated:

"There is a mechanical device on the ballot boxes for closing. The whole device is covered with a flap which is also sealed. In cases where Presiding Officers did not take proper care to put two knots tightly before putting the seal at the two ends of the thread, to which the slip on which the seal is affixed is attached, it could be possible to open the ballot boxes without injuring the seals. In some cases which were brought to my notice by Shri Saksena, ballot boxes were properly closed, but after opening the flap, they could be opened without injuring the seal on account of the laziness referred to above of the Presiding Officers concerned. There was no tampering of any kind with the boxes."

Of course, it is obvious that more than half the ballot boxes were so badly tied that they could be opened without breaking up the seals. Similar complaints exist all over the country and I think this a matter which deserves to be investigated. All the parties met at Lucknow and demanded an enquiry. They made serious allegations. This is not an ordinary matter and I think it is the duty of the

[Prof. S. L. Saksena]

President to appoint a commission to make a proper enquiry into these things. The defeat of some candidates does not matter; but the belief of the people in the efficacy of the ballot box does matter. Their belief should not be shaken. If the faith of the people in this matter is shaken, then woe betide our country. I hope Government will see the wisdom of appointing a commission to enquire into the malpractices which have been complained against and of making the election law in such a way that there is no complaint in the future.

श्री भट्ट : यह चौबीस मतपेटियाँ कहाँ खोली गयीं ?

[**Shri Bhatt (Bombay):** Where were these 24 ballot boxes opened?]

Prof. S. L. Saksena: In my own constituency and during the counting, I showed that 24 boxes could be opened without breaking the seal and the District Magistrate has here stated that this could be done.

Dr. Pattabhi (Madras): Did the hon. Member do it with the permission of the District Magistrate?

Prof. S. L. Saksena: Yes, in his own presence.

Dr. Pattabhi: Who allowed you to tamper with the boxes?

Prof. S. L. Saksena: They were to be counted and while the District Magistrate was there I showed him that the boxes could be opened without affecting the seals.

Dr. Pattabhi: When did the hon. Member open the boxes? Was it before the count or after the count? If it is after, then the boxes are already open; if it is before the count then it is an offence.

Shri R. Velayudhan: Do we not have an Election Commissioner to enquire into these things?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister (Shri Satish Chandra): When the boxes were brought, were they properly sealed?

Prof. S. L. Saksena: Yes, and I showed the District Magistrate that they could be opened without injuring the seal.

Dr. Pattabhi: Was it before the voting?

Prof. S. L. Saksena: Yes.

The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): So you opened empty boxes?

Shri A. C. Guha (West Bengal): He said he opened them before the counting and that, I believe, is an offence.

Prof. S. L. Saksena: When there is something wrong the District Magistrate wishes to know what the complaint is and in this case I showed him how the boxes could be opened.

An Hon. Member: What is the allegation then?

Prof. S. L. Saksena: The allegation is that the boxes were not properly sealed and many of them could be opened before the counting without injuring the seal so that they could be easily opened and their contents changed and the result of the voting thus altered. That is my complaint and the District Magistrate has here admitted that they could be opened without injuring the seals.

Shri Satish Chandra: Were they actually opened before the District Magistrate?

Prof. S. L. Saksena: Yes, the actual counting was on the 4th. It was then changed and fixed for the 5th, then 12th, then 18th and then 19th. I say that this is a very serious and important matter to have the ballot boxes tampered with in this fashion. This has been a very common complaint in the U. P. from which my hon. friend there hails.

Shri A. C. Guha: My predecessor has stated that this Budget has not attracted any public notice or has practically been ignored. I do not, however, think that that is a correct statement of the position. This is an interim Budget and as such Government have tried not to introduce much controversial matters and the public too has received it as an interim Budget. Still I feel the Budget has had its repercussions in the commercial and business life of the country and as far as I can see it the reaction has been rather favourable. First of all I would draw attention to the fall of over 29 points during the last few weeks in the index figures and after the presentation of the Budget I expect a further fall in these figures. That is the expectation of the business and commercial circles. At the same time I

would state that the hon. Finance Minister should not become complacent because of this drop of 29 points. He himself has admitted that this drop is due mostly to international factors and not due so much to the conditions prevailing inside the country. He should now give his attention to improving the conditions inside the country so that an intrinsic drop in the index figures may be brought about. For this he should pay special attention to the position of the consumer goods.

Though there has been an all-round increase of about 15 per cent. in our industrial production I think the gap to be covered is still wide. While giving credit to Government for this 15 per cent. increase I would like to draw their attention to the fact that even now our production is far short of the installed capacity. Why should those industries which have been allowed to invest certain sums and put up machinery and spend from our foreign exchange resources, be allowed to continue this short production? We can't allow a state of affairs where production is still below the installed capacity. On previous occasions also, by means of questions and interpellations I have tried to draw Government's attention, and particularly the attention of the Minister of Commerce and Industry to this subject, but I could not get a satisfactory reply. What directive has the Government issued to these industries which have not been producing to their installed capacity? Last year we had the plea of shortage of cotton as regards the textile industry is concerned. But in the current year there is not very much shortage of cotton and there has indeed, been an increase of about 33 per cent. in our textile production. Yet it is far below our installed capacity.

In the matter of jute production I think the Government should bestow greater attention to the preservation of our almost monopolistic position in regard to jute. I am afraid that position has already been endangered. We have not been able to preserve that position and Continental countries are coming into competition with the Indian jute industry and I think that within the next year or so, there will be some jute industry in East Bengal also. Therefore the Government should bestow greater attention to this important industry of ours. It is not merely a question of reducing or increasing the export duty. It is a question of tightening up of the entire manufacturing process of the industry as a whole.

Most of the jute manufacturers have been allowed to become exporters of jute goods and I am afraid that has not added to our financial and industrial stability. Those who were manufacturers have been allowed to be shippers as well. By that process they have made several hundred crores of rupees and have deprived the Government and the nation of their due share of the dollar reserve.

As regards the supply of raw jute the Government should not depend upon the contingency of Pakistan making a gift to us. Either there should be a long term arrangement with East Bengal or there should be an intensive drive to increase the production of raw jute. Since 1949-50 there has been an increase in production of jute by over 100 per cent. and yet there is enough scope for increasing our raw jute production and India can become self-sufficient as regards raw jute.

I would now like to draw the attention to the position of the East Bengal refugees. I regret that it has become almost a fashion, even with the hon. Minister concerned, to fling some cruel jokes at the East Bengal refugees, namely that they are reluctant to go outside West Bengal. I would humbly request the Minister to state in this House if he is himself satisfied with the conditions of rehabilitation available to the East Bengal refugees in provinces outside West Bengal. I would like to ask the Minister whether he can assure us that he has been able to persuade the Governments of the neighbouring provinces to implement the directions or directives issued by him.

I know something about the conditions available for the East Bengal refugees in the neighbouring provinces. They are intolerable. They are not wanted there and every attempt is made to get them out of those provinces. Government say that it is all the blame of the East Bengal refugees that they do not like to move outside the province of West Bengal. I think it is a cruel joke and it is adding insult to the injury which the refugees have been undergoing.

I would like to remind the House that this nation owes some obligation to the refugees who have come from East and West Pakistan. They are the victims of our politics. It is no fault of theirs that they are today homeless, something like nomads or the unwanted Jews. They have sacrificed themselves for the achieve-

[Shri A. C. Guha]

ment of the independence of the nation. And on many occasions, even last week, the Minister stated in reply to a question that the East Bengal refugees do not like to go outside West Bengal. I deny that charge and I say that conditions are not such in the neighbouring provinces that they can settle down there. They are not wanted in those provinces and every attempt is made to push them outside the provinces. I request the Minister to state if he is himself satisfied about the conditions offered to the East Bengal refugees in the neighbouring provinces. I am sure he knows, though he is not able to say it in this House, in his heart of hearts the conditions are not favourable for the East Bengal refugees to settle in those neighbouring provinces. I hope that he will not repeat that cruel insult to the helpless refugees who are not here to defend themselves.

There is another matter which I would like to refer to concerning West Bengal. It is now a partitioned province. It used to get a share of income-tax and also the jute export duty from the Central Government. After the partition I do not think the revenues from income-tax collected in Calcutta or in West Bengal have fallen very much due to the partition. There might have been a negligible fall but the share of West Bengal has been reduced by about Rs. 3 crores or more. As regards the jute duty also its share has been fixed at 1.05 crores, whereas the Central Government revenue from jute has increased by about 1,400 per cent. Is it not fair for the Finance Minister and the Government to allot a greater share to West Bengal from the jute export duty?

I would also like to request the Finance Minister and through him the Finance Commission to review the allocation of income-tax share to West Bengal. Fifty per cent. of the total revenue collected through income-tax is distributed to the provinces. I do not see why the share of that 50 per cent. to be allotted to West Bengal has been reduced. Due to the partition certain liabilities have increased in the shape of settling 40 lakhs of refugees and the province having the problems of being transformed into a frontier province. Its liabilities have also increased as regards law and order. The development scheme that is to be brought forward simply to maintain Calcutta and the industrial area, would also require some money. I hope the Finance Minister will look into the question sympathetically and see that Bengal gets a greater share, at

least the share that she was getting before the partition. There is no logic in reducing the share of West Bengal.

As for jute I think Bengal should get a much larger share. With these words, I conclude, Sir.

Shri M. C. Shah (Bombay): I am grateful to you for giving me an opportunity to participate in the general discussion on the Budget.

At the outset I congratulate the Finance Minister for presenting us a very rosy picture of the ways and means position of the Government of India. I also congratulate the Minister of State for Finance for his drive in bringing out undisclosed incomes to the extent of a very good sum.

The budget as is presented gives a very rosy picture and as this budget is again to be presented to the new Parliament it will be no use going over the details of the Budget, at this stage, in this lame duck session of the Parliament. However, I would like to make some suggestions for the consideration of the Minister during the interval between the old and the new Parliament.

I may say that the income side is under-estimated. Last year also I had said so and mentioned that on the customs side there was a very great deal of under-estimating and that there was going to be a very big receipt from those customs duties. It has come too true—there is a rise of Rs. 76 crores in the customs revenues. This year he has put down the figure at nearly Rs. 42 crores less. I hear speculation in many quarters that there may be some contemplated move for reductions of certain duties, export as well as import, and it appears to be correct. But I would like to suggest that there has begun a downward tendency in prices. Really speaking, there has been already the beginning of a slump and I wish that that slump or that downward tendency in prices may not be arrested by any action on the part of the Government by yielding to so many cries that may be, raised by the vested interests. Last time I suggested that instead of Rs. 80 per ton it ought to be Rs. 150 per ton on groundnuts and I am glad the Finance Minister took up the suggestion and the duty was raised to Rs. 150/-. The result today is that the prices of oils have gone down very much to the great benefit of the consumers. Now there may be a hue and cry again that export is affected and therefore the duty should be reduced, but I with all the ear-

ness at my command will appeal to the hon. Finance Minister to resist the temptation of allowing more exports at the cost of the consumer. Similarly with regard to the export duty on cloth, coarse and medium. Last time I suggested that instead of 10 per cent. the duty ought to have been 25 per cent. It was a very belated action but the action was taken in August. Now the position is that though there is a scarcity of medium and coarse cloth in the country the prices quoted were 25 per cent. higher than the controlled rates, as had been admitted by the hon. Minister of Commerce and Industry the other day. But the prices are coming down and according to my information the present prices are about 5 per cent. above the controlled rates. The coarse and medium counts cloth is consumed by the common in the man in the country.

Last year I said the Budget was a common man's Budget, in the sense that the common man was made to pay additional taxes to the tune of Rs. 31.5 crores or so in addition to about Rs. 15 crores by way of enhanced railway fares. The common man has cheerfully borne these sacrifices in the hope that the ways and means position of the Government of India may be stronger and stronger and it may be possible to take the country to steadier progress and prosperity. When I toured the districts during the elections there was much criticism about Governmental policy in many matters, but I assured the people that the Government are alive to the interests of the common man at large and even if the common man has to undergo certain sacrifices such as bearing additional taxation he must bear them with cheerfulness in the hope that by the end of the next five years the country may progress and bring prosperity to the people at large. Today the steps taken by the hon. Finance Minister are towards ensuring a steadier progress of the country. Today we have been able to induce the foreign countries to send financial help to us. We have already got a loan from America to the extent of 62.5 million dollars and I have read in the papers that another 125 millions are to be advanced to this country. So, what I submit to the hon. Finance Minister is that the consumer's point of view, the common man's point of view should be always before the Government and Government should not succumb to the cries of the vested interests.

The question about cheap money policy was also raised last time

during the Budget and I had said that a cheap money policy should be avoided. I am glad that in November the bank rate has been raised to 3½ per cent. and restrictions have been placed on credit so that these profiteers and speculators may not take advantage of the credit facilities and meddle with the necessities of life of the people at large. I hope the present policy will be continued. It has given good dividends. The prices are coming down, the speculators are baffled the profiteers are also baffled and if this policy is continued with vigour then I am sure all these hoarders and speculators will find themselves in difficult straits as they find themselves today.

There is another question which is very important, and that is the question of controls. I entirely agree that as long as it is necessary we must have controls, but there are certain items on which we can raise controls immediately. Take the case of cement decontrolling of which I advocated last year. The production of cement has gone up very high. In 1948 it was only 15 lakh tons, today it is 35 lakh tons and it is still going up. That being so, why should there be control on cement even for a day? That is the question that is being debated in the countryside. We have got enough cement now, the production last year was 35 lakh tons and this year it may be nearly 4 million tons. This question of decontrol of cement is worthwhile considering. Last year the hon. Minister of Commerce and Industry said at Madras that they have decided to decontrol cement, but unfortunately because of certain vested interests in the South, because of certain new cement factories who thought they might stand to lose as a result of decontrol, the control was maintained. I request that the Government of India should seriously consider this question and control on cement should be immediately abolished. Similarly, why should there be any restriction about the price of coal? Production has gone up to 34 million tons; our consumption is about 27 million tons and we have to find markets for exporting our surplus production. Then why should not all restrictions on coal be lifted? I am told that when the Fiscal Commission went to the collieries certain colliery owners wanted control for prices to be maintained. The same is the case with superfine cloth. I advocated that the control on superfine cloth should be immediately abolished. Why should we care much for the

[Shri M. C. Shah]

richer classes or for the higher middle classes? The control should be only on coarse and medium cloth. There should be no control on superfine cloth. A beginning should be made in decontrolling. We cannot maintain controls all throughout—we have to decontrol one day or the other. So, if we begin slowly the position will not deteriorate, it will be better. Again, control on sugar is not necessary. This year we hope to produce 12 lakh tons or more of sugar. This is enough for our internal consumption which even according to our present figures is rather artificial because in the countryside people do not consume sugar but take it in their rations in order to get higher prices by selling it to others. Prices are now going down. In fact, it is now 11 annas per lb. There is no difference between the free sale sugar and the ration sugar. When you are going to have 12 lakh tons of sugar, you can very easily lift the control on sugar. Today, there is a glut in *gur*. The prices have come down from Rs. 12-8-0 to Rs. 8 and there is very great anxiety and agitation about this. Therefore, this view should be considered. We can satisfy the countryside people by making a move towards de-control about certain necessities of life, about the supply of which we have very little doubt now.

Now, I come to the cotton policy. I find only the Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry is here. I want to discuss this matter with the hon. Minister. Last year there was a scarcity of cotton. About 28 lakh bales were our production and we had to import cotton from America. Due to delayed action by the Ministry, we had to pay very heavy prices. But this year the American crop is a bumper one and it is about 1 crore and 53 lakh bales. Prices are coming down in India too. We have an estimated production of about 34 lakh bales—or perhaps between 33 and 34 lakh bales. Last year, due to scarcity of cotton, the Government specified certain allocations to mills all over India. It worked well. There is no doubt about that. We got over the difficulties. But now, owing to the bumper crop and the falling prices, millowners do not lift their allotted quota and there is hardship to the cotton producers. If the millowners do not lift the quota, these producers have not got the facilities, they have not got the means, to hold over the cotton quotas and carry them over. No millowner could have imagined in 1939 that he would make

so much money. People have become multi-millionaires. When, therefore, millowners hesitate to lift their cotton quotas, because they want to take advantage of the falling prices, they cause immense hardship to the producers. If we allow the producers to suffer, and producers are suffering a lot today, the consequences will be disastrous. Government should do something immediately in the matter. Let there be a ceiling price for cotton and let there be free movement of cotton. Millowners are waiting for cheaper prices. I think they must be made to purchase immediately the allotted quotas, or else those quotas should be cancelled. The producers should be allowed to sell the quotas to any mill that would purchase. The position today is serious. I would request the hon. Minister to take this matter into consideration. It does not brook any delay. If there is any delay, the producers will be affected and we shall never be able to achieve the additional target of 10 lakh bales mentioned in the Planning Commission report. If the prices are allowed to fall, the position will be very difficult.

Having said that, I wish to make a few more observations for the consideration of the Finance Minister. He has got a surplus and in fact he has underestimated the revenue. Last year, people were prepared to make sacrifices, but under the present circumstances it is possible for him to do away with the excise duty on coarse and medium cloth. This variety of cloth is consumed by the poorer classes and when this same excise duty was imposed by our British masters, we fought like anything for a number of years. For a certain financial necessity our Government imposed it and I have no quarrel with that. When there is a financial necessity, everybody must pay according to his means, but now the position has changed. I spoke on this subject during the Budget discussion of 1950-51 but then Dr. John Matthai said that the reduction would be a negligible one. That is not the point. You must consider sentiment also. Today the common man has to pay the duty and if it is removed, there will be countryside satisfaction about it.

I entirely agree with the policy of abolishing the food subsidies. On principle, why should all the 35 crores of people pay for a small portion? The old policy was all right for some time, but the new policy that has been enunciated should be continued even if there be some pres-

sure from certain quarters. Government ought not to yield to the pressure for reviving the food subsidies.

One more point I want to urge. Last year, we wanted to have a surplus Budget. We had taken certain expenditure from the capital side to the revenue side and there was a deficit of Rs. 5 crores. This time the position is very good and it will be still better because of the underestimate. The time has come when we should consider the question of having a flat rate on tobacco. Last time the position was very difficult, but if you impose a flat rate now, you will do away with so many malpractices and you will have a simpler method of collecting the duty. I make an earnest appeal to adopt my suggestion.

There is one more thing. I want that the 50% *ad valorem* duty on cotton waste should be levied on the quantity and must not be an *ad valorem* duty. In the invoices the exporters always resort to undervaluation. In order to avoid the full duty of 50%, they resort to so many malpractices. If this duty is levied on quantity, instead of being *ad valorem*, it will be very good, because the malpractices will disappear and you will have a simpler method of collecting the duty. I have made several suggestions and hope that they will be given due consideration.

Again I congratulate the hon. the Finance Minister and the hon. Minister of State for Finance for presenting a rosy picture. I rather congratulate the hon. the Prime Minister also for persuading the Finance Minister to stand for election and to shoulder this responsibility in the Government of India. He is an asset to the country and I wish him good success in the next five years.

Shri Alagesan (Madras): I do not know whether I will be able to impress the House after the very fine speech of my hon. friend. The General Elections are over and a fairly clear picture has emerged. There will now be popularly elected Governments both at the Centre and in the various States, though this will not be possible in some of the States as a result of the elections. You know that the people in the South are an intelligent lot and.....

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh): Are they?

An Hon. Member: And is the hon. Member one of them?

Shri Alagesan: Please wait. They know that an effective Opposition is

indispensable for the working of democracy. They were so much obsessed with the idea of, and concentrated so much on, providing an opposition that in the end they found that they forgot to provide a Government. That has created a very ticklish situation in some of the States in the South. Various solutions are being put forward. There are two suggestions: one is to have the Governor's rule. I do not think we can lightly resort to Governor's rule for more reasons than one. First of all it will lead people to blame the Government at the Centre that it wants to flout the freely expressed will of the people. Today we hear from a leader in Travancore-Cochin that there should be re-elections soon. That alternative also should not be thought of very lightly. It will mean a lot of expense both to the Government and to the parties concerned. Hence, we have to see whether any other solution is possible. This House, I think, with its experience of the Punjab administration will not lightly embark upon President's rule.

Shri R. Velayudhan: You want Governor's rule in Madras.

Shri Alagesan: Please hear me—the hon. Member has not heard me evidently.

Democracy is not like a scientific experiment so that you can achieve the desired results with given data. It is not even a mathematical formula to be so precise. It is not even logic, because there is the very inconstant factor namely human psychology going into it—so that you cannot have very straight results. It is not made in cast iron moulds as totalitarianism is. Hence it is for all concerned to find out a solution out of this difficulty.

Even the Press in Madras which was day in and day out condemning the Government and did everything to bring down its prestige is now clamouring that there should be a coalition. Perhaps they feel that they will lose their target of attack if there is no Congress Ministry. When I see the vociferous pleading for coalition ministries and that the largest single party in the State should take over the responsibility of forming such a Ministry I am reminded of the Telugu proverb which says that sense dawned upon the widow after the husband had gone. (*An Hon. Member:* Who is the husband?). I shall explain to you later.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Punjab): May I request the hon. Member to expatiate upon it?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have absolutely no objection to the hon. Member expatiating upon it, but I will ring the bell.

Shri Alagesan: After all on reflection, you may find that want of an absolute majority may not be such an evil as it appears to be at first sight. A defeat if it can make you gird up your loins and readjust your ministry, becomes more profitable than a success that demoralises. In the past huge majorities we know have had an element of demoralising effect in them. It is because of that that many people outside the Congress thought and grew jealous of the Congress, because they thought that these fellows will be perpetuated. Now this election has driven away that misunderstanding and they will be also in a sober mood to cooperate with us.

I am glad the Prime Minister has killed the idea in the very beginning, nipped it in the bud, and said that these two alternatives, namely re-election or Governor's rule, could not be easily resorted to. The House is glad that an eminent and worthy colleague of his is being sent to Madras to take up the gubernatorial responsibility there. It will need all his geniality and good humoured tact to bring about a proper solution and to launch a coalition ministry there.

Another result of the election is the emergence of the backward classes as a political force. In the South you might have noted, in Madras especially, about 25 of their men have been returned to the local assembly. Five or six of their men have been returned to Parliament. There is a growing political consciousness among them and they demand political status. They want to improve their economic lot. The Vannikulā Kshatriyas who live in the Central districts of Madras have entered a protest against the party in power that they have not been looked after well in the past. Here, there is a duty cast not only upon the State Government but also upon the Central Government to study their problems and try to solve them.

Shrimati Durgabai (Madras): May I know whether the Budget contains any provision for Madras?

Shri Alagesan: Article 340 of the Constitution places the responsibility squarely on the shoulders of the Government here. The President is to appoint a Commission to go into the condition in which these backward classes live and to recommend grants to be made by the State Governments

and the Central Government to ameliorate their condition. I think, it is high time that such a Commission is appointed and they go into the question of the backward classes and try to suggest remedies.

In this connection, I may tell you that if any coalition is going to be formed, it will be better to take the representatives of these backward classes in such a coalition so that they may have ample opportunities for the realisation of their ambitions.

My friend Mr. Shah paid encomiums to the Finance Minister for the way he has given us a big surplus. But I am sorry to say that he has hit us hard,—I mean the stoppage of the food subsidies to the various deficit provinces. The Food Ministers' Conference, we thought was going to improve our position, especially of those who have been getting very little rice. Of course it produced a psychological effect in that they said that they are not going to allow rice to the non-rice eating areas. But the corollary did not follow and the rice content of the rice-eating area was not raised. Not only that. The Finance Minister did not seem to have contemplated the stoppage of food subsidies when he was preparing the budget. Though he reduced the amount from Rs. 39 crores to Rs. 25 crores he did not want altogether to give up the subsidy. There was a discrimination as a result of subsidising foodgrains only in the industrial areas, and that was pointed out by the Madras Government. Instead of trying to remove that discrimination and granting the subsidy to all the rationed population, the Centre hit upon the idea—the very clever idea—of stopping all subsidies altogether for all areas. With such a huge surplus at his hands I should say that this was the “unkindest cut” that the Finance Minister has given. On the plea that he is only presenting a care-taker budget he has desisted from doing several good things. Why, I ask, do this bad turn while presenting the care-taker budget and stop the subsidies? He can as well wait for the new Parliament to consider this question and how this burden should be shouldered, instead of straightway cutting the subsidy. I should request him that the new sum that he has taken credit for and added on to the surplus, namely Rs. 15 crores, should not be so taken and that the subsidies be given at least to the rice-eating deficit States in the country, and then the whole question may be considered afresh when he brings the new budget.

We are glad that the Finance Minister has created a special development fund out of which he can give assistance to the various States when they need it in the shape of grants, loans, etc. He has created a fund with about Rs. 71 crores and he proposes to spend a sum of Rs. 15 crores from out of that fund in the budget year. When that was so, recently it happened in the State of Madras that they had to stop and go slow on a very important project in Malabar. The project is called the Malampuzha project and the accommodation that the Madras Government wanted was only a paltry sum—in view of the huge sum at my hon. friend's disposal—namely a sum of only Rs. 20 lakhs. And it was a temporary accommodation that they wanted. But I do not know why it was not possible for the Finance Minister to extend that accommodation to the State of Madras. As a result of that the work had to be stopped and many workmen numbering thousands had to be disbanded and they had to return. It is a pity that such things should be done, and I hope they will be avoided at least in the future.

Coming to the river valley schemes it is very heartening to note that in the current year they spent about Rs. 7 crores more than they budgeted for. In the budget year they propose to spend even still more; they propose to spend about Rs. 40 crores. These are huge commitments. I only want that these expenses on projects should be evenly distributed among the various regions. We hear criticisms of very big projects being undertaken even without proper project reports and even without the preparation of proper estimates, whereas in the State of Madras it is well known that a proper project report was prepared for the Krishna-Pennar project and it was placed before the Central Government for being included in the second part of the Five Year Plan.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): The Central Government or the Planning Commission?

Shri Alagesan: Of course the Planning Commission, but I think the Finance Minister is a Member of the Planning Commission.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: No.

Shri Alagesan: At any rate he was.

Shri Kamath: He is an unpaid Member.

Shri Alagesan: In spite of it, a roving Commission of Enquiry, a

Technical Commission is sent, they visit various places, go about inviting expressions of opinions and try to get all sorts of contradictory opinions and memoranda, and I do not know what report they are finally going to make. It is a pity that with such data there should be such confusion in the enquiry of a project by the Planning Commission or the Central Government. I think that there should be a better consideration of this very huge project which will simply wipe off the food deficit not only in Madras but in several other States also. It should be given better consideration at the hands of the Government and it should be included at a very early stage in the Five Year Plan so that we may have allotments for that work also when the new Parliament meets, and I hope that at least a token sum will be allotted for the carrying out of that work.

Shri Massey (West Bengal): The General budget brings us to the end of the first chapter in the history of Parliament, of Independent Republican India and also perhaps of the Congress Government. Many of us will be going back, some of us may return, but we will have more time to talk to the people, and they may want to know whether we have confidence in the Government, whether the Government have fulfilled the obligations or the articles of the Constitution.

The other day I put some questions in the House on the question of the Anglo-Indian community and their employment. In this connection I would like to read to the House article 336 of the Constitution because it has got a specific bearing on this matter. The article says:

“During the first two years after the commencement of this Constitution, appointments of members of the Anglo-Indian community to posts in the railway, customs, postal and telegraph services of the Union shall be made on the same basis as immediately before the fifteenth day of August, 1947.

During every succeeding period of two years, the number of posts reserved for the members of the said community in the said services shall, as nearly as possible, be less by ten per cent. than the numbers so reserved during the immediately preceding period of two years:

Provided that at the end of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution all such reservations shall cease.”

[Shri Massey]

I have not brought this question up because I am communal-minded. I am quite convinced from my experience of Government departments where reservation is not made and even in those departments where reservations have been made that the community has a lot to be grateful for. Today in the Armed Forces, in every wing of the Armed Forces, Anglo-Indians are holding posts which they never held before, which they never could have dreamed of holding before. They are doing very, very well. In civil life, if you look round Calcutta, Anglo-Indians in British firms and in Indian firms are holding jobs that they never held before; they are on jobs between two thousand to three thousand rupees a month. In Indian firms, my friend, the biggest industrialist perhaps in Bengal, Sir Biren Mukerjee is employing Anglo-Indians on over two thousand rupees. It shows that the community where they are fit can get on. But when I asked these questions I did not do so from any point of view that I was either frustrated or dissatisfied with the actions of Government. I asked them for a specific purpose, and I was very disappointed when my hon. friend, one of the Ministers—I do not want to emphasize—gave the reply "It is considered that the time and labour involved is disproportionate to the usefulness of the information". I must have some good reason for asking this information. There is a certain amount of fear in the community that they are not being well looked after. I do not know whether my friends who have given me that answer have read an article that has appeared in a widely circulated journal which has been sent to every Minister and to the British and American Information Services, which talks about these guarantees given to the Community. I think I would read it. It is a short paragraph.

"What are our chances of real equality and opportunity in India? It is perhaps our greatest problem today. What kind of answer do you want me to give you? I am not going to paint a roseate picture. I am not going to tint it. That time has passed. Equality of opportunity has been guaranteed in the Constitution. More and more I am becoming sceptical of the value of that guarantee..."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What is it that the hon. Member is reading from.

Shri Massey: That is the Review of

my hon. friend, Mr. Frank Anthony.

"More and more I have realised that it is being relegated to the position of nothing more than—perhaps something less than—a paper guarantee. More and more I see today the position of the minorities being threatened. More and more I see today increasing pressure as a result of policies and motives of ill-conceived communalism. More and more I see today commissions and selection boards..."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member must know that any extract read from any paper or journal must be made available to the other side, whatever is quoted on the floor of this House. We would like to know what exactly is the journal or the review?

Shri Massey: I have in the last session sent an extract of this to my hon. friend, the Home Minister.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What is the title of the Review?

Shri Massey: It is called the "Review". It is circulated to 90 per cent. of the members of the Anglo-Indian Association who are Government servants and as I said to all the Ministers as well as to the British and American Information Services and to various departments overseas.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is it an Indian journal?

Shri Massey: This was really the report on the Annual General meeting which is reproduced in the Review in 1950. (*Interruption*). I can give you copies or you can obtain the copies. There is already a copy available in the House. It further reads:

"More and more I see today commissions and selection Boards being influenced solely by considerations of caste and sub-caste. More and more I realize, inevitably that as long as this country subscribes to castes and sub-castes so long will we see this menace of nepotism, jobbery and corruption increasing."

The Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Thirumala Rao): On a point of order, I submit they are reflections cast openly on the integrity of the U.P.S.C. I do not know whether the editor is a responsible person. Is it open to the hon. Member to quote such things that are published outside by responsible or irresponsible persons?

An Hon. Member: It is a public document.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is about

the U.P.S.C. I do not think that they hold the position of any court nor is the matter *sub-judice*. It is open to the public to say that proper representation is not given and that the selection is not right. I do not see that there is anything wrong in that.

Shri Massey: What is more even disquieting is this. What senior Army officers described to me as "bhai bandi" is for the first time creeping into the Army. . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The whole book ought not to be read.

Shri Massey: I am only reading an extract, Sir. . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member will kindly resume his seat. Whenever any extracts are read, it is for the purpose of impressing upon the other side that is, the Government, the importance of the person who has made that statement and also to bring to their pointed attention particular facts of discrimination, etc. There is no meaning in going on reading the whole book.

Shri Massey: Not the whole book.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member will say what he has to say.

The Minister of State for Home Affairs (Shri Sidhva): Who is the editor?

Shri Massey: Mr. Frank Anthony, a Member of this House.

The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi): Oh, I see. Please read on.

Shri Massey: These sorts of things are definitely having a bad effect on the community which has got a lot to be grateful for. There are other passages in this. I do not want to read them. The hon. Minister has got a copy of that and I do hope that he will take some action to restore confidence in the community.

I want to come back to the hon. Minister's reply with regard to the disproportion of the usefulness of the information asked for. My hon. friend the Home Minister said the other day that that side of the House had a sense of proportion and this side had none. I do not know to which side I belong, but I am definitely a party member. But what I am more perturbed for is this: I do not know who has been responsible for these answers. I do not know whether the Home Minister or the other Ministers have been influenced with regard to them; but I believe my hon. friend, Dr. Ambedkar was influenced when he brought before the House the Constitution Amendment Bill.

Here again the same author of the same journal says:

"That Parliament consists, with all due respect to its Members, of some illiterates, a not inconsiderable section who are semi-illiterate and a fair number of lawyers, few of whom are conversant with Constitutional Law, can be no justification for the perversion of facts and of law with which Dr. Ambedkar sought to support an Amendment which could find no defence in democratic principle or precedent."

I do not know whether my hon. friend, the Minister thinks that we are illiterates or semi-illiterates and therefore they can give these answers and we would have to put up with them and go away with them. I hope that in the new Parliament greater respect will be shown to the Members. After all they come here after being elected by the people and they deserve some respect, even from Ministers. I hope that my hon. friend will take some action in respect of this also.

There is something more important than this that I want to bring to the notice of the House and that is the demand in connection with the Railway Inspectorate under the Ministry of Communication. . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: May I suggest to hon. Members that the time allowed is only 10 minutes. Hon. Members go on speaking on other matters and when the 10 minutes are over and the bell rings, they say that something is more important. They must start with the most important thing first and then when the bell rings stop with the less important ones.

Shri Massey: If you will permit me, I will take the opportunity on the cut motion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I cannot guarantee giving him time and opportunity on the cut motion.

Shri Massey: The Railway Inspectorate is an important matter. I want to speak on this, but unfortunately there is not much time. The Railway Inspectorate is a very important branch and something should be done to give it more status. I remember that in olden days when a Senior Inspector of Railways inspected the Railways, although he held the rank of a junior to the head of a Department, let alone the General Manager class—he belonged to a Government organization and the Railways were company managed—the respect paid to that man was considerable. So much so that no railway Officer from the General Manager down to the

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junior officers would sit down to a dinner until the Government Inspector sat first. Today with all the Railways coming over to the State the Government Inspectors are in position of subordinate officers by virtue of their salary and much junior to the General Managers of Railways. They are selected from the Railway cadre and they have therefore to a certain extent that Railway atmosphere. They think that they must put up their report to the General Manager before it is sent to the Chief Inspector. This does not make them the independent authority as was envisaged in the Government of India Act. The recent Toofan Express accident has brought out a serious state of affairs. I do not want to go into the details. The Chief Justice who presided over the enquiry remarked that unfortunately, the terms of reference did not permit him to comment on the Railway administration. There were obviously several flaws in the whole organisation. I feel that the Ministry of Communication or the Ministry of Railways should ask the Chief Justice for further information as to what is wrong with the Railway administration, etc.

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In conclusion, I would only say that the Railway Inspectorate should be re-organised and when it is re-organised, it should be placed under the Defence Department. My hon. friend will probably want to know why I am suggesting the Defence department. In the olden days, some of these Inspectors were from the Corps of Royal Engineers. In the Defence Department you have a qualified Corps of Engineers and they will be free from Railways influence. In addition, they will have this advantage. Railways are of strategic importance. In times of war, they will have a thorough knowledge of the working of the Railways and it will be much more useful.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Mr. Kamath. I intend to follow this procedure. Hon. Members, who are not coming to Parliament again, will be given preference.

Shri R. Velayudhan: You have already given chance to people over there.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am changing the procedure now.

Shri R. Velayudhan: Is it only to those Members?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Not only; but preference will be given.

Shri Kamath: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, even those who will not come back in May, may come in at a later stage.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Nobody would be more glad than Members of the House if hon. Members, all of them, come back. We can even increase the number of Members.

Shri Kamath: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, the Finance Minister is in the happy position of being the financial custodian of the Government of the country and is also, a Member of the Planning Commission. He will therefore be able to reply in detail to the various economic, financial affairs or matters that may be raised in the course of this debate.

My friend Mr. Alagesan, who is not here, referred in detail to the elections. My hon. friend Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena also referred to the elections which have now come to a close. The results of the elections have shown a definite trend and I hope that Government will now repay at the earliest opportunity their debt to the bullocks on which they have been voted to power. That debt must be repaid before anything else. I hope they will take early measures to improve agriculture in the country, pay some attention to animal husbandry, and to what was described in the last session, I believe, as the evolution of the multi-purposes cow, the *Kamadhenu*. These matters demand the earliest attention of the Government; otherwise the charge may be brought against them that they are ungrateful to the bullocks which have brought them back to power.

Our democracy is very young. I am afraid that unless we take vigorous and dynamic steps in the next five years towards the establishment of a Welfare State as compared with the Police State which has been more or less in existence so far, we will be heading either for a totalitarian State at the end of five years, or which is worse still, chaos in the country. The socio-economic revolution must be furthered in the next five years; otherwise, not only this Government, but the country will be in peril. In other words, we have to establish what the Constitution has described as an economic and social democracy or a true democracy. Unfortunately, the other day, the Prime Minister, speaking at the Press Conference or somewhere else, I am not quite sure where, did not give an example of his shining faith in democracy when he resorted to very queer logic about elections and

franchise, and the result of the franchise. He is reported to have said—I do not know how far the Press report is correct—in defence of a certain person who got defeated at the polls, but is about to be appointed as the Chief Minister of a State: "What are 19 votes compared to millions of voters who want him as Chief Minister?"

Shri Tyagi: May I know if a gentleman who is defeated at the polls is really not trustworthy? Is that the conclusion my hon. friend comes to?

Shri A. Joseph (Madras): Is it right that such people should be brought in by the backdoor?

Shri Kamath: My reply is, I do not think even those who are elected are trustworthy. I am only referring to the logic of democracy. If you believe in it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: But, is not this a State subject? The hon. Member could not go into this matter which is peculiarly within the province of a State. Whichever party comes into power, the Governor is bound to call the leader of that party. It is open to the Members of the party to choose the leader. How is it relevant to the subject of the Budget here? We are not discussing provincial matters. The hon. Member knows well that we are discussing the responsibilities of the Union Government and not of the provincial Governments.

Shri Kamath: I was referring to the general question of promotion of democracy in the country.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We are not generally entering into a discussion on the principles of democracy here. We are concerned with the Budget, the action of the Government so far, the provisions made in the Budget, the Demands and so on. I think the hon. Member has said enough.

Shri Kamath: I only wanted to say, you could as well say about the Government itself that has been returned to power that out of 105 million voters who have gone to the polls, what do 40 million voters matter when 65 million voters have voted against their coming to power. If that logic is pursued, you come to this conclusion. What I was driving at is this: one has got to be more careful while talking about these matters. Sometimes I am inclined to feel that the Prime Minister's contribution on various subjects would be much more valuable if he were a little less voluble. I leave it at that.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is unnecessary to make remarks of that kind.

The hon. Member is also. . . .

Shri Kamath: I am not a Member of Government; I hope I shall not be.

The Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Thirumala Rao): It is only a legitimate aspiration of all hon. Members.

Shri Kamath: I aspire for other things than to become a Minister of Government.

Now, coming to the subjects dealt with in the Budget, with this as a preamble to my speech, I shall first take up the question of the serious irregularities that have been disclosed by the Public Accounts Committee in their report laid on the Table of the House. It appears that the High Commissioner's office at London has been the worst sinner in this respect and in spite of his attention having been drawn so many times and repeatedly to the proper procedure to be adopted with regard to entering into various transactions, in regard to audit and other cognate matters, the High Commissioner's Office has shown a cusdedness which, I think, is hardly laudable. I think the hon. Finance Minister must take this matter in hand and take the High Commissioner also to task, and see that matters do not get worse. I do not want to deal with this matter in detail here, but I shall try to do so, in connection with my cut motion to-morrow. In passing, I would only say that this is a serious matter which has been discussed by the Public Accounts Committee, particularly in regard to the High Commissioner's office in London.

I now refer to another transaction which I understand was entered into recently by the High Commissioner, London. That relates to certain anti-tank grenades manufactured in France. The order for these anti-tank grenades was placed in London with a retired French officer or some such person, I believe, by the High Commissioner without caring to enquire into the actual manufacturing prices or the supply prices of these grenades in France itself where they are manufactured. And I am given to understand the French supplier in London had overcharged the High Commissioner, that is, our Government to the extent of a hundred thousand pounds or more. I would like to know from the Finance Minister whether the matter was referred to Government before the order was placed with the firm in London, and whether an irregular procedure was adopted by the High Commissioner as has been done in the case of several other transactions. One

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such was the fertilizer deal into which Mr. Rajadhyaksha enquired last year, and though the Report has not been placed on the Table of the House, reports in the press suggest that the main blunder committed by the High Commissioner was the failure to insert a penalty clause in the contract with the firm in London. Why these transactions have been entered into in this fashion and why this procedure has been adopted in this manner is a matter for a very searching enquiry by Government and if it is found to be necessary, the High Commissioner should be replaced. This sort of thing cannot go on for long.

Before I pass on to the next subject I would like to mention that the old habit of the Government of suppressing enquiry reports persists. We were told in the last session that the reports of inquiries of the Mulgaonkar and Bhatnagar committees into the affairs of the Government Housing Factory would be laid on the Table of the House as soon as the future of the prefabricated housing factory was considered and a decision arrived at in the matter. But even to-day after the details have been submitted by the Minister of Works, Production and Supply about Government plans for this factory, we find that neither report has been made public nor is it placed on the Table of the House. The question was also raised last year in this House about taking legal proceedings against the British firm, that is the Structural and Mechanical Engineers Ltd. London, for non-fulfilment of the contract for the manufacture of these houses. What decision was taken on this matter God alone knows. At any rate, the reports of these committees must be laid on the Table of the House so that we may be in a position to know who gave wrong advice and why the culprits have gone unpunished so far.

Next, I come to a matter which has been agitating the people a great deal during the last few months, and that is the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the Civil Aviation Department. This has been highlighted by the recent accidents, one in Dum-Dum and the other in Nagpur, and there have been various allegations in the press that the whole method of training and testing of pilots and other cognate matters is not going on satisfactorily. I understand that the Government of India have stopped the subsidy to the Bombay Flying Club at Juhu because of certain mal-administration in the Club, and as a consequence of that the training of pilots is suffering. I also understand that last year the

Government of India sanctioned a very ambitious and useful scheme for giving an "All-through Course" for flying at the Civil Aviation Training Centre at Allahabad. Such a course would have naturally to impart training from the earliest stages for the new cadets. But the Director General of Civil Aviation who was formerly a police officer in the U.P. has appointed to this Centre as Chief Flying Instructor a person who had got a licence only a few months earlier. It was hardly proper for an appointment to such an important post to have such a person. The Training Centre at Allahabad is an important Centre and it should be managed by a qualified and efficient man and it should be explained why this particular man has been entrusted with this responsibility. It is absolutely necessary, in view of the recent accidents at Dum-Dum and at Nagpur that a judicial enquiry should be instituted into the causes and the factors responsible for these accidents which did not happen when the Himalayan Aviation was running the night-mail service.

Then I come to one or two matters and I will have done. My hon. friend Prof. Saksena has referred to Jammu and Kashmir and I would not repeat the points that he has made out. But I would certainly say that I hope our troops in Jammu and Kashmir will not in any way lend themselves to be used or exploited for the suppression of or for dealing with the internal disturbances in Jammu and Kashmir. And I would also like to say, before I close, that it is rather a paradox that the Praja Parishad of Kashmir which stands for complete integration of Kashmir with India and even the deletion of Article 370 from the Constitution, should be looked upon as a hostile body; and it behoves Shri Gopalaswami who is known to be a very good conciliator, to bring about better relations between the National Conference and the Praja Parishad of Kashmir so that the future of Kashmir may not be in jeopardy.

The hon. Finance Minister in his speech on the Budget said that inflationary forces had been checked and deflation or disinflation had set in. I do not know to what extent this has been brought about by governmental efforts and to what extent by various international factors. But I must observe that in spite of what he has said, the food position continues to be unsatisfactory and the gap between supply and demand for consumer goods is still in evidence. It

would therefore be necessary for Government to take measures for augmenting the output, not merely of industry but also of agriculture, lest the economy of the country should be imperilled.

One word more, Sir, before I close. The Finance Minister is entering upon a new term of office, what may be called the five crucial years in our Free India or the Republic of India. They are difficult years and the Government will have to act boldly and with imagination and not yield to any conservative forces, social or economic, in this task of achieving the socio-economic revolution or socio-economic democracy in our country. I wish him well and I hope that before he closes his term, at the end of five years, he will leave footprints on the sandy waste of our planned planlessness, unfulfilled pledges and thoughtless expenditure.

Shri R. Velayudhan rose—

Shrimati Renuka Ray (West Bengal): He has been elected to the new House as a communist.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He represents a particular view point in the House. He came as a socialist and is now turned a Communist.

An Hon. Member: He was a Congressite too!

Shri R. Velayudhan: This is the third budget over which I am speaking in this Parliament.....

An Hon. Member: And for a third party too!

Shri R. Velayudhan: I have to tell you that on the previous occasions too I did not support the budgets. I was always a critic of the Government even from the beginning.....

Shri Naziruddin Ahmad (West Bengal): Yes, and very consistent too!

Shri R. Velayudhan: Before I deal with the budget I want to refer to a particular matter about which the hon. Prime Minister spoke the other day in his press conference. Let me tell you that I was trying to understand what was the ideal or ideology behind this particular budget which has been presented in this House by the Finance Minister and was comparing it with the points made by the Prime Minister. The House may remember that the other day when the hon. Prime Minister was speaking at the press conference he mentioned about the economic

policy of India, about Das Capital and of Marxism as counter-revolutionary. I went through the White Paper as also the speech of the Finance Minister made in this House and I have been trying to convince myself about the economic policy which the Government has been following for the last five years.

In the first budget it was said that the Budget was a welfare Budget. At the time of the second budget when the Prime Minister spoke he said that he believed in a mixed economy and that was what the Government was following.

What is the third budget that the Finance Minister has presented to the House?

Shrimati Renuka Ray: It is the same as last year.

Shri R. Velayudhan: It is not the same as last year. I say it is a capitalist's budget, the budget of an exploiter or a banker's Budget.

An Hon. Member: He means a bank magnate.

Shri J. R. Kapoor (Uttar Pradesh): Bankrupt.

Shri R. Velayudhan: What does the budget do for the common man? Have you got any plan? Of course there is a Five Year Plan about which the Government talks so much but as far as the plan is concerned the people have not taken it seriously. We are certain that the Government is not going to implement it, even if it wants to, though it is only a capitalists' plan. What is the condition of India? They have during the last four years led the country into an economic mess. We are forced to be the stooge of the Anglo-American bloc. How much loan have you taken from America during the last three years? 300 million dollars from U.S.A. and the International Bank.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: When was it?

Shri R. Velayudhan: Your budget says that. First 50 million, then 190 wheat loan and 62 million from the International Bank. I say that this method of taking loan from one bloc has created an impression throughout the country that you are taking the country towards the Anglo-American bloc. Is it not a serious thing? It affects not only the economy of India but the social order that we are going to adopt in the country in future.

[Shri R. Velayudhan]

Now what is your foreign policy? Is it independent? The hon. Prime Minister repeatedly said that he is neutral and his was an independent foreign policy. (*Interruption*). Whatever comes from London, Whitehall or Washington is the foreign policy of India today.

Then what is his domestic policy? It is a policy of repression, there is police raj in the country. Why do Government want the loans from America or the Anglo-American bloc? It is to suppress us. We saw the infiltration that had taken place in China and there is a similar type of infiltration in this country also by the Anglo-American Bloc. This has been going on for the last four years. We thought that the Prime Minister would follow an independent foreign policy. We had confidence in him and we thought that he will not ruin the country or sell away the country. But now I fear, not only myself but the whole intelligentsia of the country feel that the Prime Minister has practically sold away India to the Anglo-American bloc.

The Finance Minister says that he is very proud that he has achieved something in the domestic economy of the country. Take for example.....

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Have I said that I am proud, that I have achieved something?

Shri R. Velayudhan: You have made a statement through the White Paper and I thought you were proud of your achievement, because you said that the price of materials has fallen to a great extent and the impression created was.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member will address the Chair.

Shri R. Velayudhan: And the impression created was that inflation has been prevented and at the same time there has been development in the agricultural and industrial production. But whom has this benefited? Is it the common man in the country, the lower middle classes, the poor man or the Harijan in the country who was benefited. No, Sir. It has only benefited the rich. You have made the rich richer. (*An Hon. Member:* No. no.). That is the benefit of your administration for the last four years.

I want to speak about one or two more points. Mr. Alagesan mentioned about the Governor's or Rajpramukh's administration in Madras or Travancore-Cochin State. As one who comes

from Travancore-Cochin and who has been elected to this Parliament.....

Shrimati Renuka Ray: It was by Congress four years ago.

Shri R. Velayudhan: Not by the Congress but by the party that is going to come into power after five years. I say it from this bench, just as I told last year that I am going to come here again though nobody could believe it. And I know the Hon. Lady Member has not been returned to Parliament this time.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: It is the party that counts and not individuals.

Shri R. Velayudhan: I have to say a few words about my State. What is the threat which has been given to my State? The threat is this. An officer of the States Ministry has been sent to my State to enquire how the State should be taken over by the Centre. That is the report he himself gave to the Press reporters at Ernakulam. Mr. Buch has given that statement there. Now, why is it that this Rajpramukh's rule is going to take place in my State? Is it because Congress has been utterly defeated in my State? Can there not be any other Ministry than a Congress Ministry in any State in India? The alternative is only police administration: that is the threat, either a Congress Ministry or the President's rule, not any other Ministry at any cost. Then, what is the other trick that is being played by the States Ministry? It has given instructions—that is what the Press reports say, and it is common knowledge everywhere—it has given instructions to the Rajpramukh that no party should be allowed to form a Ministry unless it has a clear majority.

An Hon. Member: What is wrong about it?

Shri R. Velayudhan: If only the Member can understand what is meant by a "clear majority"! Speaking in terms of the number of seats in my State, we have got 108 seats in the local legislature: out of that you must have at least 55 and that party which has 55 alone can form a Ministry.

An Hon. Member: Is not that democratic?

Shri R. Velayudhan: Any party that can control a majority over the other should be given the task. That is the democratic procedure, that is the constitutional procedure. There

is no written constitution saying that only a party that has got a clear majority can form a Ministry. Why were all these hurdles raised? Were they raised purposely, deliberately to curb the other parties who have come out successful in the election?

Shri T. Husain (Bihar): No, that is not the intention.

Shri R. Velayudhan: I want to bring one more point before this House. Now, you yourself objected when Mr. Kamath said that Mr. Morarji Desai is coming as Chief Minister of Bombay as it is a subject for the State. I may say there are cases in this House also. Defeated candidates were sent as Governors or as Lieutenant-Governors. Is it a democratic practice? It was a kick on the back or a slap on the face of democracy. Where have you seen such kind of democracy at work? Defeated Members are going as Governors and Lieutenant-Governors or even as Chief Ministers. Have you not got men in your party, men who have come out successful in the election? Why cannot the defeated men be given some administrative jobs? I do not mind if they are given administrative jobs on Rs. 3000 or 4000, or even sent as Ambassadors, but why should Government appoint them as Governors or Chief Ministers? They are becoming heads of States and that is why I say it is against democratic practice. It is a mockery of democracy, that is what my friend, Mr. Kamath says now. Of course, I have used stronger words than what he has used. It is not a democratic state that we are having today. My only humble request to the Treasury Bench is that if they want a democratic state in India they should desist from this policy.

An Hon. Member: Only communism?

Shri R. Velayudhan: Of course, communism is going to come in this country and in the next five years you are going to see it in this country. If you want democracy in India I think a thoroughly different policy will have to be followed by the Government. And instead of giving chances to a foreign Power to penetrate this country, why should we not stand on our own legs, why not we improve our social structure and make a new social order? It is a plain fact that we cannot go away from democracy, we cannot go away from a new socialistic structure in the world. The capitalist order has gone, it has gone

for good, and therefore a new order will have to come into India. This Government represents a particular interest: they represent the capitalist's interest and they want to retain it. That is a fruitless effort and I say those people who want to perpetuate capitalism in the country are going to ruin themselves.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Prof. K. T. Shah. Before the hon. Member begins I would say that I would like a larger number of Ministers must be here. Though it may be a caretaker Budget a number of points are made—about the States Ministry and other Ministries also. Some of the hon. Ministers are taking notes for others, but why should not the others be there unless they are absent from the town?

Shri Thirumala Rao: We are present, eight of us.

The Deputy Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Karmakar): One or two are preoccupied but we are taking notes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Unless they are preoccupied elsewhere or have gone outside the town they should be here to hear the Budget speeches.

Prof. K. T. Shah (Bihar): Ever since I have found myself obliged to adopt the role of a critic of this Government, I have tried to avoid opposition for its own sake. I have also wished to save myself from the usual criticism to which I was very much accustomed in the previous regime that the criticism is unhelpful; and I have, therefore, tried every time I had occasion to participate in this debate to put forward suggestions which, given a measure of sympathy, might be regarded as constructive even if they were not fully adopted.

Speaking today on perhaps what might be my last utterance in this House, I do not wish to depart from that policy, even though I have to offer certain suggestions which may not prove quite acceptable. In doing so, I would like to begin by reminding the Finance Minister of a promise given more than five years ago of a Taxation Enquiry Committee which has still to be appointed. Our system of taxation is not as scientific as it might be and it needs to be overhauled, reconsidered under charged circumstances, and re-adapted to our new mode of life. That cannot be done

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merely by *ad hoc* changes or improvements; but it needs to be carefully considered, scientifically advised upon and systematically carried out. I do not know whether the Finance Minister still maintains that desire or will hold to that promise of his predecessor. Speaking for myself, I think, Sir, that when one looks at the whole picture of public finance in India, including not merely the finances of the Central Government, but also of the State Governments, many of them innocent of proper budgeting more than some five years ago, and certainly all of them needing the helpful advice of scientific considerations of the entire revenue system of this Government, one feels the need for such an enquiry indisputable.

On past occasions in the previous regime. I had frequently occasion to point out the very chaotic condition, which inevitably resulted from the distinction that that regime imposed on more than two inseparable items that ought to be, in my judgment, simultaneously and sympathetically considered by the same body in order to provide a proper picture. I am particularly referring not only to the Revenue or expenditure side of the Budget, whether of the Centre or of the States, but also the credit policy in general; the borrowing and the application of borrowed monies, whether from the country itself or outside; and, in connection therewith, also the currency policy of the State; so that the entire economy of the country may be correlated and integrated, as we are told, in a properly planned economy. I consider that it is highly necessary not to disjoin the several points that I just referred to, as had been the practice in the past, as these require to be carefully considered if we want a coordinated picture. And for this purpose I would suggest, with all the earnestness at my command that it is high time a proper National Finance Committee is appointed to advise upon all these matters not only from the point of just raising money or meeting the ordinary administrative charges, but also so handling the public finance of the country as to minister to the greatest good of the greatest number and also to make the entire economy of the country as integrated and correlated as your Plan would require, and as our hopes would demand.

There is one other aspect also in this connection which I would like to touch upon, and that is with re-

gard to the division of resources and obligations as between the units and the Centre. At the time we framed the Constitution and made this distribution we were, if I may say so, unduly impressed with a desire to strengthen the Centre even perhaps at the expense of the States. I held the view, however, and I used to put it forward when the Constitution was going through this House—that true, real working democracy, that is to say, the Government of the people, for the people, and by the people,—will not fully be established, unless the units which compose a federation like ours are also given, not only sufficient and adequate resources but also enabled to share certain obligations of their own which they should meet from their own resources or by their own ingenuity. As I view the system of Indian finance today, I feel that the units are by no means given the chance and scope for their self-expression, for their own efforts, to develop and regulate their own expenditure, to the extent that a real democracy will and should demand. The cry was raised here by one of the Hon. Members who spoke earlier about the need for certain items of revenue being made over to West Bengal or any other State. If this problem is examined as it should be from a really constructive point of view so as to make democracy active and working, a democracy in which every citizen should take the keenest interest, a live interest, then it would be of the utmost importance that the system of division between the Centre and the States in respect of taxes and expenditure should be viewed collectively, comprehensively, and readjusted to meet this idea. It is not a matter in my opinion merely of distributing certain items or re-distributing certain obligations. It is a matter fundamentally of making democracy live; of making the people appreciate their requirements, their own line of development; and as such encourage them, stimulate them, to find their own ways and means.

I have come to know, for instance, that in States where previously there were no democratic institutions or hardly a name of them, and where now self-governing institutions have been installed, they shrink from any desire to impose burdens upon themselves and so provide services for themselves which are indispensable, but depend on grants from the Centre if they are to deserve the name of civilised administrations. And yet

without the people learning to shoulder their own burdens, without the people ceasing to be spoon-fed from the Centre, as it seems to be the fashion today, I do not think that a real, working democracy will be established in this country.

It is for this reason also, therefore, that it becomes imperative, without much loss of time, that a comprehensive investigation of the type I have been suggesting should be taken in hand. It may take some time. It should not be by such bodies or institutions as we already have like the Finance Commission, which has been given a specifically statutory role which is not the role that I am suggesting ought to be the case. It is also necessary to do this from another standpoint, though not departing from my general view, to bring about a working democracy in this country both in the material as well as in the cultural sense.

You have been hearing in this House time and again about the heavy burden of the elections. If I remember correctly, it was recently suggested that something like Rs. 10 crores was the cost of the election to the Central Government. This is apart from the cost incurred by the candidates, successful or otherwise. And those figures, may I tell you in all sincerity, will not be true figures, because from my personal experience I know that the actual cost, particularly for independent candidates, is very much more than is legally permissible, just because they might take seriously their task of educating the electorate, and making the electorate cast their votes according to the full realisation of the obligation and responsibility they have for governing themselves. The matter is not a matter of individual complaint or personal burdens; it is a matter that concerns the whole country in this sense that unless steps are taken, the election will become a tool only of excessively rich people who can afford to throw away large sums of money or who can make good such money spent without scruple by the opportunities they get by being Members of Parliament. I do think this is a very serious matter. It is not merely that the rich people may have a chance. It is possible that good party Members will also have a chance, but then too lies the risk and I hope my words will not be misunderstood by the other side. If that happens, only one party may

come to predominate and the overwhelming importance of one party is a very easy road to the corresponding increase of one man's influence and therefore the negation of working democracy. I trust, Sir, speaking as I do on perhaps the last occasion of this kind, that this eventuality may not arise; that my apprehensions may prove unfounded. But as I have given to myself the task of raising a warning finger or a warning voice, I cannot help adding these words and trust that I would not be misunderstood. There are many people who have the misfortune of studying closely and critically such matters and giving some thought over them. They may not be appreciated by their contemporaries, but along with the ancient classical poet, I can only content myself by saying:

उत्प्लव्यते ममनु कोपि समानधर्मा
कालोऽग्निज्ञाघे विपुला चपुष्पी ।

Maulvi Wajed Ali (Assam): I must congratulate the hon. the Finance Minister for presenting a very sound and healthy Budget with a big closing balance. I also welcome the fact that there has been no fresh taxation for the coming year, or at any rate during the period for which we have been asked to vote. At the same time, I feel that certain reliefs may have been given to the poor. For example, the Posts and Telegraphs Department has shown a surplus. By way of relief, some reduction could have been made in the price of postcards and envelopes. I would have welcomed if a provision had been made in the Budget for the backward and tribal areas in Assam. In the recent elections to the Assam State Assembly, the Naga tribals have twice refused to stand for election and have been claiming for independence. They interviewed the hon. the Prime Minister when he recently visited Assam in December last. If more provisions had been made for these backward and tribal areas in the Budget, it would have been an incentive to these people.

I am sorry to note that the financial arrangement under Articles 273 and 275 of the Constitution has remained as they are pending the report of the Finance Commission. The State of Assam is getting Rs. 30 lakhs as contribution and Rs. 40 lakhs as share of jute export duty; they are also getting 3% of the divisible pool of the Income tax. Assam, as

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the House knows, is the poorest of the States in India, though it is one of the Part A States since 1921, the inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. In spite of tapping all sources of revenue, it is carrying its budget deficits every year. Therefore, pending the enquiry of the Finance Commission, which is not expected to finish its labours within a year or so, the Finance Minister could have been more liberal in giving some extra grants to the State of Assam under Article 275 of the Constitution.

The Finance Commission has already begun its work and Assam's case has been already submitted to it—I myself submitted a humble memorandum. I hope that the case of Assam which needs very careful and liberal understanding will be very carefully considered by the Finance Commission. Assam is the second largest jute producing State in India. So far as tea is concerned, being the province producing the largest quantity of tea, it contributes the bulk of the tea excise and tea export duty to the Centre. It is the only petroleum and kerosene producing State in India. All these matters, I hope, will be considered by the Finance Commission and full justice done to the claims of Assam.

Shri Tyagi: Did my friend take note of the refund of excise duty on all tea which is exported outside and most of the tea grown in Assam is exported?

Maulvi Wajed Ali: The export duty is four annas a pound. The refund excise duty is realised in the shape of Export Duty, when exported. Moreover it brings much needed sterling to the Centre.

Shri Tyagi: Of which three annas is returned.

Maulvi Wajed Ali: I again congratulate the hon. the Finance Minister for his able budget and hope that the matter which I have brought to the notice of the House will receive his consideration.

Shri Sivan Pillay (Travancore-Cochin): One notable feature in the revised estimate for 1951-52 is that there is a surplus of about Rs. 66½ crores. The expectation for the year was only Rs. 26.10 crores and the increase is to the extent of Rs. 92.61 crores. The increase in

revenue has been mainly from customs and import duties and the hon. the Finance Minister takes satisfaction in that things are improving in the country. The Finance Minister says that this substantial transfer of purchasing power from the hands of the public to the exchequer helped to hold inflation in check and quotes the index number of wholesale prices which showed a rise up to April 1951 and now has shown a decrease up to January 1952. It is true, Sir, but my question is: has any substantial decrease been registered in the index number of the cost of living of the people of this country? As far as that is concerned, what we find is that there is really no substantial decrease in the cost of living. Unless we are able to bring down the cost of living of the masses of this country, this surplus or this improved position has no meaning for the common man.

In this connection I am reminded of a sentence in a speech by my late father in the Assembly of Travancore when he said: "Inflated revenues are as much a sign of prosperity as elephantiasis is a sign of muscular development." My submission is if only this inflated revenues are used for the amelioration of the people at large can we have any satisfaction in this respect? In this connection I would like to refer to the change in policy in regard to food subsidies. The price of food is the main factor which affects the cost of living. These subsidies were given to the States in order that they may be able to reduce the cost of living in those areas where food is deficit. This year a change of policy was made to the effect that only in industrial towns will this subsidy be given and in other places no subsidy will be given. Though as far as the State which I have the honour to represent was treated differently, the other deficit areas in this country were refused subsidy. Members on this side really fought for these subsidies being revived and we really hoped that at least in this Budget the subsidy would be extended to all the deficit areas. On the other hand what has happened is that as a policy, food subsidies have been taken away. And so I am one with my hon. friend Mr. Alagesan, when he said that these subsidies should be revived in respect of all deficit areas. In this connection let me thank the Government for considering Travancore-Cochin on a different footing.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may continue his speech after Lunch.

The House then adjourned for Lunch till Three of the Clock.

The House re-assembled after Lunch at Three of the Clock

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Shri Sivan Pillay: So much about the question of food subsidies. I am glad to find that the Planning Commission has recognised the importance of basic and social education; the Government has though very lately also accepted their recommendation. A provision has been made for one crore of rupees initially for the coming year. I hope that this will be continued and basic education will be encouraged so that the present system of education may be put an end to. As regards the planning for the future, I am a person who believes in all round decentralization. I think our experts in the Government who are perhaps true disciples of Marshall and that out dated theory of *laissez faire*, are more concerned with centralized industries than decentralized industries. Perhaps it may be that since we are getting aid from western countries we are following their trodden path. My submission is that if we have any future in this country at all, it is only through decentralization of industries. I ask if it is not possible for the textile Mills at Ahmedabad or Bombay, to split their looms and spindles and spread them over the length and breadth of this country, through the 7 lakhs of villages in this country. I am sure our experts if they have a mind can find—if they do not believe in that great machine which Mahatmaji gave us, the *Charka*—at least a more efficient machine which could be distributed throughout the length and breadth of this country and the most important textile industry be decentralized in that way. Take for example the housing pre-fabrication business. What is the necessity for an industry for producing houses in a Central place? There are materials in our villages. There are artisans in our villages. We can help those artisans and the villagers themselves constructing the houses there; with the materials that they can get in the villages. They can make their bricks there; they can make their tiles there and all these things can be used in the construction in those villages themselves. I do not find any reason why we should have a

centralized industry for the pre-fabrication of houses at all.

Even our Constitution, I think is a monument of centralization. Sometimes I think that it is a pyramid standing on top and instead of democracy starting from the villages in a broad-based fashion, from the village *panchayats*, and the State Governments acting as liaison officers, we are having just as Professor Shah said, more and more spoon-feeding from the top. It seems that even in States where we have got a democratic set-up, the Centre is prepared to send men from here as counsellors or advisers. What is the necessity for that kind of centralization at all? So in my opinion our future lies only in decentralization. One word regarding the attitude of the Government regarding prohibition and I have done.

As regards prohibition, I know it is a State subject but we have been finding very highly placed persons in the Central Government going about speaking very discouragingly of States' introducing or extending prohibition in their areas. My submission is if the criterion is only to make money and administer the States and the Centre in a top heavy fashion, then prohibition may be a failure but if the criterion is the happiness of the largest number of people in this country, I can assert here and now that prohibition is a success. I come from an area where prohibition has been in existence for the last 2 or 3 years and I am one who has been doing prohibition propaganda even before. I know the condition before and now. I can assert with confidence that economically the people in that area are benefited and more than all that there is happiness in their family. With these words, I would request the Central Government to encourage such welfare activities of the States.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Before I call upon other hon. Members, may I know what time the hon. Finance Minister is likely to take, and also if any other hon. Minister is intervening in the debate, so that I may apportion the time and call them accordingly.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I shall take about 40 minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then I will call the hon. Finance Minister at 4-20.

The Minister of States, Transport and Railways (Shri Gopaldaswami): I would like to take only 5 to 8 minutes. Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Very well.

مولانا مسعودی : جناب قومی

اسٹیبلشمنٹ صاحبہ میں اس موقع پر عرض کے لئے کہوا ہوا ہوں کہ جو بجٹ (Budget) اٹھلہ سال کے لئے ہمارے سامنے پیش کیا گیا ہے اس کے بارے میں آنریبل فائلنس منسٹر (Hon. Finance Minister) کو اس امر پر مبارکباد عرض کروں کہ انہوں نے بغیر کسی قسم کا کوئی نیا ٹیکس (tax) ملک پر عائد کئے۔ بجٹ میں تقریباً ۲۵ کروڑ روپیہ کا فائدہ دکھایا ہے۔ اس میں کوئی شبہ نہیں کہ ابھی اس بجٹ کے بارے میں آنے والی پارلیمنٹ کو فور کرنا ہے اور اپنا آخری فیصلہ دینا ہے۔ لیکن جہاں تک اس بجٹ کا تعلق ہے موجودہ پارلیمنٹ اس بات کو فخر کے ساتھ پیش کر سکتی ہے کہ نئی پارلیمنٹ کو چارج (charge) دینے کے وقت ملک کو کسی خسارے میں چھوڑ کر پرانی پارلیمنٹ نہیں گئی۔ بلکہ ایک بہت بڑے فائدے کی شکل میں اپنے آخری بجٹ کو پیش کر کے جا رہی ہے۔

اس سلسلہ میں میں ایک اور بات پر بھی آنریبل فائلنس منسٹر کو مبارکباد دینا چاہتا ہوں اور وہ یہ ہے کہ کچھ مدت سے ادھر ادھر ایسی باتیں ہو رہی تھیں کہ شاید آنے والے بجٹ میں ہمارے ڈیفنس (Defence) کی مدد سے کچھ روپیہ کم کر دیا جائے گا۔ لیکن میں دیکھتا ہوں کہ یہ بات غلط ثابت ہوئی ہے۔ کہوں کہ میں ایک

ایسی ریاست سے تعلق رکھتا ہوں جو ابھی تک جنگ کے میدان میں پوری ہوئی ہے اس لئے یہ کہنا ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ ابھی وہ وقت نہیں آیا جب کہ ہندوستان محض سستے نعروں کی پیروی کرتے ہوئے اپنے ڈیفنس کو کمزور بنا لے یا اس میں کسی قسم کی تخفیف کر دے۔ ابھی وقت اور حالات اس بات کا تقاضا کرتے ہیں کہ ہندوستان کا ڈیفنس زیادہ سے زیادہ مضبوط ہو اور زیادہ سے زیادہ موجودہ دور کے اور نئے ہتھیار سے اس کی فوجیں مسلح ہوں کہوں کہ آج ایسے حالات ہیں جب کہ ہمارے ہندوستان کا وہ حصہ جو کشمیر کہلاتا ہے اس کی سر زمین کا ایک بہت بڑا رقبہ ابھی بھی دشمن کے قبضہ میں ہے۔ یہ ٹھیک ہے کہ ہم اس بات پر کھینچ (commit- ted) ہیں اور ہم نے اس بات کا بار بار اعلان کیا ہے کہ ہم یو۔ این۔ او۔ (U.N.O.) کے ذریعے ہر ممکن صلح آمیز طریقے سے ہی دشمن کے قبضہ میں گئے ہوئے اپنے اس علاقہ کو واپس لے لینے کی کوشش کریں گے۔ لیکن دنیا میں کوئی بھی نہیں کہہ سکتا کہ ہر ایک کوشش جو کی جا رہی ہو وہ لازمی طور پر کامیاب ہی ہو گی۔ ہو سکتا ہے کہ ہماری یہ صلح آمیز کوششیں آگے چل کر کامیاب نہ ہو سکیں اور اس وقت ہمیں قوت بازو سے ہی اپنے چھینے ہوئے وطن کو اور

علاقے کو واپس لینا پڑے۔ ایسے حالات میں کون کہہ سکتا ہے کہ ڈیپنس میں تخفیف اور کمی کرنے کی کوششیں ملک کے بھلے کے لئے ہو سکتی ہیں۔ اور جب میں یہ دیکھتا ہوں کہ اس موجودہ بحث میں کوئی اس قسم کی تخفیف نہیں کی گئی تو میں اپنے آپ کو مضبوط پاتا ہوں اور میں فائلنس منسٹر صاحب کو ایک بار پھر مبارکباد پیش کرتا ہوں۔

اس موقع سے فائدہ اٹھاتے ہوئے آپ کی اجازت سے میں ایک بات کی طرف اشارہ کرنا چاہتا ہوں جس کے بارے میں آج صبح اس ہاؤس میں اس طرف بیٹھنے والے ایک دو آنریبل ممبروں نے تذکرہ کیا ہے اور وہ ہے جموں کی سچوایشن (Jammu situation) میں یہ سمجھنا ہوں کہ جموں کی سچوایشن کے بارے میں میرے کچھ دوستوں نے جو باتیں کہیں ان سے غلط فہمی پیدا ہونے کا اندیشہ ہے۔ اور جس ریاست سے میں آنے کا فخر رکھتا ہوں اس ریاست کے حالات کے بارے میں غلط باتیں دلوں میں بیٹھ سکتی ہیں، میں چاہتا ہوں کہ ان کو صاف کر دیا جائے۔ اولہن بات جو میں ہاؤس (House) کے نوٹس (notice) میں لانا چاہتا ہوں وہ یہ ہے کہ جہاں تک کسی قسم کی ڈسٹربینسز (disturbances) کا تعلق تھا وہ آٹھ فروری کو ہی شروع ہوئی اور دو دن کے اندر اندر ختم ہو

گئی۔ اس وقت جو خبریں اس قسم کی شائع کی جاتی ہیں اور جن پر طبع آزمائی کی جاتی ہے کہ وہاں پر کوئی خاص تحریک چل رہی ہے یا طلباء کی کوئی تحریک ہے۔ یا کسی نے کوئی بھوک ہڑتال کر رکھی ہے اس کی کوئی حقیقت نہیں ہے۔ حقیقت اتنی ہی ہے کہ ۸ فروری کی ڈسٹربینسز (disturbances) میں کچھ لوگ آئے آگے سرکاری دفاتروں پر پتھر مارنے کے لئے ہجوم کو اکسا رہے تھے۔ جن میں سے کچھ لوگوں کو پولیس نے نوٹ کیا اور ان کے نام وارنٹیں (warrants) جاری کئے گئے اور ان میں سے کچھ پتھان کورٹ کے راستے بھاگ کر ادھر چلے آئے اور وہ غیر ذمہ دار اخبارات کے دفاتروں میں جاتے ہیں اور بعض لوگوں سے ملے ہیں اور سچو جہرتی خبریں پھیلاتے ہیں جن کی کوئی حقیقت نہیں۔ جہاں تک اس بات کا تعلق ہے کہ وہاں اختلاف کسی طرح کا ہے تو اس کی حقیقت بھی آپ حضرات بخوبی جانتے ہیں۔ آپ کو معلوم ہے کہ جس وقت ایک طرف سے لٹائلوں نے کشمیر پر حملہ کر رکھا تھا تو چلدا ایسے ہی انسان جموں میں تھے چلہوں نے سلگھ پارٹی سے تعلق رکھنے کی وجہ سے قتل و غارت اور لوٹ و مار میں حصہ لیا۔ آج اس وقت پوچھا پریشد کے نام سے جو لوگ پکڑے جاتے ہیں یہ وہی لوگ ہیں چلہوں نے ۲۷ مہن براہ راست بے گناہ انسانوں

[مولانا مسعودی]

کے لوٹنے میں اور مکانوں کو جلانے میں حصہ لیا اور آج بھی ابھی تک ان کی وہی ذمہ داری ہے۔ اگر عوام کا کوئی طبقہ بھی ان کا ساتھ دیتا تو یقیناً وہ کوئی نہ کوئی فتنہ کر سکتے تھے۔ لیکن یہ اطمینان کی بات ہے عوام ان کو ابھی کیا اسی وقت سے پوری طرح سمجھ چکا ہے اور وہ ان معاملات میں ان کا ساتھ نہیں دیتا ہے۔ آپ کو علم ہے کہ ان لوگوں نے نہ صرف اس وقت ایسی حرکتیں کیں جن سے پاکستان نے یو۔ این۔ او۔ اور اور مقامات پر جا کر فائدہ اٹھایا اور کہا کہ وہاں مسلمانوں کو قتل کیا گیا ہے (اور یہ ایک ایسی چھڑی تھی جو اس پارٹی کے فتنہ کے نتائج میں سے ہے) بلکہ آج بھی وہ لوگ جب اس قسم کی حرکتیں کرتے ہیں تو پاکستان زیادہ سے زیادہ فائدہ اٹھاتا ہے۔ آپ نے سنا ہو گا کہ جس وقت یہ ۸ فروری کا واقعہ ہوا تو پاکستان سے اور اس کے ریڈیو سے خبریں شائع ہی گئیں کہ جنوں میں بم برسائے گئے ہیں اور کئی سو آدمی مارے گئے ہیں اور وہاں فوج نے نصف شہر کو ختم کر دیا ہے اور وہاں یہ ہوا ہے اور وہ ہوا ہے۔ یہ سوچئے کہ آخر پاکستان کی اس سے کیا فرس تھی—کیا پاکستان والے نہیں جانتے تھے کہ چھوٹی خبریں اڑانے سے بدنام ہوں گے۔ لیکن وہ ان لوگوں کی حرکتوں سے فائدہ اٹھا رہے تھے۔ ان کا مقصد تھا کہ

اگر صوبہ کشمیر میں کوئی پاکستانی ہوں اور وہ کوئی فتنہ کر سکتے ہوں تو وہ بھی اس موقع سے فائدہ اٹھائیں اور جس وقت وہ پاکستانی یہ سلیں کہ جنوں میں اس قسم کے واقعات ہو گئے ہیں کہ پرجا پریشد وہاں کی عبداللہ سرکار کا تختہ ہی الٹ دیتی ہے تو وہ بھی صوبہ کشمیر میں اس قسم کی کوئی حرکت کریں جن سے پاکستان کو فائدہ پہنچے۔ یہ اس قسم کے لوگ ہیں پرجا پریشد والے۔ اور وہ کس چیز کی آڑ لیتے ہیں اس بات کی کہ ایک جھنڈا کیوں لہرا دیا تھا حالانکہ یہ کرئی نئی بات نہ تھی۔ آپ نے سنا ہو گا جیسا کہ پچھلے دنوں پرائم منسٹر نے واضح فرمایا تھا کہ ریاست جنوں و کشمیر میں دو جھنڈے ہیں۔ جن سے لوگوں کو پھار ہے۔ ایک تو سارے ملک کی ریپبلک (Republic) کا جھنڈا ہے یعنی ہندوستان کا توڑنا جس کی ہر ایک موقع اور مقام پر عزت کی جاتی ہے اور جو بڑے بڑے موقع ہوتے ہیں ان پر لہرایا جاتا ہے۔ لیکن عام موقعوں پر چھوٹی موٹی جگہوں مقامی تقریبات پر جو وہاں کی تحریک آزادی کا جھنڈا ہے وہ لہرایا جاتا ہے۔ یہ وہ جھنڈا ہے جس میں کسی پارٹی یا مذہب یا کسی شخص کے ساتھ تعاقب والی کوئی علامت نہیں ہے۔ یہ ایک لال رنگ کا جھنڈا ہے۔ منکھت کھن انسانوں کا جھنڈا ہے اس جھنڈے

کے بارے میں ہر ایک آدمی کو یہ سمجھایا جاتا ہے کہ انسان چاہے مغرب کا ہو یا مشرق کا - کسی مذہب کا ہو - رنگ کا کالا ہو یا سفید - زرد ہو یا سرخ - کسی بھی شخص کو جو جب اس کے خون کا قطرہ نکالا جاتا ہے تو وہ سب لال ہے اور یہی خون زندگی کی اصلی حقیقت ہے جو سب میں مشترک اور واحد ہے - سب کا خون لال ہوتا ہے اور اس رشتہ کو سب تسلیم کرتے ہیں - اور جو نشان جموں و کشمیر کا رکھا ہوا ہے وہ محض کشوں کا نشان ہے - کسی خاص فرقے یا پارٹی کی کوئی چیز نہیں ہے - کسی مذہب کی کوئی چیز نہیں ہے - صرف ایک لال جھنڈا ہے جو نہ صرف آج سے بلکہ پچھلے ۱۵ سال سے چلا آ رہا ہے جس کے ذریعہ مسٹر جناح اور ان کے پاکستان کا مقابلہ نیشنل کانفرنس نے کیا ہے - جس وقت مسٹر جناح وہاں آئے اور انہوں نے آ کر وہاں کشمیریوں کو لہک کی طرف کنورٹ (convert) کرنا چاہا اس وقت بھی یہ لال رنگ والا ہل کا جھنڈا تھا جس کو ہاتھ میں لے کر نیشنل کانفرنس نے ان کا مقابلہ کیا - اور جس وقت قبائلیوں نے بے گناہ لوگوں پر گولیاں چلانا شروع کیں اس وقت بھی ہزاروں اور لاکھوں ماں بہنوں کی عزت اور ہزاروں اور لاکھوں بڑھے اور بچوں کی جانیں اس جھنڈے کے نیچے نیشنل کانفرنس نے بچائیں اور اس کے نیچے کانفرنس کے سربراہوں نے

عبدالحمید نے مظفر آباد میں اور مقبول شیروانی نے بارہ مولا میں گولیاں کھائیں اور عوام میں کوئی بھی جماعت ایسی نہیں ہے جو اس کو ناپسند کرتی ہو -

اس لئے اس جھنڈے کا تو محض بہانہ لیا جاتا ہے - میں اپنے دوست ممبروں سے اور ان کے علاوہ ان کے ذریعہ باقی لوگوں سے بھی اس امر کی اپیل کرتا ہوں کہ جہاں تک اس معاملہ کا تعلق ہے اس کو کچھ پارٹیاں ایکسپلوٹ (exploit) کر رہی ہیں اپنے شخصی اور ذاتی فائدے اٹھانے کے لئے - ان چھڑوں سے ہندوستان کو ہمارے ملک کو - ہمارے ققبلیس کو اور ہمارے اندرونی امن کو - کسی چیز کو کوئی کسی قسم کا فائدہ بھی نہیں ہو سکتا ہے - اس لئے بجائے اس کے کہ ہم سنی سوائی ہانہیں غیر ذمہ دار انسانوں کے ذریعہ سن کو ان کے کہنے میں آ جائیں اور ہاوس میں آ کر اس قسم کی پارٹیوں کی ہمت افزائی کریں جو مقامی طور پر بھی خطرناک ہیں اور پورے ملک کے لئے بھی خطرناک ہیں اور جن کی حرکتوں سے محض دشمن فائدہ اٹھا رہا ہے - ایسی چیز سے ہمن اجتناب کرنا چاہئے -

پچھلے دنوں وہاں پر ایک بڑے بھاری نمو دار ناسہ نثار موجود تھے اور

[مولانا مسعودی]

انہوں نے پرچا پریشد کے لہذریں سے ملاقات کی اور ان کے نوٹس میں یہ چیز لٹے کہ آپ نے اور پرچا پریشد کی ان حرکتوں سے اور باتوں سے پاکستان والے فائدہ اٹھاتے ہیں۔ آپ یہاں اس طرح کی باتوں کرتے ہیں اور وہاں پاکستان والے اس کا فائدہ اٹھا کر ہندوستان کے خلاف دنیا میں پروپیگنڈا (propaganda) کرتا ہے۔ اور آپ اس چہرے کو نہیں سوچتے کہ اس سے ہندوستان اور کشمیر کے قہقہوں کو نقصان پہنچتا ہے۔ تو پرچا پریشد کے صدر نے اس بات کو تسلیم کیا اور تسلیم کرنے کے بعد آخری جواب جو انہوں نے دیا وہ صرف اتنا تھا کہ یہ تھیک ہے کہ فائدہ پاکستان کو پہنچتا ہے بہت آئی کاٹ ہیلت (But I can't help it) ات ظاہر ہے کہ ایسے لوگوں کی حمایت کرنا بالکل بے فائدہ بات ہے۔ میں ان الفاظ کے ساتھ جناب والا آپ کا زیادہ وقت نہ لیتے ہوئے پھر ایک بار اس بحث کے لئے آنریبل فائلڈس ملسٹر کو مبارکباد پیش کرتا ہوں اور اپنی تقریر ختم کرتا ہوں۔

(English translation of the above speech)

Maulana Masoodi (Jammu and Kashmir): Sir, I stand to congratulate the hon. Minister of Finance for presenting this Budget which shows a surplus of about twenty-five crores of rupees without imposing any new taxes whatsoever. There is no doubt that this Budget is yet to be considered by the new Parliament and as such is still to be finalised. But with all that this Parliament has

nothing but pride in presenting such a budget because it fairly shows that this House has not left the finances of the country dwindling at a time when it was going to hand over its charge to the new House. But on the other hand it is leaving a surplus budget for the successor Parliament.

I would like to congratulate the hon. Minister of Finance for one thing more and it is that the rumours regarding a possible reduction in our defence budget this year have been falsified. I specially mentioned it because I come from a State which still is a war zone and as such I find it necessary to say that the time is not ripe when India should make a reduction in her defence forces being influenced by the cheap slogans of the day. Time and circumstances demand that our defence should be as strong as possible and our forces should be equipped with the most up-to-date arms. It is so because a large area of Kashmir which is a part of India is still under the enemy occupation. It is true that we have declared time and again that we would try to get this area liberated from the enemy hands with the help of the peaceful machinery of the U.N.O.; but nobody can say that every effort made will necessarily be crowned with success. May be that our peaceful endeavours may not succeed in the long run; then of course, we may have to resort to force to get back the enemy occupied area which forms a part of our land. Under these circumstances none can suggest that any reduction in our defence forces at this time would be in the interests of the country. Again when I see that no cut has been made in the Defence Budget a sense of relief comes over me and I thank the hon. Minister of Finance once more.

Sir, with your permission I would like to avail myself of this opportunity and like to throw some light on what one or two of our hon. Members sitting on the opposite benches referred to as the 'Jammu situation'. I am afraid their words may create some misunderstanding in the public mind and give a bad impression about the State from which I have the honour to come. I want that those impressions should be cast off. The first thing that I want to bring to the notice of this House is that so far as the question of any disturbances is concerned, they ended one or two days after they had started on 8th February. There is no truth whatsoever in the reports that are being publicised and commented upon here that some definite movement, some movement of the students or of hunger strikers—is going on there.

The truth is only this much that on the 8th February when the disturbances started some persons were inciting the crowd to pelt stones on the Government offices. Police noted down the names of some such persons and warrants of arrest were issued against them. Some of them managed to run away from Kashmir via Pathankot. Now they have taken refuge in the offices of the irresponsible newspapers and see some persons here and there thus spreading reports which are far from truth. So far as the question of any difference of opinion is concerned, you know, Sir, what sort of difference it is. You may be knowing that when the tribesmen attacked Kashmir on the one side there were some persons connected with the R.S.S. movement in Jammu busy in loot, arson and murder. The party which is known as the Praja Parishad today is composed of those very persons who directly indulged in loot, arson and murder of a number of innocent persons. Their mentality is unchanged even today. Had any section of the population co-operated with them they would not have hesitated in creating some major mischief. But this is a matter of relief that the people understand them fully well and do not help them in their activities. Sir, you know that Pakistan took advantage of their activities not only at that time and said that Muslims were being killed there, (and this was one of the things which resulted from the mischiefs of this party) but even at this time they make capital out of it in U.N.O. and other places whenever that party resorts to such nefarious activities. You might have heard that when these incidents took place there, the Radio Pakistan broadcast the news that Jammu was bombed and several hundred persons were killed there; it further announced that the Military has ruined half the city and all that. Please think for a while what after all were the intentions of Pakistan in doing so. Didn't they know that they would only come to disrepute by spreading such false and unauthenticated reports? Of course they knew it but they were only making capital out of the activities of these persons. Their aim was to incite Pro-Pakistan elements, if there were any, in the Kashmir Province and encourage them by spreading alarming reports that Abdulla Government was overthrown by the Praja Parishad in Jammu and that now was the time for them to indulge in such nefarious activities in the Kashmir Province as may ultimately benefit Pakistan. This is the fold to which these Praja Parishad people belong. And see what they have picked up as a cause of their action,

the unfurling of a flag which was not a new thing. You might have heard, as the hon. Prime Minister told you some days back, that two flags are used in the State of Jammu and Kashmir and which enjoy equal esteem of the people of that place. One is that of the Indian Republic i.e., the tricolour of India which is honoured on every occasion and at every place and is unfurled on major functions or celebrations. But in addition to it one more flag, under which the people of Kashmir have fought for their freedom, is also displayed on general occasions and in local functions. This is a flag which has nothing in it to make it a flag of any particular party, community or individual. This is a red flag—a flag of toiling humanity. With regard to this flag it has been made clear that every person whether he comes from the East or the West has red blood in his veins not withstanding his colour of the skin, whether it be black or white, yellow or red. All of them possess red blood which is the essence of life and which is a symbol of the inherent oneness of man. So the symbol which we have chosen for the State of Jammu and Kashmir is the symbol of toiling masses. This has nothing to do with any particular community, party or religion. There is only one red flag which is being used for the last fifteen years. The National Conference fought Mr. Jinnah and his Pakistan with this very flag. When he had come to Kashmir and tried to convert the Kashmiris to the League ideology, the National Conference had fought him with this very weapon—the red flag with the symbol of a plough on it and when the tribesmen attacked Kashmir the National Conference saved the lives and honour of hundreds and thousands of women, children and the aged under this very flag. And it was under this very flag that veterans like Master Abdul Aziz and Maqbool Sherwani of the Conference laid down their lives facing the bullets of the enemy. And I may say there is no section of population which dislikes this flag.

So this flag controversy is only a sham excuse. I would appeal to the hon. Members and through them to the public that so far as the Jammu affair is concerned, some persons and groups are exploiting it in their own interest and this will in no way benefit India, our country and its defence. Such things would be beneficial neither to our internal peace nor to anything else. So it would be better not to pay any heed to things which come from the irresponsible

[Maulana Masuodi]

persons. It is also desirable not to be led away by their utterances and give any encouragement to the parties whose activities are a threat not only to the internal peace but to the security of the country as well.

A prominent Press correspondent visited Jammu some time back. He saw the Praja Parishad leaders and brought it to their notice that their activities and statements were serving no purpose other than helping Pakistan. He also told them that Pakistan made capital out of their statements and did propaganda against India in the foreign countries. He told them that this weakened the defence not only of Kashmir but of India as a whole. The President of the Praja Parishad agreed with what the correspondent said but at the same time told him, "Well it is true that it helped Pakistan, but I can't help it."

Apparently it is no use to lend support to such persons. Sir, I congratulate the hon. Minister of Finance once more for presenting this budget.

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंब : जनाब डिप्टी स्पीकर साहब, वक्त बहुत थोड़ा है इस वास्ते में मुस्तसरन चन्द बातों की तरफ इस मौके पर तवज्जह दिलाना चाहता हूँ।

सब से अब्बल में यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक रिफ्यूजीज (refugees) का सवाल है, सरकार बहुत दिनों से उनको यह उम्मीद दिलाती आई है कि उन को मुआविजा मिलेगा और चूँकि बजट में बचत हुई है, इसलिये यह और भी जरूरी हो जाता है कि सरकार को याद दिलाया जाय कि आखिर रिफ्यूजीज को कोई मुआविजा उसे देना है। अब की मर्तबा बजट में जो सरकार को बचत हुई है, उतने की खुद फ़ाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब को उम्मीद नहीं थी और मैं कहूँगा कि इस क्रमरूपया जो ज़ायद आप को मिला है उस में से सारा या एक ज्यादा हिस्सा निकाल कर

रिफ्यूजीज को कम्पेनसेशन (compensation) के हिस्से में डाल कर मदद कर सकते हैं और इस वक्त यह एक मौका आया है और मालूम नहीं फिर कब ऐसा मौका आये। और मैं अब से अर्ज करूँगा कि इस का पूरा फ़ायदा उठा कर इस में से सारा या एक अच्छा हिस्सा कम्पेनसेशन फण्ड में डाल देना चाहिये।

दूसरी बात जो मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि जेसा शाह साहब न फ़रमाया और मैं उस में शामिल हूँ कि शक्कर, गुड़ और सीमेंट को सरकार को फ़ौरन डिक्न्ट्रोल (decontrol) कर देना चाहिये और आज कोई वजह नहीं दिखाई देती कि इन चीज़ों को डिक्न्ट्रोल न किया जाय। पिछले साल से हम सुनते चले आये हैं कि सीमेंट डिक्न्ट्रोल होगा, लेकिन आज तक वह डिक्न्ट्रोल नहीं हो सका। आज खांड की कीमत बराबर गिर रही है और गुड़ का भाव तो नीचे गिर कर आठ रुपये मन पहुंच गया है और नहीं मालूम प्रोड्यूसर्स बेचारों का क्या बनेगा। जहाँ तक इन चीज़ों के कन्ट्रोल का सवाल है वह कायम नहीं रखना चाहिये। आप भले ही अनाज और सीरियस (cereals) को डिक्न्ट्रोल न करें लेकिन जहाँ तक यह इंटर-डिस्ट्रिक्ट पाबन्दीयों का सवाल है, आज इन के न हटाये जाने की वजह से बड़ी सख्त बेचैनी है और लोगों को बड़ी तकलीफ़ हो रही है। सरकार की काटन पालिसी (cotton policy) भी कुछ समय में नहीं आती है। मेरे बिले हिसार में हांसी तहसील में लोगों के पास ७५ लाख रुपये की लागत की कपास बेकार पड़ी है और कोई आदमी उसे खरीदना नहीं चाहता है। पंजाब सरकार ने ऐन क़ानून पास कर दिया और यह पाबन्दी लगा दी है कि अमेरिकन काटन

की लॉंगस्टेपुल कौटन (long staple cotton) के सिवाय और कोई कपास न बोई जाय। हमारे पास इतनी कपास हुई और उसका खरीददार नहीं। सोलह मार्च के बाद उस का डीकलरिंग (de-colouring) शुरू हो जायगा। अब बतलाइये कि इस पालिसी से देश का कितना नुकसान हो रहा है। आप कहीं ज्यादा कीमत पर बाहर से रूई मंगाते हैं, लेकिन खुद हमारे देश में जो इतनी रूई पैदा होती है, उस की उचित कीमत हमें नहीं मिलती है। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि इस देश में जो रूई पैदा होती है उस का उचित उपयोग हो और उस का अधिक दाम न दना पड़े,.....

Shri Karmarkar: Is it the complaint that cotton is not being purchased at all, or that it is not being sold at the prices which the buyers expect?

पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव : It is not being purchased at present at all. That is the difficulty. The question of price is also very material में अब से अर्ज करूंगा कि आप ने जो कीमत मुकर्रर की है, और जो रूई इस देश में पैदा हुई है उस की कम से कम मुनासिब कीमत तो दिलवा दें। यह जो लोगों की अकेले हिसार जिले में ७५ लाख रुपये की रूई पड़ी हुई है, उस को तो मुनासिब दाम पर उठवा दें। वहां पर गल्ले की भी इस वक्त काफ़ी तंगी है और क़हत की शक़ल नज़र आती है इसलिये इस तरफ़ और भी ज्यादा तबज्जह दिलाने की ज़रूरत है।

में कई बार इस हाउस में अर्ज कर चुका हूँ और जैसा कि हमारे शाह साहब ने भी कहा है कि टेक्सेशन इनक्वायरी कमेटी (Taxation Enquiry Committee) फ़ौरन मुकर्रर की जाय और वह ओवरड्यू-ओवरद्यू (overdue) है। मुझे खुशी है कि हमारे फ़ाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब इस की तरफ़

तबज्जह कर चुके हैं कि टेक्सेशन इनक्वायरी कमेटी फ़ौरन मुकर्रर की जाय।

इसके अलावा मैं अर्ज करूंगा कि जहाँ तक ज्वायंट हिन्दू फ़ैमिली (Joint Hindu Family) का सवाल है, पिछली मर्तबा जब उस के बारे में बोलने का मौका आया तो बदाक़िसमती से गिलोटिन हो गया, लेकिन फ़ाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने वायदा किया था कि वह इस विषय पर ग़ौर फ़रमायेंगे। मैं चाहता हूँ कि अब वक्त आ गया है और वह इस पर ग़ौर करें और इस सेक्युलर स्टेट (Secular State) में हिन्दू फ़ैमिली पर यह जो ज़ज़िये के तौर पर हार्ड-शिप (hardship) कायम है उस को हटा दें। टेक्सेशन का जहाँ तक मामला है, आनरेबुल श्री महावीर त्यागी ने जो लोगों को यक़ीन दिलाया है कि उन की चिमनी का धुआं जारी रहेगा वह अपना वाजिबी रुपया सरकारी ख़जाने में दाख़िल कर दें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आपने टेक्सेशन की जो नई पालिसी बनाई है उस को पूरी तौर से इम्प्लीमेंट कीजिये। इस सिलसिले में बम्बई और कलकत्ता में लायसेंस आफ़िसर्स मुकर्रर किये गये हैं। एक ट्रिब्यूनल ने दफ़ा २६ ए के बारे में यह करार दे दिया कि जिन फ़र्मों को ज़बानी मुआहिदा से बनाया गया है और उस के बाद उन का डीड (deed) लिखा गया है, वह इस २६ ए में रजिस्टर नहीं हो सकतीं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस टेकनीकैलिटी का फ़ायदा न उठावें और आप की यह मंशा भी नहीं है कि उन से आप ज्यादा फ़ायदा उठावें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह जो क़ानूनी दिक्कत है उस की ताबीर में यह कर दिया जाय कि जितनी फ़र्मों के डीड्स आफ़ पार्टनरशिप (deeds of partnership) हैं उन का रजिस्ट्रेशन दफ़ा २६ में हो सकता है। सरकार के ऐसा करने से लोगों में जो एक क़ानूनी दिक्कत रहनेके

[पंडित ठाकुर दास भार्गव]

कारण बेईमानी करने का ख्याल पैदा होता है वह जाता रहेगा। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस की तरफ़ फ़ौरन तबज्जह होनी चाहिये और सेक्शन २६ ए का ठीक ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन होना चाहिये।

मैं हमेशा यहां देखता हूँ कि बराबर हाउस के अन्दर जोर जोर से कहा जाता है कि हम ने एक कांस्टीट्यूशन बनाया है और उस में हम ने क्रसम खाई है कि दस साल में हम देश के अन्दर तालीम ला देंगे। लेकिन चार साल गुजर गये हैं और हमारी क्रसम और वाय अभी अधूरे हैं। हम ने बेकारी दूर करने का वायदा किया था, लेकिन उस को भी हम अभी तक पूरा नहीं कर सके हैं, कौटेज इंडस्ट्री के बारे में जो हमारे वायदे थे, वह अभी नामुकम्मिल हैं और अगर हमने कांस्टीट्यूशन में जो जो लिखा है और वायदे किये हैं उन को हम इम्प्लीमेंट (implement) नहीं करते हैं, पूरा नहीं करते हैं तो हम उस के साथ और देश के साथ बेवफ़ाई करेंगे। इन अगले पांच सालों के अन्दर हमें यह सब काम कर लेना है, पांच साल के अन्दर हमें सब को तालीम देना है जिस का हम ने विधान में वायदा किया है। और मैं चाहता हूँ कि जितनी जल्दी हो सके इस वायदे को ज़रूर इम्प्लीमेंट किया जाय।

आज कल सारे देश भर में सभी स्टेट्स में मिनिस्ट्रियां बन रही हैं, इस के बारे में मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि जो चीफ़ मिनिस्टर (Chief Minister) बने, वह कोई पोर्टफ़ोलियो (portfolio) अपने पास न रखें, क्योंकि उन का चार्ज (charge) तो सब चीजों के ऊपर रहता है। वह ओवरऑल चार्ज रखें, भले ही वह कोई छोटा मोटा पोर्टफ़ोलियो अपने पास रख लें। इसके अलावा मैं चाहता हूँ

कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर का हर चीज में हिस्सा लेना बग़ैर उस को स्पेशलाइज किये, कुछ ज्यादा मुनासिब नहीं है, क्योंकि जो मिनिस्टर उस चीज का इनचार्ज है उस के जुरिसडिक्शन (jurisdiction) में इंटरफ़ियरेन्स (interference) होता है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर कोई पोर्टफ़ोलियो अपने लिये न लें, बल्कि उस का सारा ओवरऑल चार्ज हो। ताके उनको सारे सबालों से पूरी बाकफ़ियत हो जावे।

मैं तो यहां तक चाहता हूँ कि जिस तरह यहां पर हमारे क्राबिल इज्जत, मोहतरम श्री गोपालस्वामी आर्यंगर मिनिस्टर विदाउट पोर्टफ़ोलियो थे उसी तरह चन्द मिनिस्ट्रीज और बनें ताकि जितने आल इंडिया के मामले हों उनके ऊपर हर वक़्त उन लोगों की तबज्जह मबज़ूल हो सके।

मैं कई दफ़े इस हाउस में अर्ज कर चुका हूँ कि यहां पर सेन्टर में एक सोशल जस्टिस (social justice) या सोशल रिफ़ार्म (social reform) की मिनिस्ट्री ज़रूर कायम की जाये।

इसी तरह क्रिमिनल ट्राइब्स (criminal tribes) का सवाल है। परसों जनाब-बाला की अदम मौजूदगी में जनाब को रिपोर्ट इस मामले में पेश की गई। हाउस ने उसे बहुत पसन्द किया लेकिन जब तक हमारे यहां इस के लिये खास मिनिस्ट्री न हो जो कि सारे देश के क्रिमिनल ट्राइब्स के मामले को अच्छी तरह देख सके तब तक इस मामले में कुछ नहीं हो सकता है।

शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स व कास्ट्स (Scheduled tribes and castes) का मामला रोज़ हमारे सामने आता है। हम ने कांस्टीट्यूशन में इस के मुताल्लिक़ दफ़ा तो ज़रूर बना दी, लेकिन हम ने उन के साथ क्या

किया ? दस साल तक हम उन को स्पेशल रिप्रेजेंटेशन (special representation) देंगे यह हम जानते हैं लेकिन चंद सालों में यह चीज खत्म हो जायेगी। क्या वह ठीक लेवल पर आ गये हैं ? क्या हम ने उन की तरफ पूरी तबज्जह की है और अपना फर्ज पूरा किया है ? मैं जनाब की तबज्जह शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट्स व ट्राइब्स की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ और कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगले पांच सालों के अन्दर हमें ऐसी कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि जब हम उन का स्पेशल रिप्रेजेंटेशन खत्म करें तो हम कह सकें कि हम उन को अपने बराबरी के लेवल पर ले आये हैं नहीं तो हमने अपने कान्स्टिट्यूशन में जो वादा किया है उस के साथ बेवफ़ाई होगी।

जनाब वाला, आज सुबह मेरे किसी दोस्त ने तबज्जह दिलाई कि जो लोग चुनावों में हार गये हैं उन को लेफ्टनेंट गवर्नर बना दिया गया है। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर मुझे हक हो, मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर हो जाऊँ तो, श्री सन्थानम जैसे क्राबिल शरुस को गवर्नर से कम दर्जा न देता। जो लोग हार गये हैं उन को मैं बुरा नहीं समझता। मैं श्री कामत को भी बुरा नहीं समझता, डाक्टर कुंजरू साहब व प्रो० शाह को बुरा नहीं समझता। अगर वह हारे तो एलेक्टोरेट (electorate) की गल्ती से हारे, एलेक्टोरेट ने उन की क्राबिलियत को नहीं देखा। श्री सन्थानम ने इतना अच्छा काम किया, हम उन की इतनी इज्जत करते थे, अगर आज उन को लेफ्टनेंट गवर्नर बना दिया जाता है तो मेरे भाई सोचते हैं कि हारे हुए आदमी को यह ओहदा दिया गया। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यहां पर कई मिनिस्टर मौजूद हैं जो यहां पर बहुत ऊंचा दर्जा पाते अगर उनकी मेरिट्स (merits) 428 PSD

पर फ़ैसला होता। मुझ यह सुन कर दुःख हुआ कि किसी ने श्री सन्थानम के चले जाने के बाद उन के ऊपर यह कटाक्ष किया। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे यहां कई मिनिस्टर मौजूद हैं जिन्होंने अच्छा काम किया है, अगर बावजूद अच्छा काम करने के वह हार जाते हैं तो इस में क्रसूर एलेक्टोरेट का है जिस ने सन्थानम साहब जैसे क्राबिल लोगों को नहीं चुना। कुंजरू साहब हार गये हैं, शाह साहब हार गये हैं तो क्या उन की बक्रअत नहीं रही। जिस तरह से लोग जीते हैं मैं जानता हूँ, इस लिये इस तरह की बातें करना दुरुस्त नहीं है। आज तीन साल हुए जब वह रेलवे मिनिस्टर बने थे और इतना अच्छा काम किया था कि रेलवे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन पर उन की बड़ी धाक जम गई थी। रेलवे एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में गोपालास्वामी साहब और सन्थानम साहब दो बेस्ट (best) आदमी थे। मैं तो उम्मीद करता था कि गोपालस्वामी साहब के रिटायर होने के बाद सन्थानम साहब उन की जगह लेंगे। जो लोग गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया में आ कर अच्छा इन्तजाम करते हैं, ऐन बक्रत पर तजुबकारी उन को हासिल होती है तो आप तब्दील कर देते हैं। मैं जानता हूँ कि डिमाक्रेसी (democracy) में यह होता है। यह तो ऐसा ही है कि जब नई मिनिस्ट्री आये तो हमारे फ़ाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब को तब्दील करके दूसरा मुहकमा उन के सुपुर्द कर दिया जाय। जिन्होंने इतने दिनों तक फ़ाइनेंस को स्पेशलाइज किया है उन की सर्विसेज से देश को महरूम करना देश के साथ गहारी करना होगा। मैं निहायत अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि अगर मेरी राय ली जाती तो सन्थानम साहब को यह ही रहना चाहिये था क्योंकि लेफ्टनेंट गवर्नर का ओहदा तो मिनिस्ट्री से कम ओहदा है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : अपर हाउस में आ सकते हैं ।

पंडित ठाकुर दास भागंब : आ जाते तो क्या हर्ज है । अगर एक आदमी अपने यहां से इस एलेक्शन में हार गया है तो क्या उस का हक अपर हाउस में भी नहीं है ? अगर कोई ऐलेक्टोरेट की गलती से हार गया है तो वह हारा हुआ आदमी नहीं है । जहां तक मिनिस्ट्री का सवाल है, जिन मिनिस्ट्रों ने अच्छा काम किया है उन को इस बजह से कि मिनिस्ट्री में रिशफ्लिंग (reshuffling) करना है हर्गिज नहीं तब्दील करना चाहिये । वह मिनिस्टर वहीं रहना चाहिये । हमारे मुन्शी साहब यहां मौजूद नहीं हैं । जो कुछ उन्होंने खुराक के मामले में किया है वह उन्हीं का हिस्सा था उन्होंने निहायत अच्छा काम किया है । और मुझे अफसोस होगा कि उन के दो वर्ष तजुर्बा करने के बाद नया आदमी उन की जगह रखा जायगा जो यह समझने में और वक्त लेगा कि काम कैसे किया जाय । मुझे दुःख होता है कि लोगों से कहा जाय कि चूंकि तुमने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है इस लिये तुम को हम निकालते हैं ।

इस के बाद मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि मैं रोज मुनता हूं इस हाउस में कि एक तरफ वेंकटारमन साहब बोलते हैं, दूसरी तरफ हमारे शिव चरण लाल साहब बोलते हैं । मैं तो आपसे यह कहता हूं कि आप एक प्लैण्ड एकानमी (planned economy) मुकर्रर कीजिये कि हम को यह करना है । इतने से की ज्यादा जमीन हम किसी को नहीं रखने देंगे । इस से ज्यादा हम किसी को मुनाफ़ा न उठाने देंगे और उस को क़ायम कर के उस पर हम अच्छी तरह से क़ायम रहें तभी देश का भला होगा नहीं तो देश की बेचैनी बढ़ती जायेगी । इस का तरीका यह है कि हम ठीक

तरह से प्लैन करें । यह नहीं कि मद्रास के अन्दर कोई क़ानून हो और पंजाब के अन्दर कोई क़ानून हो । नये से नये क़ानून रोज लाये जाते हैं जो कि सब जगह अलग अलग होते हैं । मैं अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि मैं कोई खास सिस्टम नहीं चाहता । यह देश हमारी मुस्तक़ा मीरास है । आप को हर एक आदमी की राय से काम करना चाहिये यह नहीं कि सिर्फ़ बड़े आदमियों की राय से काम किया जाय । कान्स्टिट्यूशन में हम ने सब को बराबर माना है और जो उसूल हम ने क़ायम किया है उस पर हम को क़ायम रहना है । आप उस की हक़ीक़त बनाइये और सस्ती से उस पर अमल कीजिये । यह नहीं कि उस को रोज तब्दील कर दिया जाय और हम सब आपस में मुखालिफ़ हो जायें, और आपस में झगड़ने लें । इस काम को प्लैनिंग कमिशन को देखना होगा । प्रापर्टी (property) के टैक्सेशन (taxation) के लिये ऐसे युनिवर्सल क़ानून हों कि किसी को शिकायत न हो । ऐसा करने पर ही देश तरक्की के रास्ते पर चल सकता है । अभी मैं ने देखा कि फ़रीदाबाद और बल्लभगढ़ में प्रापर्टी टैक्स लगाया गया, ठीक है । लेकिन इमैजिनेशन (imagination) और सिम्पैथी (sympathy) हमारे यहां से पता नहीं कहां चली गई हम अंग्रेज़ों को गाली दिया करते थे कि उन में हमारे लिये हमदर्दी नहीं है । लेकिन फ़रीदाबाद व बल्लभगढ़ में टैक्स लगाया गया, वहां के लोग यह कर रहे हैं कि जिस आदमी पर पन्द्रह रुपये टैक्स लगाना चाहिये उस पर पचास रुपया लगा दिया गया । इस में गवर्न-मेंट का क्या क़सूर है ? काटजू साहब का क्या दोष है ? वहां दूसरे आदमी बैठे हुए हैं वही लोग सब कर रहे हैं । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर उनमें इमैजिनेशन और सिम्पैथी हो तो सब कुछ दुस्त हो जाय । हिसार में

मजदूरों को डेढ़ महीने तक तन्ख्वाह नहीं मिलती। आखिर वह किस के पास जायें, वह किस से कहें अपनी तकलीफ़ जबकि उन के पास इमैजिनेशन और सिम्पैथी नहीं है। मैं निहायत अदब से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि वक्त आ गया है, हमारी गवर्नमेंट और हमारे अफसरान को यह चाहिये कि जो छोटी छोटी लोकल शिकायतें हैं, जिन को बड़ी आसानी से दूर किया जा सकता है, उन की तरफ़ खास तौर से तवज्जह दें। अगर वह देश में शान्ति चाहते हैं तो जल्द से जल्द उन को दूर करें।

अभी जब हमारे गवर्नर साहब हिसार में गये तो लोग उन की सेवा में डेप्यूटेशन (deputation) ले गये, कि नये नये क़ानून बन रहे हैं, वह दुरुस्त नहीं और कम अज़ कम जो क़ानून बन रहे हैं उन पर अमल तो किया जाय। वहां क्या होता है कि १०० आदमी खेतों में जाते हैं और वहां, मालकान की फ़सल पर क़ब्ज़ा कर लेते हैं। मैं चाहता था कि उन पर तवज्जह दी जाती। सारा झगड़ा मिट जाता। लेकिन मेरे हाउस में ज़िक्र करने के बाद भी आज तक कोई कार्यवाही नहीं हुई, और अब भी रोज़ रोज़ यह वाक़यात होते रहते हैं। मैं जानता हूँ कि हिसार ज़िले में हांसी तहसील में अब भी १००-१०० आदमी जाते हैं, खेत पर नाज़ायज़ तौर पर क़ब्ज़ा कर लेते हैं। उन के ख़िलाफ़ शिकायत ले कर लोग पुलिस में जाते हैं, वह कहती है कि कोर्ट में जाओ। कोर्ट में जाते हैं तो सुनवाई नहीं होती है। अगर इस तरह से चीज़ें चलती रहीं तो मुझे अंदेशा है कि जो हालत सौराष्ट्र और पेप्सू में है, सारे हिन्दुस्तान में फैल जायगी। मेरे पास पेप्सू से चिट्ठी आई है जिससे पता चलता है कि वहां पर ला एंड आर्डर की क्या हालत है, इस से देश को बहुत नुक़सान पहुंचाने का अंदेशा है।

मैं जनाब वाला का बहुत मशकूर हूँ कि उन्होंने मेरे जैसे आदमी को बोलने का मौक़ा दिया गोकि उन्होंने यह तय कर लिया था कि वह उन्हीं को मौक़ा देंगे जो हार कर आये हैं।

(English translation of the above speech)

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava : Sir, as the time at my disposal is very short, I would briefly deal with a few points on this occasion.

Firstly, so far as the question of refugees is concerned, Government have for a long time been holding out the hope that they would be given compensation. Now that the Budget shows a surplus, it becomes all the more necessary to remind the Government that they have to pay some compensation to the refugees. Even the hon. Finance Minister himself did not expect so much surplus. I would, therefore, suggest that the whole of the surplus amount or a substantial portion of it, should be set apart as aid to the refugees in the form of compensation. The opportunity which has come now may or may not come again. Therefore, I suggest that full advantage should be taken of it, and the whole amount or a good part of it should be added to the compensation fund.

Secondly, I submit that I agree with Shri Shah in demanding that sugar, gur and cement should be immediately decontrolled by the Government. There is no reason why these commodities should not be decontrolled. For the last one year we have been told that cement would be decontrolled, but it has not yet been done. The price of sugar is falling day by day and the price of gur has gone down so much as to come down to eight rupees per maund. If this goes on we wonder what would happen to the poor producers. Control should be lifted, so far as these commodities are concerned. You may not decontrol foodgrains and cereals, but so far as the inter-state restrictions are concerned, great discontentment prevails on account of them and people are experiencing severe hardships. The cotton policy of the Government is also not understandable. In the Hansi tehsil of my district Hissar, cotton worth 75 lakhs of rupees is lying idle and no buyers are coming forth. The Punjab Government have passed a law and imposed a restriction that no

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

variety of cotton other than American long staple cotton should be sown. There are no buyers to buy the huge quantities of cotton we have produced. After March 16, its decolouring would begin. Now imagine, how much loss the country is incurring on account of this policy. You import cotton from abroad at much higher prices, but we cannot get proper prices for the large quantity we produce in our own country. If you want that cotton produced in this country should be properly utilized and we should not pay a high price for its.....

***Shri Karmarkar:** Is it the complaint that cotton is not being purchased at all, or that it is not being sold at the prices which the buyers expect?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: It is not being purchased at present at all. That is the difficulty. The question of price is also very material.

I request that arrangements should be made to fetch at least a fair price for the cotton produced in this country and to dispose of at reasonable rates the 75 lakhs rupees worth of cotton lying in Hissar district alone. The scarcity of foodgrains obtaining there also borders on famine conditions and so it becomes all the more necessary to pay attention to this problem.

I have, like Shri Shah, emphasized many times in the House the need of appointing a Taxation Enquiry Committee. This Committee is over-due. I am glad to note that the hon. Minister of Finance has paid attention to this matter.

Regarding the issue of Joint Hindu Family, the last time I had an opportunity to speak about it, unfortunately the guillotine was applied, but the hon. Minister of Finance had kindly promised that he would consider the matter. Time has now come for him to do so and remove this hardship which exists for the Hindu families like the Jaziya tax in this secular State. Regarding taxation, hon. Shri Mahavir Tyagi has declared that his campaign would go in and that people should disclose their taxable incomes. I want that the new policy of taxation should be fully implemented.

In Bombay and Calcutta where license officers have been appointed, a tribunal has given this verdict about Sec. 26 A that the firms which were constituted by oral agreements and whose deeds were written afterwards, cannot be registered under Sec. 26 A.

I want that you should not take advantage of this technicality and it should not also be your intention to take much advantage of it. This legal point should be interpreted in this manner that all such deeds of partnership may be registered under Section 26. If the Government do not do so, the people would be encouraged to adopt unfair means in order to circumvent this legal hitch. That is why I want that attention should be paid to this matter immediately and Section 26A should be administered properly.

I always hear vigorous claims being made in the House that in the constitution we have pledged to spread education in the country in a period of ten years. Four years have passed since then, but our pledge and promises still remain unfulfilled.

We have also not yet been able to fulfil the promises for removing unemployment. The promises about cottage industries are also incomplete. If we do not implement the promises we have made in the Constitution, we would be disloyal to the Constitution and to the country also. We have to achieve all these things in the next five years. We have to provide for universal education in these five years. I want that this promise should be implemented as soon as possible.

These days Ministries are being formed in the different states of the country. In this connection, I would like to suggest that Chief Ministers of these states should not hold any portfolio themselves, because they have over-all charge of all the Departments. They may keep some minor portfolio in their hands, but their main task should be to have an overall control of the whole administration. At the same time I would say that it is not quite proper for the hon. Prime Minister to have a say in every thing without specializing in it, because it would amount to interference in the jurisdiction of the Minister-in-charge. I submit that the hon. Prime Minister should not take any portfolio himself, he should rather have an overall charge of the administration as a whole so that he may familiarise himself with all the matters concerning it. I would go so far as to say that just as hon. Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar was a Minister without Portfolio, similarly a few other ministries should be constituted which may be able to pay attention to all the matters concerning the whole of India at all times.

I have many times suggested in this House that a Ministry of Social Justice or Social Reforms should be set up at the Centre.

The question of Criminal Tribes is also relevant. Day before yesterday, your report Sir, in regard to them was presented. The House appreciated it very much, but unless there is a separate Ministry to deal with the problem of criminal tribes, no progress can be made in this direction.

The matter of Scheduled Tribes and Castes comes up before us frequently. We have made a provision in regard to them in the Constitution, but what have we actually done for them? We have given them special representation for ten years, but in a few years this will be stopped. Have they come up to the proper level and have we done our duty towards them by paying full attention to them? In the next five years we should better their lot, so that when their special representation lapses, we may be able to claim that they are now at par with us. Otherwise we shall be untrue to the pledge we have given in the Constitution.

Sir, one of my friends remarked this morning that candidates who have been defeated in the Elections have been made Lieutenant Governors. I say that if I had the power, or if I were the Prime Minister I would not have given an eminent gentleman like Shri Santhanam a post lower than that of a Governor. I do not believe that the persons who have been defeated are bad or incompetent in any way. I do not believe that Shri Kamath, Dr. Kunzru and Prof. Shah are bad. Their defeat is due to the mistake of the electorate, which has not taken their ability into consideration. Shri Santhanam has done fine work and we respect him. But when he is made a Lieutenant Governor my friends complain that a defeated candidate has been elevated to this post. In my opinion some of the Ministers present here would deserve a much higher position, if their cases were decided on merit.

I am sorry to note that this attack has been made after he has left. I submit that many Ministers have done very good work. In spite of that, if they suffer defeat, the fault is of the electorate, which has not returned candidates of the calibre of Shri Santhanam. If Shri Kunzru and Shri Shah have been defeated, it does not mean that their importance is finished. I know how people have managed to win. It is therefore not proper to say things like that. Three years

back he took over as Railway Minister and his work was so good that he made his mark on the whole Railway administration. Shri Gopalaswami and Shri Santhanam were the two best men in the Railway administration. I expected that after Shri Gopalaswami's retirement, Shri Santhanam would step into his shoes. You transfer the people who have done good work in the Government of India and have gained valuable experience. I know that this happens in democracy. It is just like transferring our hon. Finance Minister to some other Department when a new Government is formed. To deprive the country of the services of a person who has specialised in Finance all these years, would be nothing but treachery to the country. I respectfully submit that if I had my way, I would let Shri Santhanam remain here as a Minister, as the post of a Lieutenant Governor is lesser than that of a Minister.

An Hon. Member: He can seek election to the Upper House.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: There is no harm in that. It does not mean that a person who has been defeated in this election has no right to contest election to the Upper House also. A person who has been defeated on account of the mistake on the part of the electorate is not a defeated candidate. So far as the Ministry is concerned, those who have given a good account of themselves must not be transferred on the ground that a reshuffling is necessary in the Ministry. Those Ministers should be retained where they are. Shri Munshi, who is not present here now, has done remarkable work as Food Minister. I would be very sorry if after his two years' experience, a new man is appointed in his place, who would take time to pick up the work. I am very much pained to observe that people who have done very good work are asked to quit.

I submit that in this House Shri Venkatraman and Shri Shiv Charan Lal speak with two voices. I would suggest that a definite economic plan be adopted, which should lay down the maximum ownership of land and the maximum profits to be taken. If we implement this plan firmly, then only the country will prosper, otherwise the uneasiness would go on increasing. For this purpose we should plan accurately. There should not be different laws in Madras and in the Punjab. Everywhere separate laws are enforced. I submit that I do not want a particular system. The country is our common heritage. Everybody in it should be consulted

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

and not only the big ones among them. We have accepted the principles of the equality of all individuals in the Constitution, and we have to stick to this principle. We have to make it a reality and to act strictly in accordance with it. It should not be changed every other day. This would lead only to mutual quarrels and disputes among the people. The Planning Commission will have to look into this matter. The laws relating to the taxation of property should be universal laws and should not give any cause of complaint to anybody. Only in this way the country can prosper. Property tax has been levied in Faridabad and Ballabgarh. Well and good. But God knows where has our imagination and sympathy gone? We used to curse the British for their lack of sympathy. The people of Faridabad and Ballabgarh complain that the amount of tax on an individual which should have been fifteen rupees has been fixed at fifty rupees. But is the Government to blame? Is Dr. Katju to blame? This is being done by other people. Had they imagination and sympathy, everything would have been all right. Labourers in Hissar do not get their wages for 1½ months. Before whom shall they place their grievances? Shall they place their grievances before the people who have no imagination and sympathy? I would suggest that our Government and our officers can very easily deal with the minor local complaints of the people. If they want peace in the country they should pay special attention to these complaints and remove them as early as possible.

When our Governor visited Hissar recently, people waited upon him in a deputation and told him that such new laws were being enacted everyday as were not good laws and that these laws should at least be enforced properly. What happens there is this. A hundred or so people go into the fields and forcibly take possession of the crops of the owners. If attention had been paid to this matter, the whole dispute would have been resolved. In spite of the reference I made in the House, no action has so far been taken and such incidents are being repeated day after day. In Hansi Tehsil of Hissar District even now there are cases in which 100 or 50 people go and take forcible possession of the fields. When they lodge a report with the police, they are asked to move the court, but when they go to the court, no attention whatsoever is paid. If this state of

affairs continues I am afraid the conditions prevailing in Saurashtra and Pepsu would prevail in the whole of India. A letter from Pepsu tells me what the conditions of law and order are there these days. Such conditions are likely to do much harm to the country.

I am deeply grateful to you Sir, for having given me an opportunity to speak, although you had decided to let only the defeated members speak.

Shri A. Joseph: This is the last budget for myself and for the other Members who will not be coming to the next Parliament.

I want to speak about the formation of the Andhra province. There is today a very great need for the formation of that province. Well known leaders like Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Mr. Prakasam and Mr. Ranga, the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, the Tamil Nad Provincial Congress Committee have also asked that an Andhra province might be created comprising the undisputed areas as soon as possible. All the Andhras are anxious to have an Andhra province so that their own people will rule over them and carry on their administration.

In the recent press conference held by the Prime Minister he said that Mr. Prakasam stood in the way of the formation of the Andhra province. Apart from the objections raised by Mr. Prakasam there are many other leaders who suggested to the Prime Minister and the Government of India that they should form the Andhra province. If you want to deny the rights and privileges of the Andhras you can directly say so: "We will not give you a province, we want to rule over you." But if you want to keep your promise you must see that the Andhra State is formed within a definite time. Without fixing an exact time for the creation of this State if you give promises the Andhras would not tolerate it. I am not speaking of myself—I am, for instance, referring to the *satyagraha* started by Swami Sitaram. The younger generation in Andhra is jumping into that *satyagraha*. But it also means that you are providing possibilities for the younger generation to jump into the communist party. The communists will capture this opportunity and capture the imagination of the younger generation so that Gandhism will have no place in India. You are creating an atmosphere for the com-

munist party to develop their strength in the South.

I am speaking on the linguistic basis and I should not be taken in any other light. What I say is that there is a great need for the creation of the Andhra State. If you do not want to take anybody else's advice you must take Dr. Pattabhi's advice and form this State as soon as possible with the undisputed areas falling within the Andhra State, or which at present are under the jurisdiction of the Andhra State Congress Committee. Even a communist member of the Madras Assembly, one of the leaders of the communist party, has said that if there is any dispute regarding Madras City and other areas you may appoint a committee and settle it amicably, but before then you can form the Andhra State with the undisputed areas. Even the communists show their readiness to accept the Andhra State with the undisputed areas, in the first instance.

I want to speak about the Harijans. The Government is showing its readiness to appoint people who are defeated at the elections as Lieutenant-Governors and others. There is a vast population of Harijans in India. Has any Harijan Minister proved that he is incompetent in running the administration? Well, if you find such able people among the Harijans why do you not take a single Harijan as a Governor, or Ambassador or High Commissioner? If you do it it will add prestige to our country, it will add prestige to the policy of our Prime Minister, it will add glory to the principles of Mahatma Gandhi. I request the House and the Treasury Benches to consider this matter and take one or two members of the Harijan community as Governors, Ambassadors or High Commissioners.

Regarding the educational uplift of the Harijans, I may remind you, that every Member of this House in his or her political career contributed either in money or in service to the cause of Harijan uplift and enlightenment. But this Government is giving just Rs. 14 lakhs which is only a drop in the ocean. I would beg of the hon. Finance Minister to consider this problem and give more funds for granting scholarships to the Harijan students as well as to students of backward classes. I have seen during my two years' experience here that my friend, Dr. Punjabrao Deshmukh has pleaded for the backward classes no other hon. Member has taken interest. . .

Shri Kamath: No, no, we have all taken interest, at any rate I have.

Shri A. Joseph: I am very thankful to all the people who have fought for the advancement of this cause.

Coming to the question of food, I find from the Budget that Government is withdrawing its food subsidy. But I submit that conditions in the Madras State are such that if both the Centre and the State Government withdraw the food subsidy people suffer. Conditions prevailing there do not permit of such a stoppage. I would therefore request the House to continue giving subsidy to the State so that the difficult position in that State may be met. It is strange how Government is giving possibilities to the communists for development in the South. By its weak policy or by its support to the capitalists as against the poor people, Government has given greater opportunity to the communist party for its activities. But what can a poor man do? When he goes to the ration shop he is unable to buy his rations because he has no money, or if he has money there is no rice in the shop. That is the position in Rayalaseema as you, sir, yourself have expressed, and which I would like to stress. If the position in Rayalaseema was so bad I cannot understand why the local officers sat quiet and failed to report the situation to the higher authorities. If they had informed the higher authorities then it means there has been negligence on the part of the Government towards the people of the South, or may be towards the Andhras or it may mean that you do not care for us, the Andhras. If the negligence has been on the part of the Government then the people will judge and the future House will judge the administration. But if the local officers had been responsible for the negligence then I request that the concerned Minister should ask the State Government to enquire into the matter and report on the activities of the local officers concerned.

I am very thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to make these few suggestions.

डाक्टर पट्टाभि: मैं चन्द बातें आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि मेरे लिये आप के सामने अपने ख्यालाल रखने का यह आखिरी मौका है। मैं ने चुनाव में हिस्सा नहीं लिया, इसलिये न हारा और न काम-

[डा० पट्टाभि]

याब हुआ। इसलिये परसों शाम को इस आलीशान मकान से और इस मन्दिर से विदा ले लूंगा। मेरे दिल में ख्याल हुआ कि आखिरी मर्तबा जो कुछ मेरे दिल में है उसे मैं राष्ट्रभाषा में कहूँ। मैं देख रहा हूँ कि जो नुमाइन्दे यहां दक्षिणी हिन्दुस्तान से, या पूर्वी हिन्दुस्तान से और पश्चिमी हिन्दुस्तान से आये हैं, वह किसी वक्त भी यह कोशिश नहीं करते कि कुछ बात राष्ट्रभाषा में कहें। इसलिये मैं चन्द बातें आप के सामने राष्ट्रभाषा में रखना चाहता हूँ। मैं एक ही मामले पर जोर दूंगा और वह कंट्रोल का मामला है।

कंट्रोल के बारे में हमारा हाल बहुत नाजुक हो गया है। जिस पार्टी में हम हैं वह इस बात की मुमानियत करती है और कहती है कि इस की मुखालिफत न करो। इसलिये हमारी जवान बन्द हो जाती है। मगर मैं समझता हूँ कि पार्लियामेंट में हम को थोड़ी सी आजादी हो जाती है कि जो कुछ हमारे दिल में है उस को हम खुल्लमखुल्ला पेश करें।

श्री कामत: इस वक्त तो मुकम्मल आजादी है।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह: सच्चा हो जायगी।

डा० पट्टाभि: मुकम्मल आजादी ऐसी नहीं है कि हर शख्स मनमानी बक्रवास कर सके। मुकम्मल आजादी पर बन्दिश है। कानून है, कवानीन है और कायदा है। वह सब है और उस के मुताबिक हम को कहना पड़ता है और बातचीत करनी पड़ती है।

यह कंट्रोल जंग के जमाने में शुरू हुए और उस वक्त से अब तक जारी है। जब तक

यह कंट्रोल रहते हैं इन का रहना आवश्यक मालूम होता है। लोग ख्याल करते हैं कि उन का रहना आवश्यक है। जैसे एक मरीज होता है जिस की हड्डी टूट जाती है। हड्डी को बांध कर के दुरुस्त किया जाता है। लेकिन मरीज को अच्छे होने का विश्वास नहीं होता है। उसे डर लगा रहता है और डाक्टर के दिल में भी डर लगा होता है। इसलिये न डाक्टर और न मरीज को साहस होता है कि वह अपने पांवों पर खड़ा होने की कोशिश करे। पर जब तक वह पलंग पर पड़ा रहेगा वह मरीज ही रहेगा और दुर्बल और अपाहिज हो जायगा। अगर वह अपने पांवों पर खड़े होने की कोशिश नहीं करेगा तो उस के लिये और कोई रास्ता नहीं है। उस को रोज थोड़ी मदद ले कर चलाना चाहिये। ऐसा करने से वह दुरुस्त हो जाता है। उसी तरह जब तक हम अपने मुल्क में यह ख्याल करते रहेंगे कि कंट्रोल का रहना जरूरी है और उस को हटाने में डरते रहेंगे तब तक यह कंट्रोल जारी रहेंगे। मगर जमाना बदल गया है। हम कब तक इस कंट्रोल को जारी रखेंगे?

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह: जब तक बेवकूफी रहेगी।

डा० पट्टाभि: बेवकूफी की बात नहीं है। यह मसलहत की बात है। यह उसूल की बात शायद नहीं है मगर मसलहत की बात है। मगर मसलहत में हम को जरूर अहतियात अमल में लानी चाहिये। आप देख सकते हैं कि कंट्रोल में कितनी दिक्कत पेश आती है। मेरी नाकिस राय में जो लोग हारे हैं वह डेल्टा एरिया (delta area) में हारे हैं और वहां कम्युनिस्ट जीते हैं। क्या बात है? जहां क्रहत पड़ा हुआ है वहां कम्युनिस्ट नहीं जीते हैं पर जहां मालामाल

है, जहां पानी है, जहां, आबपाशी है और चावल कसरत से होता है वहां से कम्युनिस्ट आये हैं। क्यों ? क्यों कि जो पैदावार करते हैं उन को खाना नहीं मिलता ।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : बहुत ठीक ।

डा० पट्टाभि : अपना अनाज अपने को ही नहीं मिल सकता है । यही दिक्कत है । जब हम कंट्रोल की दुकान में जाते हैं तो वहां क्या देखते हैं ? वहां की अनाज में धूल है, गर्द व गुबार है और पत्थर हैं और खाने की चीजों में तरह तरह की गन्दी चीजें मिलाई जाती हैं । दो साल पहले मैं विजाग डिस्ट्रिक्ट में दौरा कर रहा था । उस वक्त एक बहुत बड़ी मजसिल में एक शस्स मेरे पास आया और मेरे हाथ में कुछ चावल दे गया । मैं ने देखा कि चावल का रंग अच्छा था, दाना भी अच्छा था टूटा नहीं था, देखने में भी खूबसूरत मालूम होता था । मैं ने कहा भाई तुम लोग इस चावल की शिकायत करते हो । उन्होंने कहा हां यह बिल्कुल बिगड़ गया है । मुझे जब बचपन में कुछ खाने को नहीं होता था तो मैं सिर्फ कच्चा चावल ही खा लेता था क्योंकि कुछ मुद्दत के बाद चावल मुंह में मीठा हो जाता है । इसलिये मैं ने बिना सोचे फ़ौरन उस चावल को मुंह में रख लिया और मुझे मालूम हुआ कि वह बिल्कुल कड़वा है । चावल देखने में बहुत खूबसूरत मालूम होता था मगर खाया जाय तो नफ़रत होती थी । मैं ने इस की कोई शिकायत नहीं की क्योंकि मेरा गवर्नमेंट से या अखबारों से कोई ताल्लुक नहीं था । मगर यह बात किसी तरकीब से अखबार में छप गई । उस समय दो मद्रास के मिनिस्टर थे उन्होंने फ़ौरन मुझे एक खत भेजा और पूछा कि यह क्या बात है ? तुम्हारा नाम इस में लगा हुआ है । मैं ने जबाब दिया कि यह बात

ठीक है और मैं ने अक्वल से आखिर तक जो देखा था वह उन को निवेदन कर दिया । उस के बाद डिपार्टमेंट से कुछ मुद्दत बाद खत आया कि चावल बहुत अच्छा था । वज़ीर साहब को यह बात कैसे मालूम हो ? वह तो एक आलीशान मकान में रहते हैं । मगर मैं तो वहां गया था और खुद मैं ने वह चावल अपनी ज़बान पर रखा था और मैं ने उस को खुद देखा था पर आप इस चश्मदीद गवाही पर भी यक़ीन नहीं करते । उस वक्त बात यह थी कि चावल देखने में तो बहुत अच्छा था मगर हपारे ताजिर लोग बड़े बदकार और मक्कार लोग हैं । उन्होंने इस को भिगो दिया । चावल बिल्कुल सूखा होना चाहिये । मगर चूँकि वह वज़न से बिकता है इसलिये भिगोने से वज़न बढ़ जाता है । रई की मिलावट भी इसी तरह होती है । रई में एक परत के बाद दूसरी परत में गुड़ का पानी लगाया जाता है । हमारे मुल्क में 'फ़ाड' (fraud) और मक्कारी तो एक शास्त्र हो गया है । और क़दीमी ज़माने से यह मक्कारी चली आती है । तो इस चावल में नमी थी । सूखे हुए चावल में नमी नहीं मालूम होनी चाहिये । मगर उस का कोई जबाब नहीं मिला ।

वोटर्स अब तक इन्तज़ार में थे । वह हम से बदला लेना चाहते थे । इस का मौक़ा आ गया और जब मौक़ा आ गया तो उन्होंने हम को कुचल दिया । सिर्फ़ यही एक सबब नहीं हो सकता । दूसरे असबाब के साथ यह भी एक हो सकता है । इस से ज्यादा मैं दावा नहीं कर रहा हूँ ।

मैं जानता हूँ कि एक समय पर महात्मा जी की नसीहत पर कंट्रोल उड़ा दिया गया मगर उस वक्त क्या हुआ ? दाम बढ़ गये । ऐसा हमेशा ही होता है । ऐसा इसलिये होता

[डा० पट्टाभि]

है कि हमारे ताजिरोँ में देश भक्ति नहीं है। वह ती पैसा कमाने वाले हैं और पैसा कमाने में वह अच्छे और बुरे का ह्याल नहीं करते। इसलिये यह मेरी अर्ज है और मैं गवर्नमेंट के क्रदमों पर बड़े अदब से पेश करना चाहता हूँ कि भाई कम से कम इस को मौकूफ करने का वक्त तो मुकर्रर करो। अगर मौकूफ करने का इरादा नहीं होगा और उस का वक्त मुकर्रर नहीं होगा तो यह चला ही जायगा। आज मैं अपने माल मन्त्री से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उन के पास चालीस लाख फ़ालतू रुपया है। वह इस रुपये को इस तरफ़ सर्फ़ कर दें।

श्री सी० डी० बेशमूखः फ़ालतू नहीं है।

डा० पट्टाभि : फ़ालतू नहीं है तो कर्जा करो। कर्जा कर के एक साल या ६ महीने के लिये जितना अनाज इस मुल्क के लिये जरूरी हो उस का जखीरा करो। और कंट्रोल्स का अन्त करो। उसके बाद फ़ेयर प्राइस शाप्स (fair price shops) रख दो और उन को यह सप्लाई दे दो। तीन महीने तक दाम बढ़ेंगे, मगर उन को घटाने के लिये फ़ेयर प्राइस शाप्स रहेंगी और फिर उस के बाद दाम खुद बखुद घट जायगा जैसे कि कपड़े का दाम घट गया। यही मेरी अर्ज है और इस के सिवा मुझे कुछ नहीं कहना है। इस के सिवा मैं और इस पर नहीं बोलूंगा। इसलिये मैं निहायत संजीदगी से और निहायत दुःख से यह अर्ज पेश कर रहा हूँ।

दो साल पहले एक छोटा सा जलसा हुआ था जिस में सूबों के वजीर आजम मौजूद थे और हमारी मरकजी हुकूमत के भी वजीर मौजूद थे। उनसे मैं ने बड़े अदब से यह अर्ज किया था कि दिल्ली में बोगस कार्ड (bogus cards) बहुत हैं। पांच

लाख हैं। उस वक्त उन्होंने इस बात को चैलेंज (challenge) किया था। उस वक्त हमारे वजीर आजम और वजीर खुराक मौजूद थे। दो रोज़ में इस की गवाही उन के सामने पेश की और अब क्या हुआ? दो साल बाद चार लाख ४९ हजार कार्ड पकड़े गये। अगर हमारे तलाश करने पर साढ़े चार लाख कार्ड मिलते तो आप ही सोच लीजिये कि कितने और छुपे होंगे। इस का क्या सबब है? चौदह लाख की आबादी में पांच लाख बोगस कार्ड मौजूद हैं। मेरे अन्दाज़ में तो ६ या ७ लाख होंगे। अगर चौदह लाख आबादी में ६ लाख बोगस कार्ड हैं तो इस की क्या निस्बत होगी। करीबन ३३ फ़ीसदी बोगस कार्ड हैं। मगर खाने में घाटा कितना है, सिर्फ़ सात पर सेंट १ तो सात पर सेंट घाटे को पूरा करने के लिये ३३ पर सेंट बोगस कार्ड दिये जाते हैं।

मद्रास में एक बहुत अजीब आदत फ़ैल गई है। राशन कार्ड मारगेज (mortgage) किये जाते हैं। एक कार्ड पर दस रुपये का कर्जा मिल जाता है और इन्स्पेक्टर को पांच रुपये देने से ताज़ा कार्ड मिल जाता है। इस तरीक़े से महाजन सी सी कार्ड जमा कर लेते हैं। सी कार्ड पर उन को एक हजार रुपये का राशन मिल जाता है और उस को वह ख़ोर बाज़ार में बेचते हैं। यह आप देखिये।

(English translation of the above speech).

Dr. Pattabhi: Sir, this being the last opportunity for me to speak on account of the fact that I did not contest the elections to the House of the People, I would like to say a few words. I would take leave of this august House and this magnificent building day after tomorrow. This being my last speech I thought it proper to speak in the national language. I have noticed that hon. Members hailing from the South,

the eastern part of our country or from the western, do not at all try to make the national language the medium of expressing their thoughts. So, I have decided to say a few words in my national language. I would stress only one point and that is regarding controls.

Our position with regard to controls has become critical. The party to which we belong forbids us to oppose controls, and we cannot say anything. But I think that we have some freedom of expression in this House and can say what we feel.

Shri Kamath: You have absolute freedom at this time.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar): You will get punished.

Dr. Pattabhi: There is no absolute freedom to say what one chooses to, it is curtailed. There are rules, regulations and the law; they have to be observed while speaking.

These controls were imposed during the war and they still continue. As long as they are there, their existence seems imperative. People think that they are imperative. The situation may be compared to that of a patient with a fractured bone. The bone is put into a plaster cast, but the patient is not sure of his recovery. Both the patient and the physician are afraid, and neither of them dares that the patient stand on his own legs. As long as the patient lies in his bed, he will remain what he is, ill and disabled. If he does not try to stand on his own legs, he has no other alternative. He should be made to walk with a little help, by which he would recover. In the same way, so long as we continue to think that controls are necessary in our country, and are afraid to do away with them, they will continue. But the times have changed, how long are we to continue the controls?

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: So long as there is foolishness.

Dr. Pattabhi: It is not a matter of foolishness, but of policy. Probably it is not as much a matter of principle as of policy. But we should use care in the implementation of policy. You can see the difficulties that we have to face in the wake of controls. In my opinion, Communists have won in the Delta area; that is where we have lost. What is the reason? The Communists have not won where there is famine, but they

have won in the areas where there is prosperity, enough means of irrigation and abundance of rice. Why? Because the producers of foodgrains do not get enough to eat.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Quite right.

Dr. Pattabhi: They cannot get their own foodgrains, that is the problem. In the controlled foodgrains shops we find dust, pebbles and other things mixed with the grain. Two years back while I was touring the Vizag District, a person came to me at a huge public meeting and handed me a handful of rice. I found the rice to be good looking, of a good colour and unbroken grains. I asked him why he complained about such rice and he replied that that rice was rotten. In my childhood, for want of anything else to eat, I used to chew a few grains of uncooked rice which developed a sweet taste after some chewing. So I put that rice in my mouth and found that that tasted bitter. It looked very nice but had an abominable taste. I did not make a complaint about it as I was connected neither with the Government nor with the newspapers. But somehow or the other, it got into the newspapers. The then Minister of Food in the Madras Cabinet wrote a letter to me seeking enlightenment on the subject as my name was connected with it. In my reply I stated the facts as they were and as I had found them to be. After some time I got a letter from his Department saying that the rice was very good. How could the Minister know! He lives in the seclusion of his magnificent residence. I had been to the place mentioned and had myself tasted the rice, but he would not believe my eyewitness account. The reality was that though the rice looked very good, it was damp due to the dishonesty and unscrupulousness of our traders. The rice should be absolutely dry. But because it is sold by weight, it is made wet and the weight is increased. Adulteration in cotton is also done likewise; after every layer of cotton water mixed with *gur* is spread. In our country fraud and deceit have become arts in themselves. This is prevalent since long. The rice was damp which it should not be. But I never got a reply to that.

The voters were watching for their day; they wanted to wreak vengeance upon us. They crushed us when they got the opportunity. This

[Dr. Pattabhi]

cannot be the only reason. All I say is that this may be one of the reasons.

I know that at one time controls were abolished at the advice of Gandhiji but it resulted in a steep rise in prices. This always happens. It happens because our traders lack patriotism. They are after money and do not have any sense of good or bad as far as money is concerned. So I will respectfully appeal to the Government to at least set a time limit for the abolition of controls. If there is no intention on the part of the Government to abolish controls, a time limit would never be fixed and controls would continue. I request the hon. Minister of Finance that the 30 or 40 lakhs of rupees which are lying unutilised with him should be spent on this.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: It is not lying unutilised.

Dr. Pattabhi: Then take a loan, and store as much grain as would be sufficient for a year or a half, and then abolish the controls. After that open Fair Price Shops and supply them with this grain. For three months prices would rise but the Fair Price Shops would be there to keep the prices down and prices will come down automatically as has been seen in the case of the textile prices. This is all I have to say and would say nothing else. I am making this appeal very solemnly and painfully.

Two years back in a meeting attended by Chief Ministers of States and also the Central Ministers, I had submitted that there were a large number of bogus ration cards in Delhi, amounting to 5 lakhs. At that time they had challenged this statement. Our hon. Prime Minister and the hon Minister of Food were there. After a couple of days I presented proofs to substantiate my statement. And what happened afterwards? Two years after, four lakhs 49 thousands ghost ration cards were recovered. When we can recover such a large number of ghost cards, one can imagine how many more they are. After all what is the reason for five lakhs of ghost cards in a population of 14 lakhs? I think their number is 6 to 7 lakhs. The proportion of bogus cards to real ones in a population of 14 lakhs comes to about 33 per cent. In food there is a deficit of only seven per cent. In order to cover it 33 per cent. bogus cards are issued.

A queer thing is prevalent in Madras. The ration cards are mortgaged. One card can bring a sum of Rs. 10 as loan and a sum of Rs. 5 can persuade an inspector to issue a fresh card. Thus a money-lender can gather a hundred cards or so. On these he can get rations worth Rs. 1000/- and he sells it in the black market. This is something remarkable.

You must study this process. Our people are excellent adepts in this fraud; they have organised it. You cannot over-reach the fraud of the habitual merchant in this country. Therefore, I say you do not pooh-pooh our suggestions. Do not simply say: "This man is an idealist or a cantankerous or impractical man." No, we feel it; we feel it from the bottom of our heart; we feel it sorely, but we are not able to make headway.

4 P.M.

For heaven's sake do give attention to this matter. Do appoint a committee to study and understand what frauds have arisen in the wake of this excellent device to help the poor. But the device has worked the wrong way and sooner or later you must get rid of these controls.

Of course, it is open to you to argue that hereafter all aspects of life will be controlled; that it will be planned life; it will be planned economy, and people cannot have it their own way, according to their own wishes. I quite agree—but then control all things,—control my school fees, control my books, control transit charges, control every walk of life and then I am for controls of grains also. But you control one commodity in a country in which the average honesty is absolutely lowered to rock-bottom. It began during the war. During war days everybody was allowed to take bribes, or encouraged to take bribes by the highest personalities in the country..

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Even now.

Dr. Pattabhi: And the biggest men took bribes. A good many took at the rate of 1 lakh for a Dalda factory and Rs. 2 lakhs for some other factory. People have earned crores at that time. That disease is now simply going on and is trickling down to every stratum of life. What is the fun of blaming the lower class people—halfpenny, twopenny people—when people at the top are engaged

in this art! They will not allow this to be terminated. They are not interested in allowing this to be terminated. So, unless you take severe and vigorous steps there is no salvation. Somewhere you must cross the Rubicon. It is no use saying: prices will rise; we cannot help; people will not obey. That is a position of helplessness.

I, therefore, take this opportunity in this House to submit to Government a proposal that if they do not abolish control, they must at least devise measures by which a programme of abolition will be initiated. You must introduce progressive abolition of controls as Montagu took steps for the progressive realisation of self-government. What he said in 1921 we have realised in 1947. At least within fifteen years these controls will have to be put an end to. Otherwise there is no hope.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I wanted to call upon Dr. Kunzru, but I have already decided to call upon the Finance Minister to start replying at twenty minutes past four. There are other hon. Members also who want to speak. May I suggest to hon. Members here that they may reserve what they have to say to tomorrow for the cut motions?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I do not mind giving up 10 or 15 minutes to my hon. friend Mr. Kunzru.

Pandit Kunzru (Uttar Pradesh): We would rather like to hear the Finance Minister.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House would like to hear Dr. Kunzru.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I meant what I said—that I would like to have his valuable observations.

Pandit Kunzru: I should have been happy to postpone my remarks till tomorrow, as suggested by you. It is only the courtesy of the hon. the Finance Minister that has enabled me to speak on this occasion. I am grateful to him for the courtesy, but it is totally undeserved, for I am sure he knows that what he says will be of much greater interest to the House than anything that I can say.

The budget for the current financial year was expected to close with a surplus of about Rs. 26 crores. It

is now expected, however, that it will amount to about Rs. 92½ crores. The Finance Minister who was surely in need of money is no doubt happy that he has been able to get about Rs. 66 crores more than he had budgeted for. But surely, he should justify to us the method in accordance with which the budget estimates were prepared. When the budget was debated he was asked repeatedly whether he had not left out of account certain important considerations that tended to make one thing that the revenue would be much larger than the sum estimated in the budget. He assured us that he had considered the matter as carefully as he could and that he could not have prudently budgeted for a larger revenue. I ask him now whether Government prepared their estimates with the care that should have been devoted to their preparation. We have been told that on account of increased imports the customs duty on imports has risen considerably. I think the increase is of the order of Rs. 50 crores. But, surely, the policy of increasing consumer goods in the country must have been adopted before or about the time the budget was presented. I suppose that the Government devoted their attention to this matter before the budget was prepared, or at any rate before the budget was presented, and decided that in order to reduce the price level they should allow more consumer goods to come in. If my assumption is correct, are we not justified then in assuming that the Finance Ministry could, without any imprudence, have budgeted for a larger customs revenue? We have not got before us the material that the Finance Minister had before him when the budget was prepared, but nothing that he has said in his speech or that has been stated in the White Paper satisfactorily explains the abnormal increase in the surplus. That increase is a little over 250 per cent. During the war we had large surpluses. The estimated surpluses proved to be under-estimates. But, speaking from memory, I feel I can say that never was there such a discrepancy between the estimated and the expected revenue as the one shown in the budget that has been placed before us.

Now, I come to the estimated surplus for the year 1952-53. It is expected to be about Rs. 18-73 crores.

Shri Sondhi (Punjab): Plus Rs. 15 crores.

Pandit Kunzru: The Finance Minister told us in his speech that although a sum of about Rs. 25 crores was provided for food subsidies in the budget, the actual expenditure would be Rs. 15 crores less owing to the policy regarding the reduction of the subsidies on food announced by the Food Minister. It is therefore clear that the surplus would amount to about Rs. 33.73 crores. In any other country, with such a budget it would have been difficult for the Finance Minister to maintain the existing level of taxation. But our Finance Minister had nothing to say on this subject. Probably he will disclose his mind to the next Parliament. Whether he will then propose any reduction I cannot say. I shall not be surprised if he says that in order to keep inflation under check and to take advantage of the victory that has already been achieved to a certain extent it is necessary to keep up the existing level of taxation. I should be the last person to decry this line of reasoning. But I find that the taxation that has been imposed on us and the desire to maintain it and, indeed, if possible, to increase it—I hope I am not misrepresenting the Finance Minister—is due to the urgent need for funds required for the execution of the Planning Commission's development plans. Normally, while part of the money might have been obtained by additional taxation, by far the larger part should have been obtained from loans. But unfortunately, although we are told year after year that our financial position is sound and is improving, our loans are not proving successful. Take the current financial year. After taking into account the disappointments in previous years the Finance Minister cautiously budgeted for new loans to the tune of a hundred crores. But actually he has succeeded in obtaining Rs. 50 crores only in spite of the discharge of a loan of about Rs. 86 crores. The total sum discharged is expected to be about Rs. 38 crores. I suppose this means that about Rs. 38 crores have gone out of our balances in order to repay the debt. Nothing is said on this point so far as I know in the White Paper and if I have made any mistake on this point, I have no doubt that the Finance Minister will correct me. Surely this is a point that needs rather close attention. I ventured to ask the Finance Minister last year too whether in view of the importance of this matter and the views expressed by his predecessor, he could tell us what his plan for making our borrowing programme suc-

cessful was. So far as I remember, I was not fortunate to receive any reply from him on this point. I therefore venture to press it on him again and ask him what is the real cause of the unwillingness of the public to lend money to the Government. Is there really a shortage of money or is the inability of the Government of India to borrow in the market due to the reluctance of the public to lend money freely to them? If it is really want of faith in the programmes of the Government of India, then Government should carefully consider what steps they should take to reassure the public that their plans have been carefully prepared and that barring such accidents as might always occur, the results might be expected to come out as planned. This is a matter of importance not merely in connection with our development but also in connection with our general economy. We cannot year after year impose new taxation or maintain taxation at its existing level, merely because the public is unwilling to lend money to us.

Now, a word about the expected surplus at the end of 1952-53. In view of the abnormal increase in the surplus for 1951-52, I respectfully ask the Finance Minister whether there will not be the same discrepancy between the estimated surplus and the surplus that may be expected 10 months hence. But for the large surplus that he expects to obtain on the American Wheat loan and certain other small sums, he would hardly have had any money in the cash balances left.

[SHRIMATI DURGABAI in the Chair]

He wants money to replenish his cash balances. He should tell us as frankly what he wants the money for as he did last year. I have already referred to the Food Minister's announcement that the expenditure on food subsidies would be greatly reduced. An hon. Member who spoke this morning welcomed this decision, but at the same time asked that the price of cotton should be maintained at the existing level and that the control on fine cloth should be removed. Have the consequences of the drastic reduction in food subsidies been carefully considered by them? It is true that the rationed population is much less than the total population but about 12½ crores of people are benefiting by the subsidy. This is not a negligible num-

ber, particularly when we take into account the people living in the larger towns and the workers in the factories. If the subsidy is done away with, will not that lead to unrest and an increase in the wages of labourers and the subordinate Government servants? You have to incur expenditure in one way or another. Do you want to increase the expenditure on wages and salaries and thus strengthen the inflationary forces instead of keeping up the subsidies and at the same time keeping inflation in check? Apart from the economic causes of the reduction in the subsidy, I suppose the intention is to remove them altogether in a short time. Its political consequences also should be considered.

Shri Sondhi: Only 44 crores and not 12.5 crores are getting the benefit of the subsidy.

Pandit Kunzru: The population of the rationed area is about 125 millions.

I am speaking of the rationed areas only.

Shri Sondhi: You are talking of the subsidy.

Pandit Kunzru: We have to think of the future consequences of the removal of the subsidy on these smaller people to whom it is a matter of importance. I hope that its political consequences should also be taken into consideration. Our recent experiences in Southern India should, I think, open our eyes to the danger of the economic discontent and I should be very sorry indeed if anything done by the Government at this time tended to strengthen economic discontent in any part of the country.

I just wanted to say a word, perhaps, if you will allow me, about prices, before I sit down. It is a matter of satisfaction to us that the index number of prices has fallen. But, in respect of food and clothing, which are the two most important things with which the common man is concerned, there has been no reduction. Apart from this, it has to be borne in mind that the index number is still substantially higher than what it was even at the end of 1950. I trust therefore that steps will continue to be taken to reduce the prices further so that we may be able to go back at least to where we stood at the beginning of 1951. I

suppose that the stalemate in the Korean war, the prospect of armistice, the reduction in the stockpiling programmes of the various nations and several other causes have helped to bring the price index down. I do not minimise the efforts made by the Government of India or by the Reserve Bank in this connection. But, since the hon. Finance Minister pointed out to us last year that the increase that has taken place since the commencement of the Korean war was common to most countries and was beyond the control of this country, I shall not be far wrong in saying that much of the decrease that has taken place is also due to external causes.

Lastly, I should like to draw the attention of the hon. Finance Minister to two statements made in the White Paper which relate to the production of food and cotton in the current financial year. It is said in the statement that the target for additional cotton production had been reached. I think the figure stated was that the production will amount in the current year to 34 lakhs bales. It may interest him to know what the Ministry of Food and Agriculture have stated on this subject in their report for 1951. The report says:

"29.3 lakh bales of cotton were produced in 1950-51 as against 26.3 lakh bales in 1949-50 and 17.7 lakh bales in 1948-49. The 1951-52 crop has been damaged owing to prolonged drought in the main cotton-growing regions. The overall outturn may, however, be not worse than that of last year."

I have made enquiries on the subject and I understand that the total outturn may be expected to be in the neighbourhood of 31 lakh bales. I should like to ask the hon. Finance Minister how his Ministry arrived at this figure of 34 lakh bales when the Ministry of Food and Agriculture itself knows nothing about it. The statement with regard to increased production of food also is misleading. While it is admitted that the total outturn in the year 1951-52 may not be more than that in the previous year, it is claimed that the target of additional production has been reached. The target was 14 lakh tons. I do not know how the Finance Minister has assured himself that while all those areas where the Grow More Food Campaign was not

[Pandit Kunzru]

proceeding have fared badly on account of drought and other calamities, the Grow More Food schemes have escaped the disastrous effects of these calamities. Statements of this kind are made by the Food Ministry year after year. If these statements are believed to be true, then, during the last three or four years, we should increase the output of food by about 6 or 7 million tons. But, we know that in actual fact, there is still so serious a shortage that we shall be compelled to import about 5 million tons from abroad. I suggest to my hon. friend the Finance Minister that he should not use the language that the Food Minister uses.

Shri Sondhi: Or at least consult Mr. Sidhva.

Pandit Kunzru: I seriously say that we expect him to be more cautious. We expect him to exercise a check on their undue optimism and baseless claims. If he too falls a victim to this tendency in the Government of India, who will scrutinise the figures of the other Ministries on our behalf and give us that true and unvarnished account of the economic position in the country that we expect from our Finance Minister, particularly from so cautious and fairminded a Finance Minister as Mr. Deshmukh.

If you will permit me, Madam, I should like to draw his attention to one more point.

Some Hon. Members: Carry on.

Pandit Kunzru: I ventured to draw the attention of the House a few days ago to the inadvisability of passing an Ordinance to impose taxation of any kind. The hon. Finance Minister was able to assure us that the Government after reconsidering their position with regard to the Finance Bill had decided to ask Parliament not merely to consider but also pass it. I draw his attention to a Bill introduced by the Minister of Industry and Commerce the other day with regard to the safety and preservation of coal mines. Before the Bill came before the House, an Ordinance had already been passed on the subject and that Ordinance imposed excise duties on coal raised in India and the same amount of duty on imported coal. I do not know how the Finance Minister can allow such a state of things to continue. Perhaps, the Ordinance was passed when the Government of India were under the influence of

different ideas. But having changed their mind about the Finance Bill, I hope they will also see that in future, no Bills involving taxation are anticipated by Ordinances passed by the President.

I am grateful, to you, Madam, for the time that you have been pleased to give me.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I am very grateful to the hon. Members who have offered me bouquets.....

Shri Kamath: No brickbats !

Shri C. D. Deshmukh:.....and I also bear no malice to those who have thrown brickbats. I make an exception of one hon. Member, that is Shri Velayudhan, who I thought.....

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: He is a class by himself.

Shri R. Velayudhan: I had no malice.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I know, and I said I bear no malice. And it rather struck me—not the brickbats—but the thought struck me that Shri Velayudhan, true to his name, is the spearhead of many ideologies and philosophies some of which he may not have had time to digest, and therefore I thought he was rather carried away and made somewhat wild accusations. I have no quarrel with his philosophy. After all we cannot expect to think alike on these basic issues of whether society should be organised in a capitalist manner, whether it should find scope for mixed economy or not, and all that. But I think he said something about the recent borrowings, that this country had given up its independent foreign policy. And then he muttered something—he is capable of muttering—something about military bases. Now, I should say that all his observations in this regard are completely baseless and I would challenge him to.....

Shri R. Velayudhan: I did not say anything about that.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I am sorry, but I hardly like to repeat the words that he used, like American bloc.....

Mr. Chairman: "Borrowing only from one bloc" he said.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I am sorry I am being dragged to repeat some words. I think he said, something about being stooges.

Shri R. Velayudhan: I said about borrowing from the Anglo-American bloc.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I really thought it was wild talk, and I would challenge him to prove in any manner that in accepting aid we have given away our liberty of thought in this matter. Actually, out of the loans of 300 millions dollars to which he referred or some other hon. Member referred, 99 million dollars were from the International Monetary Fund. Now, that is an international body. It is not a foreign nation so to speak, and we are members of it, one of the big five, if I may say so. And we borrowed 69 million dollars from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. So half the figure that he has mentioned was borrowed in a manner which would be regarded as respectable by any one except by Shri Velayudhan.

Shri R. Velayudhan: There are many others also in the country.

Shri Tyagi: Yes, there are.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Now, Madam, it has been said that this Budget does not take sufficient account of the common man and that in particular, in spite of the realisation of such a huge surplus no proposals have been put forward for reducing taxation. As I explained in my brief speech this is a caretaker or interim Budget and we have preferred to leave to the next Finance Minister and the next Government to consider these matters. Apart from that, I have to explain, that these surpluses are illusory. I think it is true that we realised a surplus of Rs. 68 crores more than our anticipation on the revenue side and on the ways and means side we had a sharp fall of no less than Rs. 83 crores, and if it is any satisfaction to hon. Members, I was as inaccurate in estimating the surplus on the revenue side as I was in anticipating the receipts from borrowing. So at least they would admit that there was no malice-prepense in this matter. Actually I think I said in one of my previous speeches, one is inclined to be conservative in the matter of receipts and somewhat extravagant in the matter of expenditure. If you analyse these receipts you will find that about Rs. 51 crores of the excess occurred in import duties. Of that about Rs. 6½ crores was due to increased consumption after derationing of motor-spirit. That had not been quite considered when I think the decision had been

taken, but it had not become quite obvious by the time the Budget was framed. Then, in regard to other articles, nearly Rs. 5 crores was due to art silk yarn and thread because in the middle of the year, in May, 1951, we decided to put these articles under the Open General Licence. And the increase in the other items—nearly Rs. 23½ crores—was due to larger imports following increased availability of general goods abroad. The procedure in this matter, Madam, is to review our foreign exchange resources every quarter, and if we find that we are in a comfortable position, then to extend the list of articles on the Open General Licence. Now, these decisions cannot always be anticipated when the Budget is framed.

Another consideration is that much of this revenue comes from export duties. Now, if one were to be very cautious, realising the evanescent character of these export duties, one would be inclined to put all the proceeds of export duties to a depot head, to be drawn upon for non-recurrent purposes, and had that been done, in form, there would not have been any surplus on the revenue side at all, because we would have shown receipt from export duty so much, then expenditure to be transferred to deposit head so much, and I think hon. Members would have felt quite content. Actually, what we did was to avoid this kind of procedural device and to use the proceeds on exports duties for our development expenditure, and I think that this is a perfectly legitimate action. Obviously, when there are no export duties or when they have to be reduced, then one would have to look to other means for implementing the Five Year Plan. But while the going is good, it is our duty to utilise these windfalls for the implementation of the Five Year Plan.

Pandit Kunzru asked what would happen if our revenue did go down and whether it was our intention to go on taxing the public for the implementation of the Plan. To the extent to which we could not borrow may be we have to consider taxation. If in the nature of things there are limits to taxation, one would have to think of some other means but I hardly like to cross bridges before coming to them.

In regard to loans I do not think we realise in what a transitional period we are living at the moment. The old pillars of the money market have gradually gone and many of them are uncertain

Shri Kamath: There is a yawning gulf between the hon. Minister and the Member here.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: So I heard and perceived it. I say it has been our conscious effort to reduce these yawning gulfs between the various sections of the community and it was in pursuance of this objective that certain social and political changes were brought about. But they had their repercussions on the money market.

Then the middle class unfortunately are the worst to suffer from this continuous process of inflation. It was not deliberate, it was not devised by anyone but they are the section whose earnings are fixed in terms of money and naturally there is a continuous transfer of wealth from them to other classes, which have means of increasing their earnings either by their wit or by their pressure or by any other means available to them. If one were to analyse the share-holding and so on in the old days before the war, one would find that it was the middle class which out of those savings sustained the money market and loan market and so on. Therefore on account of the incapacity of this class a new situation has arisen and that is, one suspects, that there is a certain amount of wealth thinly spread over the rural area and it has been our attempt to induce the rural classes to take notice of Government borrowings. But obviously new forms have to be devised for their benefit. This we have been doing through the channel of small savings and although we have failed to raise the money in the open money market, we have increased our receipts from small savings from 30 to 40 crores and I hope that that process will continue. It must be remembered that before the war our rural population had ten years of very trying times and the quality of thrift cannot be stimulated so readily in classes which have been living, shall we say, on the margin of subsistence, carrying on a very precarious industry, namely agriculture. That was the situation between 1931 and 1939. I believe that a change is under way but it will take sometime before we see the results. In the meanwhile we are doing all we can to restore the health of the money market. We have brought about a certain readjustment of the rate of interest. That again was a very slow and painful process. It is so easy to cheapen money but it is very difficult to retire to a prepared line of retreat

when you are making money dearer and the community has to be made accustomed to sustaining small occasional shocks. That I think has now been accomplished. It may be that in future the results of our borrowings will not be so disappointing as they have been in the past.

One last reflection on this topic and that is that we always try and leave room for borrowing by the States. Otherwise the States have a grievance that the Centre takes away the cream of the money market, and so we try to leave room for about 15 crores of borrowing by the States. So that is why at least in these transitional and difficult years we have to depend on our revenue surpluses in order to meet our needs of capital expenditure. As I pointed out the total result of last year's working, that is the working of the year that is just ending, was that we were down to about 17 crores and next year we are going to have a deficit of 41 crores, even after allowing for the saving that might be effected by the abolition of part of the subsidy. In the circumstances I feel myself and I now give my personal opinion, because, as I said, the matter had best be decided by the new Government that there is not very much room, except for small adjustments in the way of tax relief either to the common man or as chambers of commerce press me for the relief of the industrialists. Because they are also urging on me the necessity of reducing taxation but for another purpose. They feel that that would furnish a stimulus to industrialisation and to increase of the manufacture and stock of consumer goods in the country.

That brings me to the next point and that is the subsidy. This year on account of the elections it was not possible to hold the Food Ministers' Conference at the usual time, which is November or December, I think, and these questions such as food bonus, subsidy, procurement prices, the basic plan for the coming year, are decided in this conference. Now as that conference could not be held we could not take any decision in regard to subsidies and as it happened the budget had to be prepared and had to go to print before Government could obtain the views of the State Food Ministers assembled in conference. But between the printing of the budget and my making the speech the decision was available and therefore I incorporated a reference to it in my budget speech. That is all that there is to it and there is no need for

any dark suspicions that my friend Mr. Alagesan might have harboured on this score.

The subsidy situation is very difficult; specially if one has to make any impression at all on prices, then one would have to have now about 90 crores, because the cost of the grain that we import is going up, because the rates are going up and because of the increase in freight. I believe all members would readily concede that that kind of subsidy is entirely beyond our means, surplus or no surplus. Nor was it possible for us to carry on with the subsidy even on the old basis. Last year we spent about 35 to 36 crores. When I framed the budget I thought it might be possible to have about 25 crores. Then we came to the conclusion that a sum of this kind utilised only in rural areas and that is for the benefit of not 10 crores but 4.4 crores of population, mostly urban, would not be very fair. And that view was shared by the representatives of State Governments. Indeed last year when we altered the policy in regard to subsidy the Bombay Government protested against that most vigorously and this year we find that the other State Governments share the same view, so that opinion was at least unanimous, except in regard to one special case, for which I did not find many words of appreciation.

But apart from that case they all agreed that by and large the subsidy should be abolished. This is not an absolute decision in that we are still determined to subsidise the price of the poor man's grain, namely milo, and one or two varieties of rice, I am reminded by my hon. colleague, the Deputy Minister for Food. So, that would cost a few crores. Then, the continuance of the subsidy while this decision was being taken has cost us Rs. 10 crores, about Rs. 5 crores every month. This is an answer to the question which somebody asked: why could we not have left the decision to the new Government as we left the decision on taxation to the new Government. The answer is we might have lost another Rs. 10 crores if they had taken the same view as we had and we thought it much better to save Rs. 10 crores and to earn a certain amount of opprobrium than to leave the decision on a sort of general formula for the coming Government.

5 P.

That is all, madam, that I have to urge in regard to this question of sub-

sidy except in regard to the point made by Shri Kunzru, and that was whether we had considered what effect it would have from the economic point of view. Now, to the Finance Minister that is the only point of view—it is not so much the money; I can assure him that we did not take the decision in order to save money—and I feel much more keenly the responsibility that rests on the Finance Minister as the Minister for Economic Affairs to keep the price situation under control. We had a very careful study made of the possible effect of taking away the subsidy on the cost of living, and that study shows that there would be an increase of three points—I made an enquiry and they assured me it is not 3 per cent. but three points—in the cost of living index. Now, that is not really taking a very grave risk, and what we are taking away by way of subsidy we intend to give for speeding up the implementation of minor irrigation works and tube-wells and so on and we thought that from the point of view of the community at large that would be a much better outlay of money. As regards the actual figures of price indices, in regard to which I can assure hon. Members that I indulge in no complacency because I was warned by one of the hon. Members that I should not be complacent—I pass many a sleepless night, figuratively I mean—I should like to read out some of the figures in regard to the cost of living index.

Madam, the time is over but I would like to finish this point which is a very important one.

Mr. Chairman: He can go on till 5.15.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I do not think I will detain the House that long.

The base is August 1939...100. The index in 1948 was: Bombay 288, Calcutta 339 and Madras 315. Kanpur I do not like to quote because the base has been changed for calculating the Kanpur price index. Delhi is 345.

The Minister of Labour (Shri Jagjivan Ram): Nagpur?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I have not got Nagpur because the indices my colleague is referring to are on a different basis but these are indices on the same base, namely August 1939, therefore they are more easily comparable. We have got figures here up to December, 1951. There is a certain amount of time-lag in these figures. The figures are: Bombay 315, Calcutta 370; for Madras I have got the January figure which is 345; and

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh]

for Delhi the December figure is 376. It will be seen, Madam, that the increase between 1948 and end of 1951 or, shall we say, beginning of 1952 is 10 per cent. or less. Considering what has been happening in the rest of the world I do not think that this is grossly excessive although I do admit that it is our duty to do everything we can to bring the index down.

Shri Venkataraman (Madras): May I ask why is the cost of living index moving upwards while the general wholesale price level is going down?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I think, Madam. I have said there is a certain amount of time-lag both in the reporting as well as in the impact of other prices on the cost of living index. For instance, you will find that in the wholesale index the cost of imported raw material has gone down. Now it will be another three months before that is reflected in the cost of the manufactured article.....

Shri Sondhi: Might be more.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Might be more. When we refix the cost of cloth, for instance, we shall take a price which is three months old. I believe that is the reason. Any way, the point I was going to make is that we seem to have passed the peak in this. In Bombay, for instance, in June 1951 we reached 321, we have come down now to 315. For Calcutta we had 387 in August 1951, now it is 370. In Madras there is a fall of only two points; in September 1951 it was 347, now it is 345. In Delhi in November it reached 383, now it is 376. So, it was after considering this price situation very carefully that we took the decision in regard to subsidies.

Then I will refer to an important point which was made by Prof. Shah who, as usual, made very considerate and weighty observations. We do intend to stand by this undertaking to appoint a taxation enquiry committee, but it is all a question of what would be the appropriate time. I believe during the previous budget discussion I had occasion to say that in my opinion it would be better if we waited for the Fiscal Commission to complete part of its work and to cover part of the field. I believe that for that purpose it would be necessary for them to survey the field and we might as well have the results of their investigation before we appoint a taxation enquiry committee or Commission. It may be that it would be possible for us to utilise the ripe experience of some members of the Fiscal Commission for giving a lead and guidance in the matter of

the taxation enquiry committee. There is a very distinguished public man at the head of the Fiscal Commission, there is also an economist, and I was hoping that sometime in the course of the next year we shall consider this question when the new Governments are all settled in the saddle and we have had one or two Finance Ministers' conferences in order to consider allied questions like uniformity in sales-tax, methods of collection and so on, before we embarked on a taxation enquiry committee.

Then I was not quite sure—because the hon. Member did not have time to elaborate his remarks—what he meant by a separate finance committee or commission which would discharge some tasks outside the sphere of the present Fiscal Commission. It appeared to me that what he was urging was something that went beyond the limits of our Constitution. It would probably mean a recasting of the Constitution to bring about that kind of distribution of rights and resources and liabilities as between the Centre and the States in order to give a new term to democracy. That is a very big problem and I should not like to make any remarks lightly on the subject. We shall give thought to what he has said in this respect.

I shall now proceed to say a few words about this perennial question of control and decontrol. Now, no one is for control absolutely or decontrol absolutely. These are matters which must be dictated by the supply and demand position at any given time. I believe all the hon. Members who have urged decontrol today would admit that in present circumstances control like import control, export control, exchange control, are very necessary. In regard to commodities, I believe it would be admitted that iron and steel is still very short in the country and that if we were to take away the control in the mysterious hope that somehow things would re-adjust themselves and under the stimulus of high prices new factories or new manufacturing capacity would be established, we shall find that we shall have a very trying five or six year period at least before the new money which has come through additional price is translated into additional plant and additional iron and steel production. So, this question of control and decontrol is constantly under review and where it is possible one either modifies or even gives up control.

I have not the time to enter into each individual case, but I would like to give a few figures in regard to cement, for instance, to which reference

was made as a sort of illustration of the difficulty we face. The first thing I would like to point out is that at present there is distribution control over cement and that is being exercised not under any Central legislation but under an agreement with the Central and State Governments and the latter under this agreement issue control orders and thus control distribution. The total production of cement in 1951 was 35 lakh tons and represented an increase of about 5 lakh tons as compared to 1950. The total demand was estimated by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry at about 55 lakh tons. So, in view of this fact that the potential demand was still very much higher than the supply and in order to ensure supply for essential development schemes whose estimates would go up immediately if cement were to go up in price, we felt that it would be wise to continue the control on cement. We think that in 1952 we could set up the production say to 36 lakh tons. Now there may be a difference of opinion. I do not deny that people may hold different views as to the actual capacity for production, but I think that by and large they would admit that if the demand and supply situation is as it is in this rather illustrative case, then they would have to think twice before they take away control and indulge in a policy of *laissez faire*.

I do not like to enter into the pros and cons of the main issue, namely, control and decontrol of food, because the moment one says something then inferences are drawn and one is precipitated into a sort of action that one is trying to decide after mature deliberation. I should say that *prima facie* present time when we have had two bad years would not be the time when one would modify the system. On the other hand, a certain amount of statistical evidence is accumulating that for one reason or another the actual production is underestimated in various States. We have got to piece together all this evidence. We have to consider the observations on this matter that fell from Food Ministers at the recent Conference and take a decision. I imagine—I am speaking without consultation with my hon. colleague behind—I imagine that our expectation is that while it may be possible to bring about some kind of modification should the facts warrant that, it would not be possible to take away control. I understood the hon. Member to say that he would be content if we lay down a policy of 'progressive addition' of control in fifteen years. I am one with him that that policy might

prove to be quite feasible.—(An Hon. Member: Feasible? You talk like the Britishers.)—and I think the Planning Commission is likely to consider this subject again.

I can remind him of one more fact, and that is that in regard to rice the situation is peculiarly difficult and all his complaints about quality are not in respect of wheat but in respect of rice. That is because there is a great world shortage. But that does not justify this bitterness, not his bitterness but the bitterness of the rice that he tasted! But I was going to say that even before the war we imported for the whole of India a million and a half to two million tons of rice... (Dr. Pattabhi: No.)... and therefore I cannot see that in any near future it would be possible for us to reform the rice situation as it is. He said something about people not being prepared to suffer the consequences of the economic action, however strong their love for the country, or something like that. But I do not think it is a case of (being patri-

हुम्बुल बतनो तो है मगर शराम के साथ।

otic where it is convenient). It is really a question of taking very grave risks with the poorer sections of the community. It is not possible to portray to oneself what exactly would happen if one's estimates of production or shortage for any particular year went wrong, because under a system of decontrol the mercantile community would, for gain, not out of wickedness, naturally try to secure their own position and therefore in place of a shortage of 5 per cent which should not affect anyone prejudicially there is every likelihood of a shortage of 15 per cent developing and in a population where we are living on the margin of calorific adequacy it is rather difficult for Government to take an outright decision in a matter of this kind. I am not joining issue with him. I am only trying to make clear to him some of the difficulties which confront us every time that we are considering an issue of this kind.

Now, there are various other matters. There are observations to be pondered; there are remarks to be considered sympathetically; there are suggestions that require critical examination. These we shall consider between now and the time that we put forward the next Budget.

Shri Kamath: Next means next year?

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: No. A proper Budget. I mean, we have now put forward only votes on account. We

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh]

are not considering here the annual Statement of Revenue and Expenditure. So, we shall have some time to consider **these** and I have no doubt that all my colleagues who have been here have taken copious notes in regard to such matters as financial matters, the Public Accounts Committee's Report etc. I can assure the hon. Members that I shall spare no effort to ensure that due consideration is given to the Public Accounts Committee's Report. It is not open to me to say what steps are being taken from time to time, but I can only assure him that investigations are being made and steps are being taken. Similarly, in regard to Harijan **scholarships, I am not unsympathetic.** But I have been given to understand that difficulties are often experienced in awarding the scholarships. My hon. friend shakes his head. Unfortunately, my hon. colleague the Education Minister is not here. But there should

be no inordinate difficulty in stepping up funds available for this purpose, should we all sit together. I am not myself aware of having turned down with hard-heartedness any request in this direction.

I do not think, Madam, I need make any remarks in regard to decentralisation of textile mills. That is one of those revolutionary suggestions again which will require a great deal of consideration. It only seemed to me that the hon. Member over-simplified matters when he said take all these looms and spindles and spread them all over the place and that means decentralisation!

Madam, I think I have covered most of the important points now and I shall bring my speech to an end.

The House then adjourned till Half Past Nine of the Clock on Tuesday, the 4th March, 1952.