

10th March 1945

**LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES**  
**Official Report**

**Volume II, 1945**

*(28th February to 13th March, 1945)*

**TWENTY-SECOND SESSION**  
**OF THE**  
**FIFTH LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY,**  
**1945**



# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

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**Mr. N. M. JOSHI, M.L.A.**

**Sardar SANT SINGH, M.L.A.**

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# LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Saturday, 10th March, 1945

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) in the Chair.

## THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*contd.*

### DEMAND No. 72—POST-WAR PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman** (Finance Member): Sir, I move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 97,32,000, be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1946, in respect of 'Post-War Planning and Development'."

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 97,32,000, be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1946, in respect of 'Post-War Planning and Development'."

#### *Refusal of Supplies for the Department.*

**Mr. H. A. Saifur H. Essak Sait** (West Coast and Nilgiris: Muhammadan):

Sir, I move:

"That the demand under the head 'Post-War Planning and Development' be reduced to Re. 1."

The amount provided this year for this department is one crore. Over and above that there is another amount of Rs. 16,41,100 provided for the same purpose under various other heads. That of course for obvious reasons is not included in this motion. With regard to the amount of one crore mentioned by me, Rs. 2,68,000 are non-voted, and therefore as a result the amount which is concerned in my motion is the amount of Rs. 97,32,000. But that is not all. This is only a precursor of many more crores that will have to be spent on this department. Probably this modest sum of one crore will finally lead up to the famous ten thousand crores which certain people in our country think it necessary to spend for industrial and other developments of this country. Therefore this is a very grave issue that the House is facing today. If today we refuse to grant this Government the amount that they ask for in respect of this department, we are actually saving this country from the great danger and loss that faces this country, of handing over to this Government the future of the millions of this land as to the lines on which the future development of this country should proceed.

Having formulated my motion I will now proceed to enumerate my reasons for moving this motion. For the sake of convenience I will state my objections in three parts. The first and the fundamental objection is a political one. I hold and hold very strongly with thousands of others in this country that this job of planning for the future of this country is too big a job for this Government to undertake. It can be attempted only by a Government which is broad-based on the people's will, a Government which is responsible to the people and which has the whole-hearted support and co-operation of the people behind it. But in saying this I want to add a word of warning and it is this. I do not want it to be said and I do not want myself to be misquoted as advocating or demanding what is called a National Central Government for India. This term has become almost a technical one, to mean the subjugation of the whole country to one party's Government. It is of course well known that I and my friends on these benches are vehemently opposed to that idea. What I mean is this. I maintain that no Central Government, whether of Hindustan or Pakistan, can attempt this gigantic task of planning for the future of the 40 crores of this country, shouldering the responsibility of executing this plan, without first being broad-based on the will of the people. A Government, whether in Hindustan or in Pakistan, can undertake this gigantic task only if it is a representative Government. Therefore I say that this Government is not at all suited to undertake this big work.

[Mr. H. A. Sathar H. Essak Sait.]

Then, Sir, the least that this Government should have done in attempting this task was to consult this House, constituted as it is, in regard to their plans or for the purpose of formulating a plan. They ought to have come to this House of their own accord but they did nothing of the kind. Then a demand was made by this House that they should consult this House, that they should constitute a Committee of this House, to formulate a plan for the development of this country. That Resolution was passed unopposed; and yet Government have not thought it necessary to take the people's representatives into their confidence. And I am reminded that they not only did nothing to consult us but in the other House they announced their refusal to consult the people's representatives. Here, Sir, I should like to quote one sentence from the speech that was made by the Leader of the Opposition on the 17th November last when this matter was discussed here: In demanding that a Committee should be constituted he definitely said:

"It was not our desire to anticipate the examination of the merits of any particular plan."

What the House wanted was stated in one sentence by my Honourable friend. He said:

"The whole object is to support what we are asking for as against leaving our fate in the hands of this Government."

Virtually that is happening today. The fate of forty crores of people is left in the hands of this irresponsible Government. And actually it is not even the Government of India—it is one individual Member of the Government. When we go deeper and examine some of the plans that he has been kind enough to let us peep into it looks as if the fate of forty crore people of this country is to be left in the hands of some Under-Secretary, some Assistant Secretary, or some Deputy Secretary in his Department who deals with the particular subject. I will come to that in a minute.

In answer to some searching questions put by my Honourable friend, Mr. Neogy, on the 10th of February the Honourable the Member for Planning and Development was pleased to raise the curtain slightly, and he just told us what is happening in his department. He said:

"29 industrial panels have already been constituted . . . ."

I do not know, there may be many more by this time, but it is 29 that he mentioned:

"These Panels are to make recommendations to Government regarding the development of industries both existing and new."

As regards the formation of these Panels, my Honourable friend wanted to know how they are formed, and here is the answer [it is in part (ii) of his answer on that day]:

"Invitations are issued to persons prominently associated with the industry concerned and one or two experts are also added to those who by their general knowledge of trade and industry are likely to be useful as members."

So we know what is happening with regard to this planning: Certain people whom the Government Member likes or whom the Government Member knows are invited individually to form a committee to consider and 'to make recommendations to Government regarding the development of industries, both existing and new'. A few people, four or five, chosen big industrialists are given full powers to decide about a particular industry, about the future of that industry in this country, in fact about the future economic plan of this country. It is said that they make their recommendations to the Government. But what is the Government in this case? As I have said already, some Under-Secretary, or some Deputy Secretary in his Department who deals with that particular question. He and this Panel together finally decide as to what should be done. But who gave him this power? Did the people of this country tell them even once how and where to proceed, what is going to be the future economic policy of this country, how they are to proceed about it, and where is the money to come from? We know nothing about it. These 29 Panels, sitting somewhere in the Secretariat, are working our future, they are working the future of 40 crores of people, and we

know nothing about it. Insistent demands have and are being made that the Honourable Member should disclose his plans, but he has always taken shelter behind the plea that plans are not yet complete and there is nothing to place before this country. Yet we find here that in this one crore of rupees that is demanded, a sum of rupees seventy-five lakhs is set apart as a lump sum provision for 'schemes under consideration'. What does that mean? Does it mean that this seventy-five lakhs, and crores and crores of rupees (which will run into ten-thousand crores) which is to follow this small sum of seventy-five lakhs, is to be spent without anybody's knowledge and without anybody's consent? That is how things are being worked? I am sorry I have very short time and it is a very important subject, and therefore I will touch only one or two other matters leaving other questions to the speakers who will follow me.

Apart from the money that is to be spent and the manner in which this money is to be spent, there is a great deal yet to be decided with regard to the development of the country. I find that so far as my friend is concerned he is concentrating all his attention on the industrial development of this country. What about agricultural development, and what about thousand and other matters in which we are interested. He will say, "Agriculture is not a Central subject; that is not my subject". But may I ask whether there is any co-ordination. I find that certain other departments are going on merrily with their ideas of post-war planning. Is there any co-ordination between the departments? Is he the head of all the planning in this country, or is he the head of industrial planning alone? Is there any co-ordinating agency in his own department to cover all these 29 Panels? We know nothing about all that. I wonder if the Honourable Member knows anything himself about it; perhaps some Under-Secretary is dealing with these Panels and he alone knows what is happening.

Another very important point is the question of location of industries. I see here that in the direction that is given to these Panels, the location of industry is mentioned. This is a very important question because looking at the political situation today and the demand that is made by the Muslim League, namely that there should be a division of the Central Government into two Central Governments and that our provinces should be separated from the rest of India, this becomes a matter of very grave importance to us. Where are these industries being located? I find that a direction is given to these Panels that they should consider on the question of location of these industries but it is only on paper. Actually what is happening is that permits are even now being granted for starting new mills, new industries in places which have reached a saturation point. For instance, in Bombay I find that permits are being given even today for starting mills. In the Textile Control Board meeting it was mentioned that even those who were condemned by the Textile Control Board and whose licences were cancelled have been given permits to start mills in Bombay. Why? Nobody has given consideration to the question of starting industries in other parts of the country. Nobody has taken the trouble to explore the possibilities of starting new industries in other parts of the country and with that end in view look into the existing conditions there. Sir, in this way the future of this country is being determined without anybody knowing anything about it. I wanted to speak about what my friend Mr. Manu Subedar called the unholy marriage between the Indian and British capitalists and the function of Kazi that our friend on the Treasury Benches is performing. But as my time is up, I place my motion before the House for acceptance. Sir, I move:

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Cut motion moved:

"That the demand under the head 'Post-War Planning and Development' be reduced to Rs. 1."

**Mr. O. P. Lawson** (Bengal European): Mr. President, Sir, we on this side have always supported some form of planning for the past year or more and therefore I am unable to go the whole way with my friend, Mr. Essak Sait, when he moves a complete cut of the grant for this Department. We think,

[Mr. C. P. Lawson.]

Sir, that this Department has produced some extremely valuable material and it has produced two extremely able reports. But this does not mean that we are completely satisfied with the working of this Department, and I am here to ask the Government for a specific definition of its functions. We want to know whether the functions of this Department consist of planning as distinct from Government policy, and I would like the Honourable Member when he replies to this debate to pay particular attention to that definition. There seems to me to be a specific difference between planning and policy. The one to us means the fixing of certain definite targets for the country—a certain optimum of development that the present Government consider to be advisable in all circumstances and which should be aimed at. If the Government were to avoid this duty at a time like this when the war is drawing to a close, they would in our opinion be failing in their duty, but, Sir, we must know, and definitely, what that duty is, and when we talk of planning let us be quite clear what that planning entails.

In the preamble to the second planning report, the following passage occurs:

"It is not however intended to convey specific approval to any particular measures. It is not possible for Government to arrive at final conclusions on matters of policy, until a more definite picture of the plans of the provinces as well as the Centre can be drawn."

That to my mind should rule out any provisions in these planning reports which impinge upon policy. I know I shall be told that policy is inextricably tied up with planning. That may be so and so are a very large number of other matters too. The constitution will undoubtedly be inextricably mixed with planning and that undoubtedly is worrying our friends in the Muslim League. But, Sir, that only reinforces my point that these reports of the Planning and Development Department should be extremely careful to avoid any impingement on the policy of Government.

Now, Sir, in these reports a considerable portion is devoted to the question of State control in industry. Is this planning or is it policy? We on this side hold some very definite views about the interest which the State may be permitted to take in industry. But those views apart, is it policy or is it planning? I have no doubt at all, Sir, that the various Governments whether they be autonomous and separate Governments, whether they be State Governments or whether they be Provincial Governments, will all have their views on this question and the Department's adumbrations on this particular point in the planning report are out of place.

There is another portion in these reports which deals specifically with the assistance to be obtained from abroad. Once again, Sir, is this planning or is it policy? The various Governments which now exist and which will exist in this country may have differing views on this point. The value of assistance from abroad may be assessed differently in different parts of the country. So, Sir, again I contend that this portion is out of place in the report.

Again, Sir, I see in the report a statement to the effect that the State must not hamper private enterprise, but may prevent schemes which are unlikely to succeed. Who is to decide whether a scheme is likely to succeed or not? Is it not possible that the person who is going to risk the capital and possibly risk his livelihood is the best person to decide whether his capital is to be risked or not? Supposing a province wishes to start a certain industry somewhat late in the day and a similar industry has already been established in another province. Is the first province to be told that its venture is unlikely to succeed and therefore it may not produce this industry? The answer to that presumably would be, no, but that province will receive advice. It is, however, well known that import control rests with the Centre and behind this suggestion there may possibly be the mailed fist, whatever its velvet covering.

The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal (Member for Planning and Development): To which suggestion is the Honourable Member referring?

[Mr. C. P. Lawson.]

the population increase and fifth the production of adequate finance. Now, Sir, in a systematic approach to these problems I think that those particular points require prior treatment and I think that the main necessity for a debate on this subject is so that the Honourable the Planning and Development Member should have the opportunity of explaining to us just how he places these priorities, how, in fact, Government place these priorities and in what order they propose to apply to them. When those basic factors have been attended to, then the main part of this report can come into operation but those appear to me to be prior necessities.

Now, Sir, I could say a good deal regarding the position of the Provinces, particularly the Province from which I come myself. A reference to the budgets of the various Provinces shows a large number of very considerable surpluses. Bombay seems, since the war, to have accumulated surpluses amounting to about Rs. 20 crores. Madras looks like getting up to eight or nine crores. The Punjab, U. P. and C. P. are all producing surpluses. Bengal is minus Rs. 16 crores. Now, Sir, it is clear that these various Provinces have suffered in varying degrees by the war and I am pleased to note from the report that a certain pooling of resources has been considered advisable. I know that we may be told that we do not tax ourselves enough. But I think the point will be admitted that some Provinces have definitely suffered by this war more than others and if that is admitted it must be the care of the Central Government to see that no particular Province suffers as a result of those factors.

Now, Sir, I have no more time, and I will just conclude by saying that we certainly do not wish to eliminate the Planning and Development Department. We consider it important, we consider it essential, but, Sir, we do suggest that it should be careful to stick to its brief, and, as far as possible, to avoid the particular parts of the field where angels fear to tread.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar** (Salem and Coimbatore *cum* North Arcot: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, an Englishman plans far ahead; Mr. Lawson has begun by putting many posers and questions, and the real reason why this motion has been made is that the question he has put may be answered in his favour. That is the real suspicion which moves a large part of the people of this country. Government as it is constituted today is amenable to their influence—not to use the word dictation—it is certainly under their influence, under their predominant influence. So, Sir, apart from the suspicion that industries and industrial policies and commerce and commercial policies have been guided mainly from the point of view of their profit, it is the fear that it may be so in future also, that makes us move this cut motion. It is unfortunate, Sir, that this motion should be moved against a Member who said only the other day—his words are ringing in my ears—in the Library of the House in reply to a question by a member of the Executive Council of the Government of India, that it is only a national government that can do this planning; and that is our belief too. I believe, Sir, that the Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal is still of the same view, because I see him expressing that view to the press, and it is a pity that a Member who spoke like that could not accept the Resolution which was moved in this House last Session. This I would like to make clear. I have read a portion of the Planning Report. The Railways want Rs. 397 crores, Education Rs. 300 crores, and so on. Everybody wants a few hundred crores, but the unfortunate thing is that it is not money alone that can achieve things. Money is a factor, may be an important factor, but if anybody imagines that money alone can do the planning in this country, if money can make this country a self-respecting nation which I want it to become, if money alone can give that status to this country which it deserves, we could have purchased it all outright. So, I want this Government, I want Sir Ardeshir Dalal whose motives may be good, I credit him with good intentions, to remember that mere money cannot do it.

**Mr. C. P. Lawson:** I am referring to a portion of your second report. The subject is a quotation which says that capital is a national asset and must not be frittered away and that it would be reasonable for the State to interfere if they thought that capital was being engaged in an enterprise which might not be successful. That occurs in the report and while I cannot quite at the moment put my finger on the passage, I think you know it.

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshr Dalal:** Yes, I have it. Thank you.

**Mr. C. P. Lawson:** Now, Sir, that raises the question—and upon this I would like an answer from the Honourable Member—has he at the back of his mind an intention to circumscribe private enterprise, if it does not fall within the Government plan? There may, undoubtedly, be overlapping and I should like the assurance of the Honourable Member that here the functions of his Department are intended to be purely advisory. There may be different views as to the carrying out of the plan or the plans which Government finally approve and are we to understand that it is the intention to limit enterprises privately started? We want, Sir, to know to what extent Government have accepted the recommendations made in this plan. Have the Government carefully considered these recommendations and indeed, Sir, has this House carefully considered these recommendations? We had a non-official debate raised, unofficially raised, sometime ago. It was not very satisfactory and but for the good services of the Muslim League I see no reason why we should have been able to discuss this measure in this Session; and since it is a measure (it is perhaps not a measure but a process) which is of vital concern to the future of the country, it is to me rather surprising that this House has never been given the official opportunity of a debate.

The object of planning as set out in these reports is admirable but I find reason to criticise the approach. The approach does not to me indicate any specific priority of action. The approach seems to be diverse and it seems to lack method. An attempt is made on page 8 of the second Planning Report to divide the subjects into near and a long term policy and the near reconstruction portion is defined as the "resettlement and re-employment of Defence personnel, the orderly disposal of surplus military stores, equipment, land and buildings, the conversion of industry from war to peace and the removal or adjustment of controls to suit these conditions". Now, Sir, for the purpose of immediate necessity I would have put all those four under the "conversion of industry from war to peace" and I would be inclined to add to those certain other immediate essentials.

**Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim):** The Honourable Member's time is up.

**Mr. C. P. Lawson:** I thought, Sir, I would have twenty minutes, since I am speaking for my Party.

**Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim):** If that is so, I allow the Honourable Member another five minutes.

**Mr. C. P. Lawson:** First among these immediate needs, I would place ensuring purchasing power, that is to say, to do our best to see that industrial development and production generally will find a market. And, as I have previously said in this House, the most important necessity there, is stabilisation of agricultural prices. The stabilisation of agricultural prices is advocated in these reports but we have no reason to think that stabilisation is in immediate prospect. Next of course there must be careful consideration of the switch over to peace production from war production. If that is not done, we will undoubtedly encounter slump conditions and conditions of considerable unemployment. So in that order I put those two necessities at the head of the list. To adjust industrial production to meet the probable demand is equally a basic planning necessity and it is necessary for these planning groups to find out what India will need. I gather from the second report that the application of war industry to peace production has been started upon but I think the second report says that the results are poor. But clearly something has got to be done reasonably quickly. Fourth, I place the ensuring of an adequate food supply to meet

There is something within our own experience. Sir James Grigg allotted one crore of rupees for rural development. The latest report I have read about it is in the Public Accounts Committee's report for 1942-43, in which it is stated that accounts are not available for some part of that fund. May I know if he can give me tangible facts as regards this colossal expenditure of a crore of rupees. I remember a cartoon by Shankar in the *Hindustan Times* in which he had placed various taps for this expenditure of one crore of rupees which when it came to villages came out in drops. The money had been drained off by 8", 2" and 1" taps before it reached the villages, and even the drops stopped after a moment. I want Sir Ardeshir Dalal to become wiser after this experience.

If I may give another illustration, a quarter of this amount was collected by the Harijan Sevak Sangh, and today a number of institutions are working under the auspices of that Fund, and thousands of young men have been educated. If I have the time, I can give you a good report of the Sangh work. So, Sir, there is real difference and that is because people are behind this work. But it will be absolutely different when people are not behind.

So money is not the question, money may be a factor, but the main support behind any plan is the national will which is a greater factor than money and the actual planning on paper. Now, Sir, I want to put this view before this Government. Planning is necessary, we are for it. No country without proper planning can have a chance in the world of today. Our Society must become more organised, and planning is very important,—but what kind of planning. The point of view from which planning must be done is not the point of view of the Secretariat, nor is it the point of view of the capitalist or of the community whom my friend Mr. Lawson represents here today. It must be from the point of view of 700 thousand villages, from the point of view of the poor and hungry, of whom friends opposite have very little idea. When my friend Mr. Neogy put a question, "Are you aware that women committed suicide for want of cloth", the Member for Industries and Civil Supplies could not believe it, he could not imagine it. If the Honourable Member for Food is told that rice supplied is rotten—he looks very well—how can he know? He does not move with the people and does not know them. Sir, it is unfortunate that people who do not know the conditions of the people of the country, who are not in touch with them, who have not got any connection with them, who have not even poor relations among them, who will come and tell them that they are hungry, are in charge of planning, and that is the tragedy of the situation. The point of view from which planning should be done is that of raising the level of the country in the villages. You should make the people free, you should make them bold, you should make them strong, and that, Sir, can only be done by people who are in touch with them, who live with them, who work among them, and if necessary who will die for them. Sir, while I support this motion, I must make it clear that we need not support all the reasons which have been given by the Mover of the cut motion. The main reason for our supporting this motion is that people who do the planning must be representatives of the people for whom the planning is made. It is a larger heart that is required, it is greater sympathy that is required for planning. Knowledge is necessary, I agree—expert knowledge is necessary but I can purchase that knowledge. But I tell you you cannot purchase that heart: you cannot purchase that sympathy and the national will of the people which is necessary for planning; and if that confidence is to be had, it must be by the people in whom the generality of the people have confidence. It is not necessary for me to say that the people have no confidence in this Government. They know it and it is no exaggeration when an Honourable Member said the other day—and I am not surprised and I hope I am correct when I say that the present Members of Government in their own families will not get many votes if they stand for

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election; and certainly many do not represent the nationalist views of the members of their own families. So, I say this. Planning, while it is absolutely necessary and urgently necessary and there is no time to lose—we have been in the mire and our people have suffered too long and have died in their millions from diseases, uncared for, even unwept;—we want to raise them: the matter is urgent; but it is unfortunate that it cannot be done by you. When I say that it cannot be done by this Government, I do not want to make any personal affront. There are Members there whose personal integrity is high for whose honesty I may have respect, some of them, but certainly for this purpose that alone will not do; just as a doctor cannot be an engineer, just as an engineer cannot be a financier, even so they may be eminent in their own walk of life; but they certainly do not have the will or the backing of this country and this Government does not have the backing of this country to undertake this work. And it is for this purpose that we brought forward that Resolution. It is unfortunate that that Resolution was not accepted by the Government. Not only was it not accepted by the Government, but the Government have not made it clear whether they will take this House into confidence at any stage of this planning. Even at question time, we were not given the reasons why the Government could not accept that Resolution. Today, if we support this motion, we take our stand on that Resolution which was passed on the 17th November last year by this House. We stand by every word of what we said the other day, and it is this: we want planning; we want to raise the millions of this country, but we want it to be done by people who represent them, because they alone can plan well. It is not a matter of getting into a huff with the Government of India; it is not a matter of having personal confidence or respect for anybody over there; but it is a matter of whether they have the confidence of the people, whether they have knowledge of the conditions of the people, to do the planning. In our humble opinion they do not have it; and I would request that if the plans are to be effective, if these crores of money are to be used, they must be done by the people of this country. If that is not so, you have an example before you. One crore of rupees was set apart for the rural development fund, but where it was spent, or how it was spent and how much of it reached the villagers and how much uplift was done—no report is available and nobody knows anything. A few rural development officers were appointed and they drew their salaries and they worked in their offices and spent the money; and in the end accounts were not available—the Auditor General reported to the Public Accounts Committee that they were not available. If that is the record of this Government, may I ask the Honourable Member for Planning and may I also ask Sir Jeremy Raisman who wants to tax us and levy upon us another big tax so that he may provide heaps of money, may I ask him whether from this experience they are justified in embarking upon these things?

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** I trust the Honourable Member has not forgotten that the majority of the Provincial Governments in whose hands this money was placed by Sir James Grigg were run by Members of his party.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** I do not know if that is a proper reply, but this much I know that he cannot give me a good report of the money that has been spent. That is a fact. How much was spent and how it was spent we do not know; and it only shows that this system of Government, as it is today, is really not one which we can trust.....

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** You cannot get away from it.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** The point I was making before Sir Jeremy Raisman interrupted me was this: he is not justified in asking us for monies for which we think they are not fit. Plans may be made on

paper, may be made in secretariats. Such plans may be good on paper but certainly they will not uplift the people of this country.

So, before I close I would only say this. If you want your efforts at planning to be successful, if the object of your planning is really to uplift the masses of this country, then take the people of this country into your confidence. Accept the Resolution that was passed by this House unanimously, without a division, on the 17th of November. If you do that, that in my opinion will be a real sign of your earnest in this matter.

**Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari** (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Mr. President, I am afraid that there has been a mixture of motives, if one listened carefully to the three speeches made before me on this motion. As far as I am concerned any justification for this motion must come from two sources. One is extraneous to the actual demand made and another relates to figures, the contents of the demand that has been made. In regard to the reasons put forward in support of this motion while some undoubtedly are not germane to the actual contents of the demand, nevertheless the points made by my Honourable friend from Coimbatore have a great deal, of relevance to the demand as a whole. If it has been sought by any group in this House to move a cut motion, which is a direct reflection on any member of the Executive Council who did not merit it, I would stand up to oppose it; because we have already expressed in this House our opinion unequivocally yesterday that we have no confidence in those Members who occupy the Treasury Benches collectively. But if individually they are to be singled out for censure, there ought to be very adequate reasons why we should do so. I am very pleased to hear from my Honourable friend who spoke before me that, at any rate as far as he was concerned, he felt that the Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal in his individual capacity did not merit any censure.

**An Honourable Member:** Question.

**Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari:** You can question till doomsday but the answer will be the same.

But there is the other point which I must say, in my opinion, the Honourable Member for Planning has to answer and has to find an answer, which will have to be extremely convincing. My Honourable friend who spoke before me referred to the Resolution of this House of the 17th November 1944. The contents of that Resolution are not matters which need be discussed now. The motive of that Resolution is not a matter which need be discussed now. The feasibility or otherwise of that Resolution cannot be discussed at this stage either. But, Sir, the onus of proving that that Resolution was impracticable, that the Government were in a mood to consider some alternative, was on the Honourable the Planning Member and his colleagues. Sir, I must confess with regret that my Honourable friend has failed to perform that duty that was his in this matter. He ought to have taken the House into his confidence. He ought to have asked himself—apart from the text of Resolution, what shall I do to meet the opposition, how far can I go to meet the wishes of the members of this House since the demand in regard to the supplies to my Department will have to be passed by this House.

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal:** For two days I had negotiations with the Leader of the Opposition on the subject. I will explain it in my reply.

**An Honourable Member:** What about the House?

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal:** You would have heard something about it if I had been allowed to speak.

**Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari:** I am very grateful to the Honourable Member for having taken us into confidence and told us that he had started negotiations with the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition. I wish he had gone a little further. I wish he had taken the Leaders of all parties and groups into

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his confidence, which would have made matters much easier. But so long as that Resolution of November last stands, so long as that somewhat ill advised reply to a question put by a member of this House, made by the Honourable Member stands, I am afraid, much as I would like to support him, much as I would like to help him, he puts me in a position where he cannot command my support.

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal:** You will wait and listen to me.

**Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari:** I am willing to be converted by my Honourable friend, if he is going to be so persuasive. But there are the other facts having a direct bearing on this motion which is before the House. I shall not refer to the Second Report on Reconstruction Planning to which my Honourable friend Mr. Lawson referred. In my view, the assumptions contained in that report are not worthwhile considering, nor are they worthwhile repeating in this House. The financial implications that have been assumed in that report will be brushed aside as undesirable by absolute tyro in economics. The conditions envisaged in that report will in my view and in the view of those who can speak about it with some authority will never come into being. If planning has to be started in this country, it has to be started notwithstanding the fact that the assumptions contained in the Second Report will not come into being. But, Sir, my grievance goes further. I will repeat what I said on a previous occasion that I find that so far as this planning is concerned this House is left absolutely and severely alone. The reconstruction committees of Government have been formed on an *ad hoc* basis. The Government chose convenient people of their own choice to form these committees and the Government have asked the General Policy Committee to recommend and has accepted their recommendations in the matter of selecting two representatives for the International Monetary Conference at Bretton Woods in order to assist my Honourable friend Sir Jeremy Raisman. Not that I wish to say that the individuals who have been chosen are persons who will not be chosen by this House itself should it be given the choice but the very fact that an *ad hoc* body like the Reconstruction Policy Committee has been asked to undertake a task which ought to be the proper duty of elected Members of this House, people in whom the electorate has reposed its confidence is a thing which it is very difficult for me to understand and it is a thing which does not do any credit to the attitude of the Finance Member or his Government towards this House. What I have said should not be construed as making any reflection on the work done by those two distinguished non-officials or on their capacity to handle the case of India.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** The Honourable Member is surely aware that the necessity for selecting those two individuals arose very urgently just after the Session of the Assembly was completed.

**Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari:** I would like respectfully to tell my Honourable friend that I am not logic chopping here. I would not be convinced if my Honourable friend wants to make out that his powers of imagination and powers of initiative are so bankrupt that he cannot find some method of obtaining the views of this House and the wishes of the Leaders of Parties in this House before he made his final choice. The same answer was given by him in answer to a question that I had put during the last Session. My Honourable friend's memory is so good that he repeats the same words but he carries no conviction so far as I am concerned.

Based on these factors alone which have been singled out as being offensive to the prestige of the House, I think the House will be justified in expressing its disapproval of the conduct of the Department of Planning, whether my Honourable friend Sir Ardeshir Dalal is alone responsible for it or he holds responsibility for it along with his colleagues. There is the second factor

which has been mentioned during the General discussion on the Budget. The matter which has been made a grievance of by many of us is this, that in the scheme outlined by the Honourable the Finance Member in regard to post-war planning, provision for an immediate expenditure finds no place. He says that post-war planning is definitely a post-war matter, I agree. It only looks logical. English language does not permit of post-war planning to be considered a matter of Planning during the pendency of the war. (*An Honourable Member*: "Or pre-war?") We have passed that stage. He has failed to notice or give due weight to the fact that this problem of transition from a war economy to peace needs careful planning. It may not be a matter of post-war planning at all, and let me say here and now that these words carry with them implications which are somewhat misleading. It is a matter of planning from a war economy to a peace economy and the decision in regard to that planning must be taken here and now, so that there will be no real hardship to the people of this country more than what cannot possibly be helped. I asked a question of the Home Member the other day, *vis.*, what was his estimate of the total number of Assistants and clerks, not including menial servants, engaged by the Government of India on a temporary footing and I also asked what proposals they had in mind in regard either to the absorption of these people in Government service or for providing employment for them in the post-war period. The answer came pat. There is only one answer to meet questions namely the time and labour involved in such an inquiry cannot be spent or undertaken in war time. It is a parrot like formula heard often which irritates the House, the more often they hear it.

Sir, this Government wants to undertake economic planning, but they would not even go through this book, the Demands for Grants, which I had gone through. I find in this book in the Departments where the Government have been willing to furnish information that there are about 15,000 Assistants, clerks engaged on a temporary basis, not to speak of the Department of Supply and other Departments, the figures relating to which are given in italics for which we have no details at all. Sir, out of a desire prompted by a very humane motive that those of our countrymen who probably have been earning a decent wage during war time should have something to live upon and should not be thrown out in the streets, also because of the fact while the Government is planning for the orderly demobilisation of those people who have gone into the army and their absorption in civil life they should not turn out those people who have tried to sustain war economy of this country by working in Government offices even if they had not gone to the front to fight. What is to happen to the people according to the Government's plan? Sir, if exigencies of war time, the fact that Government is very busy, and the fact that Government Members have got to accept invitations for evening parties, and the Secretaries and their I. C. S. deputies will do likewise, prevent the Government from furnishing this information, what kind of plan is this Government going to put out and of what use will it be?

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The Honourable Member has one minute more.

**Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari**: I am speaking on behalf of my party, Sir. What kind of planning is this Government going to put forward I ask. What is the utility of that planning where they neglect the elementary duty which is cast upon them to provide for those people who have served them well and faithfully during a time of stringency.

I now come, Sir, to the contents of this Demand. Sir, in regard to item I—Miscellaneous, there is a provision for the sum of Rs. 8,88,000—being the Revised estimate for 1944-45 and a provision for Rs. 5,28,000 for the next year in regard to expenditure on Reconstruction Publicity. In regard to this provision, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the fact that

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the matter was brought before the Standing Finance Committee and the Committee have expressed its opinion. During the Committee's sitting, Sir, we heard a Government official, somebody, I think, on the Deputy Secretary level, coming before us and formulating policies on behalf of Government and telling us what this Government was going to do to wipe out the sinister influence of the newspapers in the country. Is that the method of planning publicity by which you can get the co-operation of the people of this country? I think, Sir, if planning is to be successful, then my Honourable friend the Member for Planning and Development should steer clear of his Honourable Colleague, the Leader of the House and his Publicity Department. He will get no support from the people of this country so long as any publicity in regard to planning is handled by that accursed Department.

I now come to another item in the demand—Item J, involving a lump sum provision of Rs. 74,85,000 for certain schemes under consideration. Sir, I have heard of budgetting of various types, I have studied to some extent budgetting procedure, but I never heard of any proposal being made where a responsible House is asked to give Government Rs. 74,85,000 as a lump sum grant to be spent as they like on vague schemes under consideration. I can understand, if a sum of Rs. 1,000 is provided as a token demand for expenses under this item and the Government came time and again, when they needed money to the Standing Finance Committee with concrete proposals for its approval and then finally brought it before the House by way of a Supplementary Demand. On the other hand, much as I would like to respect the financial integrity of the Honourable Member who is in charge of this particular portfolio, much as I would like to say that I respect his ability in regard to handling the finances that are entrusted to him, I think, Sir, it is asking too much of the House to vote for him a sum of Rs. 74,85,000 to be spent on vague schemes which are under consideration, which probably will be schemes similar to proposals for reconstruction publicity, which would only do harm to the best interests of the people of this country. I feel sure that if on the basis of the publicity planned any reconstruction planning is to be worked, it will only do harm to the public and that is what we are asked to support.

Sir, if I had had the opportunity to move this Cut Motion, I should have straightaway asked for a reduction of this demand by Rs. 80 lakhs odd, representing these two items. That is my principal objection in regard to what is declared in the demand itself. In any event, this House cannot grant this sum of Rs. 80 lakhs odd. That is very clear to me. The second factor is, that this House has not been treated with the courtesy that is its due. It is perhaps true there has been a mixture of another motive, a motive with which people of my Party will not sympathise, that is, that planning must be deferred until the constitutional position is made sure. I do not think that is at all necessary for the reason that planning will have to be undertaken, whatever is to happen to the future constitutional position of this country. Even if this country is going to be split into eleven different independent Provinces, planning has to be made. I repeat what I expressed on the last occasion when we discussed this matter, that if the Government would be bound, if the Government would categorically say in a body that they are bound by the sentiments expressed time and again by the Honourable Member for Planning and Development when he says that he believes that only a National Government can undertake the actual work of carrying out reconstruction schemes and that all the work that he was doing merely be exploratory, that no interests would be seriously jeopardised and that only the necessary preliminary steps would be taken, if such an assurance were forthcoming then I think the House and the people of this country would be reassured about it. But, Sir, that has not been done, and the way to get the support of the House would be to take time by the forelock and give that assurance

before the Demand goes through. Even though my Honourable friend might explain away the position, the overriding fact remains that the Government have omitted to take notice of the wishes of the House expressed in a resolution of the House and I do not know how he can convince the House that what he has failed was justifiable and induce the House to vote the sum he asked for."

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal:** Sir, at the outset, it appears to me that myself and my Department are being subjected to a pincer movement, to use the language of strategy, by the Congress on the one hand under its Leader representing, say, Marshal Zhukov, and Marshal Koniev, on the other hand, in the person of my Honourable friend the Nawabzada.

**Mr. Badri Dutt Pande** (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Whom do you represent? A sergeant?

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal:** Well, Sir, there is this thing to be said about the Russian Marshals that they are entirely united in their aims and their ideals, but in the case of our local field-m Marshals, the unity is merely confined to attacking my Department and that attack is directed from ideals and aims and points of view which appear to me to be somewhat conflicting.

**Mr. Badri Dutt Pande:** Amery is speaking.

**Sir Cowasjee Jehangir** (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadian Urban): You ought to stop these interruptions.

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal:** The Congress believes in planning, it believes not only in planning, but my Honourable friend Mr. Avinashilingam Chettiar says, it is getting too late. Well, Sir, that is what I, in my humble capacity, am trying to do. But unfortunately the Congress position is, "who are you to do it, we alone will do it, you have no say in the matter". But, may I say, Sir, that I and the Government of which I happen to be a Member are not standing in the way of the Congress; if they wish to do it, they are welcome to do it. The point is, what is to be done until they compose their differences and come here and occupy these Benches?

**Mr. Sami Vencatachalam Chetty** (Madras: Indian Commerce): Associate us, that is the Resolution.

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal:** I am coming to that.

Another point is that if the present Government, the unpopular Government does anything which is really redounding to the benefit of the country, the credit of such a thing goes to the present Government; and that is what my friends of the Congress are not prepared to concede. Another point is the natural suspicion which attaches to every action and every individual in this Government, no matter what his motives and what his ideals might be with regard to whatever he might do.

The League point of view, on the other hand, is very different. We are planning on the basis of the present constitution; they are looking forward to fundamental changes in the present constitutional position.

Sir, I have made that point abundantly clear at the very beginning of the second report on reconstruction planning, and with your permission I should like to read it out:

"The proposals now made for post-war planning and development do not in any way affect the constitutional issue, as whatever form the future constitution takes and whatever autonomy the future provinces or States of India enjoy, they will all benefit by the measures of economic progress and development contemplated by the plan. One of the fundamental principles of the plan is regionalisation so that the different parts of the country benefit in as equal a measure as is compatible with the physical features and natural resources of each part. The ultimate political affinities of the different regions in the India of the future need not therefore stand in the way of their benefiting by the schemes of development hereunder proposed."

Thus the whole policy and the whole idea of planning has been made clear. Does that conflict with the idea of Pakistan? Personally I do not believe in Pakistan; personally I believe that the broad base of raw material and resources on which the plan is based will suffer to a certain extent. Personally I believe that both sides would suffer. But if ultimately it is the destiny of India to be divided into several independent sovereign States, that is a matter not for my consideration; and so far as my planning is concerned, it does not in any way

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interiere with it. There are very important schemes for irrigation, and various kinds of development projects for Eastern Bengal and for the Punjab. If ultimately the constitution is going to be that these parts of India separate, let them separate; they will not therefore be in any way hurt or injured by the schemes or plans which I am contemplating at the present moment. In fact, I do not see what there is in any of the schemes or in any of the plans which is in any way going to harm the country or to injure the interests of anybody. If anything it can only benefit the country.

We have had in this department only six months in which to work. Nevertheless a very large amount of work not only in the matter of planning but in the matter of execution of preliminary stages of planning has already been done. There is a Technical Power Board which deals with all questions relating to power; an Irrigation, Navigation and Waterways Board is being established; the Geological Survey has been expanded and is being further expanded; a large number of men are being sent out for technical training; a number of students—five hundred or more—are to be sent in the course of a short time to the U. K. and U. S. A.; employment exchanges have been established under the auspices of the Labour Department, a committee has been appointed to consider the establishment of a technological institute on the lines of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the States; expansion has already taken place in the Forest Institute, in the Agricultural Research Institute, in the Delhi Polytechnic. A number of provinces have already expanded their cadres, and increased their staff and made provisions for increasing very largely the number of students for agricultural, engineering and various other arts and sciences. A great deal of work has been going on in the country. It is only, it seems to me, this House which takes such a gloomy, pessimistic and an almost antagonistic view of these very beneficial activities that are now in progress all over the country.

Sir, now I come to the gravamen of the charge against this Department. Yesterday to my great surprise the Leader of the Opposition stated that we were planning in secret and that we did not want any co-operation.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai** (Bombay Northern Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): I did not say one word about secrecy. Please read my speech again. Somebody else said that, not I.

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal:** Anyhow the whole point is that I refused co-operation, that I wanted to carry on planning entirely on my own. As a matter of fact, from the day that I assumed office I have made it abundantly clear that the one thing that I want is public co-operation and that schemes and plans of this nature cannot possibly go on without public co-operation. A great deal has been made about the refusal to accept the Resolution on the last occasion. For two days I negotiated with the Leader of the Opposition to arrive at some compromise. A number of formulae were suggested; I offered a standing committee of the House to whom the whole thing would be reported. In fact, I pointed out to the Leader of the Opposition that the Resolution that he sponsored was not as good as the one that I proposed, because I said, "You only want a plan when it is ready to be put up before the House, whereas you appoint a standing committee and I will consult that standing committee at every stage in the formulation of the plans", which was a better thing than the one that he himself in his Resolution proposed. He seemed to fall in with my suggestions but later on he consulted his friends and every suggestion of mine till the last moment was turned down. Now, what is happening? I have again expressed my willingness to have a standing committee of the House and, as far as I understand, the proposal is to be accepted. Therefore, a standing committee of the House to advise me on all matters of planning and development will now be established after all this unnecessary bickering, trouble and ill-will which might very easily have been avoided. As a matter of fact, if my original suggestion had been accepted, that committee would probably have been, from the opposition's point of view, more valuable than the standing committee which is now coming. Therefore it is not that I shirk their co-operation that I

shirk publicity. On the contrary I welcome co-operation and I welcome publicity. I have gone even beyond this; I have tried to co-operate with other Members belonging to the opposite side. I wanted to enlist the services of a very well-known gentleman who performed very valuable work in connection with the Nehru Committee's report to be on one of my committees; but after a certain amount of hesitation he refused. I wanted to appoint another gentleman of Congress sympathies in an extremely responsible position in my department; after consultation with some Congress leaders he refused. So that want of co-operation does not come from my side; it comes from the side of the Opposition.

Now, Sir, the point may be made, why was it that we did not accept the particular Resolution which was moved on the last occasion and why did we suggest any alternatives at all? I will make it clear why we did not accept that particular Resolution. The implications of that Resolution were not explained till the very last moment; and then my Honourable friend made a speech which made it impossible for Government to accept the Resolution; because he said; "You as a Government have neither the right nor the quality to frame these plans at all. It is we on this side of the House, we the Members of the Legislature who will frame a plan. You will only appear at the bar of the House; you will be the very first people who should appear before this committee to give evidence. It is we only who will frame this plan".

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai:** Yes.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum** (North-West Frontier Province: General): What is wrong in that?

**The Honourable Sir Ardesahir Dalal:** If my Honourable friend will wait I will explain what is wrong with it.

That means that this Legislature of all Legislatures in the world is trying to take upon itself executive functions which belong to no legislature, however democratically constituted. That, Sir, is not possible. It is up to this Legislature to criticise our proposals, to refuse grants; these are within their proper functions. But for any legislature in the world to say that they will make a plan and do something which the executive Government is appointed to do is an impossible proposition.

**Mr. Abdul Qaiyum:** Do you have this kind of executive anywhere else in the world?

**The Honourable Sir Ardesahir Dalal:** Whatever the composition of the Government may be, it is a fact that no legislature in the world performs such executive functions; and if my Honourable friends try to do it they will immediately find from all sides of the House what a mess they have got into. My honourable friend the Leader of the Opposition was very sure of his abilities to perform such an operation, and why? Because alone and undaunted he said—and he was proud to say it—he wrote the minority report of the Bombay Share Bazaar Committee. Did he want any expert, did he want a Secretariat, did he want any staff? Nothing. He wrote that report, and therefore he considers himself capable of preparing a plan for a sub-continent like India. Sir, I do not for a moment claim that I am going to prepare a plan. As a matter of fact a great deal of criticism that has been advanced in this House seems to be made on the misapprehension that I am a kind of pocket Hitler who is to prepare all the plans for the country which everybody must accept. Such is not the position at all. I am being assisted by a number of committees, by Provincial Governments all over the country and I welcome any kind of co-operation and assistance, the more such co-operation and assistance I can get, the more I will welcome it.

**Mr. Manu Subedar** (Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau: Indian Commerce): Are your own colleagues in the Executive Council helping you?

**The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar** (Supply Member): Of course.

**The Honourable Sir Ardeaur Dalal:** Now I will deal with a few of the points raised by some of the speakers today. My Honourable friend, Mr. Essak Datt, seems to be under a misapprehension with regard not only to the fundamental propositions—the grounds on which he moved this motion—but also with regard to some of the details. For instance, he seems to be under the impression that the Panels which were formed by some Under-Secretaries would decide the fate of the important industries of India in the country. Such is not the case. The Panels are entirely and purely advisory.

And then I come to a very grave misconception which appears to prevail not only in the minds of the members of the Muslim League but also in the minds of the members of the European Group, and that is that I formulate the policy which is going to be actually executed. I shall describe somewhat in detail what exactly the procedure is so that any misconception that prevails in the minds of my Honourable friend, Mr. Lawson, may be removed. Policy may be initiated by a note in my department, but that is fully discussed by other departments of the Government. Then the whole matter is brought to a committee of the Executive Council—the Reconstruction Committee of the Council—of which I happen to be the Vice-Chairman. There the matter is discussed by every Member from every point of view. If it is important enough, it is further discussed in the Executive Council. At the same time, the Policy Committees which we have appointed are also consulted and their opinion is obtained and it is only after all these consultations have taken place that a final decision on policy with regard to Government is arrived at and that is the decision of the Government as a whole, so that there need be no misapprehension in the mind of my Honourable friend in the European Group that I alone will run away with and come to important decisions on policy which may in any way injuriously affect their own interests. I very much wish I could do what my Honourable friend suspects me of doing. Then the planning will proceed at a much quicker pace than at present. My grievance is that I am not able to do that.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa** (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): They are convinced!

**The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:** What a hope!

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal:** Sir, I will not take up much of the time of the House by going into other detailed points raised by other speakers, but there is one point raised by my honourable friend, Mr. Krishnamachari, who now I hope is convinced by what I said . . . . .

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan** (Agra Division: Muhammadan Rural): He is not.

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal:** And that is with regard to the provision of seventy-four lakhs in the Budget. Criticism has been advanced that the Finance Member has poured cold water on the scheme by his reluctance to part with money. (Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari rose up in his seat.) I am not talking about Mr. Krishnamachari. He of course said that he has given me too much money.

**Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari:** Even that is not right. The Finance Member is not prepared to give the finances necessary for plans being carried out. It is not a matter of lakhs, it is a matter of crores.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa:** Your speech is not well-planned!

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal:** From my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, I have received the most wholehearted co-operation. None of my plans up to now have in any way been impeded by any kind of parsimony or niggardliness displayed by my Honourable friend, the Finance Member. The real bottle-neck in connection with the plan is not going to be finance, it is going to be the lack of trained personnel, and that is the reason why we are giving first priority to the training of personnel and why we are in such a hurry to train personnel.

A great deal has been said about the National Government. As an author of the Bombay Plan I said that the Plan could only be executed by a National

Government. I am still of that opinion, and that is because when the Plan is in full operation, it will involve a number of controls—controls over capital, control over imports and exports, control over rationing, control over consumption, and various other types of controls which will interfere with the most intimate habits and customs of people in this country—and all that can only be done by a National Government which has the full support of the people behind it. In the meantime what are we to do? The war is coming to an end.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa:** No.

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshr Dalal:** Millions of people will soon be unemployed. Two million of soldiers will be demobilized; the purchasing power which has been created by the demands for war industries will come to an end. We have to plan the transition from war to peace. Every country in the world is far in advance of what we have done with regard to the preparation of post-war plans. In the meantime, until our unfortunate political disputes and difficulties are settled, are we to stand by and do nothing and see the economy of this country collapse, as it is bound to do if nothing is done? That is the justification for the post-war planning work which has been undertaken by the present Government.

It seems to me that for the first time we are trying to do something which is positive, something that is constructive, something that is really for the benefit of the country. The Bombay Plan first drew the attention of the country and I might say the attention of the whole world by the grandeur of its conception with regard to the economic development of the country. It is on a similar basis that this Government has undertaken the planning for the economic uplift of the country. I have mentioned the various preliminary activities which have been undertaken. Is there anything in it which can in any way do any harm to any party or anybody in the country? Then, would it be too much to expect that all the parties will co-operate so far as this planning is concerned and assist the Planning Member in carrying out the plan instead of creating a very wrong impression on the rest of the world that even in matters like this, where there should be no room for any difference of opinion, which are entirely for the benefit of the country, that we cannot come to any agreement? What would the other countries think of our unity of purpose or even our common sense if a completely beneficial measure like this is thrown out on purely political grounds? But whatever the verdict of the House may be, I am sure that the verdict of the country, even in Congress circles is not going to be that pending the taking of office by a National Government nothing should be done and that the economy of the country should be allowed to collapse. I am sure that even the verdict of the Muslims of the country is not going to be that, even when the Pakistan issue is not prejudiced, nothing should be done so far as planning is concerned and the economy of the country allowed to collapse. If in spite of that an adverse verdict is passed by this House, I can only regard it as one more evidence of the irresponsibility which the unfortunate political situation in the country has brought about.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai:** I did not expect that the Honourable Member who has just resumed his seat would introduce topics on which he might well have been a little more wise and careful. But there are two or three matters to which I wish to refer because it is my duty.

He imagines in his wisdom that we on this side of the House and the country stand far apart and they and the country are going to be one in the near future because of the dead services they render. Such flattering function is all right in his own private chamber but an extremely poor show in a House like this.

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshr Dalal:** Not being a lawyer I have no objection.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai:** There are only two matters to which I wish to refer. First about the negotiation of which I thought we had heard the last. The Honourable Member came to me and gave me a formula and he knows what it was. I consulted nobody. Thank God there is more confidence between us than there appears to be among the members of that group.

**Sir Gomasjee Jehangir:** Very doubtful.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai:** I am quoting his words, Sir Cowasjee. Please, I am not giving way.

**Sir Cowasjee Jehangir:** You can interrupt, but we cannot!

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai:** I am not giving way.

(Cries from Opposition Benches of "Sit down, sit down: Order, order.")

**Sir Cowasjee Jehangir:** I rise to a point of order. It has become a habit of some sections of the House to deliberately interrupt.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai:** This is not a point of order.

**Sir Cowasjee Jehangir:** I rise to a point of order.

**Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury (Bengal: Landholders):** Order, order: Order, order!

**Sir Cowasjee Jehangir:** It is for the President to decide.

**Mr. D. K. Lahiri Chaudhury:** Order, order. He is not giving in.

**Sir Cowasjee Jehangir:** I rise to a point of order whether these interruptions are in order in this House, and if they are in order I have a right to interrupt. If they are not in order I will not interrupt.

**Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim):** Whether they are in order or not, it is my duty to judge and I can only judge in each case.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai:** The idea was that an advisory committee should be formed to work this plan and as the work went on any plans, or any part of them, when completed would be submitted to this House for approval. It was accepted by the Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal. He went back to his colleagues and said he had been advised that the word "approval" should be omitted and the word "consideration" should be substituted, and I think the House has intelligence enough to understand the difference between the two in its essential value. He says, yes we will let you discuss and we shall do what we like. On the other hand what we stipulated was that you will have our approval and then alone you can do it. So much for the negotiation and I hope and trust that at the end of this there will be no more discussion as to what took place. Some Members of this House do not know the constitution. They think that a Member has just got to speak something and the others have to toadily laugh!

**The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar:** That is what they on your side are doing!

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai:** They are not aware that there are Committees of the House as in the American Constitution and perhaps the Honourable Member is not aware that the Resolution did not involve any executive action. The committee was to be appointed for the purpose of taking evidence and formulating a plan and recommending it.

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal:** I was going on the speech of the Honourable Member in which he said we will prepare the plan.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai:** Of course he still does not understand. Preparing is one thing and execution another.

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal:** Making the plan itself is an executive action.

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai:** He still does not understand, but I cannot help a man who has been a magistrate all his life. The fact remains that the committee prepares the plan and then it comes to the executive to carry it out. If there is any distinction between executive and deliberative, those are the two functions. Preparing a plan is deliberative. If you like it take it: if you don't like it, leave it. It is in the American constitution and it is done every day. If those gentlemen who in their ignorance laugh, let them go and read it if they have time and if they have any sense.

There is one matter to which I wish to refer. I confine myself to merits. Attempts were made yesterday to divide us and the country and to divide us between ourselves. It is a pitiful spectacle and I hope and trust that it won't be repeated in this House and that notwithstanding the discussion this House will carry this motion.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions; Muhammadan Rural):** My Honourable friend Sir Ardeshir Dalal has

been good enough to describe my friend the Leader of the Opposition and myself as the two Russian Generals who are out to annihilate Hitler in Germany, and he said that unlike the Russian Generals we do not agree. But let me tell him that whatever our differences may be, on one fundamental point there is complete agreement and that is to annihilate so many apologies for a Hitler sitting over there. Sir, my Honourable friend has spoken with injured innocence that in spite of the fact that he had made an offer to this House to co-operate with him we refused our co-operation, and he was further good enough to say that he had in the generosity of his heart agreed to appoint a standing advisory committee for his department. Mr. President, I think the time has come when the Government should realise what is the meaning of co-operation. Co-operation does not mean servile support of all that you say or all that you do. That type of co-operation you should not expect from any decent Indian in this country. But if you really wanted the assistance, the help, the co-operation of the non-official Members of this House, then you should have given effect to the Resolution that was passed by this Assembly in the last Session.

My Honourable friend has tried to make a point by saying that this House wants to usurp the function of the Executive and he has said that there is no legislature in the world which performs the functions that are legitimately assigned to the Executive. But my Honourable friend ignores one fundamental fact. Is there any Executive in the world which goes on merrily from day to day in spite of the fact that the Legislature of that country shows its lack of confidence every day in that Executive? If he can tell me the name of even one legislature in the world anywhere, outside India (otherwise he might mention this Assembly) then I shall accept what he has to say. Sir, the other legislatures naturally give the right of executing any plan or scheme to their Government because they know that that Government if it went wrong can be kicked out in a few moments and the legislature can put in a government of its choice—a government which will carry out the policy, the programme or the scheme which is approved by the majority of the members of the legislature.

Apart from that, let me remind him that this Resolution did not ask that the Legislature should usurp the functions which belong to the Honourable Member. He has forgotten the wording of the Resolution and only remembers some stray sentence in the speech of the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition. What does the resolution say? It says:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that an elected Committee of this House consisting of not more than 15 members be appointed for the purpose of considering the several plans for post-war economic development of India, agriculture and industry with instructions to report to this House."

**Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai:** That is execution!

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Where is it said that this Committee of 15 which was to be appointed should usurp the function of the Executive Council of 15 that sit over there?

**The Honourable Sir Ardeshir Dalal:** It was the explanation of the Leader of the Opposition.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** I was saying that instead of paying attention to the words of the Resolution, my Honourable friend is hanging on to some stray sentence that was in the speech of the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition.

My Honourable friend has said that planning should not wait till such time as the future constitution of India is decided upon. I agree with him. It is not necessary that the future economic planning of the country should wait till such time as there is a new constitution but it must wait till such time as Indians themselves are able to plan the future. You are not fit to plan the future of this country economically, agriculturally, industrially and educationally. Your plans in the past have been of such a character that the people of the country cannot entrust their future destiny to your tender hands. Let me tell him that because we had realised the importance of immediate planning for the future, because we realised that the world cannot wait till such time as India is able to have an agreed constitution (God alone knows how long it

[Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan]

may take to have a new constitution), it was because of that that we made this offer of co-operation to the Honourable Member by suggesting that a Committee of this House should be appointed to consider these plans. My Honourable friend has rejected that hand of co-operation and now I would submit that it does not lie in his mouth to come forward and say that he has always been wanting the co-operation of the people of India. After all this Legislature, constituted as it is, represents the peoples of India and therefore we as representatives of the peoples of India did offer our co-operation to the Honourable Member but he would not accept that co-operation, and the type of co-operation to which the Honourable Member is used, he cannot get from any decent Indian.

My Honourable friend has unnecessarily given expression to the views which he holds about Pakistan, whether it is to be one United India or two, three or four Indias. That is not the matter under discussion at present. The matter under discussion at present is that the future planning of the country should be done in such a way that the people of this country as a whole may feel that whatever those plans are, they are for the benefit of the people of this country, that those plans are of such a nature which would benefit the largest number of Indians in this country and that the plans are not made in such a way that the rich people will go on becoming richer and produce more TATAS in this country than what exist today. We do not want that the economy of this country should go into the hands of a few individuals. We do not want that the industrial development of this country should be done in a manner which would benefit only a few capitalists. We do not want that the wealth of the country should be taken and counted only in terms of the wealth of a few individuals. We want that the industrial development and the economic advancement of the country should be based on such lines that it would benefit the millions and millions of poor people and that when you talk of the wealth of the country you should take the wealth of the poor individual who is living in the villages and not those people who are living in big mansions and having the whole economic life of the country in the palm of their hands. And that, Mr. President. I submit the present Government, constituted as it is, is unfit to do. That ought to be and can only be done if they associate with them and have the real and honourable co-operation of the representatives of the peoples of this country. My Honourable friend has recognised the necessity, when these plans are put into execution, of having a Government of a type that would command the confidence of the people. That I think he has admitted and rightly so. But I submit that you cannot expect that the people should swallow whatever plans you may frame for them. You cannot expect that if there is a change in the Government in the future, then that Government should just thrust your plans down the throats of the people of India. If the people's representatives are not associated in the preparation of these plans, then you cannot expect any Indian Government to carry out your plans. Therefore, Mr. President, all this time, all this money is being wasted and will be of no avail for the future advancement of the country. We recognise the importance of having the future planning done now, and that is why we said, taking everything into consideration, that if the plans are prepared with the goodwill, with the co-operation, with the assistance of the Honourable Members of this House, those plans have a better chance of being carried out in the country later on. Sir, I submit that the Honourable Member has not really given any valid argument in support of his contention. He has not given any argument as to why he has rejected the resolution which was accepted by this Honourable Assembly, and now let me say that as long as we on this side of the House have no share in preparing the plans for the future economic development of India, so long we shall do whatever we can not to place a single penny at your disposal to be spent as you may like.

**Some Honourable Members:** The question be put, Sir.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:

"That the question be now put."  
The motion was adopted.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is:  
"That the demand under the head 'Post-War Planning and Development' be reduced to Re. 1."

The Asembly divided:

AYES—59

Abdul Basith Choudhury, Dewan.	Lalchand Navalrai, Mr.
Abdul Ghani, Maulvi Muhammad.	Lalljee, Mr. Hooseinbhoj A.
Abdul Qaiyum, Mr.	Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawabzada Muhammad.
Abdullah, Mr. H. M.	Mangal Singh, Sardar.
Ayyangar, Mr. M. Ananthassayanam.	Manu Subedar, Mr.
Azhar Ali, Mr. Muhammad.	Mehr Shah, Nawab Sahibzada Sir Sayad Muhammad.
Banerjee, Dr. P. N.	Misra, Pandit Shambhudayal.
Chattopadhyaya, Mr. Amarendra Nath.	Murtuza Sahib Bahadur, Maulvi Syed.
Chettiar, Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam.	Nairang, Syed Ghulam Bhik.
Chetty, Mr. Sami Vencatachelan.	Nauman, Mr. Muhammad.
Choudhury, Mr. Muhammad Hussain.	Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Chunder, Mr. N. C.	Pande, Mr. Badri Dutt.
Daga, Seth Sheodasa.	Raghubir Narain Singh, Choudhri.
Dam, Mr. Ananga Mohan.	Ram Narayan Singh, Mr.
Das, Mr. E.	Ramayan Prasad, Mr.
Desai, Mr. Bhulabhai J.	Banga, Prof. N. G.
Deshmukh, Dr. G. V.	Baza Ali, Sir Syed.
Deshmukh, Mr. Govind V.	Reddiar, Mr. K. Sitarama.
Eesak Sait, Mr. H. A. Sathar H.	Sant Singh, Sardar.
Fazli Haq Piracha, Khan Bahadur Shaikh.	Satyanarayana Moorty, Mr. A.
Gauri Shankar Singh, Mr.	Sham Lal, Lala.
Habibar Rahman, Dr.	Siddique Ali Khan, Nawab.
Hans Raj, Raizada.	Sinha, Mr. Satya Narayan.
Hegde, Sri K. B. Jinaraja.	Sri Prakasa, Mr.
Hosmani, Mr. S. K.	Srivastava, Mr. Hari Sharan Prasad.
Ismail Khan, Hajee Chowdhury Muhammad.	Subbarayan, Shrimati K. Radha Bai.
Kazmi, Qazi Muhammad Ahmad.	Yamin Khan, Sir Muhammad.
Krishnamachari, Mr. T. T.	Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Seth.
Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. D. K.	Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana.
Lakhichand, Mr. Rajmal.	

NOES—48

Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Major Nawab Sir.	Krishnamoorthy, Mr. E. S. A.
Ambedkar, The Honourable Dr. B. R. —	Kushal Pal Singh, Raja Bahadur.
Anthony, Mr. Frank R.	Lawson, Mr. C. P.
Azizul Huque, The Honourable Sir M.	Mehta, Mr. Jannadas M.
Benthall, The Honourable Sir Edward.	Muazzam Sahib Bahadur, Mr. Muhammad.
Bewoor, Sir Gurunath.	Mudaliar, The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami.
Bhagchand Soni, Rai Bahadur Sir Seth.	Mudie, The Honourable Sir Francis.
Caroe, Sir Olaf.	Piarc Lall Kureel, Mr.
Chandavarkar, Sir Vithal N.	Raisman, The Honourable Sir Jeremy.
Chapman-Mortimer, Mr. T.	Ram Nath, Mr.
Daga, Seth Sunder Lall.	Richardson, Sir Henry.
Dalal, Dr. Sir Ratanji Dinshaw.	Roy, The Honourable Sir Asoka.
Dalal, The Honourable Sir Ardeshir.	Shahban, Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad.
Dalpat Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.	Sheehy, Sir John.
Ghiasuddin, Mr. M.	Spence, Sir George.
Ghuznavi, Sir Abdul Halim.	Srivastava, The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad.
Gwilt, Mr. E. L. C.	Stokes, Mr. H. G.
Habibur Rahman, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.	Sultan Ahmed, The Honourable Sir.
Haider, Khan Bahadur Shamsuddin.	Sundaresan, Mr. N.
Imam, Mr. Saiyid Haider.	Thakur Singh, Capt.
Ismail Alikhan, Kunwer Hajee.	Trivedi, Mr. C. M.
Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sir.	Tyson, Mr. G. W.
Jehangir, Sir Cowasjee.	Tyson, Mr. J. D.
Kamaluddin Ahmad, Shams-ul-Ulema.	
Khare, The Honourable Dr. N. B.	

The motion was adopted.

THE FACTORIES (SECOND AMENDMENT) BILL.

PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

**The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar** (Labour Member): Sir, I present the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the Factories Act, 1934.

THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*contd.*

**Mrs. Renuka Ray** (Nominated Non-Official): Sir, may I just say that I should like to move my cut motion No. 189 on the Consolidated List of Motions under Demand No. 28 under the head Department of Labour, after Mr. N. M. Joshi's motion, during the time allotted to Unattached Members. The unattached Members, Mr. Frank Anthony and Sardar Sant Singh and Mr. Hooseinbhoj Laljee, have agreed to allow my cut motion to take precedence over theirs. I have also notified the Honourable the Labour Member accordingly. I hope you will kindly agree to this arrangement.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Is that motion likely to come on today?

**Mrs. Renuka Ray**: On Monday or Tuesday.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): Has the Government Member any objection to it?

**The Honourable Dr. B. B. Ambedkar** (Labour Member): I do not have any rights in this matter: the matter, I think, is entirely in your discretion, Sir.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): As the Honourable Member has got the permission of those unattached Members in whose time this motion will be moved and the Government have enough time till Monday or Tuesday to be ready with their reply to the motion, I think I shall allow the motion to be entered on the agenda.

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

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. K. C. Neogy (One of the Panel of Chairmen) in the Chair.

## DEMAND NO. 16—DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND CIVIL SUPPLIES

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman**: Sir, I move:—

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 34,46,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1946, in respect of the 'Department of Industries and Civil Supplies'."

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. K. C. Neogy): Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 34,46,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1946, in respect of the 'Department of Industries and Civil Supplies'."

*Failure of Control Permit System and Supply of Consumer Goods*

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon** (Sind: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I move:

"That the demand under the head 'Department of Industries and Civil Supplies' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Mr. Chairman, the Department of Industries and Civil Supplies came into existence some time in the middle of 1943. Some of us on this side, optimistic as usual, felt that this department will be of some use and service to consumers, to the poor man on the road and to an honest trader but our hopes were dashed to the ground like a house of cards. What is the achievement of this department to its credit? Profiteering, black marketing, hoarding, the utter failure of control and the lack of patronage to the Indian manufacturer of the consumer goods are to its credit. The other day, my Honourable friend Sir Henry Richardson while discussing the General Budget tried to pay a compliment to the effectiveness of the control and the price level but in the same breath he pleaded for a liberal import policy. My friends on my left (the European Group), who are not here except one, may not be worried. After all this Government which has been disowned by all the sections this side of the House is owned by them. And the policy of this Government, therefore, has always been to encourage imports and allow my friends on my left (the European Group) to establish their business connection. My friends on the opposite Treasury Benches have been professing that they are working in the interest of this country, then should they not feel it their duty to see that the imports which are brought to this country are used for defence purposes and the Indian manufacturer is allowed to make his contact with the market and

establish himself before war is over—but that is not done. There are consumable goods which are being produced in this country and are being replaced by the imports, this could have been left open to the civilian consumers but instead, it pays them to allow these goods to go for defence services, as the goods which come from abroad are not controlled or controlled only in the sense of the Department that landed cost plus 20 per cent. profit is allowed to people here, but the goods which are manufactured here are controlled. We therefore know that the profit is made there at the expense of India.

Mr. Chairman, coming to the effectiveness of the control, it remains for my Honourable friend and his Department to tell us as to how these companies have been declaring huge dividends. We are told that these companies working for the defence services are allowed only the cost price plus 10 per cent. but what do we find? These companies have been making huge profits but nothing is done to check it. Let us take for example the Cotton Control Order. We find that there is a considerable increase in export, the inrush of cloth into the preparation of hosiery and ready made goods which are left scot-free from control, the lack of free and expeditious movement of cloth from the manufacturer to the consuming centre, the lack of equitable distribution of available supplies of cloth and yarn to every part of India—all these factors have tempted the traders to indulge in black marketing. It is all very well for our friends to say that control is in existence. You can buy things only in the fashionable shopping centre or living in the capital city, and boasting of effectiveness of control but all the four hundred millions of people cannot do this. They live in places where the shadow of this Imperialistic Government or their agents has never cared to pass. Go and see their conditions for yourself and the effectiveness of these controls in the villages. The other day my Honourable friend Mr. Chettiar put a supplementary question in which he informed the House that in Eastern Bengal some ladies committed suicide because they could not clothe themselves. One could see the blank look in the eyes of the Honourable Members on the opposite side as to ridicule the statement.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque** (Member for Commerce and Industries and Civil Supplies): How could you see my eyes, with my specks on? I said it is difficult for me to understand.

**An Honourable Member:** It is not difficult to believe.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon:** But you replied also ridiculing the statement—Leave aside Bengal. Take a province which is called a surplus province where you have got the headquarters of the Cotton Control Order. What is happening there? I will read to you a few lines from *Commerce*. It says:

"Meanwhile the shortage of cloth has become very much pronounced in this city. Nowhere could one obtain dhotis, and whatever stocks that remain with merchants have practically disappeared in the black market. It is understood that the recent order of the Textile Commissioner freezing the remaining 20 per cent. stocks with merchants has been due to the necessity of sending some cloth to up country centres which have been in great need of cloth. We are told that the present dhoti famine is likely to continue for at least two months more."

This is where your control headquarters exists and this is how you control. This famine exists not only in cloth but in fine cloth also. We find that mills have stopped producing finer cloth as it pays them to manufacture coarse cloth. Why can't the Government force these mills to manufacture fine cloth on the same pre-war average? Now, Sir, I submit this black market does exist everywhere. You cannot deny it. It is impossible for any one to say that it does not exist. One of the Directors of Civil Supplies in the course of an interview admitted that black markets did exist so far as cloth was concerned. This appeared in the *Eastern Economist*.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** Who is that Director?

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon:** The Director of Civil Supplies in Sind.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** Oh! I see.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon:** Black market does exist everywhere. We find here in the City of Delhi cloth is not available. If one goes to the market,

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one cannot get a piece of long cloth or *lattha*. There is a great hue and cry from the poorer classes about the dearth of cloth, but yet nothing is done to remedy the situation. The Government have fixed the price for different qualities of cloth which are all stamped on the cloth. May I ask what check do Government have to see that the manufacturer does not stamp an excessive price on the cloth. To my knowledge there is no check at all. I have got here with me now some samples of cloth, which I can pass on to the Honourable Member and he can find out for himself whether excessive price is not stamped thereon. What are the Government going to do about that? I am sure the Government are not interested in instituting any check, because my Honourable friend the Finance Member is interested in seeing that he gets enormous excess profits tax. Of course he is only concerned with the revenue side of it.

(At this stage the Honourable Member exhibited to the House certain samples of cloth.)

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. K. C. Neogy): Order, order. The Honourable Member is certainly in order in referring to these matters, but there is a limit beyond which this cannot be allowed inside the House. An examination of the samples might be usefully carried out in the lobby.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon**: I will give them to the Honourable Member, if he cares to have them.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque**: I will be delighted to have them.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon**: I will certainly give this for the personal use of the Honourable Member because he also cannot get these materials. Mr. Chairman, coming to the new all-India distribution scheme which we may for the moment call an improvement on simple movement, has its own shortcomings. It is learnt that the Government of India are trying to put this scheme into execution by licensing a few shops or in other words giving retail sale rights or wholesale selling rights to individual traders. May I know who will select these shops? They will be selected by officials. And how will they be selected? Only persons who invest in national savings certificates will be given this licence. I have got with me applications from merchants who have been trading in this line for a long time past and have legitimate right, have been left out simply because they were not able to produce evidence in their applications for licence that they had invested in national savings certificates. Mr. Chairman, these applicants who are all wholesale dealers have been completely left out of this scheme. People new to this trade have been selected for the grant of licence simply because they invested some amount in national savings certificates. It is really a pity that these things still exist and are allowed. In this new distribution scheme, the poor hawkers who used to find their livelihood by carrying cloth on their backs to the villages, have been left out altogether. There are thousands of these hawkers who are not included in your scheme and who will be starved out. What are you going to do with them? How are you going to provide them their livelihood? I suppose that will be a post-war planning. Dyers and printers also have been left out of this scheme. I have got a telegram from Karachi which says:

"The Director of Civil Supplies has stopped cloth for hand dyeing printing purpose to dyers of Sind thus dealt death blow to Sind industry throwing thousands out of employment. Please move authorities concerned."

But what can I do. Can I move the authorities in this matter? It is impossible. There is another telegram from Burhanpur which says:

"Weavers condition pitiable yarn famine. Representatives want to see Azizul Huque through you. Explaining yarn position."

This relates to a co-operative society and who have also been thrown out of employment. Such a state of affairs exists in the country. This is the effectiveness of control of your Yarn Department.

Coming now to the other consumer goods, I find that the Honourable Member and his Department had declared that only 20 per cent will be allowed to be charged over landed cost. But what is done? Not only 20 per cent, not its double, 40 per cent, but 300 per cent. is being charged. When this order

came out, the consumers believed that it will give some relief. Now to the kind of propaganda that is being carried on in support of this by the Department of Broadcasting and Mis-Information. The booklet "Indian Information" dated 1st November 1944 says:

"The Hoarding and Profiteering Prevention Ordinance aimed at putting down both these evils and making available to the public consumer goods at reasonable prices."

Now, let us examine the reasonable rates. The reasonable rates are 200 per cent. 300 per cent. and 150 per cent. For instance on watches, they allow 115 per cent. to 125 per cent., watch materials, 200 to 300 per cent. is allowed. For radios and radio spare parts, they allow 200 per cent. All these percentages are legitimately allowed. This is not the percentage of the black market. When Government allows such high percentage of profit, why should such things go into the black market. I have got a list of 50 or 60 articles, in not even one case is the percentage below 20 per cent. Only in the case of razor blades it is 15 to 50 per cent. Then in reply to a question of Honourable Mr. Husain Inam in the other House Mr. Patel said:

"Section 6 of the Ordinance allows the trade to add to the landed cost or cost of production the profit margin allowed by pre-war normal trade practice, even though it exceeds 20 per cent., unless it is varied by the Controller General, who is empowered to examine these margins and to approve their continuance or modifications."

Mr. Chairman, this entirely rules out your Ordinance of 20 per cent.

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. K. C. Neogy): The Honourable Member has one minute more.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon**: These are the things which exist in this department as effective control. We were told by a communiqué when this department came into existence that industrial development will continue and in the interest of that the department will work. May I ask what has been done? The Hydari Mission has gone to England. When the Finance Member took the Finance deputation to England he had with him a non-official representative. Why did not the Hydari Mission take a non-official representative? But the facts are being kept a secret from this House. Why do you not come out with a statement and tell us what is being done regarding the capital goods? There has been a lot of talk about Capital Industry development and other things but we on this side are still wandering in the darkness. Sir, I move.

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. K. C. Neogy): Cut motion moved:

"That the demand under the head 'Department of Industries and Civil Supplies' be reduced by Rs. 100."

**Mr. Sri Prakasa**: Sir, it is always an unpleasant and ungracious task to have to say anything against a department the head of which is such a kindly, courteous and amiable gentleman as my Honourable friend opposite. But I should like to say on this occasion, and to warn him also, that he is unconsciously putting himself in the position of helping the Government to revert back into the East India Company. The East India Company was chartered to trade in pepper, and when it came here it took advantage of the situation and turned itself into an autocratic Government. And today it seems to me that with the help of its Indian collaborators, it wants to be both a Government and an East India Company. Government evidently want, with this department and other departments the heads of which are fellow-countrymen of mine, to get a monopoly of all possible trade.

**An Honourable Member**: Who is the Clive of this firm?

**Mr. Sri Prakasa**: I should think that the managing agent of this firm is going to be a sort of mixture of the Home and Finance Members, as Robert Clive was the managing agent of that great firm long ago!

I find that this Government is trying the control of one trade after another. And not only is it doing this recklessly, it is delegating its powers to Provincial Governments equally recklessly, with the result that the District Magistrates have now become the real traders of the country. Whenever any question is raised in this House and any complaint is made here, we are told that the power has been delegated to the Provincial Government and we ought

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press it is stifled under the Defence of India Rules. The principal must ordinarily be responsible for its agents! The whole trade is being put into the hands of the favourites of the District Magistrates and is being deflected from its normal channels. Most traders have been deprived of their business; the few that retain it can only do so by questionable means; and by paying large sums of money to so-called war funds, because there is no other way of pleasing the District Magistrates except by paying into those funds. I hope I shall have occasion later on to speak on the war and what I think of it; but I do say that it is a disgraceful exhibition of executive power to force persons to contribute large sums of money before they can get licenses to do their normal trade.

Most businessmen are being killed out; new businessmen, favourites of District Magistrates, are being created who know nothing about business they are required to do. And then a most unholy class of inspectors has been let loose on society, and persons who are dishonest to the core look or are supposed to look after these shops. I myself experienced this sort of dishonesty. A friend of mine who happens to have a shop in a U. P. town, took me to that shop. Soon after came a very fat gentleman; and I was told he was an inspector. This friend of mine later on told me that he has to pay a hundred rupees a month to this inspector. If he did not pay that money it would be impossible to carry on that shop. Permits are wanted for all sorts of things. Here in Delhi the other day when a servant of mine got ill about 10 o'clock at night and I wanted some spirit of camphor, I knocked from chemist's door to chemist's door, and they would not give it to me, though I was getting very anxious about the case, because they wanted a doctor's certificate before they could part with a few drops of the spirit of camphor.

I cannot believe that there is a shortage of goods in the country because there is always the black market from which one can get anything one wants in any quantity. If there had been a real shortage, there would not be these things available anywhere. The common talk in my town of Benares certainly is that the department has its control prices for Government servants who alone can take advantage of it; has provided black markets for the wealthy, and the middle and the poor classes are left in the cold as never before. When there is any complaint against this department we are asked to give individual cases. Individual cases are always difficult to give because of the peculiar circumstances.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** What about the name of the fat inspector? That is not difficult; will you give us that?

**Mr. Sri Prakasa:** All right.

Then traders have told me that if they did not indulge in this kind of bribery they would not be able to carry on their business at all. We are told in this House that there are always two sides to a bribe—the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker, and that both are equally guilty. Legally that may be so, but morally that is not so, because the bribe usually takes the form of extortion.

**S.P.M.** The Honourable the Finance Member has asked me to give the names. I can tell him that questions in this House on Income-tax have got me in trouble with local officers; and it is not always very easy to complain because you get it in the neck in your own home. And if my Honourable friends opposite think that there is something fishy on my part in the income-tax business, they are mistaken, because everything was all right as was proved all along the line! But they can always trouble you in a thousand ways when they know that you have complained to Headquarters. That is why most of these complaints do not come.

It is the duty of Government, when there is a complaint of a general nature, to make investigations and find out where the trouble lies. When it comes to a group of non-officials, Government says the trade is all dishonest; it has done them very badly, they must all go. There no specific instances are called for, nobody says which particular trader has been dishonest, no effort is made to catch the particular trader and punish him. In that case the whole trade is

labeled as dishonest and swept off. But when it comes to Government servants, there is always some specific instance to be given. If a trader is caught charging a little more, he is very heavily punished. When it comes to the Chief Commissioner of Ajmer who sent out an order to the effect that woollen goods are only to be given to people who pay income-tax and Government servants drawing a pay over Rs. 100, and we asked the Honourable gentlemen what punishment was meted out to the Chief Commissioner for this incensate order, he said that it was an honest mistake. "Government servants always commit honest mistakes while non-officials are always dishonest. If a trader commits a little mistake because of the complicated laws and the enormous number of orders that are being passed then he is punished inordinately. For charging one pice more out of ignorance on a rubber tyre that was required by a Deputy Magistrate, a trader was fined by a fellow Deputy Magistrate to the extent of one thousand rupees, while when if he charged a non-official a little more—not only one pice but many annas more—the fine was only a few rupees. It is because the sanctity of the Government servant is so very very great! I could dilate on various misdeeds of the department, but it is utterly useless to do so.

My greatest objection to the department is that it has introduced politics in its consideration; and that came out when I put questions about the *National Herald*—our newspaper at Lucknow. What has this Department to do with the politics of a paper? It has only to see whether there is a sufficient amount of newsprint available or not. The Department wants to make itself an ally of the Home Department and the Provincial Governments; and they are anxious to stop the publication of all newspapers that go counter to their views. The Honourable Sir Itamaswami Mudaliar, speaking in Hyderabad, said that we should all have courage to say what we feel, but evidently what he meant was that we should all have the courage, where no courage is necessary, of speaking in favour of Government; but when we have the courage to speak things that are not to the taste of Government then we should be punished heavily. I believe Government should have the courage to punish and we should have the courage to sing its praises!

I, therefore, feel that when in this department there is favouritism, in this department there is corruption, and in this department there is a great deal of politics, then this department must be abolished. I am not satisfied really with a cut of only one hundred rupees. I should like the department to go lock, stock and barrel; and my Honourable friend to be given a task that would be more congenial to him. The case of newspapers is particularly scandalous; and permission is given to newspapers that are in favour of the Government as it is, while even old established newspapers are not being given permission to re-appear simply because their politics are uncongenial to the Government opposite. I therefore think, Sir, that it is time that the Honourable Member, if he is not able to abolish his department entirely, should take greater responsibility for it himself, to have his own officers throughout the country and not depend on provincial administrations with their prejudices and their biases.

The other day an Honourable Member spoke of a certain amount of smuggling; and my Honourable friend opposite asked him to consult his geography and to find out how widespread our frontiers are and then to realize how impossible it is to look after everything. This reminds me of a little story of Mahmud of Ghazni—it would be insulting Mahmud of Ghazni to compare him with the present Government—who was approached by an old woman who complained to him of a certain theft that had taken place in her house; and Mahmud said: "My Empire is so large that I cannot look after everything". Then the old woman said: "Why do you have such a large Empire, who asked you to get such a large Empire, and if you have that large Empire you must look after everything in that Empire". I say the same to Honourable Members opposite. They are responsible for the lives and liberties of every one of us, however far from the capital may be the place where we reside. Nobody asked them to establish this Empire, nobody asked them to come here, and if they have come here and if they have this Empire, they must look

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after us. If they cannot look after us they had better go out. It is not of their concern as to what is going to happen to us afterwards. We will see to it what happens; but I do hope that my Honourable friend opposite, the good man that he is, will no more associate himself with this Government and be a party to their wrongs.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** Sir, I am quite prepared to accept the fullest responsibility for the Department, as I have been asked, but my friend will agree with me that not even Superman can ever do it, unless this responsibility is also shared by this House. Sir, it is impossible in any country in matters dealing with economic commodities and controls to tackle them properly unless the Legislature, which is there certainly to criticise where there is a wrong is also on occasions prepared to give credit for what the Department has been able to do. I will not say anything more than that.

My friend Mr. Yusuf Abdoola Haroon was almost offering me a few pieces of cloth which I would be delighted to have at any time. He is a member, along with 25 to 30 other non-official gentlemen, of the Consumer's Council. Was it not his duty to bring it to my notice and then if I did not take any action, he would certainly be entitled to raise it in the House and criticise me and my department. I have not heard of one instance. In matters of these economic controls, if any matter of abuse is brought to my notice, I am prepared to take the responsibility for going into the question fully and finding out what best can be done. But, Sir, to revert back to the story, if like Mahmud Ghazni I myself established an empire and had to be responsible, then it would be different. I am speaking in 1945. Twenty years before, if anyone had said that the autonomy of the provinces should in any way be affected, he would be considered a traitor to the country. I am now in the midst of a new situation. The autonomy of the provinces is there and the Government of India have not the field staff, and I say deliberately that no amount of effort can quickly create a field staff covering the thousands of square miles of this vast country.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa:** Then don't have it!

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** But the question is the time factor. If I have to bring down the level of the prices at a quick time remember I have to work with the existing machinery. With regard to modifications, or amendments or changes in machinery I am prepared to work with you. But in the meantime I have to work with the existing machinery and see what can be done in the circumstances.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** The existing machinery is pretty rotten!

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** My friend Mr. Haroon said that this Department is responsible for all the profiteering and the black-marketing. I would like to know the logic of it. If it is because of the result of their action black-marketing has come, I can understand . . . . .

**Mr. Sri Prakasa:** Certainly.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** But does my friend mean to say that in the year 1943 when prices were at their highest peak, it was due to the Department of Industries and Civil Supplies which was not in existence? And why was it that 550 per cent. rise was there?

**Mr. Sri Prakasa:** Due to inflation!

**Prof. N. G. Ranga:** (Guntur cum Nellore: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Government was responsible.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** That is one complete argument to all arguments in this House.

**Prof. N. G. Ranga:** It is a quite correct argument.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon:** It is 300 per cent. even now.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** I frankly admit it. But with prices 555 per cent. up, if I had made an attempt to bring it down to 100 per cent. at once, I would have brought about an economic chaos in this country. I have

been trying to reduce it gradually and if I have been able to bring it down to 250 per cent., if not 300 per cent., I at least believe that I have done something.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa:** Abolish the Nasik Press!

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** That is not the concern of the Industries and Civil Supplies Department. Therefore I say, that, do give us some credit that from 1948 we have been able to reduce the peak price by half. May I ask the economic historians and the political historians whether there is any parallel in any country where price was at its highest peak, the situation had to be taken in control with supplies at an extremely low level and with success. It was an extraordinary difficulty. I do not take any credit for myself. But I give credit to all those in the department and those who have worked for the last two years to bring about this condition of things in this country. I have to work under the existing constitution and my friend knows it perfectly well. He knows the map of Sind and the map of India. He knows that if the Director of Supplies, Sind, has refused yarn to anybody the remedy is with the Ministry of his province and not with ourselves. We have been supplying the total quota for the province. I wish I could control the entire distribution system of this country. But it is physically impossible. It is not possible within the time limit and so long we have to work with constitutional position as it is today, distribution in the provinces must be through the provincial agencies. Complaints about the Director of Civil Supplies not giving yarn to a particular area or person should go to the Ministry which is responsible for the province, if there is a Ministry, otherwise to the Provincial Government.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon:** In the new Budget you have asked for the demand to increase your staff to 462.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** I ask most seriously whether a staff of 462 can control the black marketing in this country? Is that most seriously argued? As I said, I will come to what we have done.

**Mr. Badri Dutt Pande:** An army of 20 lakhs, do you want more?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** Then my friend asks how is it that companies are giving huge dividends? I am afraid my friend has forgotten the elementary principles of business. Dividends accrue from, but do not depend on the turnover but on the share capital. If my friend has made a profit of 20 lakhs, his dividends will be much more with a capital of 5 lakhs than a company with 10 lakhs capital.

As regards the question of quick movement and equitable distribution, we have been most alert about it. We have done our best. As regards the question of textiles, yarn and cloth, there is a motion on Monday next, and I propose to give a detailed reply to all these questions. Then when he understands the facts, he will understand our position.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** In the meantime the people are to go without clothes!

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** I do not admit that it will be so.

I have before me the report of the Controller General for the last fortnight. We have tried to start enquiry posts, in some of the important towns, to which people who have complaints may come. In the Enquiry Post in Bombay 255 complaints were received and 12 complaints were made in the fortnight. In Calcutta in one post 136 enquiries were made. We have been trying to see that traders play a fair game with the producers.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon:** What was the result of those enquiries?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** If my friend wants it, as a member of the Consumers' Council, I am prepared to place every thing before him. As regards dehoarding activities, very recently in that fortnight (this is according to the Associated Press message) there was a big haul of black marketing and watches to the extent of about 2,000 have been found out as a

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result of dehoarding activities. 302 watches were gold and 1,500 were ordinary watches.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Have they been confiscated?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** They have certainly been confiscated in the way that they are now available to the public. There are now cases before the court.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Will they be rehoarded?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** At Ferozpur in the Punjab 1,400 five-pound tins of vegetable ghee, 9 drums each containing 560 pounds of vegetable ghee, several hundred tins of boot polishes, a large quantity of various toilet requisites including some hundred jars of face creams of various brands, razor blades, etc., have been recovered from the residences and godowns of some dealers. At Amritsar woollen yarn and rugs worth approximately Rs. 70,000 were recovered from the residence of a local shopkeeper. In Calcutta, glass sheets worth about a lakh of rupees have been seized from four different firms who were selling them at black market prices. At Shillong 88 bags of soda ash and 10,000 cigarettes from different shops have been dehoarded. May I say once again that I am quoting here from only a report for a fortnight and the work has been going on every week.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** What was the report before that?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** I am quite prepared to send all these reports to my Honourable friend. This is a matter in which I am anxious that the people should know the amount of work which we have been doing. Public consciousness has been aroused against anti-social profiteering and black market activities and from a report published in the *Hindustan Times* towards the end of February last it appears that the New Delhi Congress Committee is going to start a campaign against black marketing. Workers will go from shop to shop requesting dealers to stop black marketing. It is reported from the Central Provinces that an effigy of black marketing was set on fire at a public gathering held under the auspices of the local Congress Workers' Assembly.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Waste of fuel.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** I have personally noticed a regular campaign against black marketeers in some other papers also, particularly those which have been started at the instance of the Communist Party in India. The Press has begun to take a more vigilant interest in the convictions and in a recent case in which the Managing Director and two local salesmen of a big firm in Bombay were convicted and sentenced to a fine of Rs. 1,000 and 200 and 100 a Bombay newspaper has severely criticised this light punishment. Fines in Sind Province ranged from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,500 and from one month's to four months' imprisonment: two accused in a profiteering case were each fined Rs. 15,000 and sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment for selling an article at uncontrolled rate.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali** (Cities of the United Provinces: Muhammadan Urban):  
Imprisonment in default or in addition to fines?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** In addition to fines.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon:** What about European firms?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** In this matter both Europeans and Indians have been prosecuted.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon:** The Europeans are let off. I have given facts.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** Your facts are all wrong. I am prepared to go into the question.

In the North-West Frontier Province the fines inflicted on profiteers ranged from Rs. 50 to Rs. 150. In the Punjab a leading dealer of Ferozpur was awarded one month's rigorous imprisonment for profiteering in vegetable ghee.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa:** Have you taken any steps to check dishonesty in your department?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** There has been no dishonesty in my Department.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa:** That is the way of encouraging those in the Department.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** I need only say that there was a complaint against an Inspector but on enquiry it was not found to be completely founded on facts. But since the circumstances were such leading to suspicion of abuse of power, we asked the man immediately to leave the Department.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Is it not a fact that the Army and Navy Stores are allowed to charge 100 per cent. profit, whereas others are allowed only 20 per cent.?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** No, Sir, I think it is not. I am prepared to look into the facts and give you a reply.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** Have you got any cases in which European firms have been prosecuted?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** Yes.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** Let us have some instances.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** The Honourable Member must take it from me that they are prosecuted. Surely I am not making a light-hearted statement when I say that it is a fact that they are prosecuted. It is not necessary for me to give the details of the convictions. We are keeping a watch over it. Our trouble has been that whereas convictions in some provinces are deterrent, in other provinces it is not so deterrent. But I must say that compared with the situation about a year ago, the convictions now are becoming more and more deterrent in its effect.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** In Delhi Province the sentences are very light.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** No. I have got two cases. In Delhi a general merchant who had sold a safety razor for an unreasonable consideration was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 2,000. In another case a gramophone dealer who sold a gramophone at a high price was fined Rs. 2,500.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** Give instances where sentences of imprisonment have been given in Delhi.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** Sir, I would like the House to make an unequivocal declaration that in every case there should be imprisonment and nothing less. I want to be clear on that point. I have got before me three or four firms which have been prosecuted.

**Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:** May I know the conviction given to them?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** I cannot carry in my head all these details. May I say that the convictions do not depend upon me. I know that there have been heavy convictions in some cases. If you ask a question, I shall be prepared to reply.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Short notice question?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** Yes, I am prepared to accept short notice.

So far as papers are concerned, if it is a case of political views that governed this matter, I would certainly not have given permission to the evening edition of the *Hindustan Times*. The *Hindustan Times* at least has done me the honour, though I was the Member in charge of the Industries and Civil Supplies and attended the last meeting of the Indian Chambers of Commerce, it mentioned every name except mine. It is not a paper which is very kind to me, but, as I said, we have given permission to them. We have given permission to other nationalist papers as well.

**Prof. N. G. Ranga:** What about the *National Herald*?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azisul Huque:** I was going to say that we have been trying that Indian States should also fall into line with us and I am glad to say that a quite number of States have come into line. In one Indian State an ex-minister has been sentenced to two years imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 15,000 on charges of profiteering and hoarding. I can assure the Members of the House that we have been quite vigilant. We have been getting fortnightly reports of these convictions. We have drawn the attention of Provincial Governments, but the law's delays are there. I am glad to say that in Bombay they are having a Special Magistrate or an Additional Magistrate to try these cases.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** Where is the cloth in Delhi?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azisul Huque:** So far as cloth and yarn position is concerned, I do not want to confuse the issue today as there is a motion on Monday when I will make a full statement as to how the system is working today.

Apart from these measures, as nothing can check the present evil unless there are adequate supplies available, we have been trying our best, wherever it is possible, to find the supplies from within the country, and wherever it is not possible, we have been trying to get them from abroad. The Honourable Members will remember the statement I made the other day giving the quantities or the numbers of the articles which we are trying to get from abroad—fine yarn, fountain pens, ordinary paper, photographic materials, films, and other articles . . . . .

**An Honourable Member:** You want cosmetics?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azisul Huque:** My trouble is if my friend does not want cosmetics, there are others behind me who will require them, and if they want them, although I have no use for them, I have to provide them as part of the civil supplies. Then Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon wanted me to make an inquiry into the nature of the profit margin. I am quite prepared to have that matter discussed in the Consumers Council. May I say this Consumers Council is a body composed of six members and my friends opposite cannot say as usual that we have selected very convenient people. Mr. Neogy is a member, Sir Frederick James is there, Mr. Joshi is there.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee** (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Has not Mr. Neogy ceased to be a member?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azisul Huque:** He is still a member. Mr. Hossain Imam is there. I have five editors of newspapers on the Council: Mr. Brelvi of *Bombay Chronicle*, Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh of *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Sir Francis Low of the *Times of India*, Mr. Srinivasan of the *Hindu*, and Mr. Siddique of the *Morning News*. Can my friends say that we have selected men who are convenient to us? There is a member who belongs to the Congress Party and who was at one time a Minister. There are representative educationists. I am quite prepared to go into the question of profit margin as regards individual articles, but they cannot be discussed on the floor of the House. Let me however make a general proposition. If Seth Abdoola Haroon will come to us again and say that it is our duty to see that trade is not disturbed more than is necessary, then I may say that in deciding the profit margin we try to keep to the pattern of trade and profits as far as possible. Even there, where we find the profit is large, we have tried to reduce it. It is no use asking why I give 100 per cent. to crockery. Anybody who deals with crockery knows the heavy breakages in that line. It was not quite fair, if you will kindly excuse me, on Mr. Abdoola Haroon's part to read a statement in answer to a question, where the question was whether Government would place on the table a list of articles for which more than 50 per cent. is charged. And that is a list where, by and large, we have tried to reduce the profit by at least 50 per cent. We are trying to rationalise the profit on a proper basis. For example, Raleigh Cycles were sold at Rs. 320, they have now been brought down to Rs. 121-18-0.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** They are not available.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** They are available.

Then, condensed milk; my friend can take a little.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** It is my friend himself who is taking milk.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** It is good for everybody to take milk. Its price was Rs. 2-2-0 per tin, we have reduced it to 13 As. per tin. Sheffear lifetime fountain pens were selling at Rs. 175, we have reduced their price to Rs. 52-8-0. Blackbird—we have got down its price from Rs. 18 to Rs. 6-6-0.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** I want a pen.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** But you have got one in your hand, and that is my trouble. My trouble is my friend who has a pen wants more. I got one pen six years ago, and I have another which is made in this country, and I am trying to find out whether it will suit. I see in today's paper that 900 pens have arrived in Madras today. There will be similar consignments arriving in Calcutta, Bombay and other places. Similarly we have reduced the price of shirtings, suitings.

**Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan:** But where are they?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** My friend always goes to the wrong places. Now, taking the price of cotton, the price of 'Leopard' cloth in April 1948 was Rs. 2-14-0 per lb., in May 1948 it rose to Rs. 3-14-0, then we began reducing its price, it is now reduced to Rs. 1-8-0. We are still trying to reduce this price further if we can. But it should be remembered that the price of a finished commodity depends on the prices of articles which go into their production, and having regard to the prices of coal and raw materials, we could not do more than what we have done. I can assure you that this matter is constantly before us. We are not only doing that, but we are trying to see that supplies are made available to the people.

I do not think it is necessary for me to traverse all other points. I propose to deal with this question of yarn and cloth in little more detail next day.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. K. C. Neogy):** Please tell briefly in a few minutes what you can.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** I want to leave it for the next day in order that I may be able fully to give the position so far as textiles are concerned. As regards paper there is only point.

**An Honourable Member:** What about the Hydari Mission?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** Mr. Hydari is the Secretary of the Department, but the Mission has gone under the auspices of another Department.

As regards paper we are in a difficult position. The civil consumption was roughly about 120,000 tons, and we did not have more than 44,000 tons. There was a time when universities could not print their question papers, text books could not be published, and periodicals had to stop. We had to allocate paper, and in doing so we have given slightly concessional consideration to scientific, medical, commercial, financial, and technical journals and publications. A large number of newspapers and periodicals have been diverted to newsprint; text book publishers have been allowed liberal paper including newsprint, and they now have available 130 per cent. of what they consumed in 1948. For the printing of religious books also we have given special concessional consideration and have given them more than the usual quota. Requirements of schools and universities have been looked into. May I say it is not a pleasure to us to restrict supply if we can get the quantities required. I hope the House will kindly realise our difficulty. When what we have is only enough for ten, we can not give anything to the other 130. The question is whether we are trying to distribute what we have in an equitable manner. But I must say that the black market today is

[Sir M. Azizul Huque]

much less; and if Prof. Kanga will really say what he feels in his mind, he will agree with me.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa:** Why do you call it black market? Why not white?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** I leave that to Mr. Sri Prakasa to deal with.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa:** It has been created by white people!

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** I do not think it is necessary for me to enter into details. As I have said, if there is individual abuse, if there is an individual case where the control has not been properly done, if the matter is either personally brought to my notice or to the notice of the Consumers' Council—and here I may say that we have panels associated with every branch of control—I and my department would be delighted to go into it; but I do hope that in giving expression to their views, they will realise the immense difficulty of our problems, the constitutional difficulties of today, and the circumstances under which we have to work these controls and the extent to which we have succeeded in bringing it to the present position.

We are something like a whipping boy. Everybody knows what the difficulties are; nobody knows what they would have been if the department was not there. We were near a precipice, we were almost near an abyss; and I claim that the measures we have taken to check inflation by control of these prices and commodities have brought about a new change in the economic situation of India. I do not want to say anything more than that. As I have said, it is because in the department there has been a band of devoted workers who have done their level best.

**Honourable Members:** The question may now be put.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman** (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa: Muhammadan): Sir, I think it will require months probably to enumerate the abuses and corruptions and the acts of omission and commission of this department. I really wonder at the Honourable Member's logic when he said to the credit of his Department, that the peak prices in May 1943 have been brought down to about 50 per cent. now. It is just like the argument if a doctor gives himself the credit and says that a certain patient of his was having a temperature of 104 and 105 degrees and he had his temperature brought down to 102, although the patient died all the same! The question is, has this Department been able to stabilise the economic conditions of the people on sound lines or not? Have you been able to give the people any relief or not? Civil Supply Department has only complicated matters, if not everywhere, in some places at least. The Honourable Member for this Department had the audacity to tell us that there is no corruption. I do not suppose there is any department of the Government of India today which is worse managed, and more corrupt than the Civil Supplies Department. I would just like to impress a few facts—in the brief time at my disposal I cannot go into all the faults and abuses which have been pointed out to the Honourable Member but in which the Honourable Member has not taken any steps. He is pleading ignorance; but the House should know that thousands of letters have been sent to him of which he has taken no notice. That is the trouble. You ignore letters and you plead ignorance of facts here.

I would first like to point out the standard cloth scandal, as I would call it. The cloth was not supplied of that yarn and of that weight which the Government asked the mills to supply; and what did the Government do with those millowners and with those big men? The Honourable Member has been trying to earn the approval of this House by saying that black marketeers and profiteers are being brought to book and they are being punished. Yes, they are being punished; but what is their percentage? Not even 5 of them—not even 1 of them; and normally when there is a punishment inflicted, it is on the lower class of servants of those merchants, who are paid for that purpose and told that one day or other they will be imprisoned and these servants do this with their eyes wide open: while the merchants have been able to earn a few thousands or a few lakhs of rupees, they do not mind allowing a pension to the

family of that servant for a few months or years. Unfortunately or fortunately I know that group, and I am associated with some Chamber of Commerce of Calcutta—I have been a vice-president of one chamber for a period of 12 years and am president of some other Merchants Association in Calcutta and I know what has been going on; I know what the merchants are doing. Do not try to tell this House and belie your own conscience by making a statement which has got no truth in it. I want to point out the attitude of the Textile Commissioner whom you call honest and to whom you have given a certificate of honesty. To come and tell me that this is fine cloth (exhibits sample of cloth) and is muslin which was priced at . . . . .

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. K. C. Neogy):** Order, order. I have given my ruling already. These samples cannot be exhibited in the House in the manner the Honourable Member is doing.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** I bow to your ruling. Then I would only point out the number and say that the price . . . . .

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. K. C. Neogy):** The Honourable Member is perfectly at liberty to make his point with reference to the marked prices, but I am afraid the Chair would not be able to permit him to exhibit the samples.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** You will notice, Sir, that the marked prices in October 1944 were lower than the marked prices in January 1945 or December 1944. This is a disgraceful state of things; if a certain mill has been able to give a bribe to the Textile Commissioner, he marks prices at higher rate?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** I must intervene and point out that these marks are not given in the Textile Commissioner's office.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** Then I mean those who do marking and whoever is responsible; here is the *lattha* cloth which was marked in October 1944 at 11 annas, whereas for worse quality it has been marked in 1945 Rs. 1-2-0. I would present this to the Honourable Member and ask him to satisfy himself and his conscience whether his department is doing what it ought to have done. I do not suppose this requires any further argument. I think there is still some time left with the Honourable Member to improve things and he is the best judge of these matters as compared to anybody else of his department.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** If the Honourable Member will calmly tell me what he wants to say, I will certainly hear it and I will go into the matter.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** The Honourable Member has said "We are like whipping boys". Anybody can come and inflict some complaint or other but the Honourable Member forgets that he gets only the infliction of words, while other people are being inflicted in action. The infliction is much worse in their case, which they have to feel for all times.

I will mention another ingenuity by which this department has saved some big firms and particularly European firms. Woollen or silk cloths are marked for suiting purposes, say, at the rate of 10 or 12 rupees per yard; but when you go to Lalaram's or Ranken's they say "Oh, no; we are not going to sell them to you by the yard; we will sell you suits made to order and the tailoring charge for making the suit may be Rs. 200 or something like that". That is the ingenuity of this department. I do not think it requires further elucidation or much greater intellect than should have been supplied to the Honourable Member's Department to understand what we are asked to pay in total. It is all humbug—that is the one word I can say. You cannot purchase anything unless you go into the black market. Sometimes we are told that merchants cannot afford to sell at less than fifty rupees although control is at ten. Take it or leave it, is the merchants' attitude. That is the whole position which has come to light in spite of all efforts of the Honourable Member.

The Honourable Member made mention of the Consumers' Council. How many times have they met? Has the Honourable Member brought up all the complaints before that Council? Never. Again, what is the constitution of the Consumers' Council? It is a nominated body which panders to the whim and

[Mr. Muhammad Nauman.]

honour of the Honourable Member in charge. They may be good people but the question is what is their responsibility to this House and to the people at large.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. K. C. Neogy):** There is too much noise in the House.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** I will not talk of paper and many other things. I will now refer to the corruption that is going on in connection with the distribution of raw films. Delhi is full of all sorts of actors and actresses who approach the higher authorities of the Department of Industries and Civil Supplies and persuade them to do what they like. There is probably no quota system except on paper and permits are given at the whim of the authority incharge. That is the position so far as this matter is concerned.

I will now say a word about the general permits in the Commerce Department. What happens? There are some water tight departmental rules and if certain merchants . . . . .

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** On a point of order. My friend has a right to say anything he likes about the Department of Industries and Civil supplies. I am quite prepared to meet him there but he is now bringing in the question of import and export licenses in the Commerce Department and we are now discussing the Department of Industries and Civil Supplies.

**Mr. Muhammad Nauman:** I would just like to impress on the Honourable Member why I wanted to discuss the question of the export licenses which are given for the export of cloth from here and in discussing it I wanted to say about the cloth supply position in India.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. K. C. Neogy):** Do I understand that the export licenses do not fall within the purview of the Honourable Member's Department?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** They come under the Commerce Department.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. K. C. Neogy):** The Honourable Member (Mr. Nauman) had better not make any mention of export licenses in this connection.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** On a point of information. Are not licenses for the supply of goods given by the Honourable Member's department? The licenses, let us say, for films or things like that?

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** I am not objecting to films. I was objecting to the question of import and export licenses being raised now.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. K. C. Neogy):** Any references to them would be definitely out of order.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** On a point of order. Export is directly connected with the supply of goods in the country, for instance, cloth. If cloth is not available in the country, then we have to point out why cloth is not available in the country. That is an article which is definitely under this particular department. Therefore the Honourable Member is perfectly justified in saying that the Department of Civil Supplies is not taking action to keep the supplies in the country at the required level.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. K. C. Neogy):** If the Department of Industries and Civil Supplies is responsible for seeing to it that there is adequate supply in the country, then certainly this is a matter which is relevant to the issue.

**The Honourable Sir M. Azizul Huque:** I find that the Nawabzada has missed his vocation. Instead of being a lawyer, he is now Leader of the Opposition. I certainly agree that so far as the retention of the civil supplies position *vis-a-vis* the export is concerned, it can be discussed but my friend was discussing the abuse of the export system.

**Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan:** Mr. Nauman has finished. I move that the question be now put.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. K. C. Neogy):** The question is:

"That the demand under the head 'Department of Industries and Civil Supplies' be reduced by Rs. 100."

## The Assembly divided :

## AYES—57

Abdul Basith Choudhury, Dewan.  
 Abdul Ghani, Maulvi Muhammad.  
 Abdull Qaiyum, Mr.  
 Abdullah, Mr. H. M.  
 Ayyangar, Mr. M. Ananthasayanam.  
 Azhar Ali, Mr. Muhammad.  
 Banerjee, Dr. P. N.  
 Chattopadhyaya, Mr. Amarendra Nath.  
 Chettiar, Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam.  
 Chetty, Mr. Sami Vencatachelam.  
 Choudhury, Mr. Muhammad Hussain.  
 Chunder, Mr. N. Q.  
 Daga, Seth Sheodass.  
 Dam, Mr. Ananga Mohan.  
 Das, Mr. B.  
 Desai, Mr. Bhulabhai J.  
 Deshmukh, Dr. G. V.  
 Deshmukh, Mr. Govind V.  
 Esak Sait, Mr. H. A. Sathar H.  
 Fazl-i-Haq Pircha, Khan Bahadur Shaikh.  
 Gauri Shankar Singh, Mr.  
 Ghiasuddin, Mr. M.  
 Habibur Rahman, Dr.  
 Hans Raj, Raizada.  
 Hegde, Sri K. B. Jinaraja.  
 Hosmani, Mr. S. K.  
 Ismail Khan, Hajee Chowdhury Muhammad.  
 Joshi, Mr. N. M.  
 Kazmi, Qazi Muhammad Ahmad.

Krishnamachari, Mr. T. T.  
 Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. D. K.  
 Lakhichand, Mr. Rajmal.  
 Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawabzada Mubammad.  
 Mangal Singh, Sardar.  
 Manu Subedar, Mr.  
 Mehr Shah, Nawab Sahibzada Sir Sayad Muhammad.  
 Misra, Pandit Shambhudayal.  
 Naidu, Mr. G. Rangiah.  
 Nairang, Syed Ghulam Bhib.  
 Nauman, Mr. Muhammad.  
 Pande, Mr. Badri Dutt.  
 Baghubir Narain Singh, Choudhri.  
 Ram Narayan Singh, Mr.  
 Ramayan Prasad, Mr.  
 Raza Ali, Sir Syed.  
 Reddiar, Mr. K. Sitarama.  
 Sant Singh, Sardar.  
 Satyanarayana Moorty, Mr. A.  
 Sham Lal, Lala.  
 Siddique Ali Khan, Nawab.  
 Sinha, Mr. Satya Narayan.  
 Sri Prakasa, Mr.  
 Srivastava, Mr. Hari Sharan Prasad.  
 Subbarayan, Shrimati K. Radha Bai.  
 Yamin Khan, Sir Muhammad.  
 Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, Seth.  
 Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana.

## NOES—48

Ahmad Nawaz Khan, Major Nawab Sir.  
 Ambedkar, The Honourable Dr. B. R.  
 Azizul Huque, The Honourable Sir M.  
 Benthall, The Honourable Sir Edward.  
 Bewoor, Sir Gurunath.  
 Bhagchand Soni, Rai Bahadur Sir Seth.  
 Caroe, Sir Olaf  
 Chandavarkar, Sir Vithal N.  
 Chapman-Mortimer, Mr. T.  
 Daga, Seth Sunder Lall.  
 Dalal, Dr. Sir Ratanji Dinshaw.  
 Dalal, The Honourable Sir Ardeshir.  
 Dalpat Singh, Sardar Bahadur Captain.  
 Ghuznavi, Sir Abdul Halim.  
 Griffiths, Mr. P. J.  
 Gwilt, Mr. E. L. C.  
 Habibur Rahman, Khan Bahadur Sheikh.  
 Haidar, Khan Bahadur Shamsuddin.  
 Imam, Mr. Saiyid Haidar.  
 Ismaiel Alikhan, Kunwer Hajee.  
 James, Sir F. E.  
 Jawahar Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar Sir.  
 Jehangir, Sir Cowasjee.  
 Kamaluddin Ahmad, Shams-ul-Ulema.  
 Khare, The Honourable Dr. N. B.

Krishnamoorthy, Mr. E. S. A.  
 Kushal Pal Singh, Raja Bahadur.  
 Lawson, Mr. C. P.  
 Mehta, Mr. Jammadas M.  
 Muazzam Sahib Bahadur, Mr. Muhammad.  
 Mudaliar, The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramawami.  
 Mudie, The Honourable Sir Francis.  
 Piare Lall Kureal, Mr.  
 Raisman, The Honourable Sir Jeremy.  
 Ram Nath, Mr.  
 Richardson, Sir Henry.  
 Roy, The Honourable Sir Asoka.  
 Shahban, Khan Bahadur Mian Ghulam Kadir Muhammad.  
 Sheehy, Sir John.  
 Spence, Sir George.  
 Srivastava, The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad.  
 Stokes, Mr. H. G.  
 Sultan Ahmed, The Honourable Sir.  
 Sundaresan, Mr. N.  
 Thakur Singh, Capt.  
 Trivedi, Mr. C. M.  
 Tyson, Mr. G. W.  
 Tyson, Mr. J. D.

The motion was adopted.

## DEMAND No. 26—FOOD DEPARTMENT

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. K. C. Neogy): The remaining hour is allotted to unattached Members. The first motion in the name of Mr. Ananga Mohan Dam relates to Demand No. 26.

**The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman:** Sir, I move:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 37,01,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1946, in respect of 'Food Department'."

**Mr. Chairman** (Mr. K. C. Neogy): Motion moved:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 37,01,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1946, in respect of 'Food Department'."

*Supervision and Control of Work in Provinces*

**Mr. Ananga Mohan Dam** (Surma Valley cum Shillong; Non-Muhammadan):  
Sir, I move:

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

Mr. Chairman, I want to discuss the inefficiency and the irresponsibility of the Food Member in connection with food administration in the different Provinces. Sir, I am a villager coming from far off Assam and I am fully conversant with the conditions of the poor villagers and how much they suffer there. These people do not get their food because rationing has been introduced in towns and the villagers have got to go all the way to towns to get their food-stuffs and all essential commodities. On account of rise in the price of food-stuffs, a majority of these people have not got the capacity to buy the food-stuffs at the enhanced prices. I shall take one by one the essential commodities which they cannot easily get from the market. The first and foremost comes salt. The poor people suffer from many ills. They cannot secure edibles to make their dish relishing. None can do without a pinch of salt. These poor people grow rice, but they cannot consume the same without the help of salt. But salt is not easily available. This is the sixth year of war and the people in the villages are not getting salt in proper quantity and in a proper way.

**An Honourable Member:** Salt does not come under Food Department.

**Mr. Ananga Mohan Dam:** Yes, Sir, it comes under Food Department. It is one of the essential commodities of food and it is under the Food Department. The other commodity which is essential for the poor villagers is kerosene and this is selling at an exorbitant price in the villages. In many cases, it is not available.

**An Honourable Member:** Does kerosene come under the Food Department?

**Mr. Ananga Mohan Dam:** It comes under the joint responsibility of the Executive Councillors. I am only putting forward the difficulties which the poor villagers are undergoing at the present time. Then there is control and license for these things. These poor villagers have to go to the licensing officers and get things after many days of waiting and harassment from the control officers. This introduction of licensing and control had benefitted only two classes of people, officials and the wholesale agents. This has not given relief to the general public, to the poor villagers but it has given relief only to Government officials. These poor villagers are much hard pressed but nothing is done for them by way of relief. There are many Honourable Members in this House who plead for increased wages and dearness allowance for industrial labourers but no one speaks for the poor cultivators who with the sweat of their brow grow wheat or rice which is not even sufficient for their annual consumption. Nobody asks Government to give them some dearness or subsistence allowance. We are now under the influence of industrial ideology and we think in terms of those labourers only who work in industrial areas and not in terms of poor village cultivators who live under the worst condition of life. Every one knows that there they are suffering unmitigated poverty and hardship, death, destruction and suffering of all kinds which people living in towns cannot imagine.

The 'grow more food campaign' was there but nothing was done for these villagers. The poor villagers did not get even a loan for the purchase of plough cattle. Is this how the Government is going to develop food cultivation in future? The Government have admitted that a large proportion of the Indian people are chronically under-nourished, but still no one does anything for them. The Government think in terms of services and appointments. They do not think of subsidy to the cultivators.

Sir, we hear a lot about fertilisers and other things. If our poor cultivators could buy bullocks and cows they could grow more food and cultivate more fields and they could make fertilisers in their own homes. Cow dung is the best fertiliser. Now, Sir, crores of rupees will be spent by the Government of India for establishing these fertiliser factories; but if they could give a crore of rupees to these cultivators for the purchase of plough cattle and other agricultural implements they could all improve their condition individually; and as a result

of that, 7 lakhs of villages in our country would have been improved without the aid of these fertilisers.

I will not take much more time of the House because my Honourable friend Mr. Joshi is anxious to move his motion about labour. But I will say this, that the commodities like sugar, *gur* and salt are available in the black market. Sir, it is Government's responsibility to ensure the supply of these articles but it is the black marketeers who are now supplying these articles to the people; and so I think they are more powerful than Government itself. If you examine things, you will find that these black marketeers are agents of the Government itself. Salt is distributed by Government, for instance; there is no other source except the Government godowns. But how is it that the poor people do not get their salt through the official agencies but from the black markets? How do the black marketeers get it? They get it from the Government godowns by some means. Sir, bribery and corruption are prevalent in the Government—Central as well as Provincial—otherwise salt cannot go to these black marketeers because the source of supply is controlled by Government and by none else. It is true with other things also. Any essential article which has come under Government control has found its way into the black market and the responsibility lies with Government. There are inspectors and officers, but the thing goes with the connivance of these officers in charge. Sir, in our country there is a system of driving away evil spirits with the help of mustard seeds; but if the mustard seeds themselves are haunted by the evil spirit wherewith will you drive them away? Government officers themselves are haunted by the evil spirit of bribery and corruption and who will take steps for the removal of corruption. We have seen cases of even I.C.S. officers who have been hauled up before the courts for bribery and other kinds of offences. It is all due to the inefficiency of the food administration that these things have been possible.

Sir, I have spoken of Assam but it is true, I think, of other provinces as well. I will not refer to the horrible story of Bengal which suffered from a devastating famine because it is well known to all. I may say that every province has suffered from maladministration in food. And why should it be so? Our Executive Councillors say that they are all for winning the war. Is food less important than war? If the cultivators in the villages who are fighters in the food front are not maintained and strengthened and encouraged, who will solve the problem of food for the soldiers in the field? If they are war-minded, they must be as much careful about food as for the war; if they ignore food the war will be lost.

Sir, I will give you some instances of maladministration. In my part of the country there is procurement policy of Government. They have appointed contractors for purchasing foodgrains. I am now talking of the Surma Valley in Assam. It has been revealed in the course of a magisterial inquiry at Balaganj that the purchasing agents of Messrs. East Bengal and Assam Commercial Syndicate do not issue any receipts to the peasants. The vouchers which they give to the Government are not filled up in the presence of the sellers. (The Central Government work through the Provincial Government there.) They buy at the low rate of Rs. 10-11-0 and realise Rs. 15 or so from the Government. They also buy from the peasants in the weight of 81 tolas (making a seer) and effect delivery to the Government in the weight of 80 tolas. But no action seems yet to be taken against those agents or their principal.

This was reported in the local paper. I myself sent a cutting of this paper to the Food Department of the Government of India in the month of August last, and I do not yet know what has been done by the department about it.

Sir, there are other instances too. There are hoarding and profiteering and Government have not done anything to stop these things. In Dhubri one Hussain Kasim Dada was reported to be a big hoarder. The supply officer raided his firm; 200 bags were discovered. But Mr. Dada rushed to Shillong and moved skilfully among 'influential circles'. Ultimately the supply officer was transferred and Mr. Dada was appointed purchasing agent for Government.

[Mr. Ananga Mohan Dam.]

[At this stage Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim) resumed the Chair.]

What more is wanted?—

"On the river Kusiyara near Balaganj (Sylhet), 1000 maunds of salt were seized by a supply inspector. Case was taken but it somehow fixated out."

"On May 6, one Ganesh Das Chiranjilal of Balaganj supplied 150 maunds of unauthorised rice to one Mr. A. L. Datta, Head Clerk, Fenchuganj Steamer Company. This was revealed in the magisterial enquiry at Balaganj. A notice was served on Ganesh Das Chiranjilal but the case has been withdrawn."

"250 maunds of rice which were found unaccounted for in the godown of Messrs. Ganesh Das were seized. But these were mysteriously released without filing any case. And yet these have not been delivered to the Government Storekeeper."

I will read one or two more:

"There are several influential storekeepers at Sylhet who, despite repeated convictions, still continue to enjoy their licenses and permits."

Sir, there are many more, but I will not read all those. These cases were reported to the Government of India by me—I sent a cutting of this paper and requested the Government of India to enquire into these matters, and take steps, but I think nothing has been done in this respect. I do not know whom to blame—whether the Provincial Government or the Central Government. The Provincial Government has not done its duty, and the Central Government has not done its duty even when reminded by a Member of this House. Sir, this is the procurement policy and this the licensing policy and all this has led to all this corruption and yet the Central Government has not done what it ought to have done in regard to this matter.

**Dr. P. N. Banerjee:** In putting down corruption in the provinces?

**Mr. Ananga Mohan Dam:** I am saying that they have not been able to control corruption in those departments which are under their direct control. These administrations are under them. The Provincial Governments work as agents of the Central Government in these matters.

**The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava (Food Member):** You are wrong; your facts are not correct.

**Mr. Ananga Mohan Dam:** I would like to be corrected. With these words I say that this Government, though they expect our appreciation and thanks, really deserve our condemnation.

**Mr. President (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim):** Cut motion moved:

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

**Sri K. B. Jinaraja Hegde (West Coast and Nilgiris: Non-Muhammadan Rural):** Sir, there is no denying the fact that rationing which comes directly under the Central Government is one of those departments where inefficiency reigns supreme. Forty million people are covered by statutory rationing. The question remains as to what should happen to 360 million people. Therefore it goes without saying that 9/10th of the population of this country are left to shift for themselves. In answer to that I remember my Honourable friend some time back told us that informal rationing is in vogue in some places, but the less said about this informal rationing the better.

Let me first deal with the rationing itself. Has the Department succeeded in standardizing the amount of grain in different places where they have introduced statutory rationing? The Food Committee advised that nowhere the statutory rationing should be less than a pound per head per day, but what do we find? In Delhi, because we have got the Central Government here, we find that 43 tolas, which is more than a pound, is given per head per day. In Bombay one pound is given per head per day, whereas in Malabar and in my district only 35 tolas, i.e., less than a pound, is given per head per day. This includes not all rice to which people are accustomed but it includes also all sorts of grains, and most of them are unsuitable for human consumption.

Coming to the next item, i.e., sugar, I find the same differential treatment with regard to this commodity. Even in towns where there is rationing it is very difficult to get sugar. In most of the towns in South India, I find the coffee hotels, and the restaurants, are given very little sugar and they are asked to prepare coffee or tea with jaggery, and to families sugar is not

distributed on *per capita* system but it is based on the amount of house-tax or water-tax a particular household pays to the municipality. So far as villages and semi-urban areas are concerned, there is no system for adequate distribution of sugar.

Sir, even in those places where we have got statutory rationing, I find even the rules governing the statutory rationing are not uniform. In Southern India non-adult is he who is less than 12 and above 2, persons above 12 are considered to be adults, and children of two years and below are not considered to be human beings requiring foodgrains. According to the Government they do not require food. No grain is allowed for children below two years. Therefore all those children who are less than two will have to partake the food that is given to the adults or to the non-adults who are between 2 and 12. But I find the same rule is not applicable to all other places where rationing is introduced.

Now, let me refer to the places where the so-called informal rationing has been introduced. This informal rationing, wherever it is introduced, carries with it all those rules which are applicable to rationing towns, except the liability of the Government to supply grains to every individual. We find in Southern India that in all those places where you have got informal rationing in a week for not more than five days grains are supplied, and even if no rice is supplied Government thinks that they accepted no responsibility for supplying grains. In fact, I have heard Government officers saying that wherever there is informal rationing, Government does not undertake to supply grain. I would like to know from the Honourable the Food Member whether it is a fact and whether it is that sort of informal rationing the Honourable Member is proud of. I put a question on this matter in the last Session and I had the answer from the Honourable Member himself. He admitted in certain places in South Canara about 30 tolas of rice were being given.

Then, Sir, I will come to the rural areas where our grain is produced. It is a fact, as I have already stated, that rationing is very generous in Delhi and when you go down to South India it is not so generous. The same principle applies with regard to people who live in towns and in villages. In all statutory rationed areas you get near about a pound, in semi-urban areas you get less than a pound or you are not given at all for some days in a week, but if you go to areas where the people produce the very food which every one of us wants there is no question of rationing at all. I speak with full knowledge of facts and I am confident the Honourable Member will not be able to deny the allegations which I am going to make. Five or six districts were declared as deficit districts in the Presidency of Madras and they issued an order called the procurement order. According to that order legally allowance has to be made for consumption of the family which is producing these grains, for agricultural needs and for payment of rent to their landlord and for other customary dues which are paid in kind. The officers who are enforcing this procurement order are expected to examine the stock, the outturn by every family and find out the surplus. I assure the Honourable Member that though the procurement order is in force, the duty that is cast upon the Government officers to find out how much surplus a cultivator has is not being carried out. I personally brought it to the notice of the Government of Madras and the District Collector. It is now found that it is impossible to work this order and the result is described in the letter I just received from the Secretary of the Land Holders Association of South Kanara. The letter is as follows:

"I still feel that our food problem in the district has no definite and a clear cut plan. In most cases no surplus notices have been issued. In some cases surplus notices are issued. In other places requisition notices are issued. There is yet no uniform policy. Each local official shifts things for himself. The Ryot does not know his own position nor his obligations. It is still in a state of confusion. There is practically no black marketing or smuggling. Yet scores of them are prosecuted for non-delivery of rice which probably they never had and they are threatened to be prosecuted for non-submission of returns which as you know is impossible to do for many of the poor and illiterate persons. Till recently in very many places they were giving only 3 days' ration in a week and that too at 1½ paise per head per day. Now they have raised it to 5 days' ration in a week

[Sri K. B. Jinaraja Hegde.]

at the same rate. The position of a town dweller is considerably happier than that of a villager who toils for producing the grain. From every point of view the cultivators' life has been made well-nigh impossible. He does not get kerosene, sugar or any other requirements. No luxuries seem to have been reserved for them but all for the town dwellers. The administration has been constantly treating the cultivators as the under-dog and is required only to toil for more happily placed individuals living in the towns. The life in the villages has been becoming intolerable as the man drags on and the Government seem to think that they have done all if they have pampered the town people—sufficiently."

This letter describes the real state of affairs that is prevailing in my constituency and the picture is not very much different so far as other parts of Southern India are concerned. The question is whether the food policy is to get as much as possible from the cultivators without any regard to their requirements, for their household needs, and their agricultural expenditure. I warned the House at the last Session that it is not a wise policy of killing the goose that lays the golden egg. If at all, the distribution of food must first begin from the rural parts, then it must come to the semi-urban areas, lastly what is available should be equally distributed among the town dwellers, who are able to make noise, who have the press and are able to bring things to the notice of the Government. But the voice of the poor villager is never heard. Therefore it is absolutely essential that the Honourable the Food Member must categorically say today that he would undertake to see that the cultivator is not starved for the sake of the town dweller.

Now with regard to distribution. In big and small cities there is always a floating population. Within the statutory rationed area nobody is permitted to bring grain with him, but there is no arrangement there for the floating population to get their ration cards immediately. As a matter of fact there is not a single town in this country where a person could obtain a ration card for himself within 4 hours. It takes about 72 hours to do so. In some places there is no arrangement for ration cards for guests who come to stay with their friends for one or two days. I raised this question with the local officials but they were unable to help me.

**Sri Cowasjee Jehangir:** What part of India?

**Sri K. B. Jinaraja Hegde:** Mangalore, Madras and everywhere.

**The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava:** In Delhi you can get your card in six hours!

**Sri K. B. Jinaraja Hegde:** Well, I did not get mine until 48 hours.

**Mr. N. C. Chunder** (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): That is only for Members of the Assembly: not even for Members of the Assembly when they come here for Committee meetings.

**Sri K. B. Jinaraja Hegde:** Some arrangement must be made. There must be an office where one can go and apply and get his card immediately. Last time when I went to Bombay there was no hotel that would provide me with a meal as it was past one o'clock in the afternoon. There is a clerk in the Railway station who takes cards from all those who leave Bombay but does not issue cards to all those who enter Bombay. It is essential that there must be some Inspectors who will inspect the various stores or the merchants who supply the grains. The quality of the stuff undoubtedly has deteriorated in every place ever since the introduction of control by statutory rationing and it has become a public nuisance. The stocks while obtained are purchased at cheap rates which are uneconomical to the producers. They cannot help it. They will have to give it up because there is the procurement policy. But when it is being sold in the ration shops either through merchants or co-operative stores, the price the consumers have to pay is more than what they were paying before rationing was introduced. I may tell the Honourable Member that I have heard complaints from Bijapur and Dharwar in the Bombay Presidency that the difference between the purchase price and the selling price is about Rs. 2/4 per bag. This was, I think, the case after rationing was introduced. Therefore a strict watch has to be maintained and accounts will have to be looked into to see at what rate the stocks are purchased and at what rate they are being sold and also to see that the stocks

do not deteriorate. 'We have heard several times that even those stocks which are snatched from the cultivators' mouth are not properly stocked. They deteriorate and as far as I know there are very few public or Government godowns built so far. No arrangement is there to see that these stocks do not deteriorate. There have been several instances when thousands and thousands of bags of wheat and rice were declared as unfit for consumption and were thrown into the sea or the river. The circumstances in which we are placed when there is a serious shortage of food in the country, it is criminal on the part of the Government, whether it is Central or Provincial, to allow the food stocks to deteriorate, especially when there are millions of people who are not getting even ten ounces of rice or wheat per day. Therefore the responsibility is certainly upon the Government and it will be criminal negligence on their part if they do not take steps to see that the food stocks which they snatched from the cultivators, with all the force of the law are not allowed to deteriorate.

The Madras Government have issued an order called the Food Grains Control Order. They say anybody who stocks more than 20 maunds must take a permit and it is only today that I read in the *Hindu* that an agriculturist who had 24½ maunds of rice, the produce of his own land, was prosecuted by the Government for not taking out a license for stocking that amount of grain. This matter should be made clear. It has become almost impossible in these days for cultivators to stock their own grains for their own consumption. Therefore in the matter of procurement the Central Government must lay down a clear policy, so that no Province may depart from it.

**The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava:** Sir, two speakers have participated in this debate so far. Both of them have dealt with conditions in their own provinces. I wish to assure them both that I am cognizant of a great many things that they have recounted. I have myself visited Assam recently and I made an extensive tour of that Province. My friend Mr. Dam has complained that in his Province there is a shortage of salt, sugar and certain other commodities.

**Prof N. G. Ranga:** Kerosene also.

**The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava:** Kerosene is not my sphere. I have looked into the position of sugar and salt and I wish to assure my friend that the supply position now in Assam of these commodities is much better than what it was before.

**Seth Yusuf Abdoola Haroon:** What about other Provinces?

**The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava:** I am only dealing with Assam.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa:** The others will deal with you soon.

**The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava:** There was a shortage of salt on account of lack of imports some months ago. As the House is aware, we get considerable quantities of salt from the Red Sea ports and for some time our supplies were stopped or considerably reduced. I am glad to say that supplies are now coming in fairly normally and the quota which we have given to the Province of Assam ought to see them through.

I am aware that complaints have been made that in some parts of the Province distribution arrangements are not as they should be. The House is aware that distribution of these commodities is not the function of the Centre. I meet the Provincial Governments. I give them what advice I can and I persuade them to get a move on, where they may not be doing so. But more than that we cannot in the very nature of things do. I am, however, satisfied that in Assam today the arrangements which the Assam Ministry has made ought to meet the needs of the case.

In regard to sugar, the quota allotted to Assam is sufficient on its pre-war consumption. There have been a few complaints about sugar but I think that on the whole you find that both in regard to sugar and salt Assam is fairly well off now.

My friend Mr. Dam has complained about the operation of a syndicate in the Surma Valley. I wish to inform him that his information is out of

[Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava.]

date. That syndicate has been abolished and procurement is now being done by the Government.

**Mr. Ananga Mohan Dam:** Is it not a fact that the M.L.As. who were partners in the syndicate are doing the business in their own names?

**The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava:** No, Sir. Now Government is buying through its own agencies, its own officers. I was in Sylhet, as my friend knows, a little while ago. I tried to contact him but he was not there and if my friend will go to the Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet, he will tell him all the details of the procurement arrangements. The syndicate does not exist now and so there can be no real basis for his complaint.

Sir, my friend has made a few general remarks about the deficiencies of the Food Department, but I would point out to him that most of his remarks apply to the working of the arrangements for which the Provincial Governments are responsible.

**Prof. N. G. Ranga:** It is a convenient argument.

**The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava:** It is really very difficult, it is not possible for me to undertake all the detailed organisation which is necessary to deal with a tremendous subject like Food. With the consent of the House I have introduced the principle of all-India control and supervision. When I get a complaint from a Member of this House I take what steps I can, but if a Ministry is adamant or recalcitrant, it is very difficult for me to intervene.

**Prof. N. G. Ranga:** What about advisers—the Madras Adviser?

**The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava:** Advisers are often worse. They have their own views, and I have no control over them. I do not mind confessing it.

**An Honourable Member:** Report to the Home Member.

**The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava:** Even the Home Member has no control over the Advisers. In any case Food is a provincial subject, and as I said in 1943 when I became the Food Member I introduced the principle that Centre should supervise and control the working of Food Administration in the provinces, and this has been accepted by the Provinces, but I cannot claim to run the Food Departments of the provinces from the Centre. It is not possible to do so.

**Mr. Sri Prakasa:** Abolish yourself.

**The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava:** I am quite prepared. My friend, Mr. Hegde, talked about rural rationing. As he knows, what Dr. Gregory Committee recommended was that in the first instance we should ration towns.

**Prof. N. G. Ranga:** That was a mistake.

**Sri K. B. Jinsaraja Hegde:** It should not be done at the cost of rural areas.

**The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava:** It is not done at the cost of rural areas. It is not my conception of it. We have been trying very hard to get all the towns in India rationed, and I think we have now pretty nearly succeeded. In certain rural areas like Malabar, we have introduced rural rationing because conditions in those areas were such that if we did not introduce some kind of distribution, there would have been great distress.

**Prof. N. G. Ranga:** What about Vizagapatam?

**The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava:** I believe conditions there have improved: that is what Madras Government tell me. As I have told my friend, I hope to go on a tour of the South some time after the Assembly is over, and then I shall look into the conditions there. It is very difficult for me sitting in Delhi to maintain personal contact with the whole country. I have for the last three months done a great deal of touring, and have, as far as possible, acquainted myself with conditions in every part of the country. (Interruption). My Honourable friend is enamoured of Mahmood Ghuznavi, but I am not.

**Sir Syed Raza Ali:** But you are following his ways.

**The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava:** I am trying to meet conditions in every part of the country as best as I can. Now my friend has rightly complained that the amount of rice ration in Malabar is not sufficient. He is aware that till recently in Cochin the rice ration was only 5-1/3 ozs. a day which was a very small ration indeed. We have now been able to raise the ration both in Cochin and in Travancore to 12 ozs. a day, this was the maximum quantity demanded by the State authorities. We hope that we shall soon be able to raise the ration in Malabar. The House is aware that there is an over-all shortage of rice in the country, and it is not possible to import rice from outside. There is no other country in the world which can give us rice. It is therefore not possible in every case to make up the deficiency in rice with rice. We have been trying to popularise the use of wheat, and I am glad to say that wheat is taking on. Our nutrition experts advise that rice eating people, if they take also wheat, will do very well, and that their diets will be more balanced. I hope as a result of this scarcity they will get accustomed to a more balanced and nutritive diet in the end.

Lastly, my friend complained about ration cards not being available to visitors at short notice. Well, that is a matter which I have personally looked into, and so far as Delhi goes, I visited the Ration Centres and office yesterday only, and I am assured that these cards can be had at six hours' notice. There is an army of clerks working at this in the main office, and I am sure that complaints in this regard will now be far less. It takes some time to perfect an organisation. We have been hard at it, and I am glad on the whole that rationing is working well all over the country. We had numerous complaints in Delhi when we started, but these complaints are not now so numerous.

Sir, I do not think there are any other points of importance raised. I hope the explanations which I have given will be found satisfactory by the Honourable Mover of the cut motion.

**Honourable Members:** The question may now be put.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): The question is . . .

**Prof. N. G. Ranga:** Some of us wish to speak, Sir . . .

**Some Honourable Members:** It is now 5 o'clock.

**Mr. President** (The Honourable Sir Abdur Rahim): It is now 5 o'clock and we must adjourn. The Assembly is adjourned to Monday next.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the clock on Monday, the 12th March, 1945.