

(b) if not, what kind of material and what proportion of the material are being imported, and from where;

(c) whether all the prime machinery is imported from abroad;

(d) what auxiliary machinery, such as, winches, capstans, derricks, and what parts of engines are being manufactured in the shipyard; and

(e) what attempts are being made to manufacture engine parts and machine parts in the shipyard ?

THE MINISTER FOR PRODUCTION (SHRI K. C. REDDY) : (a) No.

(b) About So per cent, of the materials are of Indian origin. Materials like electrical fittings, copper pipes, sanitary fittings, etc., which constitute the remaining 20 per cent, or so, are imported—mostly from the U.K.

(c) Yes.

(d) All the auxiliary machinery is being imported from U.K.

(e) This matter is receiving Government's attention and it is hoped that it will be possible gradually to manufacture these items in the country. This is however a long-term problem and it will be some time before it can be solved.

TRAINING OF SKILLED PERSONNEL IN VISAKHAPATNAM SHIPYARD

63. SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : Will the Minister for PRODUCTION be pleased to state:

(a) whether there is any scheme in operation in the Visakhapatnam shipyard for the training of skilled personnel ;

(b) how many apprentices are being trained annually and for what cadres ;

(c) what facilities exist for their training; and

(d) whether any of them is sent for training abroad ?

THE MINISTER FOR PRODUCTION (SHRI K. C. REDDY) : (a) No.

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

(d) The shipyard had sent in the past 19 of their Technical Assistants for higher practical training in the United Kingdom in various branches of shipbuilding for periods of 18 months to 3 years. Out of these, 17 are now working as Officers in the various departments of the shipyard and are holding responsible positions.

IMPORT PERMITS

66. SHRI B. RATH : Will the Minister for COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY be pleased to state :

(a) whether any import permits were granted to *bona fide* traders of Orissa, during the years 1950-51 and 1951-52;

(b) if so, (i) what were the articles for which permits were so granted;

(ii) what was the quantity under each such permit; and

(iii) to whom each of these permits was issued ?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY (SHRI D. P. KARMARKAR) : (a) and (b). Import licences are issued according to the general policy announced in the Red Book for each licensing period. The import policy is not based on regional, communal or political considerations. No record is, therefore, kept of the regional distribution of import licences. Particulars of import licences issued are published weekly and are regularly supplied to the recognised Chambers of Commerce, etc.

APPROPRIATION (No. 2) BILL, 1952

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now we proceed to the Legislative Business. The Appropriation (No. 2) Bill, 1952. Mr. Deshmukh.

THE MINISTER FOR FINANCE (SHRI C. D. DESHMUKH) : Sir, I beg to move :

That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1952-53, as passed by the House of the People, be taken into consideration.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Motion moved :

That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1952-53, as by the House of the People, be taken into consideration.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH (Bombay) . Mr. Chairman, with regard to the Appropriation Bill I want to offer a few observations in order that our revenue and expenditure are so regulated and so spent that they are conducive to the maximum benefit of the masses and improve their standard of living -as well as reduce unemployment or increase employment in the country.

First of all, I would like to say something about food and agriculture. I would request the Government to see that all the minor irrigation schemes should be completed as early as possible and nothing should interfere in respect of finishing minor irrigation or providing revenues for such expenditure, because we have to be self-sufficient in food in as short a time as possible and major irrigation will take a long time. In order to increase production of food grains it is necessary that minor irrigation schemes may be completed as soon as possible by tube wells, by lift irrigation and so many other methods. I know that many provinces and States are suffering from want of funds for finishing such work of minor irrigation. I will say that more and more expenditure may be incurred in this behalf and whatever is spent will be conducive to the increase of food production.

With regard to the other item regarding employment I would say that in order that there may be maximum employment in the country and in order that our standard of living

may be increased we have to see to the industrial development of the country and the industrial development has to be divided into four spheres,—the State-owned industry, the large-scale industries, the small-scale industries and the cottage industries. As regards the large-scale industries, whether they are owned by the State or by a private individual, it must be our criterion to see what are the important needs of the country and what essential requirements we are unable to manufacture in this country. That must be our criterion in the sphere of industrial development. We want to be independent of foreign countries because we know that these are times of turmoil and the nations are vying with each other in equipping themselves in order that they may enjoy supremacy. In order that we may not suffer from the eventuality which may arise at any moment, we should be prepared for all our defences as well as for meeting such needs as are required for the country's upkeep and welfare. For that purpose large scale industries whether State owned or private owned should be started with the resources at our command and by raising loans within the country if the Government cannot borrow from foreign countries to the extent that we require. As regards the raising of loans, very often an argument has been advanced by the Government that the capital is shy. But I am bound to say that the capital is not shy in this country but because so many pronouncements are made by those in charge of the administration, those in charge of the policy of Government, the capital is made shy and capital is not therefore forthcoming for carrying out the policy which is followed by Government and this is all due to the contradictory announcements from time to time that we think capital will be sufficient for the country if savings are promoted and sufficient inducement is given to the effect that capital will be remunerative for a period of 10 years. Whatever may be the cutties, we have to see that our demand depends on foreign capital for any

[Shri C. P- Parikh.]

length of time and if we depend on it, I we shall be inviting some sort of sub- ; jection and some political influence I which we may not be able to sustain for any longer time. Therefore, we have to tap our own resources in the form of private capital which is existing in the country and which we can induce to the maximum extent.

With regard to the industrial development I hf.ve to say that those industries which cannot be floated by private individuals may be floated by the State if we are to prevent imports which are so necessary in the coun try. The policy of encouraging industries in the State is governed by its export and import policy and the customs duty. I may say here that many industries can be developed in as short a time as possible if sufficient inducement is given. I will give you the instance, Sir, of the textile, the cement and the sugar industries. These were developed in a short time and are producing to the required extent because the necessary inducement was given to them. If these industries make any profit, it is only after the passage of a few years, but in the initial stages we should give them some help and encouragement in order that all the requirements of the country can be met within the country and we might not depend upon foreign countries for everything. There pre so many industries which I would like to be developed but I need not mention all of them because the Planning Commission has already exhaustively dealt with them. I would only point out that where private enterprise is unable to float capital, let the Government take over this role and let them associate private individuals in the management of such industries. If those industries are managed at Government level, they will not be managed as well as they could be managed by private individuals. If Government require such individuals, I *feci* certain they will be able to find a sufficient number of persons in the private sector to help the Government to tide over their initial difficulties. We have seen that in all countries

where private enterprise has come to the help of the Government-owned industries, they have succeeded. There is a tendency to under-estimate in this country the achievements of private enterprise in the past. Our Indian brethren, practically unaided, have ousted foreign competition, and I might tell the House that there is sufficient talent, sufficient experience and sufficient initiative and enterprise in the country to enable us to face foreign competition and develop our industries to the ever-increasing welfare of the country.

With regard to cottage industries, so many points have been raised. Many political leaders also have stated that cottage industries should be developed in India. Sir, cottage industries can be developed only by a clear demarcation of the line between cottage industries and factory industries. We should leave to cottage industries the production of only such of the things as should not be produced by factory industries. It is only the 1 that we shall be able to develop cottage industries. For example, we should encourage the oil *gani*, handweaving, etc. in the villages. We must have a clear demarcation between large-scale industries, small-scale industries and cottage industries and the field of cottage industries should not be allowed to be invaded by machine production or factory industries. Once we do it, cottage industries will develop very well. It is only by having cottage industries that we can make full use of the man-power in India. It is no use only talking that cottage industries should be developed. We must see to it that once they develop, they are not killed by competition from factory industries. I know that a Central Industries Board has been established recently for purposes of demarcation and co-ordination. I would also go to the extent of saying that a levy should be made on the factory industries for the purpose of helping the corresponding cottage industries. Even this is not sufficient. We should also see that cottage industries are helped with finance by a system of co-operative rural banks

which should guarantee that the raw materials for the cottage industries are procured at the cheapest rates and are well and adequately distributed. Sir, even this is not enough. Technical skill is required. Technicians should be recruited from foreign countries, especially Japan. Japan has considerable experience in the field of cottage industries and in the initial stages technicians should be imported from Japan into this country. Our people also should be sent out to study the conditions there. In Japan the cottage industries are able to compete with even large-scale industries. In India also, if we properly utilise our great man-power for the purpose of establishing cottage industries, if we finance them properly and also give them the necessary technical skill, we will be able to establish our cottage industries on a very firm footing.

Another thing in the development of cottage industries is that they will not be able to compete in the initial stages with the factories which are already in existence or which may be started alongside in two or three years' time. Therefore, I would urge that a levy should be made on production in the factories so that cottage industries may get the necessary encouragement in the initial stages. After five or six years, they will be able to stand on their own legs.

Sir, in the country today there is a lot of discontent. This discontent is due to the fact that a large number of people are unemployed, semi-employed or under-employed. If the Government do not move now to allay this discontent they will not be able to control it later on. Therefore, it is necessary that all men and women, who are desirous of working, should be given sufficient inducement, sufficient help, to get employment and produce the things which are necessary for the country. This will be a great achievement, as it will increase the total production in the country. As it is, we want 50 times more production in India. Sir, we have also to fight unemployment in the country. So many graduates are coming out

from the Universities and everyone of them would be willing to take employment on anything like Rs. 100 a month. We can give them practical experience in technological development and organisation. The unskilled men can also be largely employed in cottage industries. We have to find employment for both the skilled and unskilled people and we can do this if we develop our cottage industries on the right lines.

Another matter is our export and import policy, our customs duties and excise duties. Even though our country is very poor, we are still importing so many things which are not necessary for the country. I can point out a number of things the import of which should be stopped. When we can do without these things, we should not waste our money on their import but rather we should use all our resources to build up our key industries—our producing industries. Only then our standard of living will improve. The import of luxury articles should be totally stopped.

Then, Sir, I come to labour legislation. Industrial labour is being given a wage which is not suited to our country. We have to remember that there are other sectors of our economic life where the earning per worker per day is only Re .1, while in industrial occupations the earning is Rs. 2 or Rs. 3 or in some cases even Rs. 4. I am against such differentiation in favour of the industrial workers. After all, Sir, what the industries pay to the workers, is ultimately paid by the consumers. Such high wages not only increase our cost of production but also reduce our capacity to compete in foreign markets. And I may tell you here that if we have exported "large quantities of goods during the last two or three years, it is not because of our competitive position in the export market but because of the Korean war and the stockpiling of commodities in some foreign countries. Now, Japan is emerging once again as an exporter, with all its resources in men and skill. Unless our cost of production goes down, we will not be able to compete

[Shri C. P. Parikh.] in foreign markets. Our cost of production should be kept as low as possible and for this, not only the profits of the employers but also the wages of the workers should be kept down to the minimum. Our cost of production should be related to our competing capacity in foreign countries. In this connection, I would strongly plead that all labour-employer conflicts should totally disappear. In Ahmedabad we have a Textile Workers' Association which is well-organised. The Employers' Association there is also well-organised and progressive. Recently we had an agreement that all our disputes should be solved by arbitration. We have given a good-bye to all our labour courts and industrial courts. We have an experiment there which can serve as a model for the whole of India in solving labour disputes, an experiment in which 1,20,000 employees are involved. There are mischief-mongers, trouble-makers existing in the country and I think our Government is too democratic to control them. I think it is necessary that if such experiments are made, it will not only be helpful to that city but for the whole of India and Government should give all assistance in order that the experiments are successful on a large scale and the greatest harmonious relations are established between labour and capital. If this is done, I think, we shall have it as a model not for India alone but for the whole world and we shall then show the whole world how disputes can be solved not by machine-guns or aeroplanes but by respecting the rights of each other and each one knowing his rights, privileges and liabilities. If that can be done I think we shall make a great headway in making our country revered, honoured and have its due place in the nations of the world. If we compete among ourselves, if we are jealous of each other and if we want to establish power, if we want to gain political supremacy or if we want that each party should have some political power in order that we may abuse it against the interests of the nation, I think Government should put their firm foot on it and control

such anti-national activity at a time when we require to stabilise ourselves.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY (Mysore) : The hon.- Member will have opportunity to speak on this on another occasion.

SHRI C. P. PARIKH : I have not heard his remarks otherwise I would have replied to him. If sufficient opportunity is given to me I would reply him with all arguments in respect of the notions which he has and the notions which I hold.

With regard to the administration, I say that our activities have increased to such large extent that the present Administration consisting of fifteen patriotic persons at the head of the State is incapable of doing this huge work unless they take the assistance of the cleverest brains in the country who exist in large numbers. The present administration according to the Planning Commission's findings is inexperienced and incapable of coping with such a huge task and I think that sufficient brains exist in the country and if they are requisitioned—I say so particularly—requisitioned as if we are waging an economic war—and if they are asked to give two hours a day in order that we can make progress, we can make our Administration capable of handling the great task which we are having. We have achieved political freedom and now we have to achieve our economic freedom and if we go on the right lines we shall succeed. I thank you.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO (Orissa) :

Mr. Chairman, the wisdom of this ancient knid declared 'ऋणकर्ता पिता शत्रुः' namely that even a father, if he contracts debts and lives on debts, is an enemy. No sounder principle, in my opinion, was formulated in so simple a language and with such effect as far as economy and finance are concerned. How I wish that our Government had launched its course upon this sound doctrine and not upon the doctrine of indebtedness which faces the Government today and which is the grow-

ing headache of not only every responsible citizen of this great Republic but should be the headache of every responsible legislator also. It is undoubtedly our bounden duty to try our best to clear off this growing indebtedness in which our great country is entangled today and it is my opinion, my humble submission to you, Sir, that the sooner we succeed in achieving this, the better will we be discharging a duty towards ourselves, towards the country and towards the future generation which otherwise would be burdened by our sins and would be justified in looking upon us as their enemies :

“ऋणकर्ता पिता शत्रु :”

Now in this background when I look at the visible omens, even a mere cursory glance at the Bill of Appropriation of the General Budget reminds me very forcefully that there is no auspicious prognostication in view in the near future. The charged item of interest on debt and other obligation and reduction or avoidance of debt between votes 41 and 42 accounting for a total appropriation of 25 crores (gross) includes only 5 crores for reduction or avoidance of debt. I understand that the Auditor-General in the past has had occasion to comment on the inadequacy of this appropriation in view of the growing size of the outstanding debts of the Central Government. • It is my earnest hope that this House, and through its opinion the Government, will consider raising this appropriation for reduction or avoidance of debt so that there may not be any unbearable growth of our debts beyond a point where we will be unable to repay them. The charged item of repayment of debt between votes 115 and 116 shows a total appropriation of Rs. 12,99,45,37,000. But the bulk of it, viz., Rs. 12,65,25,000, is required for the discharge of treasury bills. At the same time, this year we will be borrowing on treasury bills an equivalent amount. I do not know why these borrowings on treasury bills and repayments of these bills (of these debts) are necessary at all, since at no time during a year these cash balances are likely to go below the minimum required to be kept at the Reserve Bank

In this connection, I would like to ask if any attempt is being made to reduce *the* outstanding interest-bearing obligations on treasury bills and ways and means advances which stand at 316 crores *vide* page 62 of the Explanatory Memorandum on the Budget for 1952-53. I need hardly add that these should be reduced as soon as possible and I do not anticipate any difficulty on that point.

Regarding the sum of Rs. 99,65,000 required on capital account for the payment of the commuted value of pensions—vote No. 112—may I plead for its transfer to the revenue account ? I want this transfer because its place on the capital account as we find it in the Appropriation Bill merely adds to our * debts and it does not relieve our burden in any way. The same remarks apply also to the capital item of payments to retrenched personnel for which vote No. 113 secures a sum of Rs. 2,28,000 on capital item. The general principle of transferring all items, the outlay on which is not of a remunerative or interest-yielding nature, to revenue expenditure as opposed to capital, is in my opinion, a sound one to be adhered to and should be acted upon to the best of our capacity. This applies with specific force to the head "Defence Capital Outlay" for which vote No. 108 secures a sum of Rs. 18 crores on capital account. On revenue account we have provided a net sum of Rs. 198 crores. Can't our revenues accommodate this sum of Rs. 18 crores? Is it right, I ask you, Sir, that our defence should be made dependent upon our ability to borrow Rs. 18 crores ? In making these recommendations for switching on large burdens as far as expenditure is concerned to the revenue head, I am conscious of the fact that our revenues are very inadequate to meet these large calls which are made upon them. But we cannot eat our cake and have it at the same time. We must do one thing or the other. If we want to place this country on a sound financial standard, we must be prepared for sacrifices. We must first reduce our expenditure or increase our revenues or do both. Our debt, must be progressively wiped out and the financial soundness of our country must

[Shri P. C. Bhanj Deo.] be established on such a scale that it may become an example to others and it may be something of which every Indian, worthy of that name, may be proud of, so that it may be held up as an ideal in a largely indebted world.

Now, last but not the least, I come to vote No. 1.15 of the Appropriation Bill of the General Budget for 1952-53, which shows a figure of Rs. 121 crores in whole numbers, styled—loans and advances by the Central Government, as compared with the sum of Rs. 77 crores under the same heading under vote No. 105 of the Appropriation Bill of the previous year. The present figure shows that the loans and advances of the Central Government for the development of projects in connection with State Governments and for rehabilitation purposes mainly have increased by Rs. 44 crores. In the statement of interest-bearing obligations and interest-yielding assets of the Government of India on pages 62-63 of the Explanatory Memorandum on the Budget, capital advances to the different States have been shown as interest-yielding assets. These assets amount to Rs. 301 crores on 31st May 1952 and this will increase to Rs. 375 crores (or rather to Rs. 388 crores as per final Budget presented on the 23rd May) on 31st March 1953. A small part of the loans in this respect is, of course, interest-free, that is loans given to State Governments for industrial housing purposes. I am not sure whether this item is included in the total of the interest-yielding assets shown at page 63 of the Explanatory Memorandum. There is, however, very grave doubt whether the borrowing State Governments can repay the loans taken by them either immediately or even in the near future. They are not, from all indications, making productive use of those loans which have been granted to them by the Centre. The Central Government, before advancing further loans, should satisfy themselves from the point of view of the interest of the country as a whole, about the repaying capacity of the borrowing Governments and others, and also whether productive use is being

made by them of the capital they borrow. In this connection, may I bring to the notice of the House and the Government the fact that some States like the Punjab and Orissa are borrowing from the Central Government to pay interest on past loans? Their own current revenues are too low to enable them to pay this interest on their past borrowings. The White Paper on the Punjab Budget for 1952-53 had a revealing sentence which seems to have escaped the notice of the Central Government. On page 35 it states—"That State (Punjab) has; already had to resort to the expedient of paying interest on the Bhakra-Nangal, Ferozapore Canal Loans from the capital account, thus putting itself in the position of borrowing to pay interest and paying interest on interest." This statement should put the Central Government on its guard.

[Time bell rings.]

Sir, I had some other points to make, but in deference to the warning to me from the Chair, I cut short whatever more I had to say. I will only add this that in view of the situation that faces India today, financially, and in view of the fact that most of the loans that have been given to the States for rehabilitation purposes will probably never be recovered by the Government, as has already been declared in some of the literature which has been published by some of the State Governments, it is my humble suggestion that in connection with the irrecoverable loans advanced to the State Governments, a bad or doubtful debt reserve should be constituted to take into consideration the probable losses which are likely to be involved in the repayment of such loans. In conclusion, I will only say this, Sir, that I am very sorry that I have had to place this dismal picture before the House instead of a rosy picture. But, in my opinion, the Kingdom of Facts, although barren on the outside, is fruitful within and is bound to bear fruit of a lasting nature as contrasted with the desert of wishful thinking and pleasing misrepresentation which is fraught with all kinds of misleading mirages and from which Members should be on their guard.

KHWAJA INAIT ULLAH (Bihar) :
We will try to be on guard.

SYED MAZHAR IMAM (Bihar) :

سید مظہر امام (بہار) : جذب
چندرمہن ! آج جو بھی بحث فائننس
بل (Finance Bill) پر ہاؤس میں
ہو رہی ہے اور جس پر ہمارے کچھ
دوستوں نے تقریر کر دی ہے میں بھی اس
بجٹ پر اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کرنا چاہتا
ہوں۔ اس کے متعلق چند باتیں سمجھو
عرض کرنی ہیں۔ قبل اس کے کہ میں
کچھ سمجھشن ہاؤس کے سامنے رکھوں
میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ جب سے میں اس
ہاؤس میں آیا ہوں اکثر میں نے اپنے
دوستوں سے یہ سنا کہ ایکسپینڈیچر
(expenditure) بہت ہیوی (heavy)
ہے اور اس کو کم کرنا چاہیئے۔ میں ان
لوگوں میں ہوں اور میرا یہ خیال ہے
کہ جب سے ہمارا ملک آزاد ہوا ہے اس
کو دیکھتے ہوئے اس وقت ہمارے ملک
کا جو بجٹ ہے وہ سافیشینٹ (sufficient)
نہیں ہے۔ اگر ہم دنیا کے دوسرے
ملکوں کو دیکھیں ان کی پاپولیشن
(population) پر نظر ڈالیں ان کے
ایریا (area) پر نظر ڈالیں اور اس سے
بعد ان کے بجٹ کو دیکھیں تو یہ معلوم
ہوگا کہ ہمارا ان کے مقابلہ میں کہنی
بجٹ نہیں ہے۔

اس لئے مناسب یہ نہیں ہے کہ ہم
اپنی حکومت پر یہ زور ڈالیں کہ وہ
اپنے بجٹ کو کم کرے، اپنے ایکسپینڈیچر
کو کم کرے بلکہ بہتر یہ ہے کہ ہم اپنی
حکومت پر یہ زور ڈالیں کہ وہ انکم

(income) کو زیادہ سے زیادہ بڑھانے کی
کوشش کرے اب سوال یہ ہے کہ جو بجٹ
ہمارا اس وقت ہے وہ اتنا کم دوسروں
کے مقابلہ میں ہے کہ اس کسی کا کوئی
سوال ہی نہیں پیدا ہوتا۔ جہاں تک
اس کٹری (country) کا سوال ہے دنیا
کے سب سے بڑے کٹری میں یہ ایک ہے۔
آج اس ملک کی جتنی پاپولیشن
(population) اور ایریا (area) ہے
سوائے چین کے دنیا میں اور کوئی اس
کا مقابلہ نہیں کر سکتا۔

بلکہ فور اس پر کرنا ہے کہ ہم
اپنی حکومت کی انکم کس طرح زیادہ
سے زیادہ بڑھانے کی کوشش کریں۔ ہم
کو دوسروں سے مقابلہ کرنا نہیں ہے
بلکہ اپنی حکومت پر یہ زور دینا ہے کہ
وہ انڈسٹری (industry) اور کامرس
(commerce) کے ذریعہ یا کوئی اور
ذرائع سے اپنی انکم زیادہ سے زیادہ بڑھانے
کی کوشش کرے۔ اس کے بعد سوال یہ
پیدا ہوگا کہ ہماری انکم سے زیادہ خرچ ہے یا
کم۔ جب میں ڈیفینس (defence)
کے بجٹ اور اس کے آئٹم کو دیکھتا ہوں
کہ آرمی پر ۱۶۶ کروڑ روپیہ خرچ کیا
جاتا ہے۔ اس کے بعد جب میں ایئر فورس
(Air Force) کے بجٹ کو دیکھتا ہوں
تو اس سے یہ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ اس پر
۲۳ کروڑ روپیہ خرچ ہوگا۔ میرے کہنے
کا مطلب اپنے منسٹر صاحب سے یہ ہے
کہ ہم کو اپنے ڈیفینس پر اور روپیہ بڑھانا
چاہیئے اور اس کی خاص وجہ یہ ہے کہ
ہمارا ملک تین طرف سے ڈیفینس کے

[Syed Mazhar Imam.]

احتفاظ سے نیوی (Navy) کا محتاج ہے۔ ہمارے ملک کا جو اتنا بڑا لانگ ایریا (long area) سی (sea) کا ہے جس کے لئے ایک اسٹرانگ نیوی (strong Navy) کا ہونا نہایت ضروری ہے۔ اس وقت جو نیوی پر خرچ کیا جا رہا ہے وہ بہت کم ہے یعنی 11 کروڑ۔ اس سے ہمارا کام نہیں ہو سکتا۔ اس لئے ضرورت اس پر ہے کہ ہم کو اپنے نیوی پر زیادہ سے زیادہ خرچ کرنا چاہیئے جس سے کہ ہم اپنے نقلی کو باہر کے ہر خطرے سے محفوظ رکھ سکیں اور ہر ایک حالات کا مقابلہ کر سکیں۔

دوسری چیز جو میں آپ کے سامنے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں وہ ایر فورس کے متعلق ہے۔ آجکل ایر فورس کا مطالب یہ نہیں ہوتا کہ وہ بمباری کے کام میں ہی لایا جائے بلکہ آج کل مائنز وارفیئر (modern warfare) میں ایر فورس کا کئی طریقوں سے استعمال کیا جاتا ہے۔ آجکل ایر فورس سے ٹرانسپورٹ (transport) کا کام لیا جاتا ہے۔ اور بھی کئی طریقوں میں یہ استعمال کیا جاتا ہے اس لئے یہ نہایت ضروری ہے کہ ہمارے ملک میں ایک مضبوط ایر فورس ہو تاکہ وہ ہر وقت ملک کی حفاظت کر سکے اس لئے میں سرکار سے یہ عرض کروں گا کہ اس پر اور بھی زیادہ خرچ کیا جانا چاہیئے تاکہ اس کے بڑھانے میں کسی قسم کی کمی نہ رہ جائے۔ جب تک ہمارے ملک میں ایر (Air) اور نیوی (Navy) مضبوط

نہیں ہوں گے تب تک ہم اپنے ملک کی حفاظت اچھی طرح سے نہیں کر سکیں گے چاہے ہم اپنی آرمی میں کتنا اردوں روپیہ خرچ کیوں نہ کر دیں۔ ایمرجنسی (emergency) کے ٹائم (time) میں ایر فورس اور نیوی بھی ایسی چیزیں ہیں جو کہ مائنز وارفیئر میں کام پر آتے ہیں۔

9 am.

اس کے ساتھ ہی ساتھ میں اپنے ڈیفینس منسٹر اور فائننس منسٹر صاحب سے یہ عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ملک کے ڈیفینس کے ساتھ ساتھ جہاں ایک اچھی آرمی، ایر فورس اور نیوی کی ضرورت ہوتی ہے وہاں پر پٹرول (petrol) ان چیزوں کے لئے ایک جان ہے۔ آجکل مائنز وارفیئر میں پٹرول کے بغیر عم کچھ کام نہیں کر سکتے۔ اب سوال یہ ہے کہ ہم اس کو اپنے ملک میں کس طرح سے آسانی سے بنا سکتے ہیں اس لئے میں آپ کو یہ سنجیدگی سے دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ سرکار پٹرول کی طرف خاص طور سے توجہ کرے۔ اگر ہمارا باہر کے ملکوں سے پٹرول آنا بند ہو جائے گا تو ہمارا ڈیفینس کا کوئی کام نہیں چل سکتا۔ ابھی شاید حال میں اس بات کی کوشش کی جا رہی ہے کہ کوئلہ سے اور دوسرے ریمٹریل (raw material) سے پٹرول نکالا جائے۔ میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اس کام کو جلد سے جلد ہم کو پورا کرنا چاہیئے چاہے ہم کو اور کاموں کو روک دینا ہی کیوں نہ پڑے۔ اگر ہم ایمرجنسی کے وقت میں اپنی آرمی کو پٹرول نہ دے سکے ہو وہ بڑی مصیبت

میں پڑ جائے گی۔ اس لئے میں حکومت سے پھر زور دے کر یہ کہوں گا کہ وہ پتروں کے لئے کوئی معقول بددوبست لازمی طور پر جلد کرے۔

اس کے بعد جو سب سے بڑا اہم سوال ہے وہ ملیتوری تربیت (military training) کے بارے میں ہے۔ سوال یہ نہیں ہے کہ صرف آرمی ہی کو ہم ملیتوری تربیت دیں اور وہ ہمارے ملک کی حفاظت کے لئے کافی ہوگی بلکہ حقیقت یہ ہے کہ ہم کو اپنے ملک میں ہر شخص کو اس میں شامل کرنا ہوگا۔ آجکل مادرین وارفیر میں صرف ملیتوری ہی کام نہیں کرتی ہے بلکہ سارا ملک لڑائی میں کام کرتا ہے۔ اس لئے سب سے ضروری چیز یہ ہے کہ ہم کو اپنے ملک والوں کو ملیتوری مائنڈ (military-minded) بنانا ہوگا۔ اس لئے یہ ضروری ہے کہ ہم اپنے آدمیوں کو ملیتوری کی تعلیم دیں اس میں ہم کو یہ دقت آ سکتی ہے کہ ہمارے پاس اتنا روپیہ نہیں ہے کہ اس پر ہم خرچ کر سکیں۔ میرا یہ سنجیدگی ہے کہ ہم سب سے پہلے اپنے آئے والے جنریشن کو یعنی بچوں کو ملیتوری کی تعلیم کمپلسری (compulsory) دیں اس طرح سے وہ لوگ ملیتوری مائنڈ ہو جائیں گے۔ ہم کو ہائی اسکولوں (high schools) سے ہی لوگوں کو ملیتوری تربیت دینا ضروری کر دینا چاہیئے۔ ہمارے کالجوں میں بی اے (B. A.) اور ایم اے (M. A.) کے کلاسوں میں ایک ایک گھنٹہ کے لئے ملیتوری تربیت کمپلسری کر دینی

چاہیئے۔ ہمارے جو ملیتوری کے افسر ہیں ان کو وہاں پر جا کر لیکچر (lecture) دینا چاہیئے۔ اس طرح کے کرنے سے یہ فائدہ ہوگا کہ ضرورت کے وقت ہم کو ملیتوری کی مدد کے لئے آسانی سے آدمی مہیا ہو سکیں گے۔ ہم کو ہر گھر میں ایک ملیتوری مین (militaryman) پیدا کرنا چاہیئے تاکہ وہ وقت پر اپنے ملک کی خدمت کر سکے اور ساتھ ہی ساتھ اپنے گھر میں لوگوں کو بھی اس بارے میں بھی تعلیم دے سکے۔ اس لئے میرا سنجیدگی حکومت کے سامنے یہ ہے کہ وہ اس چیز کو ضرور قائم کرے اور اس بارے میں کوئی نہ کوئی اسکیم ایسی بنائے جس سے کمپلسری تعلیم ملیتوری کی دی جائے۔

آخر میں مجھے ایک اور بات کہنی ہے میرے پاس زیادہ وقت نہیں ہے اور نہ میں اس ہاؤس کا زیادہ وقت لینا چاہتا ہوں۔ جو بات مجھے عرض کرنی ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ ہمارے ملک میں بہت سے بچے اس طرح گلیوں میں لوارٹ اور یتیم کی طرح گھومتے ہیں جس کا کوئی وارٹ نہیں ہے اور ایسے بوڑھے مرد اور بوڑھی عورتیں پھرتی ہیں جس کا کوئی دیکھنے والا نہیں ہے۔ میں سرکار کے سامنے ان غریب انسانوں کے لئے کچھ انتظام کرنے کے لئے کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ میں اپنے فائننس منسٹر صاحب سے یہ عرض کروں گا کہ جہاں وہ اربوں روپیہ اور کاموں میں خرچ کر رہے ہیں وہاں پر ان انسانوں کو جو کہ ہماری طرح سے ہیں جن کی حفاظت کرنا یعنی کھانے اور پہنے وغیرہ کا انتظام کرنا

[Syed Mazhar Imam.]

ہمارا آپ کا فرض ہو جاتا ہے ان کے لئے کچھ نہ کچھ ضرور چاہیئے۔ آج م ان بچوں کو جو کہ گلیوں میں پتھروں کی طرح کھومتے ہیں جن کا کھانے پینے اور تعلیم وغیرہ کا کسی طرح کا انتظام نہیں ہے اور جو آگے چلکر سوسائٹی میں کرمینلس (criminals) ہو جاتے ہیں اور وہ سوسائٹی میں اور بھی خرابی پیدا کرتے ہیں اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوتا ہے کہ یہ بہترین جو نسل ہماری ہوتی وہ خرابی کی طرف چلی جاتی ہے۔ اس لئے میں منسٹر صاحب سے عرض کروں گا کہ وہ اپنے بجٹ میں اس طرح کے بچوں کے لئے اور غریب بوزے مرد و عورتوں کے لئے کچھ نہ کچھ رقم رکھیں یہ لوگ جن کے نہ بھائی ہیں نہ باپ ہیں نہ کوئی اور ان کی پرورش کرنے والا ہے اور نہ ان کے دھلے سہلے کا کوئی انتظام ہے جو دن بھر بھیک مانگا کرتے ہیں ان کے لئے اس سرکار کو کچھ نہ کچھ ضرور انتظام کرنا چاہیئے تاکہ ان کو اچھی سوسائٹی میں لانے کا انتظام ہو سکے۔

میں سرکار سے یہ کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ وہ اس بارے میں ایک کمیٹی بنائے اور ہر اسٹیٹ (State) کی سرکاروں سے اس طرح کے لوگوں کی لسٹ بنانے کے لئے کہے۔ اس کام میں ہماری کانگریس کمیٹی اور جو دوسری جماعتیں ہیں وہ بھی بھوشی اس کار خیر میں حصہ لینے سے انکار نہیں کریں گی۔ لسٹ تیار ہونے کے بعد ہم کو اس بات کا پتہ چل جائے گا کہ ہم کو ان لوگوں کو کس طرح

کی مدد کرنی ہے اور کتنا روپیہ اس کے لئے دیا جا سکتا ہے۔ کم سے کم ہم ان کے دھلے کے لئے ایک جھونپڑا تو بنا سکتے ہیں۔ میں تو یہ نہیں کہتا کہ ان کے لئے صارت بنائی جائے اور ان کو اچھا بے اچھا کھانا دیا جائے یا اچھے سے اچھے کپڑے پہننے کو دئے جائیں۔ میری تو حکومت سے یہی عرض ہے کہ ان کو حقیقی معنوں میں انسان بنانے کے لئے اور سوسائٹی کے قابل بنانے کے لئے کچھ نہ کچھ انتظام کرنا چاہیئے۔ یہ ہمارا اور آپ کا فرض ہو جاتا ہے کہ ہم ان کے لئے کچھ کریں۔

اس لئے میں حکومت سے یہ عرض کروں گا کہ وہ اس معاملہ پر غور کرے اور اس چیز کو سمجھے اور یہ انسانیت کا بھی تقاضا ہے کہ ہم کو ان کے لئے کچھ نہ کچھ ضرور کرنا چاہیئے۔

میں نہیں کہتا کہ آپ پورا خرچ پورا اُشت کریں۔ آپ تھوڑی بھی مدد سنٹرل گورنمنٹ (Central Government) سے کر دیں۔ اسٹیٹ گورنمنٹ پر زور دیں کہ وہ اس کام کو کریں اور اس طرح سے آپ دیکھیں گے کہ بہت فائدہ ہوگا۔ میں آخر میں ان دی نیم آف ہیومنینٹی (in the name of humanity) سے اور حکومت سے اپیل کروں گا کہ اس چیز کو ضرور منظور کریں۔ اگر میں اس بجٹ میں کوئی کمی پاتا ہوں تو وہ یہی ہے کہ جس کی طرف آپ کو اور ہم کو دھیان دینا ہے۔

[For English translation, see Appendix II, Annexure No. 9.]

SHRI B. GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Chairman, as we have been called upon here to endorse the sanction of huge sums of money to feed a top-heavy, soulless, corrupt Administration and American plans, we would take this occasion to draw the attention of the Government to the question of food and the administration of that Department. If I do so, Sir, it is because we would like to ensure, before we feed this Department and approve its plan, that it would give us food. But when we look at the statements galore issued by our new Food Minister, Janab Kidwai, we find that he is spreading all kinds of stories, telling one thing in one province and another thing in another province, creating confusion wherever he goes, but promising no food to the hungry people. Only yesterday he was speaking at a public meeting somewhere in Bhopal where he is reported to have said that he could not announce any definite policy on food. He also added in the same speech that he would not allow any one in the country to die of starvation. Whatever the hon. the Food Minister might say about his policy or no-policy, we understand, Sir, that he has a clear-cut policy which he dare not divulge before the country and that policy is to shirk the responsibility of feeding the famished people. He has embarked on the path of, what he calls, decontrol, as if, Sir, if decontrol were to be adopted the country would be flowing with milk and honey.

I would like the hon. the Food Minister to look at the Planning Commission's Report where certain observations have been made about such policies as the decontrol policy. Let there be no mistake. I hold no brief for the present control policy of the Government which is filled with corruption and which is absolutely leaky. But even so, I would stand for the popular control measures which should be brought in line with the interests of the people. Now, Sir, the hon. the Food Minister should remember that here is a document—the Planning Commission's Report—which has been flaunted round the country time and

I again. This is what is said in this Report :

"An equitable distribution of food-grains among different sections of the population on reasonable prices has been the object and policy in recent years. The effective discharge of this responsibility is Government's first duty in the economic field."

I Underline the words " first duty in the economic field." Then in the same Report it is said very clearly :

"Any step in the direction of decontrol is, under present conditions, certain to raise the prices and is likely to jeopardise the entire system of food-control which has been built up in the country with considerable effort."

The consequences of complete decontrol, it is hardly necessary to say, would be even more dangerous than what is stated in the draft outline of the first Five Year Plan. I do not know whether Janab Kidwai cares for the written words, but then it is common with the present Government to preach one thing and to do another thing. Now, Sir, I know that decontrol has been adopted as a matter of policy, because faced with the growing deficit in the country of food grains which the Government would do nothing to remove because it would not give land free to the tillers of the soil by which alone you can remove the food crisis, the Government would not touch the blackmarketeers and profiteers with a pair of tongs.

* * * * *

Now, Sir, we know that nothing has been done to remove the two conditions necessitating control, namely, deficit and the blackmarketeers. They all remain where they were. On the contrary while under the British rule the deficit amounted to about 2-5 million tons, we have now got a staggering deficit of nearly seven million tons. And the profiteers and the blackmarketeers are more powerful today than ever before. It is in these conditions that the Government has embarked upon this policy of progressive decontrol. We know what will be the result. The result will be what has been stated here in the Planning Commission's Report. Already we find that in many provinces the prices are

♦Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

[Shri B. Gupta.] rising everyday beyond the reach of the common man. This is going to continue, because you do not have, on account of the policy you have launched, any control over the food situation. Now, it is understandable why the Government is doing so. It started with a cut in the food subsidies. Now it is going over to the policy of shirking the entire responsibility of feeding the people, a responsibility which any responsible and popular Government should have undertaken gracefully. They are doing exactly the opposite. "I would not allow any one", the hon. Minister said, "to die of starvation here." I have got a picture published in a Calcutta daily, and my Congress friends will kindly note it, called "Swadhinata"; and this picture has also been published in Congress papers. It shows the picture of a woman who died of starvation in front of the Calcutta Medical College. Here is a starvation death reminiscent of the 1943 famine. If human kind is allowed to die in broad daylight in the thoroughfares of Calcutta in this manner, it is futile to talk about big things, it is futile to reel out premises that you will not allow any one; to die in this country of starvation. Here is yet another picture where a mother is holding a baby in her arms; both are starving. And we know, Sir, that on the next day after this photo was taken this child died of starvation, and this mother was sitting besides dogs and other animals in search of food. That is the human degradation to which they have brought our country. And then they go round the country peddling their policies which mean nothing but false promises. This is their food policy.

We are often called upon to offer constructive suggestions. Well, Sir, I shall offer constructive suggestions. If there is a deficit, if there is hunger, if there is famine stalking in the country, why not cut down the expenses in the Government departments? Why not reduce the salaries of the big I.C.S. and other officials who are drawing anything between Rs. 3,000 and Rs. 4,000? Why not stop the display of wealth and pomp in the City of New Delhi?

Why not cut down expenditure in the State Governments? Instead of having 30 Ministers forming a 'happy family', why not reduce the number and spend the money for serving the people, for feeding the hungry? That might not be taken by this Government. If you think there is hunger, why cut the food subsidies instead of restoring them? Why waste money on these American projects, mis-called 'community projects', which are nothing but projects designed and planned to shackle our country's economy to the chariot-wheels of America. Spend that money for feeding the people. If human dignity is allowed to pass into oblivion like that, no plan can succeed; nothing can succeed.* There are ways and means of feeding the people. The Government would not adopt them. Instead, they would ask for huge sums of money for the department. So much for the Food Department.

The time is short. Another department to which I would like to draw attention is the Education Department. One wonders why there should be corruption in that particular department which is supposed to be very honest, which is supposed to be above board, which is supposed to be a Caesar's wife in the administrative set-up of this country. Here you find they have started what they call scheme to set up higher technical institutes, one of which has been started in our State of West Bengal, in Hijli. There a lot of money is being wasted. One pure chemist has been appointed as the Director General on a salary of Rs. 3,500 I understand. This gentleman is a scientist, no doubt, but hardly fitted for this job. He seems to be a multi-purpose man. Before he got this appointment he was Director General of Industry and Commerce. From the Director Generalship of Industry and Commerce to the Director Generalship of the Technical Institute—that has been his line of advance. Now, I do not mind a person being put there, even if it were this gentleman. But what is going on there? We find that a lot of corruption is going on there. Nepotism is rampant there. I have got some materials here, and these have been

placed before the Government, but they have taken no action. I have got some facts which I wish to tell the House. Firstly, this Hijli is a place where American stores were kept, and these stores are now in the possession of that particular Institute. Materials are mysteriously going out of that Institute without being accounted for. Here are gate-passes which indicate what is happening. I have got the originals of the gate-passes which indicate that the materials are passing out of that place without being accounted for. All these facts have been placed before the Government. I got them from an engineer who has been forced to resign his post.

KHWAJA INAIT ULLAH : Has he been dismissed for sending these facts to you ?

SHRI B. GUPTA : Anyway, that is not the hon. Member's concern. I may tell the House that a number of people who are not *persona grata* with the present Director General are being removed or forced to leave, whereas a number of foreigners who are simply idling away their time are being kept there though they have nothing to do. Some of them are getting thousands of rupees without any work, and at the same time a number of experts are being forced to leave that place. Now, I would not accuse him of personal corruption in the sense that he is taking any bribe. But the point is this. Corruption is going on in his department, and nepotism is rampant. If educational institutions are to be disgraced in that way, I do not know what will happen to the future of our education. I have got here two other interesting facts. Materials are bought from various firms. A second-hand, worn out producer plant, broken into three pieces, was bought as new from Messrs. Alcock and Company. The proprietor of that firm is one Mr. Mukerjee. Over Rs. 16,000 was paid even before the material arrived. That was contrary to the contract. Similarly, a couple of old petrol-gas-plants which would not cost Rs. 3,000 was bought from Messrs. Ganson & Co. for Rs. 13,000. This is 16 C. S. D.

how things are being managed there. These materials are bought for institutions in a manner which is open to very serious objections. These complaints have been lodged with the Private Secretary to the Prime Minister of India, and nothing has yet been done

As you know, Sir, it was the recommendation of the University Commission that before starting the scheme, the existing available resources should be fully tapped before spending any money on projects for setting up new higher technical institutions. We are not against the starting of institutes. We want these institutes to flourish in this country. We want them to be started, but we want them to be saved from corruption.

{Time bell rings.}

At the same time, since you are constantly in deficit, the engineering colleges like those at Shibpur and Jadhavpur should have been fully utilised for promoting higher technical education, instead of certain new colleges being propped up here and there at a cost of Rs. 10 crores. Now, after doing all these things, what are they doing in Hijli ? They are giving under-graduate training courses, which could have been done either at Shibpur or at Jadhavpur. The money sanctioned this year, I understand, is to the tune of Rs. 92 lakhs. This is how things are being done. Unless this is put a stop to, unless the Government wakes up here and now and puts a stop to this kind of thing, I give the warning that the future of our education is doomed. The process of demoralisation that has set in in the Hijli Institute has got to be firmly tackled and should not be sat over for any length of time, as has been the practice with the Government today.

There are many other things I want to tell you here. One point I would like to touch upon is about Chander-nagore. The Foreign Affairs Ministry gave us a resume of what has happened in Chandernagore. In Chandernagore there was a Municipal Assembly and a Council elected by the people—a thing

[Shri B. Gupta.] that was won by the people's struggle against French imperialists. The President has taken over the administration of the city under the new arrangement and has set up an Administrator there. The first thing that the Administrator has done is to liquidate those elected bodies, the Assembly and the Council, to wipe away the responsible and autonomous municipal government that existed there. And now they have also started attacking the living conditions of the people. There was some decree by the previous Government.....

(Time bell rings.)

Only one minute, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No. Shri Pattabiraman.

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN (Madras) : Mr. Chairman, it is with a certain amount of caution that I will have to speak especially after my learned friend on the other side has given enough provocation. *(Interruption.)* I am trying to forget what he said.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No competition in abuse.

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN : Mr. Chairman, it is my desire to bring to the notice of the Government that a great crisis is developing in the South and that the Government of India should take immediate note of it. The monsoon has failed in succession. It may be an ordinary thing for any other country, but in the South a serious situation has been created by the failure of monsoons, the result of which will be felt in the coming year. Sir, the Madras Government, under the auspices of Rajaji, has pursued a policy of decontrol. It is a bold venture of decontrol and the success of this policy can be guaranteed only if there are sufficient rains and if there is enough water for irrigation purposes.

Another thing that I want to bring to the notice of the Government of India

is the industrial calamity in the South. As you are well aware, Sir, the industry in the South depends upon the power not of thermal stations but of the various hydro-electric schemes throughout the South and the Government of India should be aware by this time that all the lakes and the water that is required for the working of all the hydroelectric schemes are almost depleted and even at this time of the year when they should be full, they are not even a quarter full. The monsoon is also very weak and the prospect of having a full reservoir in Mettur and Moyar is very little and I am afraid, Sir, that the industrial output of the entire country is going to be very greatly affected. Already, Sir, this year from March to June we get industrial power cut to the extent of nearly 75 per cent. Therefore, Sir, if the textile industry is to be closed down, if the industry at Mettur is to close down and if even the Defence Department's ammunition depot at Aravankadu is to close for want of electricity, we can imagine what would be the production of cloth and other things that are essential for the country's requirement. Sir, it is with this object that I warn that the whole economic position of the country would be greatly affected unless the Government of India steps in and puts up more thermal stations in the South so that a continuous flow of power is guaranteed to the mills and other industries.

Another important factor that I want the Government of India to know is that almost famine conditions prevail in the Tamil districts. It is not only my view that the famine conditions prevail in the Tamil districts but even the Revenue Minister was bold enough in making a statement to that effect. Unless something happens, it would be very difficult for people to get on and I would therefore request the Government of India to see that enough stocks are rushed to the South so that the people may be able to live and they may be able to be freed from the effects of famine. If that is not possible, if the Government of India is not going to send enough food grains, I am sure that it would be very difficult for the people of the Tamil districts to ward

off famine especially in the coming months. As a matter of fact Tanjore which is supposed to be the granary of the South is not likely to produce as much paddy as is expected due to very low water level in Mettur Reservoir. The prospects are very bleak and the Government of India must take some special steps to see that the famine is warded off and the people are saved from the effects of famine. In this respect I may also thank the Defence Ministry on behalf of the people of the Tamil districts for what the army units are doing there. The army units have been there in the Tamil districts to deepen the wells and increase the existing sources of water supply. They have deepened the wells and thus irrigation water is available to the people. They are doing very excellent work in my district of Salem and we are indeed grateful to the Government especially to the Defence Department. But may I request the Defence Minister to see that the defence forces are kept there for some more time? As a matter of fact only about 80 wells have so far been dug in the district of Salem which is drought-affected and which is in very great need of water. If these army units are able to dig about 1000 wells in the Tamil districts, which are drought-affected areas, I am sure enough water will be available and that will greatly help the people there. So I request the hon. the Defence Minister to see to it and issue necessary directions to have the help of the army in digging wells for a longer time and for the effective renovation of more wells;

Sir, my friend has referred to the policy of decontrol and has quoted chapter and verse from the Planning Commission's Report. I would have been very happy if he would have been prepared to accept the Planning Commission's Report in its entirety. Just like the devil quoting the scripture, my hon. friend has tried to quote passages which are convenient to him and has forgotten the passages which are inconvenient to him. The decontrol policy is one of the best things and I am sure that the Communists have themselves sponsored the decontrol policy during elections. I

would like to tell my friend from Bengal who has just spoken that it was his own party which carried on propaganda in the villages for the policy of decontrol. They promised to the villagers that when they come into power, it will be their first duty to decontrol food grains and other things. They promised several things to the villagers and I am sure, Sir.....

SHRI B. GUPTA : Question.

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN : My hon. friend may be questioning but I may remind him that his party had carried on this sort of propaganda in the villages that the villagers are being harassed, that the producers are put to torture and that the control policy of the Government is the bane of agriculturists. There is no use of empty challenging here. *(Interruption.)* If he can prove facts here, I shall be prepared to accept. I am not going to be cowed down by this sort of interruption. If our friends have got facts with them, let them just put those facts before us. But if these are merely threats, then I am not prepared to be cowed down. So I am surprised that my friend should say that the learned Premier of Madras has said that the blackmarketeers, hoarders and anti-social elements in Madras have become very pious and that they are going to help the decontrol policy. Sir, I want to ask whether the control policy of the Government
In

terruptions.) I would like to know whether the hon. Member is really pleading for the blackmarketeers and hoarders. Sir, who profited by these controls? Did the cultivator or the common man profit by the controls? No. It is the blackmarketeer. It is the merchant. It is the person who is a parasite to the social economy of the country who has profited by controls. Sir, we are not against controls but the decontrol policy has been of very great help to the people of the South. Today food grain prices have gone down to a very great extent. If the object of the Planning Commission is to see that the people should get food grains at very low prices and at reasonable prices, I can assure the hon. Member here

[Shri T. S. Pattabiraman.]

that the decontrol policy of the Madras Government has done its work well and the people are able to get better and cheaper food grains than they were able to get at the time of controls. So, the decontrol policy of the Madras Government has been a great blessing ; it has been a great success. But I am sorry to say that the hon. Members who speak from the other side of the House are trying to sabotage the policy of decontrol. They are going everywhere, the cities as well as the villages, and trying to create chaos. They are spreading false rumours saying that the people will not be able to get any food grains and will starve. They are doing effective propaganda against the decontrol policy to suit their own ends. I can understand the hon. Members' strong words against the greatest man of South India, because he has upset their political apple cart. My friends over there have used strong language. I too can use strong language, but that is no argument. If my friends have got strong arguments, let them advance those arguments. Sir, I speak from personal experience of the common

man's feeling in Madras in regard to this decontrol policy. The producers can produce as much as they want and sell the product as they like. The tiller is very happy because he can sell whatever quantity he likes and at whatever price he likes. Sir, we are thankful to the Government of India for supporting the Chief Minister of Madras in his policy of decontrol, but I can assure them that this will be a great success. Sir, I do not want to take up any more time of the House.

PROF. G. RANGA (Madras) : Mr. Chairman, I am glad that my hon. friend has put in such a strong plea for the policy of decontrol inaugurated in the Madras State and later on followed and being followed by State after State. In different parts of the country I can stand testimony to the fact that decontrol has already begun to benefit the people of the South. I cannot speak with such authority about the conditions prevailing in other States, but I have information to confirm my own estimate that in other States also similar

beneficial results are being experienced. I know, Sir, ^ces where food grains—paddy in the unhusked state—was selling at the rate of Rs. 50 per bag of 45 Madras measures, while it was being procured by Government at Rs. 17 to Rs. 19. Who was absorbing, even if it was procured at Rs. 19, that margin of Rs. 31 ? Not the consumer. It was the blackmarketeer, it was the corrupt man in the food administration who was responsible for this scandal. It was also the political parties who were insisting during the last five years, in season and out of season, that there should be this control. Thanks to Gandhiji's leadership, this Government had the wisdom to order decontrol but unfortunately soon after his death, the people in Government services and the political parties, who were interested mostly—I would not say only—in the industrial proletariat and the lower middle classes, among whom I include the professionals known as non-gazetted officers, etc., began to make their manoeuvres, and our Prime Minister most unfortunately for us all agreed to bring back the control with all its evils with the result that the country has had to suffer untold miseries during all these years. Some of us have been pleading for this decontrol with a due sense of responsibility. We knew what was happening in the country. I gave a warning to the Finance Minister and also his predecessors that as a result of their control policy, there was a regular flight away from food crops to other crops. They did not heed my warnings. I also warned the Government that there was much more production in the country than had been accounted for by the Food and Agriculture Ministry. We also warned them about the blackmarketeers and others who are not consciously black-marketing but at the same time were in collusion with the blackmarketeers because of the practical necessities that faced them. Here I should not be understood to mean thereby only the small traders and merchants but also the consumers, large sections of whom were obliged to go to the blackmarket in order to get some decent quantities of food grains. What is the good of

blaming these people"? We made it impossible for them to do otherwise. It is the people who encouraged the blackmarketeers, who indulged in it themselves, it is the corrupt officials and certain political parties, who are trying to make capital out of the present situation, who are to blame. Sir, certain political parties were running about the country during the election time, not only in villages but also in towns, telling people that they would remove controls, if they came to power. I can tell you, Sir, that thousands of bogus ration cards were printed and distributed. Soon after the elections were over, when these innocent people went to the tehsildar and told him, "Sir, here are our ration cards, give us rice", they got only a smile from the official, probably sometimes a slap in the face from the police official. Naturally, Sir, they were saying that they were in favour of decontrol. All over the country there was a great feeling against controls. My hon. friend, who does not happen to be in his seat just now, Mr. Jaspat Roy Kapoor, was the Chairman of a Committee which enquired into this matter and reported that decontrol would be welcomed by the people. He and the Committee came to the conclusion that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country would be in favour of decontrol if the Government of India were to decide on it. Later on, Sir, there was an All-India Decontrol Conference at Agra of which I had the honour of being the Chairman. It cannot be pleaded by any that there is no public opinion in the country on decontrol, that the Premier of Madras had simply done it, as a sort of hat trick, in order to add one more feather to his cap. It is puerile political reasoning to say that any Government which is anxious to serve the people would do anything without gauging public opinion. Is it seriously contended that a Government which does otherwise can be popular and remain in power? Many things can be said against Rajaji but it cannot be said that Rajaji does not know what is good for a popular Government. It cannot be said by anyone or that side of the House that Rajaji is not a wise man.

Sir, decontrol has been warmly welcomed everywhere. We have had a Decontrol Day all over the State. It was celebrated in villages and towns. Thousands of people attended these meetings. They burnt the effigy of control, made of straw and tar, because control is supposed to be as black as tar. As people celebrated the day when Jarasanda was killed, so people have celebrated this day. Who is now unhappy? Those ten thousand officials of the Civil Supplies Department who have become unemployed, and who have started an agitation for control. Why that those officials should be reemployed again. It is my friends over there who go about shouting for decontrol. The political parties also. Then there are the blackmarketeers and the merchants. Are they real merchants? No. Ten years ago they had nothing to do with business. The real hereditary merchants, the merchants who used to merchandise things in an honest way, they were all elbowed out. Some new fellows were brought in by our Ministers who call themselves Congress Ministers—shame on us all that they should have called themselves that—they brought these people in, gave them new licences and these people did not know how to deal in those commodities, made some money out of it and then these various other people came in. All these new breed of merchants—these are the people unemployed. The real merchants have come back again on the business and they are competing with each other with the result that the food grains which were selling at Rs. 50 per maund of 40 measures are now selling at not more than Rs. 25. Is that not an achievement? There are places in the South where food grains are sold even today at less than the controlled price of Rs. 19. They are very few but there they are available.

Shri C. G. K. REDDY : Where?

PROF. G. RANGA : In West Godavari District. My hon. friend Mr. Satyanarayan was complaining to the press that these wagons were not moving. Merchants were not able to purchase but the stuff was there. Sixty thousand

[Prof. G. Ranga.] tons were there, as per the report of the Collector of Kistna, waiting to be sent down to the consumers. There is plenty of stock coming into this market. What is the kind of stuff that is coming out? Even though you have to pay Rs. 3 or 4 more, the stuff you get now is much better. It is the stuff for which our people had had to pay Rs. 20 to 30 more than the controlled price. Is that not a satisfactory achievement? On the other hand if my hon. friends are not willing to recognize the sun even when it is out there in the mid-skies, then I can only tell them that nobody can possibly help a blind man like that.

Sir, I take up next the other suggestion made viz., "Give away lands to all the tillers of the soil." Yes, it is a very fine thing. I am in favour of it. We fought for it long before this Party came into existence in this country. Several of us who happened to be at that time within the Congress, organised an anti-zamindari campaign and today the zamindars have gone and the tillers are having the lands. That is not what my friends want. They don't want small holders to have the lands. They want to vacate these people and bring in the agricultural workers. How? By dismissing the men who have 5 acres, 2 acres, 1 acre and io cents, they want to bring in other people. Is that proper, real or equitable distribution of land? Then they want to make it appear that in this country all the lands are in the hands of only a few lakhs and millions, not hundreds of millions of people, go without land. Let them look at the latest census figures. There you will find that those who own the land and cultivate them are 160 million people whereas those who don't have any land at all but are agriculturists are 40 millions or less and those who are cultivating other people's land are 34 or 35 millions. That means apart from the agricultural workers only one-sixth of them happen to be tenants. These are the people who are to be protected and we are in favour of it. Several of our State Legislatures and Ministries have already in-

augured their reforms. Bombay has already gone ahead. I don't mean to say that I agree with everyone of the provisions of the Bombay Tenancy Act but at the same time it has shown to me that the provinces are going ahead. However much I disagree with the Congress hierarchy, I agree that these Congress Ministries themselves today are keen to achieve this reform and they are going to do it in pursuance of the Agrarian Committee as well as the Minority Report with which I had the honour to associate myself. But that is not giving the land to the tillers according to the dictionary of my hon. friends because they very much want the land to be thrown to the wolves so that wolves as well as the fox begin to fight among themselves, then these friends may come there and say, "All of you should be dispossessed so that we can have our own mechanised farms and collectives and you would be admitted into it at our mercy, at our will and pleasure and only as mere wage-earners and nothing more but slaves under the regime of our own dictators." That is the game my hon. friends have up their sleeves and if they want to have a free hand in order to achieve any such dispensation, I wish to tell them that in this country everyone democratic, worth his salt, to whichever political party he may belong, will be opposed to it and he would consider it his duty to go and stand by the millions, not merely 100 millions of small holders in this country.

SHRIMATI VOILET ALVA (Bombay). Mr. Chairman, a number of speakers this morning have touched on a number of topics but planning seems to be on everybody's brains these days. We are committed under the Five Year Plan I to spend 1790 crores of rupees. Out of this 14 crores are to be raised from this country and for the balance of 300 to 400 crores, we shall have to go with our begging bowl and ask the various foreign aids to come to our rescue to build up a Welfare State. Sir, the Planning Commission's report was out some time ago. The Planners are still at it, planning further and we shall soon begin the task but what strikes my imagination is that, as it is laid down in the Bharat Sewak Samaj leaflet, public co-operation is so

necessary in planning. Sir, my theme today is not planning but I shall begin with the freedom struggle that we went through. During the freedom struggle it was the youth of this country who suffered and went to the gallows even. They wanted to do so much and were so zealous for the achievement of freedom. Today five years are over and what is being done for the youth I should like to know from the hon. Finance Minister. Sir, it is very important for those who have practised social work without Government aid in any form to start the welfare centres in labour areas to know how to whip up enthusiasm. We go to the chawls, we find no enthusiasm. We collect a few people. They are not interested. We form a group of local people, we pick out the children. We ask for cloth from the mill-owners, they refuse to give. We ask for money, that does not come. We somehow dress the children, uniformly, we give them a drum and a bugle and we march them through the streets. Then people gather. We begin our work, the people work and build up their centre. This served as a process even in the Congress days when it was at its hey-day, with the beat of the drum the youth marched. How is this country and how are our planners going to hasten? With the beat of the drum, with the beat of their hearts, with the step in time and a uniform—for it must be remembered, I think it was Emerson who said that :

•"You march alone and you march into the darkness of the night. You march with the people and you see the dawn of the day."

Today, Sir, what is lacking is public co-operation, what is lacking is enthusiasm. What I want to plead now is that our youth—the boys and girls—of this country should be mobilised and mobilised now and here. If you want your plans to go ahead, then the youth of the land must be called up, with the beat of drums and with marching steps, and, the planners must march with the people; or else they will march into the darkness of the night. The next five years are crucial years. We need not here dilate on what shall come if we

fail to achieve the things we must in the *next* five years.

Sir, I want to plead for a system of physical and semi-military training for our youths. My main subject this morning will be defence—the training of our boys and girls for this purpose. Sir, I have before me, the figures of last year for the National Cadet Corps. The senior division had 21, 622. the junior division had 36,333, the girls division had 7 officers and 173 cadets. What are these figures for such a vast country as ours? And what are we doing about it? I am told that in some schools where the system of National Cadet Corps exists, all the boys are not given a chance for the simple reason that there are not sufficient number of uniforms to go round. I know of one instance where only 40 boys could be taken in because there were no uniform to go round. I think it is time that the hon. Members of this House and the hon. Minister in charge of Defence take note of this state of affairs. We need our boys and girls to be trained. I shall give here the figures of the other countries which give such training to their youths on a national scale. Australia gives this training at the age of 14. In Canada the age is 12 and in America they give a two years' course of military training in schools and colleges. And in India? Not even uniforms. Sir, our Government is strong enough to demand from the textile mills sufficient cloth for uniforms for our boys and girls and even rotten guns if made available to the cadets would be useful. Sir, here is a beautiful picture from a Government publication, "Defending our Frontiers" showing girls marching at an army drill—to the defence of the frontier. We should give the necessary training to our boys and girls; but last year as I said just now, we had seven officers and just 173 cadets in the girls division. I plead that as our planning goes ahead we should take into our confidence the masses of our people, especially the youth, not the aged. Sir, in India of course, the principle of conscription for purposes of defence is not there. But we are at a juncture of history when our defence must grow and all the three branches of our defence must also grow. May I ask, Sir, of the hon. Finance

[Shrimati Violet Alva.] Minister and also the hon. Defence Minister what is being done with the seafaring classes of our people ? Sir, our coastline extends to over 3,000 miles and we have these fisher folk living all along the coast. The time has come when our coastal defence must grow. We have not got the money for building up a strong first rate Navy, because from the figures seen in the Appropriation Bill we find that the Navy gets Rs. 11 crores as against Rs. 166 crores and odd for the Army. Can you ever build up your defence or your naval arm when your coastline is left in this condition ? I feel Sir, that the boys of our fisher-folk should be taken in hand and given sound training. The rules provide for admission to pupils two classes before matric for joining the Navy. This is all right as it is. But I am not talking of the existing official defence arrangement. The Defence Minister should look ahead a little and use these pockets of fisher-folk for defence purposes. Let us make them march to the drum. Let their hearts beat and let them feel that they have a duty to perform if superior naval or air forces attack them. If we do that, I think we shall have achieved something that the other countries are achieving by their *short-services systems*. This may entail a good deal of expenditure, but we have to make a headway and make a beginning, io A.M.

Likewise when our cadets are picked out—and they are picked out from all parts of the country side and from the coastline of Karnatak to Malabar—they are sent to Timbuctu for training! I do not know why all the boys should go to the Academy for training. We do not want them all to be specialised soldiers and officers. We want them to be physically fit. We want to inculcate in them a disciplined mind and a national character. We want to see in them a zest for cultural pursuits. To do this I do not think we need move the boys from their home lands. We should go to them. We should see that every district and every local board and every educational institution helps us to build up such forces. Here again I tried to observe what is done in other countries and I find that in England

and in America also they are building up this sort of force. The local counties do it in England and in the U.S.A. National guards through the component states do it, the Centre providing equipment, supervision and subsidies. I plead to my Governmnt today that we should also envisage some such scheme. Let it come from the Planning Commission. We should hurry up because we do not know what the future years will reveal.

We have got the defence estimates here, but whereas the defence estimates of the United Kingdom reveal the strengch of her Army, Navy and Air Force, we are kept in the dark as regards our own estimates. Maybe the Government have special reasons for not divulging them and treating them as secrets. But I do not see why we should not divulge this information when our Army and Navy and Air Force have come up to first-rate standards, and also when other countries are telling us how strong their Army is, how good their Navy and that their Air Force is doing its job well. When they do so, I do not know why we should delay in divulging these things. Sir, when we have not got the figures, we have to depend on reports and publications of Government for this information, when such publications are given to us, and we have to read between the lines and gather what we can. And speaking about the Navy, as far as I could learn, one important post is not yet filled. In the Brief Statement of the Activities of the Ministry during 1951-52 we read on page 5 last paragraph under the caption—Naval Headquarters—Chief of Naval Aviation—responsible for planning and other ancillary matters concerned with the development of naval aviation. This post is not filled at present and the duties of this branch are co-ordinated by the Chief of Staff. ' And the Chief of Staff, what does he do ? He is responsible for recruitment, service conditions, training, welfare and discipline of naval personnel and general manning of the fleet. From this we know that we have not got a Navy worth the name. So we must go ahead and we must certainly do things much faster.

Sir, when we come to gliding, flying dubs and civil aviation, in other countries these activities are always subsidised by the State because in modern warfare these will stand by the Government in good stead. We have to

(Time bell rings.)

A few minutes more, Sir. After all I am a woman doing a man's job.

I had forgotten where I was.

MR. CHAIRMAN : On flying clubs and civil ation.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA : Thank you, Sir. The flying clubs should be really subsidised by the State. And air is so important an arm of defence that you will permit me to read a short passage from Churchill's "Second World War." On page 100 he says :

"Air power is the most difficult of all forms of military power to be measured or even expressed in precise terms. The extent to which factories and the training grounds of civil aviation have acquired a military value and significance at any moment cannot easily be judged and still less exactly defined. Opportunities for concealment, camouflage and treaty evasion are numerous and varied. The air and air alone offered Hitler the chance first to equality and next predominance over both the military arm of Britain and France."

I am not here in the role of an adviser to the Defence Ministry, but I do feel that these are urgent problems because we are a power indeed in the comity of nations. We may not seek aggression as Hitler did but we shall have to be ready to defend. When we think of these things, Sir, our minds go back to the aircraft carriers, to tankers and to so many naval and aviation requirements, and so many supplies which, of course, I shall have no time to deal with. Before closing I would like to say that we have just the beginnings of a Navy, that is, we are nowhere with our Navy as a Naval Power. Naval aviation is an important adjunct in this arm of defence but we have not got that. What shall we do? Without aircraft carriers you cannot achieve

much proficiency in your Navy. From this Appropriation Bill I see the Air Force is given Rs. 23 crores, the Navy is given Rs. 11 crores and the Army is given Rs. 166 crores. I really do not see any co-relation between these three sections. Rs. 166 crores is appropriated by the Army and so little is left for the Navy and the Air Force. We fully realise that modern warfare, if it is to come and if it is to sweep this country, shall always come by air or by sea and still, the appropriations are considerably low. Sir, I submit that provision for these two items, the Navy and the Air Force should be increased and we should really see ourselves go ahead. If not, we cannot have aircraft carriers.

Let us at least have submarines so that our small ships that we boast of so much to-day can be saved from under-water attacks. When I talk of submarines—I don't know whether we have any submarines at all—I would like to know from the Minister in charge as to how many submarines we have. We have opened diplomatic relations with West Germany and we could get West German experts to come over and help us in building up a submarine line of defence. When I speak of this, I do not know whether NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, can allow us to get West German experts because they have already upheld the tradition of colonial systems and they may stand in our way. Why should we always get United Kingdom and United States of America experts and why not from Germany?

This country does not boast of an oil tanker, if I am right. I submit myself to correction if I am wrong. Our petroleum comes in foreign tankers; Isn't it time that we either buy or build tankers so that petroleum can be imported in our own vessels? At times when the two blocks cut at each other's throat, when they begin blackmailing us, we shall have no oil tankers.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: We shall have no petrol either,

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA: I think it is time we buy or build tankers. Sir, when talking of tankers you must remember, and we must remember, the lesson from Germany. Hitler collapsed because of lack of petroleum. He kept on ascending until he got petrol and when he lacked that he fell and he lost the last chance to victory. Sir, let us take the lessons of history' and let us build up our defence.

PRINCIPAL DEVAPRASAD GHOSH (West Bengal): Mr. Chairman, much has been said about the merits and demerits of control. I submit that the question of control or de-control cannot be studied *in vacuo*. Opinions cannot be formulated categorically either against control or against decontrol as such irrespective of the circumstances attending the same. The circumstances must be taken into account. For instance, during the war, when there was natural scarcity of many materials, control had to be taken up almost perforce; but what one feels is that control should not be looked upon as a matter of normal trade policy in normal circumstances. Here in India now, it is 7 long years that have passed since the war was over; and one feels, as an ordinary common man, that sufficiently long time has passed for the normal process of trade to assert itself. If, however, controls cannot be done away with at a stroke, still, attempts should be made to relax controls step by step. Therefore, we of the Opposition were very glad at long last when the Government showed signs of relaxing their control policy. Of course, I do not include in this category my friends on the extreme left, members of the Communist Party, because they do not believe in any individual initiative or private enterprise whatsoever, but believe in State control of all human activities, physical, commercial, mental and spiritual. In fact, Communists propose to control 'human kind from the cradle to the grave. It surprised me therefore that, my friends on the Congress benches were a little taken aback by the attitude adopted by the Communists decrying the relaxation of controls. Leaving aside the Communists—for they are a

class apart—and their slogan of control all round, we, as ordinary citizens, do unreservedly welcome the move that has been initiated by Mr. Rajagopala-chari in Madras. We have had our differences with Mr. Rajagopalachari in other matters, but I can say with a clear conscience that when we read in the papers that the Chief Minister of Madras had plumped down for de-control, we hailed his bold move and congratulated him. It required great daring and imagination on his part, and we all hope that this courageous policy will bear fruit. My hon. friend Mr. Janga said just now that this policy has already shown, even in this couple of months' time, promises of success. I do not propose to dwell any further on the question of food control. I come now to the question of defence.

I was very glad to hear from the lips of the hon. lady's Member who just preceded me (Mrs. Violet Alva) the very valuable suggestions she made on our defence programme. In fact, I am in agreement with most of her suggestions. But in the matter of defence, I would think that the matter has got to be gone into a little deeper. It is all a question of attitude. If we are really earnest in trying to make our Motherland, India, a strong power, both from the military and the naval and air point of view, then a certain course of action and a certain policy have got to be pursued. If however we are indifferent, if we are lukewarm in the pursuit of that ideal, naturally a different course and policy have to be followed. There is an old saying which says, "Where there is a will, there is a way." If we are really willing that India should emerge as a powerful nation in the world at large—and there is no reason why she should not do so—with her vast population of 36 crores even of the truncated India of the present day, with her enormous, almost limitless, material resources,—there is no reason why India should not emerge as a first class military power, able to measure swords, if necessary, with other first class powers. I am not myself of a very militant frame of mind—I suppose my appearance itself will

belie any such pretensions—still, I feel that if the present Government of India really desires that India should emerge as a really first-rate power, then steps have got to be taken accordingly, and it is to this matter that serious attention should be paid.

Of our total Budget demands of something like 400 crores, about half is being appropriated for our defence services. At first sight one would feel that this ratio is thoroughly dis-proportionate, and that it would leave very little for other things, like public health, education, industries and the like. A defence expenditure of something like 50 per cent, is a ratio which the country can hardly bear. Still the country would willingly bear all this, if it finds that the Government is trying to make of its defence services an effective instrument for the defence of the land. And here, as I was telling you, Sir, there are misgivings. Sometimes we find—at least that is what we read in the papers—that the Commander-in-Chief goes about delivering lectures before soldiers on the beauties of non-violence, love and *ahimsa*. The beauties of love and *ahimsa* have been dilated upon by the sages and seers throughout the ages, and, in modern times, by no less a personality than Mahatma Gandhi himself. But we cannot afford to spend 200 crores of rupees on maintaining a soldiery fed upon the principles of love and *ahimsa*. That can be done at a much cheaper rate; at least Mahatma Gandhi has shown us the way of doing so. The defence services, if I may submit, Sir, must be kept fresh, keen and sharp as burnished steel. There is no use if they are not kept in proper trim, and we go on spending money like this—about 50 per cent, of our entire expenditure. All this expenditure would be justified if we had value for the money spent. I cast no reflection on our Army; in fact, I have the greatest admiration for our soldiers. To tell the truth, some years ago, I was pained to hear our splendid soldiers being described as "rice soldiers" by some of the Congress stalwarts. Indeed, I hung my head in shame. If by "rice soldiers" is meant that the soldiers are paid out

of the coffers of the State, I suppose our soldiers are as much "rice soldiers" today as they were ten years ago, and I do not know of any nation where the army is maintained on a purely voluntary basis without any pay. So I have not the slightest disrespect for our Army, but I suppose the canker is in higher quarters, for it appears to us that there is no determination or resoluteness or strength of will on the part of the authorities higher up in the Government of India to use these soldiers when proper occasion arises. I may be wrong and I should be glad to be told that I am wrong. Crisis? after crisis has come up; states and nations near about our borders have treated us in a manner not calculated to enhance our respect. Practically nothing has been done, but appeals have gone out for appeasement and surrender. Now, if our Army is maintained simply for the purpose of goose-stepping down the slippery slope of appeasement and surrender, then I submit, Sir, that not to speak of 200 crores of rupees, we should not spend even a single rupee on the Army. It reminds me of Tennyson's Charge of the Light Brigade. The Light Brigade was a magnificent body of soldiers who fought valiantly for their motherland and charged, when "Cannon to right of them, cannon to left of them, and cannon in front of them volleyed and thundered," but then it was at the top that someone had blundered. And I am afraid that it is the men at the top in India who are showing signs of irresolution and indecision, if I may go to the extent of saying so rank cowardice. I appeal to the powers that be, to the authorities of the Government of India not to do anything which would impair the prestige, honour and dignity of this great Nation. I do not mean thereby to say that we should go like Don Quixotes tilting at windmills all the world over. But when the honour of the country is at stake, then the attitude that the leaders of the nation should take up should be that there must be no trifling with our dignity, with our liberty, with our unity.

As to the defence services, after what the hon. lady Member has said,

[Principal Devaprasad Ghosh.]

I have not much more to add. Apart from the professional armed soldiery, there should be reserves raised more or less on voluntary principles, as is done by other nations who desire to be powerful and self-confident. As to war materials, attempts should be made—I would say Herculean attempts should be made—to make ourselves self-sufficient, self-contained. I know that we do not possess ample materials for this purpose. Attempts should be made to stock-pile these materials even, if necessary, by incurring heavy capital expenditure and then to manufacture war-equipments here in India. This kind of investment would really redound to the nation's benefit in the future. If we are dependent at every step for everything on others—for petrol from outside for oil from outside, for submarines from outside, for tanks from outside, for naval vessels and aircraft from outside, then when a crisis comes, practically we shall be nowhere. No effort should be spared in order to make the nation militarily strong and self-sufficient. That is the appeal that I earnestly make to the Head of the Government as well as the hon. the Defence Minister.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI (Nominated): Sir, I think we are all agreed that the most important obstacle to the progress of India and all our economic ills could be traced to the fundamental fact that the revenues of India are hopelessly inadequate to the requirements of the country. Perhaps we may be better able to realise our colossal and appalling poverty by a reference to the figures of the Budget of one or two countries. If we consider the Budget of the U.K., we will find that the U.K. has been able to produce a monthly revenue of 500 crores of rupees as against 400 crores for the whole of India. You will also remember that in size and in physical extent the U.K. is only about a twelfth of the size of India. As regards population also, the population of the United Kingdom is practically one-sixth of India's population. This question should be carefully pondered over:

how is it possible for a small country like the United Kingdom to produce a revenue which amounts to Rs 500 crores per month as against total of Rs. 400 crores per year here? If we turn to the United States, I am afraid that the figures of revenue for that country run into astronomical figures. I have tried to make some calculations with the help of some American authorities, and we came to the conclusion that the United States' daily revenue amounts to over Rs. 400 crores as against our annual Rs. 400 crores. And if I may go a little further, one fact will show the situation to which we have been driven. The municipal revenue of the Corporation of the City of New York alone amounts to the total revenue of the whole of India?.. That is of about one city in the United States.

The inadequacy of our revenue is ultimately due to the poverty of production in the country, and I wish hon. Members without reference to party or creed or group would concentrate their united attention upon the central problem of production, to discover ways and means by which production can be improved in every field. We have been told that the standard of production in India has gone below a fourth of the standard obtaining in other countries of the world. For instance, consider our agricultural production. It has been calculated that whereas the average yield of rice from an acre of land in India amounts to only 5 maunds, even in a country like Spain the yield is about 50 maunds. Therefore, in agricultural production we are so far backward. The reason is quite plain. If we want to improve agricultural production in this country, we are up against the fundamental fact that agriculture in India is being pursued in uneconomic holdings which are liable to indefinite fragmentation due to the consequences of the laws of inheritance, both Hindu and Muslim. I had recently the privilege of serving on an Agricultural Commission which investigated all kinds of agricultural problems in the country for nearly a year and a half. We were up against the

hard fact as to how to produce standardised economic agricultural holdings in the country for the face of these laws of inheritance. We are always having great hopes and proposals of nationalisation and land reform. But the fact is that your land reform will never succeed in increasing your agricultural production unless the reform is effected on the basis that the whole of the cultivable land of India will be redistributed so as to create standardised economic holdings of, say, about 5 acres per unit. Now, if you proceed to give effect to this reform, without which there is no future for agriculture—if you really try to give effect to this fundamental reform, then you will have the other great danger of tending towards a colossal agrarian revolution due to the fact that there is not enough land in the country to go round. The pressure of population upon the soil is increasing and is almost too heavy at present. Therefore, if you want to set up a series of economic holdings, you will do so at the cost of the agricultural millions who will be at once thrown out of their land. The question will be: what will you do with those agricultural millions for whom you cannot provide the land? At present the quota of land available per head is less than one acre. The Commission to which I referred has recorded this conclusion in its report extending to 12 volumes. We examined a thousand witnesses in all typical rural areas and that is our conclusion. Therefore, those reformers who want to improve agriculture must make these facts consistent with each other, namely, that there is no prospect for agriculture except on the basis of economic holdings, and, secondly, that if you try to set up economic holdings in a new agricultural system, the result will inevitably be that you will drive the major part of the agricultural population of India landless at once and you will have to treat them as agricultural labour. So that, radically, the situation will not change

As regards the other fields of production, take industry. I wish only

to bring to the notice of my learned friends to the left, the Communist Party, that the real position in the field of industry is also very, very depressing. Now, take the facts of the most important national key industry of India, namely, that of steel production. There, you will find that while the wages of labour have increased three times, the quantity of output of labour has decreased three times, with the result that the total output of steel production has been lamentably low. Whereas our national requirements of steel amount to about 3-5 million tons per annum, whereas our installed steel capacity amounts to about only 1.5 million tons, our actual production has been less than a million tons. Why? Because there is not enough incentive to steel production. The cost of steel production is going up. I wish to know what synthesis can be arrived at of this very important issue, namely, that while we are increasing the cost of labour, we have no concern as to its effects upon the output of labour. I should like to suggest that we should try to evolve a sort of industrial calculus by which the wages of labour should be related to its output. In settling this industrial calculus, which will put an end to all disputes between capital and labour—in settling this vital point we should have all interests and parties represented in a regular committee of experts so that all parties to production should be able to evolve a common formula, a sort of mathematical calculus, by which the problem of production will be established on a sound foundation

There is another difficulty as regards industrial production. I am afraid we have to consider the structure or taxation in the country. I can, I think, without any doubt and dispute say that of late there has not been enough growth of capital in the country. That is the main reason why industrial expansion is not being achieved in the degree in which it is desired. I have got figures of the United States. In the United States, the maximum amount of super-tax is only 12 annas in the rupee on incomes exceeding Rs. 3 lakhs. But quite recently the Indian Govern-

[Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee] ment, in those fateful formative days before the Independence of India was achieved—in those fateful days India took it into its head to extract the utmost out of capital by levying super-tax at 15[^] annas in the rupee on industrial incomes. Now that is really the sole reason why of late the growth of private capital in the country has not been adequate. Now if you want to improve production in the country, you must face these fundamental facts. Without capital you cannot achieve industrial expansion. Now some of us on principle were opposed to the bringing in of foreign capital in the country. Well I may say that I do not think that foreign capital is very anxious to come to India in the prevailing circumstances in the industrial sphere. I have got statistics to prove that American capital in the domestic market is able to earn about 10 to 12 per cent, and therefore it is not at all anxious to go over to foreign countries. So we must be self-sufficient in regard to the supply of the domestic capital required for the expansion and progress of industries and for that I wish to make an appeal to the Finance Minister that he should re-examine the structure of taxation by which all these different factors that contribute towards production may be harmonised in a proper and more effective way. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR
(Nominated):

MR. CHAIRMAN: 15 minutes, not more.

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR :

श्री पृथ्वीराज कपूर (नामानदाशत) :
माननीय सभापति महोदय, मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि कितने मिनट मेरे पास हैं, ताकि मैं उसी तरह अपनी बात कहूं।

श्री पृथ्वीराज कपूर : मैं ने एक दरखास्त की थी कि यह घड़ी उठाकर वहां लगा दी जाय ताकि जब आदमी बात कर रहा हो तो उसके पास वक्त का हिसाब रहे।

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have already spent so much time.

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR :

श्री पृथ्वीराज कपूर : मुझसे कहा गया कि मैं इंग्लिश में बोलू लेकिन फिर भी मैं चाहूंगा कि कुछ मिनट हिन्दी में हो तो अच्छा है। ऐसे मौकों पर जब कि बिल वगैरह पास हो गया हो और सब कुछ तय हो गया हो तो कुछ कहना ख़ास ज़रूरी नहीं रहता, सब कुछ पहले ही कह दिया जा चुका है। लेकिन आज यहां बैठे बैठे खयाल आया कि कुछ कहना चाहिये। अभी थोड़े ही मिनट गुज़रे हैं कि मेरे एक अजीज़ भाई ने उठकर एक हंगामा सा खड़ा कर दिया, दिल के तारों में एक झंकार सी पैदा हो गई। वह शायद मेरी बात समझ नहीं रहे हैं इसलिये देख नहीं रहे हैं। मुझे अंग्रेज़ी में ही बोलना चाहिये, ताकि वह चौकन्ने हों और मेरी इस बात से कुछ हासिल कर सकें। मैं चाहता हूं कि हिन्दी में ही बात किया करूं लेकिन मजबूरी है कि वह समय अभी बहुत दूर है जब सब हिन्दी में ही बात करेंगे

[For English translation, see Appendix II, Annexure No. 10.]

Now I will speak in English. Just a few minutes back something happened here. I am very unhappy about it. Yes a few minutes back I heard something here. The language that was used and the tone that was used was terrible—it hurts, hurts and hurts. All that I can say about it is that it does not do anybody any good. We all talk about the Budget, production, rail, roads, machinery, aeroplanes and everything. I think what our country needs most today is education.

If we could just tighten our belts and put the major portion of our money into the Education Department—in the hands of the Education Minister—and educate people, perhaps we could get better results sooner than by putting that money in getting tractors and machinery etc. That is how my feeling goes. Just now the eminent doctor

quoted England. We quote England We quote America. Why have we developed this inferiority complex ? They have more money. We have so much more. Gurudev Tagore has said :

**“ना चाहिते आमारे जा कोरेछो दान
आकाश आलोक तनो मनो प्रान”**

Unasked you have given me so much wealth, O Lord, the wealth of mind, body, soul, the sky, light and all that. Today we are concentrating upon money, talking of money, thinking of money and the result is what we heard today—my friend using that language. He is so well-versed in economics and economic theories—he learnt from the foreign books and I feel that he has sold his soul in lieu of a few theories. This is a very sad thing. I would not like my India to sell its soul for all the material wealth in the world. We would rather not have trains, railways, aeroplanes, bombs and atom bombs and all these things and would go back to the old days and the life that we used to live rather than hear such language being used in this House—the Council of States. That shows how much degraded today we are. It hurt me terribly and that is why I said that we should go without everything else and instead have education and more education. Let the country be clothed in simple clothes; let the people get only a little bread to eat, but let them be dignified. With all theories that we are getting from foreign lands, it is just developing in us a sense of inferiority complex and we are selling our souls. That way we are going deeper and deeper, down and down to God knows where. For that reason, Sir, I would request the Finance Minister to allocate all the sums that he possibly can to the Education Ministry.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: Then many hon. Ministers will lose their jobs.

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ KAPOOR: Please sit down there. This interruption also is due to lack of education. I

That is why again I would emphasise education—education and more education. And education not in the form of books only but new ways should be devised to get people more and more educated—truly educated. People here talk about England. Somebody asked an Englishman "If England was dying, if there was flood and everything was to be submerged and destroyed and you were asked to save any one material what would you do?" The reply at once came "I would save my Shakespeare." That is England. But unfortunately, Sir, we have learnt from England all the bad things. It is man's nature that he picks up bad things first. They have wonderful things in England which they never brought here. For instance their audiences—within the theatres pindrop silence is observed. They consider it as a shame, as a sin to cough in a theatre. And look at our audiences here. How they behave in this country? Look at how they behave in this very House. My hon. friend used the language that hurt me. I mean what more could we expect from this country? If you can't spend more money, tighten your belts, keep all the schemes in abeyance and spend money on education alone. For instance, build a national theatre. In one way that will teach us how to sit together, how to behave towards each other? Theatre is a wonderful thing. It is the greatest temple on earth. In that temple Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Jew, Sikh and Parsee all get together. They can sit together. Nobody comes and asks who is in the next chair. A Pandit sits with a Mulla. He does not ask about him and raise any objection. A Communist friend may sit with the socialist friend which they would not do in life. But they would do so in the theatre. And a Congressite may sit with those people who are very much communal minded. All sit together. That is a beautiful way of bringing people together and teaching them how to behave. They would laugh together, cry together. It is the biggest temple that could be built for the benefit of the Nation. When Iqbal wrote "Naya Shivala" (The New

[Shri Prithviraj Kapoor.] Temple), he must have meant thereby THEATRE—NATIONAL THEATRE

He says: "From that temple, songs of love and unity will go out and fill the world with love."

सूनी पड़ी हुई है मुद्दत से दिल की वस्ती,
आ इक "नया शिवाला" इस देश में बना दें।

दुनिया के तीरथों से ऊंचा हो अपना तीरथ,
दामाने आममान से उसका कलस मिला दें।

हर सुबह उठ के गायेँ वह मंत्र मीठे-मीठे,
मारें पूजारियों को मय प्रीत की पिला दें।

शक्ती भी, शांती भी भगतों के गीत में है,
धरती के बासियों की मुक्ती भी प्रीत में है।

Unfortunately, this was not being followed. Forgetting these words, we are indulging in those theories of violence, violence in words, violence in deeds, violence in everything. We should remould our lives, recast our lives through proper education. Get hold of the mind of man and the soul of man, and the whole world will be better looked after.

Then, Sir, I would like medals to be instituted in schools and colleges for good behaviour. Sir, as you know, when some Members of this House break the rules of good behaviour, it is then and then alone I rise to speak. Sir, these medals, may be small certificates, should be instituted for best behaviour in all schools and colleges. Marks are given for the various subjects taught, but not for sports. I have seen in my college days boys who put the flag of the college aloft during University-games, but when the examination time came, there were no marks for what they had done and their golden deeds were forgotten. Marks should be given for these things also. Marks and not medals only should be given for dramatics in colleges and schools and for social service and good conduct. There should be medals similar to Veer Chakra and Param Vir Chakra instituted by the Central Government for professionals also—for lawyers and

films that educate and uplift—and for other branches of art i.e., acting and singing. I personally do not think that the medal should be only for acting a particular type of role, say the villain's role. If a man happens to act only the villain's part always, one day in this House also he would behave like a villain. The national theatre should be a centre where life is presented in its true aspects, where people could see themselves as they see themselves in a mirror. When you see yourself in a mirror, automatically you adjust your hair, try to tidy your—If and remove the ugly spots. So also, the THEATRE would serve to enable us to remove our ugly spots, and tone up our speeches, so that we could talk even about non-sensical things in a sensible way rather than speak about sensible things in a nonsensical way as my friend did today which hurts and continues to hurt

SHRI SUMAT PRASAD (Uttar Pradesh):

श्री सुमत प्रसाद (उत्तर प्रदेश) :
माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, खाद्य समस्या हमारे देश में एक जटिल समस्या हो गई है। इस हाउस में कंट्रोल (control) के बारे में काफी कहा गया है। मेरे दोस्त ने एक तस्वीर बतलाई और कहा कि कलकत्ते में गिजा के न होने की वजह से लोग मर रहे हैं। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि श्री रफीअहमद साहब ने जो पालिसी अस्तित्व की है वह एक कंफ्यूज्ड पालिसी (confused policy) है और वह नहीं कह सकते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की फूड (food) पालिसी क्या होगी। जहां तक मैं ख्याल करता हूं, कलकत्ते में कंट्रोल है और कंट्रोल होने के बावजूद अगर ऐसे केसेज (cases) मिलते हैं, तो इससे यह जाहिर है कि खाद्य समस्या इस तरह कंट्रोल करने से हल होने वाली नहीं है और न डीकंट्रोल (decontrol) से ही हल होने वाली है। कंट्रोल और डीकंट्रोल तो एक वितरण का तरीका है। खाद्य समस्या उस समय तक लह

नहीं होगी, जब तक हमारे मुल्क में इतना शल्ल पैदा नहीं होगा कि यहां की जरूरत पूरी हो सके, तब तक इस तरह के दृश्य हम को कहीं न कहीं पर देखने को मिलेंगे ही। खाद्य की समस्या ही इस देश की अकेली चीज नहीं है। अगर देखा जाय तो इसके साथ पैसे की कमी भी है। अगर आदमी पैसे वाला न हो, धनवाला न हो, तो उसके लिये खाद्य समस्या हमेशा ही बनी रहेगी और वह शल्ल को अपनी जरूरत के अनुसार नहीं खरीद सकेगा। यहां पर यह सवाल आ जाता है कि इस मुल्क की गरीबी को और इस मुल्क में जो अनइम्प्लाइमेंट (unemployment) है उसको किस तरह से दूर किया जाय। यह हमारी गवर्नमेंट का कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि वह हर एक आदमी के लिये साधन मुहय्या करे, ताकि वह अपनी रोजी पैदा कर सके। अगर यहां के रहने वाले धनवान हों और यहां पर अनइम्प्लाइमेंट की कमी हो, तो लोग उत्पादन में लग सकते हैं और इस तरह से यहां की खेती की तरक्की में, कृषि की तरक्की में बहुत सहयोग दे सकते हैं।

इस सदन में कुछ सदस्यों ने कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्टों (community projects) के बारे में ऐतराज किया और कहा कि अमेरिकन ग्रांट (grant) और अमेरिकन ऐड (aid) के जरिये से यह चीजें हो रही हैं। हमारा देश धनवान नहीं है। अगर जनता के फायदे के लिये कुछ रुपये की जरूरत हो और अगर दूसरे देश हमारे टर्म्स (terms) पर रुपया देते हैं तो मैं समझता हूं कि इससे हमारा देश बलवान ही होगा। इससे हमारे देश की माली हालत अच्छी हो जायेगी और अन्न उत्पादन ज्यादा हो जायेगा। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि इस तरह से लोग दूसरे देश का रुपया इस्तेमाल करने में क्यों चिन्ता प्रगट कर रहे हैं। इस चीज के लिये सबसे जरूरी बात यह है कि जो स्कीम (scheme) चलाई

C. S. Deb.

जाती है और जो लोग इन स्कीमों को चलाते हैं, यानि जिनके हाथ में इसको पूरा करने का भार होता है, उन लोगों को सेवाभाव से और त्याग की भावना से इस काम को करना चाहिये। वह लोग इस काम को पूरा करने के लिये जिस देहातों में जायें वहां लोगों की हमदर्दी, उनका सहयोग और उनकी मदद हासिल करें। इस तरह से वह हर गांव में एक लीडरशिप (leadership) पैदा करें। वह लोग इस उमंग और इस उत्साह से काम करें कि थोड़े ही समय में हमारा देश अन्न से भरपूर हो जाय और हर दिशा में उत्पादन बढ़ता ही चला जाय।

आज हालत यह है कि हमारे देहातों में लोग अशिक्षित हैं, वहां पर तालीम की बहुत ही कमी है। जो हमारे नौजवान यूनिवर्सिटियों में और कालेजों में शिक्षा पाते हैं वह गांवों में नहीं पहुंच पाते। इन विद्यार्थियों से गांव वालों को किसी प्रकार का भी फायदा नहीं होता है। उन विद्यार्थियों की यह इच्छा होती है कि जैसे ही एम० ए० या बी० ए० पास किया, किसी न किसी सरकारी सर्विस की खोज में लग जाते हैं। जिन विद्यार्थियों को हम तैयार करते हैं और जिनका यह कर्तव्य होता है कि वह देश को उठावें और हर प्रकार की सेवा करें, वहां पर इस तरह के नौजवान गांवों से चले आते हैं और तालीम पाने के बाद वह नौकरियों में लग जाते हैं और देश को किसी तरह से भी फायदा नहीं पहुंचा पाते। इस तरह से कभी भी हमारा मुल्क ऊंचा नहीं हो सकता है। होना यह चाहिये कि जो हमारे यूनिवर्सिटी से ग्रेजुएट निकलते हैं उनकी प्रैक्टिकल ट्रेनिंग (practical training) इस ढंग से होनी चाहिये कि वह देश के लिये एक फायदेमन्द नौजवान साबित हों। वह अपने गांवों में जाकर कृषि की तरक्की करें और दूसरी तरह की तरक्की करें। इन्डस्ट्री (industry)

[Shri Sumat Prasad.]

में तरक्की करें और सेनिटेशन (sanitation) में इम्प्रूवमेंट (improvement) करें। इस के साथ ही साथ यह भी खयाल रखा जाना चाहिये कि कौन विद्यार्थी किस लायक है और उसकी किस विषय पर काम करने की इच्छा है और वह कैसी क्वालिफाई रखता है। इस बात का ध्यान रखा जाना चाहिये कि वह भविष्य में कौन सा काम कामवादी के साथ कर सकता है। यूनिवर्सिटी शिक्षा के साथ ही साथ इस बात का भी प्रबन्ध किया जाना चाहिये कि हर एक विद्यार्थी को कुछ न कुछ प्रैक्टिकल ट्रेनिंग दी जाय जिससे कि वह भविष्य में नौकरी के हो सहाये न रह सके। बल्कि वह अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो सके और एक गांव में लीडरशिप कायम कर सके। इस तरह की ट्रेनिंग का प्रबन्ध हमारी सरकार को करना चाहिये कि वह तरह तरह के धन्धों को बढ़ा सके।

हमारा देश एक कृषि प्रधान देश है और यह अंग्रेजों के जमाने में ही हो गया था। लेकिन आज हालत यह है कि हमको २०० करोड़ रुपये का अन्न बाहर के देशों से मंगाना पड़ रहा है। अगर अन्न की यही हालत हमारे देश में रही तो यह देश रसातल को पहुँच जायेगा। इस समय सवाल कंट्रोल और डीकंट्रोल का नहीं है। सवाल इस समय यह है कि हम किस तरह से अपने प्रोडक्शन (production) को बढ़ायें। अगर हमारा प्रोडक्शन इतना हो जाता है कि हर एक जरूरत पूरी हो जाती है, तो फिर कंट्रोल और डीकंट्रोल का कोई प्रश्न ही पैदा नहीं होता है। कंट्रोल के सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहूँगा कि वह थोड़े से शहरों की आबादी के लिये किया गया है और वहाँ पर देखने में यह आया है कि दो तरह की प्राइस चलती है। एक कंट्रोल प्राइस और दूसरी डीकंट्रोल प्राइस। बहुत कम आदमी ऐसे हैं जो सिर्फ कंट्रोल के अनाज से ही अपनी गुजर-बसर कर सकते हैं। अगर इतनी स्केयरसिटी (scarcity) है तो यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आती है कि

किस तरह ब्लैक मार्केट में चार और ५ रुपये के अन्तर में अनाज मिल जाता है। वह कैसे मिल जाता है? जो आदमी मुकदमे का खतरा मोल लेकर माल ब्लैक मार्केट में फरोस्त करता है, तो वह थोड़ा बहुत जरूर कम दाम पर खरीदता होगा। इससे यह जाहिर होता है कि जो हमारे आंकड़े हैं उनमें अवश्य गड़बड़ है। लेकिन मैं यह मानता हूँ कि हमारे देश में अन्न की कमी है। सबसिडी (subsidy) अगर आप देते हैं तो दीजिये, मगर आप किस हद तक और कब तक सबसिडी देते चले जायेंगे। इसका तो केवल एक ही इलाज है और वह यह है कि हमको उत्पादन बढ़ाने का भरसक प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। हमारी गवर्नमेंट ने बहुत मेहनत के साथ कम्प्यूनिटी प्रोजेक्ट तैयार किये हैं। अगर मेहनत के साथ और सच्चाई के साथ इन पर काम किया गया तो अन्न के उपार्जन में काफी तरक्की हो जायगी। केवल अन्न उपार्जन में ही तरक्की नहीं होगी, बल्कि यहां के रहने वाले लोगों की माली हालत में भी तरक्की होगी। यहां पर कारखाने बढ़ेंगे, काटेज इन्डस्ट्री (cottage industry) में तरक्की होगी और आल राउन्ड इम्प्रूवमेंट (all round improvement) हो जायेगा। इस आल राउन्ड इम्प्रूवमेंट के होने में इस समय जो भयंकर स्थिति हमारे देश में इकानामिक्स (economics) की है, वह सब ठीक हो जायेगी।

आज हम इस दशा में हैं कि हमको अपने देशवासियों को खिलाने के लिये बाहर से अन्न मंगाना पड़ता है। ईश्वर न करे कि लड़ाई हो जाय या और कोई दूसरी बात हो जाय, जिससे बाहर से अनाज न आ सके और मुल्क में स्टारवेशन (starvation) की नौबत पहुँच जाय।

फारेन कैपिटल (foreign capital) से देश की इंडस्ट्रीज़ (industries) बढ़ाना जरूरी है लेकिन यह देखना होगा कि जो फारेन कैपिटल

यहाँ पर हो उसमें अपने देश के रहने वालों का कोई न कोई हिस्सा अवश्य होना चाहिये, ताकि उससे फायदा हो सके। यह न हो कि यहाँ रुपया पैदा किया जाय और वह विदेशों में चला जाय। इसका एक साधन हो सकता है और वह यह है कि यहाँ लोग इस तरह की जो भी आरगनाइजेशन (organisation) हों, उनके मैनेजमेन्ट (management) में हिस्सा लें।

आज हमारे देश के सामने सवाल यह है कि देश में पैदावार किस तरह से बढ़ाई जा सके। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि सारे देशवासियों को उत्पादन बढ़ाने के काम में लग जाना चाहिये। यह सरकार का काम हो जाता है कि वह जनता को काम करने का तरीका बतलाये और उसके लिये सामान मुह्य्या करे। सरकार इन्फार्मेशन के तरीके से, माली इमदाद की मदद से, टेक्निकल आदमियों की मदद से और भी जिस तरह से वह मदद कर सकती है, वह जनता की मदद करे। तब ही इस देश का भला हो सकेगा और देश में अन्न का उत्पादन हो सकेगा। उस वक्त कंट्रोल की जरूरत न होगी और हर एक के पास काफी अनाज होगा। लेकिन इस समय जो इस कार्य में लगे हुए हैं उनका चरित्र बहुत ऊँचा होना चाहिये। उन्हें यह कार्य जिम्मेवारी की भावना से करना चाहिये। गांव वालों के लिये कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट प्रोडक्शन केन्द्रों (production centres) का प्राविजन (provision) हो। गांव वालों के लिये कोऑपरेटिव मैनेजमेन्ट (co-operative management) का प्रबन्ध भी पांच वर्ष की योजना में किया गया है, लेकिन इस सारी स्कीम की कामयाबी उन लोगों पर निर्भर करती है, जो कि इस कार्य में लगे हुए हैं। अभी हाल ही में उत्तर प्रदेश में एक पञ्चायती राज्य ऐक्ट चालू किया गया, मगर उससे जितनी आशा हम लोगों ने लगा रखी थी उतनी उससे नहीं मिली।

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

जरूरत केरेक्टर बिल्डिंग की है। जिस काम में इंसान लगे उसमें उसका एप्रोच पूरी ईमानदारी से, दयानतदारी से, त्याग के भाव से, सेवा के भाव से हो, तो उसमें कामयाबी होगी; उसमें लोग दिलचस्पी लेंगे और उत्साह बढ़ेगा और तभी हमारे देश की समस्या हल होगी।

अगर हम अपनी आर्थिक दशा नहीं संभाल सकते, तो चाहे हमारी फ़ारेन पालिसी (foreign policy) कितनी अच्छी हो, लेकिन (उसमें हमें सफलता नहीं मिलेगी। फ़ारेन पालिसी और आर्थिक पालिसी, अर्थात् घर की हालत को संभालना, ये दोनों चीज़ें साथ साथ चलें तभी यह देश खुशहाल हो सकता है।

[For English translation, see Appendix II, Annexure No. ii.]

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: Sir, I had more or less given my point of view and my party's point of view during the general discussion of the Budget and yet there are one or two matters on which I should like to project our views in so far as the economic and financial policies of our country are concerned. Before I do that, I should like to refer back to some things I said regarding food and which the hon. Finance Minister with the conviction which he unfortunately, has in his speeches tried to meet.

11 a.m.

One of the things that I said was my charge that the Government was politically dishonest in not telling the people before the elections that they were going to withdraw the food subsidies. In reply to that the hon. Minister said that it was not their intention to keep it secret but it was because they were otherwise busy, meaning they were busy with elections and therefore they were not able to give their time to a thing which they used to decide customarily every November or thereabout. I should like to remind this House that there was a proposal—there was a suggestion that

[Shri C. G. K. Reddy.] the Government should resign not only because it would be setting up a very democratic principle during the elections but also because there would be a tendency on the part of the Ministers to be more keen on getting re-elected than looking after Government. Now it is not a defence that the hon. Minister ought to have trotted out to meet my point. I repeat again that the Government was politically dishonest in keeping this decision from the people. I would go further and say that this political dishonesty did not stop before the elections but they have continued it in making food a matter of politics in this country. I would refer to the manner in which they have withdrawn the food subsidies from some States and continued it in some others. I would refer to Travancore-Cochin, Bombay to some extent, and West Bengal. We do know that it is not on the principle of giving relief to people that the Central Government have been so generous in regard to these States. It is for nothing but a political reason, it is for nothing but to strengthen the party in power that they have pursued this policy of discrimination between State and State. Wherever they found that their position was not affected, they stuck to their wise decision as the Finance Minister would like to call it, of stopping the food subsidy. But wherever they found their position shaky, wherever they found the Opposition was gaining ground and would probably swallow up the Congress in that State, there they have given the subsidy. They have given it to some extent to some States and they have not withdrawn it from one—the Travancore-Cochin State. Now, Sir, if this is not political dishonesty, if this is not discriminating for the sake of strengthening the party in power, if this is not misuse of public funds for the strengthening of a party, I do not know what is political dishonesty. I would also go further and say that in some States—and I can place these complaints on the Table if the Treasury Bench or the Congress Party would question them—in some States, the people who voted against the Congress are being penalised in the matter of

food. I can quote an instance, In Madhya Bharat in some places where there has been a certain amount of distress when the people approached the Government of Madhya Bharat, they were told, "You did not vote for the Congress, and so why should you come to us for relief?" Sir, this is the manner in which the finances of this country are being administered. I do think that the finances of this country are not the finances of the Congress Party and I would like to say that if the Government considers it as such, then it is the height of political immorality.

After having said this much about food subsidies, I would next refer to the question of decontrol. There have been conflicting opinions expressed from this side of the House and I would like to make clear the attitude of my party—the Socialist Party—so that it may not go by default. Sir, we have been told that a wonderful experiment has been started in Madras, a very wise move, sponsored by a very wise man. I do not doubt that the gentleman who sponsored this move is an extremely wise man, a politically wise man, a man who is an expert in political tactics, a great politician and a great statesman. But I should like to say that in this matter of decontrol, I feel that those who oppose it and those who favour it do not seem to get to the details, to the very basis of control *versus* decontrol. When somebody says that decontrol is 'good', he obviously says that it is good for some section of the people or during a certain time. I should like to say that if this Government believes in planning, as it says it does, believes in a planned economy, then I do not know how they could say that this decontrol is consistent with their planning. An hon. friend from this side of the House quite rightly pointed out certain statements that were put into the draft plan which was advertised over the whole country before the general elections. Is it the intention of Government that the draft plan which obviously believes in a planned economy should, in so far as the planning of the most essential commodity in this country is concerned, depart from planning which, in other

words, is control ? I do not for a moment suggest that the controls as they exist today or as they have existed in the country during the last few years are such that they are extremely good for the country or for the people. We as a party have always believed in control—integrated control—not wishy-washy controls as we now have. If the people honestly judge that the control policy in this country is harmful to them, it is because the controls that we have had, had not been integrated controls, but they were wishy-washy controls which worked favourably for some favourites and not for the people in general. Therefore, I say the case for controls should not be looked at by or judged by the performance of this Government. It should be looked at from a broader basis. Just because this Government has worked controls in this particular manner we should not condemn controls—I mean controls in the real sense of the term.

After having said that much on controls, I would like to contradict some of the things that my hon. friend here, Prof. Ranga, said. He said that the decontrol policy in Madras is working extremely well. I tried to find out from him whether in any place in Madras the prices have reached the control figure. He said something about a district; but I should like him to tell us definitely in which place in the whole of the Madras State has the price of food grains come down to level of the controlled price.

PROF. G. RANGA: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I have already given the information to my hon. friend. I said that in West Godavari district the prices have come down below the control prices. He does not seem to remember anything but goes on challenging everything.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: My hon. friend says I do not remember anything. But what he says is rather vague and I am still to get the definite information. West Godavari is a very big place. At what place is the price lower than the controlled price ? From what we learn from newspaper reports, the reduction is from the normal price—the black-market price. They have not gone

I below the Control price. The propaganda that has been turned on behalf of this decontrol in Madras would seem to say that as a matter of fact, the prices have come tumbling down and gone below the controlled prices.

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA (Madras): The prices in Andhra are much higher than the control prices.

- SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: When they say there is a fall of 4 as. in the price, it only means a fall from the normal—black market price. They do not mean that the price has ever come to the level of the controlled price, subject to my hon. friend here giving us the definite information.

Next I would like to say one or two things about the economic and financial policies of this Government in general. I may recall to the memory of hon. friends here on the other side of the House that a Committee was appointed by the A-I.C.C. in November 1947 and this Committee made certain recommendations and they were accepted by the Congress Party. I was still a member of that organisation. The objectives of that Committee were that there should be a minimum standard of earning, that the minimum standard of earning should not be less than Rs. 100. They fixed that the distribution and production policy should be such that the maximum should be Rs. 4,000 and that it should be reduced and brought down in five years' time—that is in 1952—to Rs. 2,000. To give exactly what they said:

'The objective of the industrial policy of the Government of India should be a quick rise in the standard of living of the mass of the people to achieve a national minimum standard within a reasonable period.'

It is intended to indicate, but I should like to prove here that even this vagueness has been violated by the policy of the Government, started by no less a person than the hon. Prime Minister. Immediately, after the publication of the report of this Committee, when the big barons of industry went to him he stated, "This is not the policy the Government is going to follow." So, naturally I do not expect

[Shri C. G. K. Reddy.] that the Government which has been headed by the hon. Prime Minister who went back on the report of this Committee immediately after the publication of the report would do better than blatantly violate this policy that was put before the country. And then again, the policy has been changing as we all know, from time to time. It is commonly believed that we do not know what the policy of the Government is going to be tomorrow. It is the truth whether it is on the question of import or export policy, whether it is on the question of labour policy or the industrial policy or any other policy. We do not know when the Government is going to do what. So, I should like to suggest Sir, if the Government believes in a continuous policy we should have a sort of economic council. I should like to refer the hon. the Finance Minister to the provision of such a council in the Weimar Republic. I should like such a council also to be instituted in our country, a council which would be comprised of the representatives of capital, labour and the consumer which would be able to put before Government a policy that is to be followed, a policy that has been agreed to by the three factors that determine production, distribution and consumption. These three factors could determine the policy that the country should have during the next ten years and then we would have a continuous policy that we can adhere to. This council could also advise Parliament so that we laymen, some of us are lay indeed, could benefit by the advice of this council. We have a civil service, we have an engineering service and we have also all sorts of other services including a police service, but we have not got what I would call the economic service with all its implications. I do not mean the financial service. I mean the economic service whereby there would be experts at the disposal of the Government, permanent officials who know the economics of this country, instead of an I.C.S. officer becoming the Financial Secretary—with due apologies to our Finance Minister—it would be far better if we had a man who has been trained in his subject

from bottom to the top, who would be able to handle his subject.

Sir, the economy of this country has been sadly neglected. It has been a play thing of successive Finance Ministers and it has also been a play thing to, may I say, partly ignorant permanent officials of the Finance and other Departments connected with the economy of this country. I would suggest that if the economy of this country should recover and production and other allied things should be controlled and reviewed, then we must have not only this council that I suggest but we also should have an economic service, if anything more expert than the famous I.C.S. It is in that manner that we would be able to handle the problems that we are faced with from day to day. These are the suggestions that I have to place before the Minister and I should like him to give them his serious consideration and, perhaps, give his reaction—indeed his reaction—to these suggestions.

„ DR. SHRIMATI SEETA PARMANAND (MadhyaPradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would, before I begin, like to deal with one or two points that have been raised by the Opposition just now. I feel, with the short time at our disposal and the attitude of the Administration in taking our suggestions we now make, we should not go into lengthy speeches but put before the Administration just points of view of the laymen and from far parts of the country. It was just now said—I am only referring to one point before I proceed with the suggestions I have to make viz. the suggestion about having somebody in place of the Finance Minister who would be from the economic service. I am not pleading a brief for anybody, but what I feel I should say here is that we as educationists should admit this principle that though what we read for our degrees is valuable enough, with what equipment we have from our training within the course of at least 30 years we can pick up a knowledge of any allied subject. If we do not accept that principle, we are not doing any justice to the training that we receive. I will leave it at that, Sir.

Now, I would like to put up a few suggestions before the Finance Department. One would be about limiting of dividends. My capitalists' friends here would not like this suggestion but, as we are trying to get as much money for our industries, as possible and as we have also brought down the interest on Government securities, I feel it is high time we put down a limit beyond which private companies could not give dividends. There are certain companies in which the dividend is as much as 18 %. I feel it should be kept down at 1, 2 or even 3% more than the bank rate, i.e., 6%. It should not exceed this, in any case. Then about black-marketing. When I talk of black-marketing, giving bribes and taking bribes, I also include non-officials with business men.

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take strong action and ultimately the public will support them. They should not¹ hesitate to punish one innocent man to bring to book ten culprits. The present rule of law is to save one innocent man we let go ten culprits. Look at the things in other countries where corruption and bribery were more rampant than in our country and the steps that those countries took. Of course, we do not want to go to the extreme measures which they have taken of shooting and murdering people. We can go one less, that is, bring to book these blackmarketeers by putting them in jail. It is common knowledge, Sir, that blackmarketeers do not mind paying big fines, even in thousands to save themselves from the agony of jail. Even if they are handcuffed and jailed till the rising of the court, it is good. The law should be so changed as to punish blackmarketeers in a special way which would hurt their pride and not in terms of fines.

I feel it is time that Government did not appoint on its advisory and other committees people who have been fined, even once, for evading income-tax, people who have been known to be keeping two or three accounts. Government can find out these things by making searching enquiries. It has been mentioned by one Minister — I do not know whether it was Mr. Mahtab—in a speech in Bombay, that Government is handicapped be-

cause it does not get disinterested advice from its own advisory councils consisting of merchants.

Then, Sir, I would like to make some suggestions regarding the Army. I would not like, of course, to go into the intricacies of the problem assuming the role of a technical adviser for which we have Army Commanders and highly paid officers who know their jobs better than us and say what should be the proportion between the Army and the Navy.

But I would like to say that if the Army, during peace time, a certain portion of it, maybe a detachment of 200 or 300 men could be utilised to wipe out the menace of wild animals that are destroying crops and perhaps cattle too—in Madhya Pradesh there are so many man-eaters and cattle-lifters—we should be serving a very useful purpose. People would have love for the Army and it would rise in their esteem for having come to the help of the common man. Since the days of the British when highly paid officers were there, *shikar* has become a very costly sport. It is known to everyone that about 100 to 125 people are required for one "haka", and today with the wages at Re. 1/- per head, there are very few people who could indulge in this costly sport. And for that reason, rather than State Governments awarding prizes of Rs. 1,000/- or Rs. 2,000/- for killing these man-eaters, it would be better if the Government of India adopts a practice that if a province makes a demand, once in five years it could get some help from the Centre and the Army could be made use of for this purpose. I do not however suggest that the Army men should be used for agriculture and other non-military activities as has been sometimes suggested.

Then, with regard to Health Department, I would like to suggest that Government should adopt as its policy the import of milk as much as possible. Rather than spending money on the import of useless articles, it could be spent for importing more milk. Government ventures and dairies have proved a scandalous failure. For instance, in the province I come from.

[DR. Shrimati Seeta.Parmanand.]

there was a refugee dairy on which the Government of India had spent two lakhs of rupees, but within a short period of two or three years it had to be wound up at a loss to the Government. So when Government does open dairies, they should have them on a sort of semi-official basis so that the officer-in charge should have his promotion dependent on making the dairy a success. Of course there should be good supervision to see that this does not lead to corruption.

Then, Sir, in the villages it is absolutely necessary to have creches for the children of poor people who go to the market etc., otherwise it is known that often in the absence of parents, little children are left in the charge of 3 or 4 year old children and they come to grief by falling in fire or becoming blind due to some accident or similar calamities, because on account of the poor economic conditions all the children from the age of six onwards have to help in the village economy in some way or other, like, for instance, looking after cattle or going for wood.

Then, with regard to cinema, I would like to suggest that the Information and Broadcasting Department of Government is a very useful Department which has to become the co-ordinating Department for this industry with respect to education, health and many other departments. The type of films—I suppose my friend Mr. Prithviraj is here now—that are produced now-a-days are really spoiling the morale of our children. For this reason I feel it is necessary that the Films Censor Boards, which are appointed, should not be Boards with two or three people on them, because they can never give all the time that is necessary to go into the details of films and it has been found that the control is so slack that even the portions deleted by the film censors have been shown in cinemas in the country. So I would suggest that the system should be such that you have a sufficient number of persons on the Board. I am sure a number of women who are qualified to go into this would be found easily willing to

take this up even in an honorary capacity in big cities, if the avenue is properly explored. No person should be allowed more than 20 films per year for censoring so that thorough justice could be done to the work. No film that is not considered suitable to be seen by children should be allowed to be seen by juveniles. Similarly the advertisements of films—I said it last time also—are such that even grown-up men would blush to look at them. If that is so, you can just think what effect it has on the minds of children.

With regard to commerce and industry, I would like to suggest that the slogan of 'Buy Indian' should be advertised in every way possible. It should not be thought that only when we had foreign rule it was necessary that we should have bought Indian things. If we want our money to remain in our country, not only it is necessary to stop imports of foreign articles, which can be easily produced in our country, but it is also very necessary to make the people swadeshi-minded, because many people who find so many foreign things in shops, do not realise, do not stop to think, do not have a far-sighted view as to how purchasing these things would endanger the economics of their country.

I would make a last suggestion, Sir, and that is about the cottage industries. I can speak from the experience of my own province and there we find that the cottage industries expert is a jack of all trades. That is the fault of the system. He has to be the organiser, he has to be the administrator and he is also the technical man.—The result is that three or four years lapse; deputations go to Japan and technically trained experts come, but there is not even an inch of progress. The reason is that the expert says : "I have no time to devote to this question." The technical man would say that he has no time to train the personnel. He would say that he has not been given any facilities to order the necessary machinery and plant on the Japanese models.

These are the few things that I would like to put before the Administration

and I hope that they would receive serious consideration.

SHRI S. MAHANTY (Orissa) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, we are now in the final stage of passing the Budget which has placed enormous sums at the disposal of the Ministries concerned. Now, we have to see that not only the sums are spent according to the best intentions of the Parliament but we have also to see that they are spent according to the best interests of the people. Sir, it pains me very much to observe that though the Ministers, backed by a numerical majority, are getting the grants voted, they are not spending the money either according to the best intentions of the Parliament or according to the best interests of the people. Thereby I do not mean to suggest that they harbour any illwill against the people whom they mean to serve, nor do I mean to attribute them any motive. But what I mean to say is that with few exceptions, they are singularly unfit for the task which they have been called upon to perform. The time at my disposal being limited, I will confine my observations only to one item of expenditure, that is, River Valley Projects, and particularly about the Hirakud Project because my State is vitally interested in it. Sir, much criticism has been heard against this Project. Firstly, undertaking the work without any Project Report or estimates; secondly, delay and not working up to the time schedule; thirdly, wastage; fourthly, corruption, graft and nepotism; and fifthly no plans for utilising the power, etc. I do not propose to go into that aspect of the question at the moment, for that will be beside the point. My theme is that the moneys allotted on this account have not been spent according to the best interests of the people as a whole; nor have they been, spent according to the express intentions of Parliament. Now, you know, Sir, the Hirakud Project was started on the basis of "earn as you spend." The Advisory Committee, under Mr. J. L. Savage of Tennessee Valley fame who examined the entire Project in 1948, have observed on page 29, para. 25 as follows :

"It is, therefore, necessary to start work on various branches which would go to make up

a complete show simultaneously, or with such time difference; that the completion of such works would synchronize with each other, and thus protect the investment from lying idle, because of non-completion of any of the links involved.

This also goes a long way in winning the goodwill of the public by satisfying their psychological reaction. It must, therefore, be attempted with thought and care from the very beginning."

I wish to emphasise those words : "This also goes a long way in winning the goodwill of the public by satisfying their psychological reaction."

Sir, now I will cite the illustration of the power channel and the subsidiary dam. As you know, work on the subsidiary dam was started in January 1950, and that on the power channel was started in July 1948. Large sums were involved in these works. The expenditure incurred on civil works on the subsidiary dam was Rs. 47 lakhs; the expenditure incurred on civil works on the power channel was Rs. 58 lakhs. In addition to this, expenditure has been incurred to the extent of Rs. 21-95 lakhs on acquisition of land and Rs. 5-55 lakhs on the powerhouse, overhead lines and internal wiring. After we had spent this sum of nearly Rs. 1 1/2 crores, the priority was entirely changed overnight and the work was postponed till the year 1955-56. Now, Sir, you know that the Orissa Government is paying interest on the loans that have been incurred, and the rate of interest is 3-4 per cent.—I speak subject to correction. Thus, after spending nearly Rs. 1 1/2 crores we have stopped the work and the priority has been changed. This bungling has resulted in not only capital being blocked but extra maintenance charges being incurred till the suspended work is resumed. This means a double loss to Orissa on account of its having to pay interest on the blocked capital. Then, I will cite the case of the cofferdam. At the site of the construction a coffer-dam was built for the ostensible purpose of diverting the stream. I enquired of the Orissa Government authorities at what cost that coffer-dam had been built, but they feigned ignorance. Probably ignorance is bliss. But I hope the hon. Minister in charge of River Valley Projects will be able to

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI N. GOPALASVAMI) : May I interrupt the hon. Member, Sir ? Does he realise that whatever was spent in

Kashmir—the Rs. 25 crores which he referred to—has been spent on the defence of India ?

SHRI S. MAHANTY : Yes, Sir. As I said, the real defence of India cannot be ensured by your Army alone. It can be really ensured by the starving millions of India.

SHRI M. C. SHAH (Bombay) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, in the first week of March, in the provisional Parliament, I stated that the slump in prices had already started. It came too true within a very short period. At that time I had appealed to the Finance Minister to see that no action on the part of the Government should go to arrest that downward trend of prices. But I found that in a very short time, because of the cries of the vested interests, certain actions were taken by the Government by which the downward trend of prices was arrested. I do not grudge those actions on the part of the Government. I fully realise that it is the duty of the Finance Minister to see that the economic structure of the country as a whole is stabilised. I also realise that it is the duty of the Finance Minister to see that there is no unemployment on a wide scale. But at the same time I will caution the Finance Minister that since two or three weeks past, there is a distinct tendency of prices rising very much. He had taken all possible steps for deflation and for bringing down the prices but this time unfortunately before the common man could get the fruits of that downward trend of prices, that trend was arrested. So I submit that the Finance Minister should be very careful and should watch the situation in order to see that again there is not too much inflation or too much rise in the prices. Today the common man is concerned with food, clothing and housing. In the case of food, the oils had dropped down to Rs. 18 to Rs. 19 per *kucha* maund, i.e. 40 pounds. But now that has again gone up to 24 to 25 rupees per maund and the tendency is yet to rise. In other commodities also there is such a tendency to rise. So I submit, Sir, that even

while allowing exports and while granting certain concessions in some cases he should not forget the interests of the common man. The interest of the common man is to get all these necessities of life at reduced prices. His purchasing power is very much reduced and what was necessary at that time when the slump came—and the slump came very vigorously—was to break down the backbone of the hoarders and profiteers. The hoarders and profiteers had made tons of money during all these years. Certain people in 1939 never even dreamt of having tons of money with them. But during all these years they have made money. They have now tons of money. And when the prices came down only to a very little extent, there was a hue and cry and there was the response from the Government to those cries too. So I appeal to the Finance Minister to be very careful in the coming weeks. Credit was restricted. It had given dividends and I appeal to him also that the same policy or rather a stricter policy with regard to credit restriction should be followed. I do not understand why the Finance Minister of the Government of India should rather look to the interests of all these vested parties, of those profiteers and if I may say so blackmarketeers.

Now with regard to the decontrol and decontrol policy, I submit, Sir, that we are fortunate in having a Food Minister who has got imagination and boldness. Those who plead for controls cannot say that controls can be kept for ever. Some time, some day we have to follow the policy of gradual decontrol and I say I congratulate the hon. the Chief Minister Shri Rajaji who has started that process of decontrol. I congratulate him for this bold step. Though I come from a deficit province, Bombay, which is the worst affected as far as the food cereals are concerned and where the controls are absolutely necessary in view of the deficit to the extent of nearly 10 lakh tons, I submit that the time has come when certain steps towards the gradual decontrol should be taken. In all those surplus provinces wherever there is a control that control should be lifted. I read

[Shri M. C. Shah.] from the reports that Rafi Saheb had said at one place that Madhya Pradesh was spending about 9 crores of rupees in administering controls—such a big sum in a province which was surplus ! At the same time he had said somewhere that while handling these controls, while procuring cereals the cost goes up by 20 to 40 per cent. So I believe that the policy that he is adopting is a right policy and in all those surplus areas controls should be lifted and in other deficit areas slowly and slowly steps for gradual decontrol should be taken. As a matter of fact today we are in a position of having enough stocks—more than enough stocks. We have not got godowns to store them. I understand that today possibly with the Centre and the States we have got a stock of 36 lakh tons and if I remember aright the Gregory Committee Report also suggested that the moment we have got 40 lakh tons in stock we can easily remove controls. In 1948 controls were removed because of Gandhiji's insistence and then unfortunately the profiteers and the blackmarketeers forgetting patriotism came forward to exploit the people and the controls were again imposed but the conditions in 1948 and the conditions in 1952 are quite different. And though there may be certain difficulties, I think it is wise to remove the discontent of all the kisans and the common man in the country. They are all rather fed up with these controls and controls bring corruption. If you take the textiles also the production has gone up this year. It will be about 400 million yards and I think today also they are just having about 80 per cent, free sale with control on prices. I think that if you remove the controls slowly and slowly, you will be saving so much money. Take for example cement. I referred to this last time. The production has gone up to 3.5 lakh tons or so. In 1951, when I was a Member of the Committee of Industry and Supply, the requirements were said to be about 20 or 25 lakh tons then. I know that the requirements have now gone up. We have the River Valley Projects in hand which require so much cement. But I suggest that: after requisitioning the quantity that

is required for new works there ought to be no controls. Thereby you will be saving an unnecessary expenditure that is being incurred today, as was stated by Rafi Saheb that in Madhya Pradesh 9 crores were spent.

So, I suggest that wherever it is possible and feasible, Government should take courage in both hands and should take steps for gradual decontrol of those commodities which are at present controlled. Talking of sugar, the production of sugar has gone up to 14-5 lakh tons. There was control and then it was lifted; there was scarcity of sugar and control was again re-imposed. A Committee was appointed in 1949-50 to enquire and that Committee reported that the requirements of the country in 1953-54 would be about 12 to 13 lakh tons. When our production is 14-5 lakh tons now, why should control be kept at all ? Is it continued in the interests of the sugar manufacturers ? If the control is lifted, the prices will certainly come down. Today, even though export of sugar is allowed to the extent of 50,000 tons, they cannot procure business even for five to ten thousand tons. So, I submit that the time has now come when Government should review its policy of controls and start a policy of gradual decontrol. So far as food is concerned, they may be cautious, so far as textiles are concerned, they may be cautious, but with regard to other things, I submit that the time has come when controls should be lifted and thereby avoid the huge expenditure on the administration of controls and at the same time uproot corruption also.

Then, Sir, Mr. Reddy talked about the subsidy. He said that the Bombay Government was given some sort of subsidy in order to strengthen the political party in power there. I was really amazed to hear that statement. In Bombay, in a House of 315 members, the Congress Party has 269 members.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : As a matter of personal explanation, if you will permit me, Sir, I said that the concession was given because there was a food Satyagraha in that State.

SHRI M. C. SHAH : It was not because of the Satyagraha. It was a show of Satyagraha. They wanted to make capital out of the situation. It was not because of that that the subsidy was given. Because of the withdrawal of the subsidy, the Bombay Government had to raise the price by 50% and that was too much. Naturally, that Government took up the cudgels with the Central Government and it was because the Central Government saw the reasonableness of the demand that they yielded. So, I submit that there is no use saying that there was political dishonesty.

Mr. Reddy also said that before the elections the Finance Minister should have come out with a statement that the Government would be withdrawing the subsidies in 1952-53. I do not think that this would be possible in any country with parliamentary institutions working. The Budget is not framed in September or October of the previous year but is framed and presented in March of the year concerned. The Finance Minister has to see what finances he will have and how much he can give by way of food subsidies. So, there was no political dishonesty. I feel that that word ought not to have been used. He also said that the Government ought to have resigned before the elections. Why should they have done it ? To give facilities to its opponents ?

12 noon

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR (West Bengal) : Sir, I shall be very brief and touch upon only a few points, but before I come to my points, I would say one thing about the remarks of our friend there regarding Kashmir. Recently I had been to Kashmir and I enjoyed their hospitality and I feel that Kashmir and its leaders and the Government there are very thankful to the Government of India, in my opinion, more thankful than they should be. Now, I do not like to dilate too much on this point. I shall just explain the remark of mine that the Government of Kashmir is more thankful to the Government of India than they should be. The Constituent Assembly of Kashmir and the Government of Kashmir took cer-

tain steps, or rather felt it necessary to take certain steps, as for example the abolition of landlordism without compensation. The Government of India subsequently agreed to that, but it was agreed to with a bad grace.

Now, Sir, about controls, many things have been stated in this House about controls but this controversy is not going to end today, and the last word has not yet been said about it. One hon. friend said that when we support controls, we are actually supporting blackmarketing, which is a very strange argument. One hon. friend said that decontrol has made the people jubilant. They are jubilant because they had to suffer so much under your controls of the Congress variety which helped blackmarketing. Another hon. member accused us—it is strange logic—and said that the responsibility is at our doors, while it really lies at their doors. Our party advocates control. It has always advocated it for a better distribution of essentials amongst the people with the help of elected peoples' Committees.

Then, Sir, I come to my main points. In my speech in the last session I drew your attention to what are known as National Security Rules and how they are being utilised against some Government employees arbitrarily and to prevent their trade union activities. In this connection, I would cite one instance. One Mrs. Bhattacharya, an Upper Division Clerk in the office of the Deputy Accountant General, Posts & Telegraphs.....

SHRI AMOLAKH CHAND (Uttar Pradesh) : Are individual cases to be discussed here ?

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR : I was referring to the case of Mrs. Bhattacharya. The charge was brought against her that she was a member of Indian Peoples' Theatre Association, an association which, in the opinion of the Government, was a Communist-dominated association. That lady refuted the charge. Before raising this question in Parliament, I thought I should write to the Accountant General, Posts & Telegraphs, about this case,

[Shri S.N. Mazumdar.] have all the facts and also the opinion of the Accountant General, because I thought that in fairness to all, I should try to ascertain the facts from the Accountant General and then only raise this question in Parliament. It was in May and now it is July, but unfortunately so far that gentleman has not even had the courtesy to acknowledge my letter.

Now I shall say about tea industry. I spoke about that in the last session. The Government of India set up a body to enquire about the difficulties of the tea industry. That body went to Calcutta and many other places, met the representatives of planters but that has not thought it necessary to consult the representatives of the tea garden labour and not only that. I have been informed that while in Calcutta in last June, the representatives of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress approached that body with a request to be allowed facilities to present the case of the tea garden workers before them. But that request was refused. So they sent their memorandum at that time. Even now there is no declaration forthcoming from Government that the opinion of the tea garden labour representatives will be consulted while from planters' side various suggestions are being put forward which, if carried out, will in effect mean that all the gains which the tea garden labour have been able to achieve through their suffering and struggle will be wiped out. In Darjeeling district several tea-gardens—Indian owned—have been closed down and so far as my information goes, several thousands of tea-garden workers have been unemployed. No arrangement for providing relief to them has been made.

As regards the very crisis of tea industry, I think you would permit me to read out some portions from a newspaper article. It is not by a Communist but by the President of the I.N.T.U.C. Assam Branch since 1947 and President of the Assam *Cha* Mazdoor Smgh and the Indian National Plantation Workers' Federation and that gentleman is now a Member of the other House—Shri

K. P. Tripathi. I shall read that article and that will show the present position :

"An impression is purring ground in the country that a maior crisis confronts the tea industry today. It is said prices are falling and for many lots put up for auction in Calcutta there was no buyer. Panic and in some quarters even hysteria prevails. There is confusion all round.

In the background of this confusion the tea industry is making the following demands : (1) reduction in the export duty, (2) suspension of th? Minimum Wages Act, (3) abolition of the subsidised rations, and (4) scrapping of the Plantation Act. The European interests have a set of special demands : (1) restart of the London auctions, (2) permission to re-export from London, and (3) the abandoning of the plan to divert the blending industry from London to Calcutta.

A perfect division of labour obtains in the matter of agitation for the demands.

The Indian section of the industry, which is the unintelligent hand-maid of the European-owned section, seems to have been entrusted with the task of agitating for the first four demands while the latter seems to have concentrated on the other three.

With re-exports from London allowed, the European section of the industry has won all the three demands. The wonder is that all these were conceded by the Government of India without any proper inquiry and without any case having been made out. Such a facile abandonment of a basic policy is indeed rare to match.

The industry is, however, not vet appeased. It must have its pound of flesh. So it continues to make clamant demand for the other p Dints. To consider the question of export duty the Government has set up a Committee which from the way it il functionine, seems to have for the terms of reference only such points as will suggest a reduction. To get the Minimum Wages Act suspended and subsidised rations scrapped, the Industrial Tribunal has also been moved. Should the Committee fail to satisfy the industry, the Tribunal could be depended upon as a second string in the bow. The scrapping of the Plantation Act is planned to be brought about by a combination of these two methods plus bullying.

For this plan to succeed a continued maintenance of slump conditions in the market is necessary. So no effort is made to retrieve prices."

My hon. friend Dr. Mookerji, a few minutes before, referred to the fact that the wages have gone up but output has not. I have great respect for Dr. Mookerji but I shall point out why output does not go up in many cases:

"In the thirties in similar circumstances the industry came forward and took leading part in the formation of the International Tea Committee which brought order out of chaos and

stabilised prices. But today it sits like a sphinx, mute and immobile. This depressed condition is maintained through the reported collusive bidding in Calcutta auctions. This price-fall suits us well the British firms in London engaged in the tea trade. For, while prices in the whole-sale market have fallen, retail prices remain stable. Their profit margin has swelled to the extent they purchase cheap against a stable retail market. Meanwhile due to cornering by the tea kings, an artificial scarcity has been created in England, in Europe, in India. People in Britain, it must be noted, ask even casual visitors from India to send a few pounds of tea.

There is a great demand in the U. K. that tea should be taken off the ration. The British Government is said to have been thinking of it. But influences seem to have been at work causing a postponement to July and then to November so that the industry's demands, like reduction in export duty, might not be prejudiced by any consequent change in the wholesale price structure.

And, in India we are starving for good tea ; all sorts of things are selling in the name of tea. During the last war the tea habit has spread in the country so much that, if tea were released to the market, a good slice of the commodity reported unsold would in no time be absorbed in the retail market. But, so cleverly is the market organised that consumers continue to look for tea with parched throats, while it is allowed to rot. This scarcity of tea in the retail market is another proof that the slump is synthetic.

Statistics tell us that while the world tea supply increased from 1,163 million lbs. in 1950 to 1,212 million lbs. in 1951, world consumption also went up to 1,175 million lbs. in the same period. Similarly Indian production rose from 594 million lbs. in 1950-51 to 608 million lbs. in 1951-52 and exports went up from 394 million lbs. in the eleven-month period ending February 1951, to 396 million lbs. In the next corresponding period, such a small increase in supply cannot cause a slump especially in view of the fact that a lot of demand still remains unsatisfied.

Indeed if the slump were caused by over production the International Tea Committee would have found it impossible to sit silent, in spite of the best will in the world to serve British tea interests. It is, moreover, hard to believe that the Committee with the facts at its command failed to foresee this over-production and to take necessary measures in time. If it did, it would not be worth its name. The other argument which is trotted out is that the market is passing from sellers to buyers' hands. A mere passage from the sellers to the buyers market could not produce a sudden crisis

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Are you reading the whole article ?

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR : Reading portions.

SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI : Let us have the views of the hon. Member himself instead of the views of somebody else ?

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA : I cannot follow the hon. Minister.

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR : I am quoting these facts in support of my views. May I read some more extracts ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have only one minute.

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR : If you allow two minutes more I shall read only one passage. This gentleman has also made out a case that there is no reason to demand that the operation of the Minimum Wages Act should be suspended.

From this article as well as from what I said before it will be quite evident that the Government has not paid sufficient attention to the demands of the tea-garden workers and their conditions and as regards the crisis in the tea industry also, the views of those who are connected with the tea industry and the views of the I.N.T.U.C are the same.

Lastly as regards the expansion of the home market for tea, if the wages of the tea garden workers are increased and if they are assured of decent standard of living, these workers themselves will provide a good market for tea because I have found that the tea garden workers who produce tea drink some concoction prepared by boiling stalks of the leaves.

SHRI S. P. DAVE (Bombay) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I had the privilege of addressing this House when the Budget was here for consideration. Now of course the grants having been sanctioned by the House of the People, the Minister can spend these amounts in the year to come. Whatever we say here is not going to change the position. However, since an opportunity has been given to me to make certain observations and suggestions to those in charge of the administration of the country, I will make a few remarks.

[Shri S. P. Dave.]

Sir, so much has been said about the various Departments of Government and in such a detailed manner that I wonder how the Finance Minister, however capable he may be, will be in a position to pay attention to each one "of those details and try to adjust his actions in such a manner as to please everybody. I therefore, feel that his position is a rather uncomfortable one. I myself would not touch on details but I shall view the whole problem from a larger point of view. It is about three or four years since we attained independence. Where are we now ? To me it appears from the debates that I have listened to here and to those in the other House which I read in the papers, that there are two parties represented in the Houses, with, of course, an admixture of a few others here and there. Each party has its own solutions for the betterment of the country; but one thing emerges out clearly from the general discussions—that there is no unanimity about it all and therefore people quarrel even about the main issues and the public or the common man is rather not very clear in his mind as to where we are. Today if I am asked by anybody from my constituency as to where the Government is going it would be very difficult for me to give him an answer. Even in this House and within the scope of the discussion that was raised here we have some pleading for decontrol and others believing in control, who want the continuance of control and even stiffer controls. We have heard it said that controls lead to corruption and other evils and we have also heard it said that controls are very necessary and they do good. Just now we heard my hon. friend representing the textile industry in Ahmedabad say that more and more of the services of the employers should be requisitioned for the betterment of the country. On the other hand I know from my own knowledge how the people managing the private enterprises have misbehaved and lost the general confidence of the public and how the Government is hesitant to give more and more of industrial activities into

the private enterprise sector. It is also said that capital is shy. It is also said that capital is not at all shy and would be forthcoming if only you would assure it of its safety. They do not seem to remember the truth that the safety of one is the safety of all. A lady friend here remarked that there should be more and more of arms and military training in this country. Well, I am sure of one thing and that is, that in armaments this country is not going to be the rival of other countries. Even though Prof. Mookerjee pointed out that our Army Budget when compared to that of the United Kingdom is very insignificant, still I make bold to say that for a hundred years to come we are not going to be in a position to spend as much *per capita* on our defence as the United Kingdom does.

Therefore, after this prologue I come again to the great ideology that the Master, the Father of the Nation had put before our country. Have we forgotten it ? Where are we going today ? My hon. friend here who knows all about theatres and actors—referred to tightening of our belts. Yes, we ought to tighten our belts. And we ought not to be ashamed of telling our people that some time has to elapse before we can give everybody what everybody wants. Sir, I was surprised to hear that big business in the tea industry was making lot of profit and not paying even minimum wages to the workers. Sir, is this Parliament going to be a witness to such a thing? Sir, a living wage standard may be an ideal to be reached, fair wages may be just discussed and a Committee asked to enquire and report about it. But are we not going to be assured even of minimum wage even though the legislation may be there on the statute book ? We have therefore to see that these wages are being paid. We cannot listen to arguments urging the scrapping of the minimum wages. I would rather let the industry go to dogs than not insist on the payment of minimum wages.

Sir, an hon. Member on the other side showed a photo of a starving child to show mal-administration of food

distribution. It is a sad sight to see swarms of children going about as beggars at railway stations and by the roadsides in big cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad and Madras. But, it is all a question of poverty and not a question of the maladjustment of the food supply. One should not try to make capital out of these little things. Let us try to administer our country in such a manner that this abject poverty is removed.

I am afraid, Sir, that it will not be possible for me to say all I would like to say within the space of 15 minutes. I cannot touch upon the details, but I will only touch with a broad brush on a few things which are popularly talked about and which must have come even to the ears of the Finance Minister. First of all, the question is often put to us, "Who rules this country?" Is it the bureaucracy that rules the country or is it the Ministry? The Ministry makes the policy, the Ministry makes the Resolutions, the Ministry gives the grants. But it is the hand of the permanent servants that actually administers these things. My friends here will excuse me, for even in the bureaucracy in which we have no foreigners now—they are all our kith and kin, of our own blood—there may be a few patriotic men, the majority of them, however, are otherwise, and therefore we have to suffer from the hands of the bureaucracy. I would not mind even having a separate Ministry to correct the bureaucracy, their corruption, favouritism, partiality and sins of omission and commission. So much has already been done by Government by way of having special tribunals, special policing and so on. But even now I am not satisfied with things as they are as I can say this from my own experience as I have to deal with a large mass of people in the course of my routine work in connection with unions consisting of 80,000 members in Ahmedabad. I will refer to a little story symbolic of what happens in India even today. Some years ago there were floods in certain areas and many huts collapsed and the people suffered a great deal. We wanted some 17 tons of corrugated sheets for putting up temporary homes. **16 C.S. Deb.**

and after a good deal of correspondence—I can supply copies of it if necessary—it took 23 months and 17 days for us to receive these 17 tons of sheets even though the textile unions are very vocal in that part of the country.

I had actually to make a search for these applicants because they were no more there. In place of those huts new huts were put up by the landlords and these old people had migrated to some other huts. This, Sir, is the full story of how things happen. One can go to the Minister once, twice, but it is not very often that you can go to the Minister. It is not very easy. Today I know some of the Ministers very intimately, but why harass those people? They are busy and cannot finish signing notes and other correspondence. Therefore, Sir, I make here a public appeal to those of our Government servants and servants of local authorities that if you want this country to be independent in the real sense of the term, bring about as much decentralisation as possible and listen to the people's voice more than to the 'hukum' of the overlord; then you would be rendering true service to the country.

Sir, I am glad that commerce and industry and those vested interests are gradually realising the future towards which they will have to go. If those who represent them in this House really represent the vested interests in the country, if I understood them correctly, they are all for co-operation with the Government in the stopping of imports that are unnecessary and to export as much as possible to help the country. From the address of my friend Mr. Parikh what I learnt was that he is willing to stop undesirable imports. I request him that he may convey that to other friends of the textile industry and stop importing foreign cotton. We are importing Egyptian and African cotton simply because we want to cater to the fancies and the fashions of rich ladies of big cities. Could we not do away with these? Could we not restrict our production only upto 36 counts, restrict ourselves only to the needs that can be satisfied by Indian cotton?

' [Shri S. P. Dave] I read from the papers that the cotton crop this year was 39 lakhs of bales. Our total requirements may be a little more. Try and find substitutes in cheaper materials, fibres and staples for the remaining. Why go in for 60s, 80s, 100s and 120s and then charge us very very heavy prices and again charge us heavy excise duties. We are spending lakhs of rupees in having to purchase foreign cotton. If I had time enough, Sir, I could show how economies can be effected in every department, even in the matter of sending out our children to foreign universities. There is already a report by the educational authorities in Australia that such weaklings are coming there that their university would not admit them. We are wasting all our good money in sending out boys and girls of rich men. They are not qualified themselves. Possibly, they apply in the name of higher education as otherwise they would not be getting permission to go abroad. I would not disobey you, Sir. I have got more things to say and I will take some other opportunity.

SHRI M. MANJURAN (Travancore-Cochin) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, we have been so often taught to believe by the party in power that all that we say is something against this nation and in favour of some one else. Whether it is a debate on the Budget, whether it is a debate on the foreign policy, we have heard this Government pleading its inability to do anything. It was the Prime Minister of this country that made a remarkable statement in the other House on another occasion that when the power-houses beyond the Yalu River were bombed by the American Air Force we were only able to look up and blink as we were unable to say anything our own way. Well, we have an Ambassador in Washington, we are represented in the U. N. O. and we have got a lot of paraphernalia in the External Affairs Department. Crores of rupees have been spent and yet we only look up and blink at what the Americans are doing and still we say we are executing a policy very

much beneficial to this nation. It is not. It is an obsession of the Opposition always to accuse others for their inabilities. It has been the practice to say that the Partition and all its concomitants were responsible for the five long years of oppression, and five long years of mal-administration of this country. Excuses have been found—not this time and not by this Government. It has been a historical process. What we want is positive action. And where is the Government leading us? In the State in which I come from, Sir—it is Travancore-Cochin—for the last five years under the Congress Government the rations distributed were 4 oz. to 6 oz. per day per adult. The Bombay Plan stated that 3,600 calories were required for the normal existence of man and his function as a human being. It was stipulated that 16 oz. should be the basic cereal ration in that case. We are getting 6 oz. and very often even this ration system has floundered. We had on occasions got about 2 oz. a day and still we are here praising the experience of control and decontrol, the oft-changing, the quick changing policy which has no firmness. It was one Food Minister who said we require more agricultural land and asked the people to go on cultivating; the other Food Minister said we want more trees and the third Minister is telling us we want more of decontrol and after five years of control under the Congress Government, they have now realised that. It was bloating the blackmarketeers. The Congress Government was in power for five years and its Ministers were deciding its policy and executing that policy. For five years the blackmarketeers were flourishing. The Congress should have given us an answer. It is no use trying to put the blame on other people for their own faults. The food policy of the State has been, from the start to finish, a bad policy which feeds with 4 oz. to 6 oz. the people of Travancore-Cochin. It may be all right for people from U. P.—they have got a lot of representation in the Ministry—to say that every thing is all right, but my people are in real starvation. There have

been crisis in the coir industry and nothing has been done to improve the exigencies of the situation there. We have led deputations to the Finance Minister. We have met the Commerce and Industry Minister. They said the grievances will be looked into but I do not know what kind of looking upon it will be. Positive action, Sir, is what was necessary and what has not been done. We always feel that we are at the far end of the country when they speak about decontrol, about food, when the Labour Minister would say we have got a nice policy about labour and the Defence Minister will say we have got a wonderful policy for Defence. But, we are not concerned with all these policies when our people are starving and when our people are under-employed. We have pointed out that over eleven lakhs of people are going without work due to the crisis in the coir industry alone. Leave alone the needs of other industries and the occasional crisis caused by economic factors. Crores are being spent on Defence and the Defence Minister was just asking here, were we not defending India in Kashmir? I still doubt that. The results have to prove it, because the Kashmir Government do not approve of everything done by the Government of India. I had been there recently and I wondered whether we were defending Kashmir or not, because the wage level there is Rs. 30. The minimum wages paid by Government industries there is Rs. 32-8-0. The people are very poor and economically backward. I am afraid that the Indian Army, however much we may praise it, will not be able to defend Kashmir. I do not think we will be able to stop the tide of popular agitation in Kashmir and the way we deal with it seems to be almost funny. We restrict people from India going to Kashmir, whereas what we require is that the people of Kashmir should feel that we love them, but Indians are prohibited, are restricted from going to Kashmir with the result that people may swing to the side of Pakistan. In a country where communalism has been the cause of partition^ Kashmir with a

large population of Muslims is a danger spot, unless an over-all policy to defend Kashmir both economically and militarily was devised. I am afraid one aspect of it is not there; if that aspect is forgotten, the other aspect might not bring us anywhere near the solution of the problem. This one-sidedness has been felt on every issue in India. We had control, but we had no over-all control. We controlled foodstuffs, but we left agricultural crops to themselves with the result that the people tried to cultivate cash crops rather than food crops. That was one thing manifest as in the case of cocoanut, the price increased by about 18 times while in the case of paddy the increase was only about six times. There was economic disparity caused by this one-sided control. Always it was in the design of the control that its failure was inherent, because that control was not devised as an over-all measure for the amelioration of the condition of the people. It was always onesided. One man said one thing; another man said another thing, and there was no coordination as has been often made out here. This want of co-ordination, this lack of understanding of the national problem as a whole, and continuous dissension in the governing party of this country which they wanted to stabilise by giving more and more jobs, by bringing more and more corruption, by bringing all the inequities of the world, and personal differences in the ruling party that were always manifest, are responsible for this corrupt condition of the country. There in the South people are starving, while we are experimenting with controls and decontrols. We are not concerned with it; you give us food. You tell us we have got a healthy industrial policy; we are not concerned with it, give us better wages. You have an experiment of decontrol. These are not the things we want. What we want is food. Tell us when we are going to get 16 oz. rations. Tell us that the people are not going to be persecuted because they take active part in labour agitation. Even today in Trivandrum no labour representative can function without fear.

[Shri M. Manjuran.] Members of the Legislative Assembly are being harassed, are being arrested, are being clapped in jail for their participation in labour agitation, while all the time we have got at the Centre a Labour Minister who says we have got a healthy labour policy and we have a *chota* Minister here in the State who has an oppressive labour policy. You talk of control here and decontrol there and create misunderstanding everywhere. We have a big Food Minister here who is talking of decontrol ; we have a *chota* Food Minister there who says we will give you 4 oz. of ration, if you want to live here, live otherwise we have got our Police Department. These are the troubles of the nation. We have got in Travancore-Cochin everything at sixes and sevens. You want industrial production to go up. How can it go up when people cannot get the food they want ? Continuous starvation for five long years has ruined the health of the people. It has deteriorated to this extent that man is not able to work 2ne" you want to pull up production. How can you pull up production without adequate food for the people ? There is a whole vicious circle in which you are living. You are talking of American projects. American projects would not help us. At one time the Senate passes a Bill; another time they may reject it. They may say we have not got the money to pay for them. There has been no real effort to enlist the support of the people of this country, to win the confidence of the people. That was the fault of the Congress Government always.

Its internal dissension, always contending Against the rights of the people, oppressive measures, preventive detention, armed police, armed forces brought in for the suppression of the people—these were the dreams of Congressmen for all these years and these are likely to continue. That is the trouble; we are suspicious of it. We are ready to co-operate with any Government which do not suppress us. What is the right of expression of opinion which this Government has allowed? They are sending into

jail so many people under the Preventive Detention Act and many other similar Acts which they are condemning to bring forward. That is the trouble and I do not think that? because a few Congress people say something, we are going to give in easily.

I quite remember the Prime Minister of India, while taking part in the last election campaign, saying in a town called Mavinkera near Allenny that he would send back all the clerks and employees in the Delhi Secretariat who came from Travancore-Cochin, because he saw on the wall that somebody had written—"Gujeratis, quit Kerala". Because somebody wrote this on a wall there, the Prime Minister threatened that all the Travancore-Cochin clerks and officers of the Delhi Secretariat would be repatriated. I was thinking of Malan—the Malan whom we all very much abuse, but this was the Prime Minister of India telling us that he would repatriate all the employees belonging to Travancore-Cochin.

Then there is much talk of Hindi being adopted by us. For over thousand years, Hindi has been in Upper India as its national language and you have educated hardly ten per cent, of the people to read and write Hindi and you are now going to impose this on us—56 per cent, of the people, reading and writing this language; that cannot be read or written by more than 10 per cent, of the people all the time. Things which cannot be understood by us are being said here. It was the Transport Minister who said, "I will speak only in Hindi". We could understand it if he could make his people understand and read and write Hindi, and then impose it upon us. This is what is happening. A great U. P. Administration is imposing itself on us. We are going to reject it, because its policy is wrong; its attempt is wrong; its method is wrong. It is oppressing us. We are going to challenge it; that is what we are going to do. This Budget is the creation of that U. P. Administration which is trying to suppress every other section of this great country. This Budget does not satisfy anyone. The

Administration is duplicated too much. It has Ministers in the States; it has Ministers at the Centre. It has got so much paraphernalia that it is unable to function effectively. There should be an understandable system on which you can function effectively. We have got so many bosses. We have got one set of Congress bosses in the States and we have got another set of Congress bosses at the Centre, each contending against the other, while the people suffer from poverty and starvation. That is where we want that the Government should focus its attention. There is no use of talking. Defending of the nation is important but it is the issue of the people. Leave it to the people, if you cannot do it. And that is all I have to say.

SHRI J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I come here to support the motion moved by the hon. the Finance Minister this morning for the passage of the Appropriation Bill, 1952. As the voting on demands is not done in this House, this is the only opportunity that is offered to us to make certain suggestions to the various departments or Ministries of the Government of India, and I take this opportunity to make a few suggestions to the Ministry of Defence. -

The demand for the Ministry of Defence comes to about Rs. 166 crores for the Army, Rs. 11 crores for the Navy and Rs. 22 crores for the Air Force. I am not aware what portion of it goes in the salaries of the officer cadre. As the hon. the Defence Minister knows very well, the backbone and the brain of the Army is its officer cadre. In this Parliament, both in this House and in the other House, praises for the Army and for its officer cadre have been expressed. In fact they do deserve praise. But what they would appreciate most is something in a concrete form—in the form of rupees, annas and pies. They know that in the old days the officers used to get more. We know, for instance, in the old days when the British recruited Indian officers very sparingly and sent them to Sandhurst,

there was a certain definite scale of pay. Later on, when the Dehra Dun Military Academy was started, the scale was reduced; it was brought down to Rs. 350 rising to Rs. 1,150 from a Second Lieutenant to a Lieutenant-Colonel as against the Indian people who as Lieutenant-Colonel got nearly Rs. 1,803 to Rs. 2,000—[^]and that is what they are getting even today. But nobody grudges them that because they are a very small number—I think hardly 70 or 80—and they will soon be retiring. But then in these days these officers were also granted certain family allowances. An officer who married was granted an allowance of Rs. 50 as married allowance. Then, he was granted children's allowance—for the first child, Rs. 40 per month—and something as separation allowance, which was very reasonable. But recently, I think three or four years ago, when there was some reorganisation in the Defence Services, all these allowances were removed. Now, I may also inform the hon. the Defence Minister that when a Second Lieutenant enters the Army, he has to be in a regimental mess. And in the regimental mess, in the old days when rupee went to sixteen annas, it cost hardly Rs. 90 to Rs. 95 per month. But that very officer today has to pay Rs. 200 to Rs. 250 per month for his regimental mess bill. He has to have a bearer. No doubt early in the morning, at 6 o'clock, he has to be on the field for his parade, and unless there is somebody who keeps his accoutrement ready it will not be possible for him to be there. And he has also to have funds for his weapons, for his clothes, for his boots, and for the few cigarettes that he may be smoking. The result is that with these high prices it has become extremely difficult for the junior cadre officers, right up to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, to make the two ends meet. As we all know, after the exodus of British officers, some of the junior officers got rapid promotion. That is why some of them are not feeling the pinch so badly. But there is a block now and the officers cannot rise so rapidly, with the result that those who are married and have children, find them-

f Shri J. S. Bisht.] selves in conditions of great difficulty. I submit to the hon. the Defence Minister that that is a legitimate grievance. After all, although I have not got the figures, I do not think there would be more than 10,000 officers in all the three arms of the Defence Services, and if all these allowances are restored—these petty little allowances—they would go a long way to make them contented and satisfied. Even if you take it at the rate of Rs. 100 or Rs. 150 per head, it would not cost you more than Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 lakhs a year, which, I am sure, the Finance Minister will not grudge. For it has to be remembered that the life of a soldier is much harder than that of a civilian. Some three years ago the Defence Ministry found it difficult to get a sufficient number of suitable officers for training in the Defence Academy, with the result that they found it necessary to send three or four teams of officers round to colleges and universities to carry on propaganda and induce the boys and their parents to come in in increasing numbers into the Academy in all the wings of the defence services. But the difficulty was that both the parents and the young men were always comparing the prospects of an army career with those of a civilian career—for instance, the pay and prospects of the Indian Administrative Service, the Indian Police Service, the Indian Foreign Service, the Indian Audit and Accounts Service, the Indian Engineering Service, and so on—and with all the amenities of a civilian station and without any of the risks. These are the difficulties that have to be faced, and if you want to attract the best boys for the officer cadre you should not grudge these little allowances, which, as I have already said, even at Rs. 150 per head for 10,000 officers, would not cost more than Rs. 15 lakhs.

Then, I draw the attention of the Government to the second item— Civil Defence. I find that for Civil Defence there is only a demand for Rs. 1,24,000. We have some experience of the war time when there was Japanese bombardment in Calcutta and there was also Japanese

bombardment in Trincomalee and Visakhapatnam, and we saw that a great rush of people there was to fly away from danger spots. Nobody is a prophet, and nobody can say when war will break out. Nobody wants war. We do not want war. The settled policy of the Government of India is to be peaceful. But it does not depend on us. It depends on world forces. At any moment war may flare up and we may be dragged into it, just as in the last war it happened: Norway did not want war, nor did Burma want war. But there were aggressive people who wanted to take advantage of it. If a war breaks out and other people want to take advantage of our weakness, at the eleventh hour we cannot create a civil defence organisation out of thin air specially in places along the border like Amritsar, Delhi, etc. They have to be trained gradually. Even the people become nervy. For instance, Pakistan has been carrying out for the last two years most intensive civil defence preparations in Lahore, Rawalpindi, Karachi—air raid precautions, and so on. There is no harm if proper training is given and proper civil defence arrangements are made so that we are not caught napping if and when such emergencies arise.

The third point is with regard to cottage industries. However much we might like to industrialise this country, it will take some time. Japan took two generations, and here it is going to take at least 30 years at the quickest rate of progress. The vast majority of the population about 90 per cent, live in the villages. It is very imperative therefore that cottage industries should be developed. We learnt that some Japanese experts had been brought to India to train people in these cottage industries. There are certain industries that have to be developed. For instance, I come from the Himalayan district of Kumaon. There, of course, if some cottage industries could be started, it would more or less add to their income. Similarly, there are other parts of this country where agriculture is very scanty and land is not available and water is not available for irrigation

purposes and the only way to supplement the income is to develop these cottage industries. If Switzerland in its mountain tracts could develop the watch-making industry and other such industries like making small machine parts and so on, there is no reason why we should not be able to do the same. Toys for instance. There is such a big market for them. We must develop industries which have a market for their products both in India as well as overseas, so that we can have a permanent source of income from which the people could make a living for themselves.

Then, Sir, as regards tourist traffic—about this also we heard three or four years ago that the Government was seriously taking into consideration the development of tourist traffic in order to earn hard currency from other countries. But beyond that we have not heard what further steps have been taken to develop tourist traffic. For instance, people in America and other rich countries are only too anxious to come. But unless we make sufficient arrangements to publicise our places of interest—the Himalayas, the Elephanta Caves, the Taj of Agra, and so on—and make special arrangements for transit, hotel, and so on, it will not be possible to develop this industry. In fact, richer countries and advanced countries are earning substantial amounts through tourist traffic, and I would request the Government that the development of tourist traffic should be taken in hand seriously. Certainly some officers should be trained in this particular line, especially by sending men to places like Switzerland and other countries where they have developed tourist traffic business into a fine art.

Lastly, I come to the question of decontrol about which a lot has been said. Decontrol will be successful if there are no transport bottlenecks. The difficulty is this that you may decontrol it today but if a merchant finds that wheat is selling in Delhi at 2 seers and in Amritsar at 4 seers and if he wants to bring it down here so that by competition they can bring

down the price here to 3 seers, they must have those facilities of quick railway transport. In fact this is a great difficulty and unless transport facilities are made available to the merchant class, only decontrol will not help deficit areas unless they supplement their stocks from other surplus areas and the prices will not go down.

Lastly, Sir, I would make a special request to the hon. the Finance Minister with regard to the form of presentation of the Budget. The Budget that is presented in this Parliament is not meant only for Parliament but it is meant for the general public of India also and I think the hon. Minister will remember that last time an hon. Member of this House made a mistake when he said that 34 crores of rupees have been taken from the Railway Budget for the General Budget but they have shown only 7 crores and he alleged that the hon. Finance Minister had swallowed the sum of Rs. 26 crores. That is due to the fact that in accounting here 7 crores is shown as net receipts. But when we go to the interest charges, 26 crores and 35 lakhs are shown. Would it not be better if these expenditures are shown on the expenditure side. Of course there can be appendices with regard to Railways or Irrigation or Post and Telegraphs—but we can say that so much is on account of the working expenses and so much on account of debt charges etc. If you look to item XIX you find that the income from the Post and Telegraphs is 41 crores. Then it says that working expenses are about 38 crores and we are left with the impression that the net receipt is 2 crores and 57 lakhs. But it is not actually 2 crores and 57 lakhs. The debt services account for 1 crore 41 lakhs. The net return is hardly 1 crore and 16 lakhs. The same thing applies to item No. XXXII Industry and Supply and receipts from electricity and so on and so forth. So it would be much better if all the income is shown on one side and expenditure, instead of being shown as a reduction, is shown on the expenditure side. That would clarify the position both for the Members

[Shri J. S. Bisht.] of this Parliament and also the general public. They can then see what is the income and what is the expenditure Thank you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 8.15 a.m. tomorrow.

The Council then adjourned till a quarter past eight of the clock on Wednesday, the 16th 1952.