Saturday, 14th February, 1948

THE

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)DEBATES

Official Report

VOLUME I, 1948

(28th January to 16th February, 1948)

SECOND SESSION

of the

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) 1948





490LAD

WEDNESDAY, 11TH FEBBUARY 1948- contd.

Indian Bar Councils and the Legal Practitioners (Amendment) Bill-Motion to	
consider—Not moved	600
Code of Criminal Proceduce (Amendment) Bill-Amendment of Sections 161 and	
162-Motion to consider-Not moved .	600
Provincial Insolvancy (Amendment) Bill-Motion to consider-Not moved	600
Criminal Tribes (Repeal) Bill-Motion for leave to introduce- Not moved	800
Indian Bar Councils and the legal Practitioners (Amendment)-Motion for leave	
to Introduce-Not moved .	60.0
Bombay Port Trust (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	601
Workers' Provident Fund Bill-Introduced	601
Child Marraige Restraint (Amendment) Bill-Amendment of Sections 2 and 4-	001
Introduced	601
Calcutta Port (Amendment) Bill-Introduced	601
Delegation of Authority in respect of introduction of Bills	60102
Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Bill-Amendment of Sections 10, 11 and	0V102
13-Introduced .	
Special Marriage (Amendment) Bill- Insertion of new Sections 2A, 4A, etc	602
Introduced	
	602
Industrial Finance Corporation Bill-Consideration of clauses-Not concluded .	603-41
FRIDAY, 13TH FEBRUARY, 1948-	
VDeclaration by Member.	643
Starred Questions and Answers	643- 53
Transferred Starred Questions and Answers	653 64
Nomination of the Panel of Chairmen	664
Election to Indian Central Tobacco and Central Coconut Committees	664
Industrial Finance Corporation Bill-Passed as amended .	664700
Damodar Valley Corporation Bill-Discussion on the motion to consider as reported	1
by Select Committee—Not concluded	701-12
SATURDAY, 14TH FEBRUARY, 1948-	
Starred Questions and Answers	713-90
Appointment of the Honourable Dr. John Matthai to perform Function of the	
Finance Minister at Railway Budget-General Discussions	720
Election to Indian Council of Agricultural Research .	720
Damodar Valley Corporation Bill—	
Discussion on motion to consider as reported by Select Committee-Not	6
concluded	720-89
•	
Monday, 18th February, 1948-	
VDeclaration by Members	741, 764
Starred Questions and Answers	741-46
Damodar Valley Corporation Bill-	16160
Presentation of Railway Budget for 1948-49	64, 764-84
- tool watter of Additional Daugor for 1940-45	78494

PAGES

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)

Saturday, 14th February, 1948.

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

STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

ORAL ANSWERS

ISSUE OF IMPORT AND EXPORT LIGENCES TO COOPERATIVE MARKETING SOCIETIES OR FEDERATIONS

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

(a) whether Government have adopted any policy for giving precedence to Co-operative Marketing Societies or Federations in granting licences either for imports of industrial goods or for exports of our raw or processed products including oils with a view to encourage co-operative marketing and thus eliminate middlemen's profits;

(b) whether any licences have been granted to any of the Co-operative Societies and if so, to how many societies and in what provinces; and

(c) whether it is a fact that the Guntur District Marketing Federation (cooperative) has applied for such a licence to export groundnut oil to Burma and Ceylon and whether it is proposed to encourage this co-operative enterprise?

The Honourable Mr. C. H. Bhabha: (a) Government are prepared to recognise the prior claim of co-operative marketing societies and federations to a share in the import and export trade provided they are in a position to fulfil the conditions prescribed for eligibility to receive quotas in respect of the commodities concerned.

(b) The information readily available with Government discloses that in the second half of 1946 the Assam Provincial Co-operative Textile Society Limited was granted an *ad hoc* licence for export of 250,000 yards of handloom cotton piecegoods to Burma. The Madras Handloom Weavers Provincial Co-operative Society were also recently granted an *ad hoc* licence for export of 3,750 bales of handloom cotton piecegoods. They were also granted a licence for the import of dyes.

(c) No application in the manner prescribed by the rules was received from this Federation who have however now been advised as to the correct manner in which such applications should be made in future.

EXPENDITURE ON FOREIGN EXPERTS FOR SURVEYING HIMALAYAS.

277. *Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Works, Mines and Power be pleased to state whether it is a fact that in February, 1947 ninety-nine foreign experts were employed by the Government of India on salaries ranging from Rs. 900 to Rs. 4,000 p.m. for surveying the Himalayas and that one of these experts known as "Snow Surveyor" received an allowance of \$600 per month *plus* actual hotel expenses?

(b) If so, what was the total expenditure incurred by Government on the survey and what are the results achieved?

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

714 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) [14TH FEB. 1948 The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: (a) Only one foreign expert was employed by the Government of India in connection with snow surveys in the Himalayas. He was employed for a period of 4 months and was granted an honorarium of 600 dollars per mensem *plus* actual hotel expenses during his stey on duty under Government.

(b) The total expenditure on the expeditions was about Rs. 98,000. Half this amount was spent on equipment which would be useful in future for such expeditions. The first expedition was in the Kesi catchment for reconnaissance purposes up to about 16000' above mean sea level and was led by an officer of the Central Waterpower, Irrigation and Navigation Commission. The second and third were in Sikkim States in Teesta catchment for selecting snow courses up to a height of 15000 feet above mean sea level and were led by Dr. Church, President of the International Snow Surveys. The fourth one was along the Sikkim-Nepal border upto 16000 feet and was also led by Dr. Church. The expeditions included officers from different Departments of the Government of India, interested in this science. These expeditions explored and established the possibilities of snow survey in the Himalayas, which would enable a fairly accurate forecast to be made of the amount of water likely to come down into the rivers as a result of snow melting. This forecast would provide data of great value to engineers for schemes of Irrigation and hydroelectricity.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: Was the attention of the Honourable the Minister drawn to a news item appearing in one of the local English dailies giving the figure of ninety-nine foreign experts?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: It is 98 per cent. false.

RECOGNISED TRADE UNION OBGANISATION

278. *Shri V. C. Kesava Rao: Will the Honourable Minister of Labour be pleased to state:

(a) the names of the Trade Union Organisations recognised by Government: and

(b) the membership of these Unions and the number of supporting unions affiliated to them?

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: (a) and (b). I presume the Honourable Member requires information regarding the unions of employees of the Central Government which are recognised by the Government of India. Thisinformation is being collected and will be laid on the table of the House in due course.

ANTI-INDIAN PROPAGANDA AND PROTECTION OF INDIANS IN JRAN

279. *Shri Damodar Swarup Seth: Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that on the 11th January, 1948 there was a demonstration in the Iranian Capital demanding declaration of a holy war against Indians: and

(b) whether Government have taken steps to counteract the anti-Indian propaganda in Iran and whether they have drawn the attention of the Government of Iran to take necessary measures to give adequate protection to Indians living there?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) No. Sir. There was a public meeting in Tehran on the 11th January at which speeches were made expressing sympathy for the hardships of Indian Muslims who had suffered in communal disturbances. There was no reference to a holy war against India.

(b) Yes, Sir. Representations were made to the Government of Iran. and we have been assured that necessary steps have been taken.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Is it a fact, Sir, that of late the position of the Hindus and Sikhs in Iran is not as happy as it was formerly?

The Honoursble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Perhaps not; in fact probably not. There was a great deal of agitation conducted by outside sources in Iran which produced a difficult situation so far as the Hindus and Sikhs there were concerned. But lately there has been an improvement since our Ambassador went there.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: May I know, Sir, if it is a fact that the Pakistan Ambassadors and others have been doing some propaganda on these lines in some of the Muslim countries in the Middle East, and if so, whether steps have been taken by the Government of India to counter-act that propaganda?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I have had occasion to deal with this matter in answers to previous questions. The Government of India naturally has taken such steps as it can and it will continue to take them.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta: May I know, Sir, whether the attention of the Honourable the Prime Minister has been drawn to the writings in the Pakistan Press, particularly the Urdu Press, which have been styling the inroads on Kashmir as a holy war or something of that nature presistently? If so, whether the Honourable the Prime Minister and the Government of India have taken any steps in this matter?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what this has got to do with this question, but my attention has been drawn. I do not also know what my Honourable friend expects me to do in order to deal with the Urdu Press of Pakistan.

Shri H. V. Kamath: During the last eight or nine months, Sir, has there not been any social or commercial boycott or discrimination of any kind against the Hindus and Sikhs in Iran?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give any particular reply to that. There may have been, but so far as I know there is no regular boyeott. There may have been some feeling existing for some time.

EVICTION ORDERS PASSED AGAINST TENANTS UNDER NEW DELHI RENT CONTROL ORDER.

280. *Dr. V. Subrahmanyam: Will the Honourable Minister of Works. Mines and Power please state:

(i) the number of eviction Orders passed against tenants;

•(ii) the number of Decrees executed; and

(iii) the number of execution proceedings pending under the New Deini Rent Control Order 1939-44?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgii: (i), (ii) and (iii). It is not proposed to collect the information asked for as it will not be commensurate with the labour involved.

Dr. V. Subrahmanyam: Is it a fact that under the New Delhi Rent Control Order 1939-44, all eviction orders have been passed by the Rent Controller's Office in a summary way and without any judicial trial?

The Honourable Shri N. ∇ . Gadgil: The Rent Controller must obviously have passed orders as contemplated in the provisions of the Order.

Dr. V. Subrahmanyam: May I ask if the Honourable the Minister will give the tenants the benefit of judicial trial or at least make provision for the scrutiny by civil courts of orders passed by the officer concerned?

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil: I do not think it will be to the benefit of tenants however, I promise to look into that.

INDIAN LABOUREBS IN BURMA.

281. *Shri V. C. Kesava Rao: (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state the total number of Indian labourers in Burma?

(b) Is it a fact that these labourers who had purchased lands before the war are not allowed to take possession of them, when they returned to Burma after the war?

(c) If the answer to part (b) above be in the affirmative what steps are Government of India taking to have their landed properties restored to these labourers?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) No post-war statistics of the number of Indian labourers in Burma are available.

(b) and (c). Government are not aware that there was any substantial purchase of lands in Burma by Indian labourers before the war. There was a certain amount of dispossession of agricultural land during the Japanese occupation partly because of the exodus of Indian cultivators and partly because of the general lawlessness prevailing in the country. The Land Disputes (Summary Jurisdiction) Act was promulgated in 1945 to enable restoration of possession by summary procedure on application by the aggrieved persons, but Indians, whether agriculturiste or labourers, have not claimed relief under this legislation on any large scale, nor has the Ambassador of India in Burma been approached by the Indian population for assistance in this matter.

LEGISLATION re POSSESSION OF LAND AND INDIANS' INTERESTS IN BURMA.

282. *Shri V. C. Kesava Rao: (a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether the Government of India are aware of the recent legislation passed in Burma that no person should possess more than 40 acres of land?

(b) If so, what steps are Government of India taking to safeguard the interests of Indians in Burma, who have more than 40 acres of land?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharial Nehru: (a) The Honourable Member is presumably referring to the Disposal of Tenancies Act, 1948 recently promulgated in Burna. This Act, *inter alia*, enables Government to make leases of agricultural lands in possession of any person in favour of a tenant to whom the land may be allotted by Government, subject to the payment of prescribed rent by the tenant. The Act does not, however, apply to agricultural lands not exceeding fifty acres in the possession of a person who cultivates it hinself. In effect, therefore, a person who is himself engaged in cultivation can hold upto fifty acres of land without interference by Government.

(b) Our Ambassador in Burma has already made suitable representations to the Government of Burma in respect of this and other recent legislation affecting agricultural lands in Burma. It would not be in the public interest to disclose at this stage the nature of these representations.

CONVICTS AND NON-CONVICTS IN ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS.

283. *Shri ∇ . C. Kesava Rao: Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of convicts living in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands;

(b) the number of non-convicts who have settled there;

(c) whether Government propose to keep these islands only for the use of zonvicts; and

(d) if the answer to part (c) above be in the negative. whether Government propose to allow people, who wish to settle there, to do so and also to grant them lands free of cost for cultivation?

The Honourable Mr. O. H. Bhabha: The question should have been addressed to the Honourable Minister for Home Affairs. It has accordingly been transferred to the list of questions for 19th February, 1948, when the Honourable Minister for Home Affairs will answer it.

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR UNIONS REGISTERED UNDER TRADE UNION ACT.

284. *Shri V. C. Kesava Rao: Will the Honourable Minister of Labour be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of Agricultural Labour Unions registered under the Trade Union Act; and

(b) the total membership of such Unions?

The Honourable Shri Jagjivan Ram: (a) and (b). According to the latest information available, there are ten unions of purely agricultural workers, registered under the Trade Unions Act. Figures of membership are not available in respect of two unions. The total membership in respect of the remaining eight unions is about 1065.

In addition there are seven registered unions of 10,503 workers in plantations and eight registered unions with a total membership of 9,000 including both farm workers and factory workers in sugar factories.

COUNTER CHARGES AGAINST PAKISTAN BY INDIA'S DELEGATES AT U. N. SECURITY COUNCIL.

285. *Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafar: Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether India's Delegates at the U. N. Security Council have been advised to formally put in a complaint of genocide against Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan; and

(b) whether Government are considering the advisability of formally filing counter-charges about the treatment meted out to our nationals in Pakistan, in view of the decision of the U. N. Security Council to investigate all the complaints made by Pakistan?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: (a) and (b). The Government of India have not advised their delegates to the United Nations Security Council to present formally a fresh complaint against Pakistan as suggested in the question. Their original reference to the Security Council dealt with the Kashmir issue only. In replying to this reference the Pakistan delegate brought in all manner of irrelevant issues and made very serious charges which had no bearing on the Kashmir issue. Many of these charges had no foundation in fact while some of them, separated from the context of events which occurred in the Punjab, gave a completely wrong impression of what had actually taken place. The Government of India spokesmen made a full reply to the complaints and charges made by Pakistan against India before the Security Council and drew the Council's attention to the treatment suffered by non-Muslims in Pakistan. They made it quite clear that the Government of India were prepared for the fullest inquiry into all the events that have taken place in the Punjab or in India and Pakistan as a whole, but that the only question requiring immediate attention of the Security Council was the Kashmir issue and, more specially, the cessation of fighting in Kashmir. The Government of India have not considered it desirable to present a formal counter-complaint against Pakistan on other issues, but they are perfectly prepared to do so if necessity arises. In their view the Kashmir issue has to be considered urgently and separately from any other issue. These other issues would not only involve prolonged investigation but would also reopen old wounds which, it is hoped, would be healed. If, however, the Pakistan Government or the Security Council desire such an investigation on other issues, the Government of

India will not object. But it must be clearly understood that this must be considered apart from the Kashmir issue; or else the reference in regard to Kashmir would be nullified. In response to the Indian Delegate's request for an assurance that the Kashmir case should be dealt with first and the other matters only when the occasion arose, the Council agreed that this was their intention.

Shri K. Santhanam: May I know if it is a fact that the Security Council will be discussing non-Kashmir issues in the interval when our delegation returns to India?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: From the accounts appearing in today's press it would appear that such was the fact.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Have the Government of India received any information from their delegation to the contrary or confirming this news?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Unfortunately the accounts that we receive from our delegation are always somewhat delayed owing to coding and decoding of telegrams. The first news normally comes through the press; then come our own messages and these are slightly delayed. We have not, so far as I am aware, received any detailed account of the proceedings of the Security Council in the last day or two. We have received an account, hroadly speaking, saying that an adjournment has been agreed to and that in the meanwhile they might refer to other matters in the Security Council.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: Should this discussion take place are the Government of India suitably represented in the absence of the Indian delegation?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: The present intention is that three of our delegates, viz., Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, Mr. Setalvad and Sheikh Abdulla, will return to India. Indeed they may very well be on their way back just now. Mr. Vellodi will stay behind assisted by some staff.

Mr. R. K. Sidhya: May 1 know if under the U.N.O. Charter the Security Council is justified or competent to discuss internal affairs that have no bearing on Kashmir?

Mr. Speaker: That is a matter of opinion and relates to the powers of the Security Council. That need not be answered.

Shri H. V. Kamsth: At the adjourned meeting which is scheduled for the 18th of this month, will Government advise our delegates to insist on red-hot priority being given to the Kashmir issue only?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharial Nehru: That is exactly the attitude that our delegates have taken up all the time. We have advised them accordingly and they have acted according to that advice. We shall continue to advise them but sometimes questions go beyond the extent of the advice given. We hope, when our principal delegates come back to India, to discuss the whole problem with them, and I hope at that stage to make a fairly full statement to the House.

EFFORTS FOR EXPANSION OF EXPORT MARKETS FOR INDIAN PRODUCTS IN EASTERN COUNTRIES.

+286. *Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Will the Honourable Minister of Commerce be pleased to state:

(a) whether any plans for an intensive export drive have been prepared by Government;

(b) if so, whether Government propose to lay a statement showing the details of the same on the table of the House; and

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

(c) whether any special efforts have been made to expand export markets for Indian products particularly in Eastern Countries. like Burma, Malaya, China, etc., and if so, whether Government propose to give the details and the results of such efforts?

The Honourable Mr. C. H. Bhabha: (a), (b) and (c). No detailed plans have yet been formulated. Certain tentative proposals were however discussed at the meeting of the Export Advisory Council held in New Delhi some time ago and it was agreed that the Members of the Council should form sub-committees for formulating detailed plans in respect of various commodities which now largely enter into our export trade. The receipt of these reports is awaited.

PROPOSALS FOR RECONSTITUTION OF MODIFICATION OF INCOME-TAX APPELLATE TRIBUNAL

†287. *Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: (a) Will the Honourable Ministër of Law be pleased to state whether there are any proposals for the reconstitution or modification of the Income-tax Appellate Tribunal and, if so, what are the proposals?

(b) Do Government propose to consider introducing Legislation for abolishing references from the Income-Tax Appellate Tribunal to the Provincial High Courts, and substituting instead references direct to the Federal Court in all cases under the Income-Tax Act, where a reference is provided?

(c) Do Government propose to consider raising the status of the Income-Tax Appellate Tribunal, by appointing as its chairman a person who has held office as Judge of a High Court?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: (a) No.

(b) The suggestion for making the Federal Court an original Court for References under the Indian Income-tax Act was fully considered in 1945-46 in connection with the proposal for enlargement of the jurisdiction of the Federal Court and in pursuance of Legislative Department Resolution dated 15th January, 1945 public opinion was consulted. The opinion was overwhelmingly against the suggestion, and the late Mr. Bhulabhai Desai characterised it as highly objectionable in principle and unjust to the assesses. Now that the Federal Court is the Supreme Court for civil appeals, it would be inappropriate and anomalous to make it an original Court for Income-tax References.

(c) References on points of law lie from the Income-tax Appellate Tribunal to the High Court and it is not necessary to raise its status by appointing as its President a person who has been Judge of a High Court. The existing status of the Tribunal is sufficiently high and care is always taken to appoint as President or Judicial Member either a senior member of the Bar or a senior District Judge, who is due to be promoted to the Bench. In fact both the previous Presidents are now serving as High Court Judges.

AUCTION OF NUSLIM LANDS AND CROPS CULTIVATED BY HINDUTENANTS IN DELHI

PROVINCE

288. *Giani Gurmukh Singh Musatar: (a) Will the Honcarable Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the land and crops in Delhi Province belonging to Muslims but cultivated by Hindu tenants, have been auctioned by Government on the evacuation of Muslim owners? If so, why?

(b) If the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, what share of the proceeds do Government propose to give to the Hindu tenants, who cultivated the land?

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

constituent assembly of india (legislative) 14 The Feb. 1948

The Honourable Shri K. C. Neogy: (a) No lands belonging to Muslim evacuees have been auctioned by Government in the Delhi Province. Crops standing on lands belonging to Muslim evacuees and cultivated by Hindu tenants have been auctioned in four villages *e.g.* Nangloi Syed, Rithala, Jhangola and Jasola. The owners of the land were entitled to certain proportions of the produce. The proceeds of the sale have therefore been divided in that proportion and the tenant's share paid to the tenant except in one case which is under inquiry; the owner's share has been retained by the Custodian of Evacuee Property.

(b) The share of the tenants varies from 1/2 to 2/3rds of the gross yield, according to local custom and contract.

APPOINTMENT OF THE HONOURABLE DR. JOHN MATTHAI TO PERFORM FUNCTIONS OF THE FINANCE MINISTER AT RAIL-WAY BUDGET-GENERAL DISCUSSION

Mr. Speaker: I have to inform Honourable Members that His Excellency the Goveronr General has, under rule 2 of the Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Rules, been pleased to appoint the Honourable Dr. John Matthai to perform the functions assigned to the Finance Minister under rule 46 of the said Rules on the occasion of the General Discussion, appointed for Thursday the 19th February, 1948, of the statement of the estimated Receipts and Expenditure of the Dominion in respect of Railways.

ELECTION TO INDIAN COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

Mr. Speaker: I have to inform the Assembly that up to the time fixed for receiving nominations for the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, three nominations were received. As the number of candidates is equal to the number of vacancies, I declare the following members to be duly elected to the Council: (1) Shri Ram Sahai, (2) Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, and (3) Shri B. Shiva Rao.

DAMODAR VALLEY CORPORATION BILL-contd.

Shri Arun Chandra Guha (West Bengal: General): Sir, yesterday I was speaking about the flood control scheme of the Damodar Valley Corporation. The Damodar with its tributaries and other rivers rising from Chota Nagpur are all notorious for creating flood havoc in some parts of Bengal. These parts have suffered frequently from floods and consequent famines during recent years. The scheme of controlling flood will be of immense good to these parts of Bengal. As such, coming from Bengal, I welcome this part of the scheme which, as enunciated in the Bill, will benefit only parts of Bengal. Then comes the irrigation scheme of the Damodar Valley Corporation. This scheme will benefit both the provinces of Bengal and Bihar. About one million acres of land will be irrigated by this scheme, and it will do a great deal to remove the chronic dearth of foodstuffs in India. As such, it will benefit not only those parts of Bengal and Bihar but the whole of India is to be benefited by this scheme.

The next and most important from the point of view of the Central Government is the generation of electricity. Apart from the General point of view that the generation of cheap electricity in those parts will develop cottage industry and other industries, and will lead to the better economic conditions of the people, I do not like to enter into the details of so many watts, kilowatts and volts and all that labyrinth. These are the three main purposes of this multi-purpose scheme.

But there are other items which are no less important. The control of the erosion of soil will be useful for that area. In recent years there has been a process of de-forestation but there has not been any systematic plan for afforesting those areas. That has led to the loss of fertility and grazing land for the cattle and the erosion of soil. The Chota Nagpur parts of Bihar are slopy hilly tracts. In the upper catchment of the Damodar Valley, there is soil erosion annually due to the accumulation of floods and the ou-rush of flood waters.

Then the control of malaria, particularly for that part of Bengal is of very great importance. Malaria has devastated the western parts of Bengal and this Corporation has a scheme of controlling malaria and developing the general sanitary conditions of the tract.

The scheme as a whole has taken up the general uplift not only of the land but of the people. Man and nature are to be taken together. That is the scheme of the plan. Without considering the uplift of the people it is no use considering the betterment and development of the land. So the scheme has in its scope the development of education and culture and other developments as well.

Then there is also the fishery plan. Reservoirs will produce lots of fish and a huge revenue is to be achieved from fishery also. The Bengalees are notorious for their fondness for fish and for this reason the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal are rather looked down upon by their co-religionists in other parts of India. I hope the peoples of other parts will not cast any lusty looks on the fish to be had from this scheme.

Then, Sir, from this multi-purpose scheme, I hope there will come about a general psychological change also. In spite of so many points of similarity and so many points of common interest between Bengal and Bihar, in recent years there has developed a spirit of mutual jealousy and suspicion between the peoples of the two provinces. This Damodar Valley Corporation, operating in some considerable portions of both the provinces, will, I hope, generate a sense of unity, a sense of belonging to one economic unit among the people of these two provinces. So, I hope this scheme will not only tend to the material and economic betterment of the people but will also tend to the moral and psychological betterment of the inhabitants of both the provinces.

The scheme as it has emerged from the Select Committee contains certain changes from the original Bill. The important changes have been mentioned by the Honourable Minister in charge of the Bill, Mr. Gadgil. To one point I would like to draw his attention—the flood control scheme. I wish the Central Government could have taken some more responsibility, instead of putting the entire deficit on the shoulders of the West Bengal Government. I hope the Honourable Minister in charge of the Bill will be more generous during the second reading, and if any amendments come in that direction, he may accept them, so that the entire responsibility of shouldering the deficit may not be laid on the West Bengal Government.

The Honourable Minister in charge has spoken of there being numerous amendments on the Bill. I think the Minister has the unique good fortune that this Bill will be welcomed by all sections of the House in spite of the numerous amendments he has referred to. This is the penalty of democracy. which I hope the Minister will not grudge. He is a Minister of a democratic organisation, of a democratic government, and in a democratic country. So he must put up with all these amendments and I hope he will look into them with an open mind.

As for the grammer of Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad, the Honourable Minister in charge has passed some remarks on his insistence on grammatical correctness. While engaged in our fight against British rule, we have broken all laws and all the English rules in India including the rules of grammar! Whatever little 722 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) [14TH FEB. 1948

[Shri Arun Chandra Guha].

grammar we were taught in schools by this time we have managed to forget them all. As for myself, my culture of English has been confined to writing hardworded applications and representations to Government during my long years of jail life. Besides that, I have had seldom any occasion to increase my knowledge in English grammar. And if Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad has kept a bit of his English grammar, we should not grudge him that consolation and satisfaction. After all, grammar is no enemy of sense. There is no contradiction between grammar and sense. Grammar is meant to make words convey sense more clearly and more explicitly.

With these words, Sir and with the expectation that the Bill will be passed as soon as possible, and will be given effect to as soon as possible, and with the expectation that the Bill will lead to the all-round betterment economic, moral and psychological (within which I include the psychological rapproachment of the inhabitants of the two provinces) I commend this Bill to the House and I hope it will be accepted.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzu (U. P.: General): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the measure before the House is one of far-reaching importance. The Bill is modelled on the constitution of the Tennessee Valley Authority which provides for regional planning on so comprehensive a scale that it has been called by Prof. Julian Huxley an "adventure in planning". The activities of the T. V. A. are too multifarious to be mentioned, but it is a pleasure to me to see that the functions which the Damodar Valley Corporation may discharge under the Bill will enable it to undertake probably most of those activities for which the T. V. A. is known all over the world. The functions of the Corporation were much more limited under the Bill that was placed before us, but by the addition, or rather the inclusion of the words "the promotion ot public health and the agricultural, industrial, economic and general well-being in the Damodar Valley and its area of operation" by the Select Committee the scope of the Bill has been considerably widened. I fee: that the Honourable Minister has made the Bill more far-reaching and more capable of providing for planning on a comprehensive scale than it would have been, as introduced.

There is, however, one point in connection with the functions of the Corporation which I should like to bring to the notice of the Honourable Minister for Works, Mines and Power. Sir, the Corporation is to promote schemes for irrigation, water-supply and drainage, the benefits of which will be shared by all. But I am not sure that its schemes for the generation, transmission and distribution of electrical energy will be successful if a policy of *laissez-faire* is adopted with regard to its consumption. The production may be so large that a large surplus may remain even after all existing requirements within the Damodar Valley and the area of operation of the Corporation have been satisfied. I think, therefore, that following the precedent set by the T. V. A. the Damodar Valley Corporation should undertake to study schemes for the increased use of electricity for developmental purposes.

Prof. Julian Huxley in his book entitled 'T. V. A.' says:

"In the body of the Act, the Board is 'authorised and directed to make studies experiments and d-monstrations' to promote the use of electric power for agricultural, domestig and industrial purposes, and is instructed that it may co-operate with the widest possible variety of other agencies, from State and local governments to educational and research institutions, so as to ensure the application of electric power 'to the fuller and better balanced development of the resources of the region."

My Honourable friend, the Minister of Works. Mines and Power, who I know has studied fully the material relating to the T. V. A. is aware of the power conferred and the obligations imposed on the T. V. A. to promote the use of electrical power for agricultural, domestic and insustrial purposes. (But so far as I understand, clause 12 of the Bill before us which deals with the functions of the Corporation it will not be able to undertake that research work for increasing the use of all the available electrical energy in the way that the T. V. A. can. I attach a great deal of importance to this subject and I hope, therefore, that either the Honourable the Minister in charge of the Bill will satisfy the House that this point is covered by clause 12 or accept such amendments as would enable the Damodar Valley Corporation to enjoy the power that I have referred to.

Sir, as regards the 'other activities' of the Corporation, sub-clause (2) of clause 21, runs as follows:

"(2) The Corporation may set up its own planning, designing, construction and operating agencies, or make arrangements therefor with the participating Governments, local authorities or any person carrying on the business of an architect, an engineer or a contractor."

I do not object to the participation in the Corporation of any of the agencies referred to in the sub-clause but I desire that the scope of the subclause should be widened so as to enable the Corporation to take the help of educational and research institutions in the difficult and important problems with which they will have to deal in connection with the increased use of electrical energy for the fuller development of the industrial and agricultural resources of the Damodar Valley. I am sure that the Government have nc intention of keeping the educational and research institutions at arms length and that they would indeed welcome the assistance of these bodies. I hope therefore that provision will be made in the Bill to enable the Corporation to benefit by the experience and knowledge of research which such bodies may be expected to have.

As I have already said, it is not merely desirable but necessary that every effort should be made by the Damodar Valley Corporation that the fullest use is made of the electric power generated by it. It will succeed in this task not merely if it engages itself in research or receives the help of competent agencies but mainly if it sees that the rates charged for the supply of electricity are such as to encourage its use while not being unremunerative, at the same One of the purposes of the United States Federal Government in laytime. ing on the T. V. A. the responsibility of producing electrical energy and making adequate arrangements for its full use was to make a comparison between the activities of the Board and of private agencies from the financial point of view in respect of this matter and so far as I remember, Julian Huxley states in his book that it was found that the T. V. A. was operating more economically, not because it charged higher rates than private companies but because it kept the rates down as much as it could. This led to a much greater use of electrical energy at a reasonable cost. This matter need not be dealt with in the Bill itself. I mention it here only to draw the attention of my Honourable friend the Minister for Works, Mines and Power to this important matter. I hope when the Corporation is set up he will instruct it that the test by which its work in connection with the generation and distribution of electrical energy will be considered will be its cheapness in comparison with private agencies.

I have submitted already what steps the Damodar Valley Corporation should take in order to ensure the fullest use of the power generated. I should now like to make an observation on this with regard to the manner in which the Damodar Valley Corporation should function. I have no doubt in my mind that the Corporation, in order to achieve the success which we all desire it should, will cooperate with the local governments and local bodies. This is the manner in which the Control Board of the T.V.A. works. The T. V. A. is not a central organisation displacing completely the authority of the states and making itself wholly responsible under the Federal Government for the development of the regions within which it operates. Its method of planning and operating its schemes is perfectly democratic. This means that it takes the local governments, the local bodies and the people in general fully into consultation before deciding what steps should be taken in order to achieve certain results. And, what is more, it takes their help in the execution of

724 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) [14TH FEB. 1948

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru].

the approved schemes. Its officials do not replace the officials of the local governments or local bodies. Their work is so organised as to be divisible between these three agencies and the plans are successful in proportion as each agency contributes its own share to the securing of the desired result. I have no doubt that the Board which will govern the affairs of the Damodar Valley Corporation will proceed in this manner but I think it would be desirable to impress on the Board from the very beginning that it should keep in view the absolute necessity of securing the goodwill and the utmost help of the local governments and the local bodies.

In the end I would like to say a word with regard to the constitution of the authority which will govern the affairs of this Corporation.

The Bill proceeds on right lines. When it is passed my Honourable friend the Minister for Works, Mines and Power will have the satisfaction of seeing that the foundation of a great enterprise in India has been securely laid. But the Bill will have to be worked by human agency. It is necessary therefore that the persons who are chosen to carry out the objects of the Bill should be men who, in the words of President Roosevelt, "will have the spirit and vision of a pioneer". They must be men who will be chiefly concerned with formulating policy and who will take a large view of the responsibilities entrusted to them. A great deal will depend therefore on the choice of the right kind of men. The success of the T. V. A. is to no small extent due to the good fortune of the United States in being able to secure the services of men who were distinguished for those qualities which were required. I may stress this point, Sir, because the choice of the Government in regard to the constitution of other Boards has not always been such as to secure public confidence. If I may refer to one Board which is going to be set up, or which has just been set up, namely the East Punjab Rehabilitation Finance Administration Board, the selection of the personnel has not been welcomed by the public at all. As everyone of us I am sure, knows it has been subjected to a great deal of criticism outside this House. I am not going to consider the question whether the criticism is justified or not. My purpose in referring to it is to impress on the Honourable Minister in charge of the Bill the absolute and urgent necessity of so constituting the authority that will carry out the objects of the Bill as to secure public confidence and to make the achievements of the objects of the Bill absolutely certain.

Sir, this undertaking will be the greatest of its kind in India and my Honourable friend may legitimately feel proud when this Bill is laid on the statute book. I wish the enterprise which will be created by him the fullest success. But that success will depend on the quality and the calibre of the men chosen by him to carry out his policy.

Prof. K. T. Shah (Bihar: General): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support mainly the points that the Honourable Member, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru. has placed before the House. On a previous occasion, when this Bill was first presented to this House, I had welcomed it as cordially as any other Member; and today I would as heartily repeat my welcome of the measure, about the wisdom and propriety of which there can be no two opinions. If, therefore, here and there in the remarks I am going to offer today, there may seem to be a note of criticism, may I say at once that that is not intended in any way to disparage, to object or to obstruct this Bill now before this House.

In considering measures of this kind we must remember that most of these great constructive proposals that are being placed before the House in this session have been, in one way or another inherited, if I may say so, from the past. That is to say, the original authors or the planners of such measures were officers or advisers of the then Government of India, who did not look always at such matters from the strictly Indian point of view: and who were influenced very much by the parallels they had seen elsewhere that may perhaps not fit into this country. This is a country, if 1 may say so, of the small men, in the sense of producing organizations. Amongst the principal products of this enterprise, when it comes to fruiton, would be, for instance, water supply; and that water supply, badly needed as it may be, will have to be used by cultivators with an average notding perhaps of one or two acres and not much more. If the purely mathematical calculations on paper of the amount of water likely to be produced and supplied are co-related with the amount of charges now being made, or which have been made in the past for such water, it may quite possibly happen that water charges which the Provincial Governments will have to charge, if they are to make good the price they pay for the bulk supply of water from this Administration, may be disproportionately high for the small cultivator who is supposed to benefit by this scheme.

Sir, in offering observations of this kind there is a great handicap, in the sense that the technical papers, the data, information and the materia. on which this project has taken its final shape are not before the House. It is true we are not qualified technically to pronounce any judgment on material of this character. Nevertheless, if this country is to be governed democratically, with the final imprimatur coming from the representatives of the people, whether they are qualified or not, I think it is desirable that such material as is available upon which judgment of this kind is to be passed, should be placed before the House. If necessary, it may be prepared and edited so as to be suitable for our laymen's judgment, and not the judgment of experts and technicians. I submit, Sir, to the Honourable the Minister's consider-ation this point, that though this Bill has come at a stage at which information of this kind may not be helpful to enable Members of this House to pass their judgment or to make up their mind within the time now available there may be other projects of that kind wherein information of this kind if not available in time, will seriously handicap the House in making up its own mind, should anybody bring out a point that has not been considered in the past.

Lest I might be misunderstood, may I say that there is another project-I do not know exactly at what stage it is today,—for construction of a dam on the Hirakud island, which has been very seriously and strongly criticized by experts of equal eminence that have prepared also the project for the 12 Noon consideration of the Government. Critics with the experience of similar works in Mysore have criticized the site of the dam, the mateexperience of rial of the dam, the character of the dam, and the use of the products. It passes one's understanding how, if this criticism is at all well-founded, the project could be accepted and pushed forward as it seems to have been so far. I do not suggest for a moment. Sir, that on the brief notes that I have read I, or perhaps a majority of the members of this House, would be competent to pronounce any judgment. But I do submit. Sir, that if the Honourable Minister and the Government desire wholehearted support and intelligent cooperation in such matters for giving effect to these projects and carry them to the success that they deserve, it is but right and proper that as much information as is available, however technical it may be, should be placed before this House, so that the House may have a chance of understanding, or at least some members of this House may have a chance of understanding matters from a correct angle; and if the House so choose, they may ask for further information or explanation.

As I have already mentioned, most of these projects and schemes have been prepared by officers and experts, who were not necessarily considering the condition of this country: not necessarily familiar with the conditions and requirements of this country. Perhaps they lived more in the past, and were unable to visualise the future, as we in this House would like to do. I have

[Prof. K. T. Shah]

tried to make these observations as reasonably and as circumspectly as I could. But I for one am definitely suffering from this handicap, namely the lack of sufficient information on which to give my opinion after proper consideration.

The point has been made by the Honourable Member who has just preceded me with regard, for instance, to the consumption of the electrical energy that will be produced by the successful carrying out of this project. There is no dispute that a very large quantity of electrical power would be produced. May I add that, with the industrial ambitions that we have, and with the relative paucity of our coal resources, it is of the utmost importance that we should have substitute sources of power and energy, which is to be found in 'the tremendous amount of water that is running waste in this country, and that could be advantageously harnessed to produce for us electrical energy of I have heard from technical experts qualified the required quantity. to speak in the matter that hardly 2 per cent. of the total available hydro-electri-cal power is utilised so far in this country. That means a great margin of development available, which can make up for any lack of either coal or petroleum in this country; and which is very often suggested as likely to handicap our programme of development.

Sir, in the region in which this project is to be established, there are mines, and there are railways; and so there are potentially great consumers of electrical energy that is to be generated. The use of that electrical energy would certainly be cheaper, both in results as well as in cost, than the coal energy or steam energy that is now being produced by means of coal. But the development of railways or rather electrification of railways in this region, and the greater use of electricity in the coal mines, may necessitate replacement of equipment or renovation of machinery, which may constitute by itself a deterrent that those in charge of the project may not quite be able to overcome.

It would therefore become necessary, in one way or another, to develop consumers of electrical energy produced by this project, which, as far as one can see from the papers supplied to us, does not seem to have been thought of or planned for at the moment.

I realise that this is a matter of an all round plan of national development carefully integrated and coordinated in its various aspects and its various items, which I am sure will very soon be prepared and placed before this House. Even so, while it may be time that projects of this kind, which are indispensable for carrying out such plans when they are finally matured, should begin now, it is not too much to say, even at this moment, that in passing such measures we in this House should have also an eye to the utilisation of the power created thereby.

The possibility of extending electricity to the villages of this region as well as towns is, of course, obvious. But the hope of gaining a surplus from this project by the sale of electricity to villages or of water to small cultivators would be doomed to disappointment, I submit, unless some steps are taken at the same time for developing large-scale consumers of the power produced. And the same would be true, whether it applies to the immediate provinces where the project is to be located, or to the neighbouring provinces, wherever large-scale industry of this type is likely to consume power in bulk.

Another point was made with regard to the men who are to carry out this work. No one can emphasize too much the necessity of right and proper choice of the personnel—Directors and Managers, who are to carry out a project of these dimensions. In the sections of the Bill relating to the Directors or to the guiding authority of the Corporation, mention is made of the number and disqualifications of the Directors. But, so far as I recollect, there is no mention of the qualifications required for such men to guide the destinics of

a project like this. It may be that the House might be inclined to take the view that it would be unnecessary—it would be perhaps undersirable,—to tie down the hands of our Government by laying down the qualifications in an Act of the legislature. I see the force of that argument. Nevertheless, I suggest that there is, on the other side, an equal danger of-may I use the hateful word-nepotism, which is likely to lead us into greater harm than benefit. This will be a project the direction of which cannot be entrusted to raw men, to inexperienced managers or to politically useful. This must be entrusted to men who are seasoned veterans, who are properly qualified and fully experienced in works of this kind. In another connection I had occasion to make some enquiry on this subject, and those now regarded as experts on the subject told me that this country, in all its engineering services, is lacking in that type of special qualifications which would be required, not only in the generation and distribution of electrical power, but also in its proper utilisation thereafter. I do not use-I have no right to use-my own authority for an observation of this kind. But I can assure the House that it was put forward before the Planning Advisory Board last year by the most experienced officers of the Government of India. And if that is so, if we have not sufficiently qualified people, the risk to which I allude is much greater than may seem likely. It may be that we may be obliged to import technical experts on time contract from abroad. It may be that we may take intensive steps to train up our own men. I realise that it will take you some years before this project will, in all its fullness, come into operation. And that period may very well be utilised to train up our own experienced and expert staff necessary for the purpose. But even from the start, I suggest that those responsible for the success of the project should see to it that in the appointment to the most responsible posts of Chairman or Members of a Corporation of this kind, attention shall be paid only and solely to the qualifications, to the experience, the knowledge and ability of the people selected, rather than to any other consideration of political expediency or personal relationship.

May I in this conection make a general remark, Sir, with regard to the dangers that a democratic Government is generally faced with in such natters and from which we cannot be warned too often or too seriously? Democratic Governments, founded as they are on the number of votes that they can secure at elections, are obliged very often to pay attention to the satisfaction of their immediate followers or voters. And in the desire to satisfy their claims as much as they can, it is possible—it very often has happened in other countries, and we may be no exception—that people are chosen for responsible posts, not so much because of their technical merits for a particular charge as because of their political services in the past.

That is why, Sir, this device of setting up Statutory Corporations and Boards has been introduced. Once such Boards and Corporations have been created, once such bodies established by law have been set up, it would not be possible for Government to interfere with their administration and personnel, as may be the case if bodies were created merely by an executive order or resolution of Government. I would, therefore, recommend minimum statutory qualifications being laid down for at least the principal directors of the Corporation.

This, Sir. is no distrust, no lack of confidence in any way of the *bona fides* and the best intentions of those in power, in conducting the administration of this country, and in staffing the personnel and bodies of this kind. I mention it, however, to point out that, elsewhere in the world wherever democratic institutions of the kind we are going to develop have come into being, they have hit upon an agency like this, viz. a Statutory Corporation to conduct, under specific legal provisions, a complex Administration so that the dangers of political patronage and personal nepotism may not come in the way. It is with that idea, and not with any desire to tie up the discretion of the Ministar or because of any lack of confidence, that at the appropriate moment 1 intend 728 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) [14TH FEB. 1948 [Prof. K. T. Shah]

to move an amendment to the clause suggesting the personnel for the administration, so that some attention may be paid to the requisite qualifications and the necessary experience of those who are to guide the destinies of projects like this.

One word more, Sir, and I shall have done. That is with reference to the inter-relations with the Provincial Governments and Local Bodies, who must co-operate and join with us in making projects of this kind a success. Sir, ours is, as far as all indications point today, going to be a Federal organisation, a Federal organisation in which the Central Government, however strong it may be, cannot possibly attend always to every detail of each local problem and administration. If the working of a Federal Government on the scale on which this country will have it, and embracing the population and area that this country has, is to be a success, then it is unavoidable that as much margin be allowed for local autonomy, for local freedom, as is compatible with the integrity and the efficient administration of such projects.

Sir, the role of the Centre in a case like this, as I concieve it, is, not only to initiate projects of the kind that have been sugested here and I welcome that,-not only to get over all likely difficulties and obstructions that down, to prescribe the general policy according to which such projects would be worked. Having done so, having initiated and facilitated the establishment of Corporations like this, having prescribed their general policy and provided the necessary finance. I submit, Sir, the centre has done all and the best that could rightly be expected of it. For the actual administration, particularly of those sections which fall into the jurisdiction of the Local Governments or Local Bodies, it would be best to leave them as much freedom, and as much scope for initiative even in their immediate sphere as is compatible, I repeat, with the essential integrity of the scheme. Local Governments of the size and importance of Bihar or West Bengal cannot be merely treated as so many subordinates, to whom you have simply to issue orders and instructions; and that, too, not by the Central Government of the country, but by a statutory Administration created by a Central legislation. They must be treated not only with the respect due to their position and their importance; but also because they would be the main if not the sole parties for the organisation, with whose help you can make the project a success.

I should therefore suggest that in every way that the Act permits, in every way that the requirements of national solidarity facilitate it, we must so arrange the working of an Administration or Corporation like this—and I recognise that the Act goes a considerable way in doing so; that consistent with the maintenance of the integrity of the scheme, consistent with the co-ordination of a work like this, with the rest of the National Plan, that the fullest possible autonomy independence or freedom of action is reserved to the co-operating Local Governments and Local Bodies.

Kazi Syed Karimuddin (C. P. and Berar: Muslim): Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the very outset I submit that the Bill is a welcome measure. The object of this Bill is laudable and there are absolutely no objectionable features in the provisions of this Bill. I have not studied the Bill from the point of view of drafting but only from the aspect of the substantive provisions that are to be enacted. The more I studied the provisions of the (Bill, the more I am convinced of the utility, and the wisdom contained therein. This is a step in the right direction during a period of transition to complete nationalization of industry. In India we have very devastating famines and we have to beg for our supplies from foreign countries; this is a scheme which will give a great relief in times of famine in India. The avowed object of this Corporation is the development of schemes of irrigation and supply of water, and consequently, the development of industry and agriculture. I have not the least doubt that if the management is conducted efficiently and if the electrical energy is used to the best advantage of agricultural industry, there will be enormous produce and complete development of that industry in that Valley.

Coming to the Clauses, Sir, Clause 21 is a very useful one. It says the Corporation may establish, maintain and operate laboratories, experimental research stations and farms for conducting experiments and research for various things. This will be of very great guidance to the country.

Then Clause 30 is a very important clause. I am glad that the Government has taken upon itself the entire responsibility for the capital. With nationalisation of our Banks and with the floating of the lown which has been mentioned in thus Bill, there would be no difficulty in getting a contribution from the people also.

In Clause 42, it is mentioned that the Corporation shall be liable to pay any tax on income, corporation tax or any other tax levied by the Central Government. Here I wish to make a submission and it is this. This Bill is for the development of industry and agriculture. It is going to conduct researches for the guidance of the entire country. If income-tax is levied, that much income will go away from the resources of this Corporation. This is an institution of very great educational importance and for the industrial development also. If the tax that will go to the Central Government is invested in the development of this Corporation, that will be to the entire advantage of the country.

In Clause 52 of this Bill I find a lacuna. It is mentioned there that "whoever contravenes any provision of this Act or any rule made thereunder shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine or with both". You will be surprised to find that even if there is any contravention of the provisions in Section 45, the person concerned will be punished under Section 52. The offence has not been specified. Therefore, I request the Minister in charge to make suitable amendments. I have already submitted an amendment on that point and I hope it will be accepted.

One more point, Sir, and I have done. With the establishment of this Corporation in the Damodar Valley, thousands and lakhs of people might leave that place. It has to be; there is no choice. But the capitalists should not be allowed to take all the advantages of this situation. The Government should see that the farming there is conducted on co-operative and collective basis. Unless this is done, the scene will be that of the "Deserted Village" in Goldsmith's poem.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena (U.P.: General) Sir, I join the chorus of praise to the Honourable Minister for having brought this epoch-making Bill. I only wish that my own district was as fortunate as Burdwan the home district of Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad. I said when the Bill was here last time that my district of Gorakhpur is also suffering from recurrent floods. Although it is the most populous district in the country, it is the poorest also today. I consider that this Bill will be a precursor of many more Bills in the future which will try to look after other river basins in the country and it is from this point of view of treating this [Bill as a model Bill that I would like to study it in some detail.

As the Honourable Member. Dr. Kunzru has pointed out, this Bill is based on the Tennessee Vallev Authority. I wish that this Bill was modelled more on the lines of that Authority. I have very carefully compared the whole Bill with the Bill as it has been passed by the American Senate and Congress, and I find that the American Bill is a better model of thoroughness, and it would have been wiser if that Bill had been carefully compared with the present one 730 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) [14TH FEB. 1945" [1rof. Shibban Lal Saksena]

and the experience gained in the working of that Bill in the last twelve or thirteen years had been incorporated in the present measure.

Just like America, where the Tennessee river goes through two States, namely, Alabama and Tennessee, the Damodar river also goes through two provinces of ours, namely, Bengal and Bihar, and uso the features and problems are exactly similar in both the cases. The present Bill has been taken from that Bill almost *in toto*. Only the draftsmer have not probably had the Gill before them or they did not like to include the clauses as comprehensively us they should have done. I wish to point out by some quotations that this Bill can be improved if we keep to the original text of that T.V.A. Bill.

But before that, let me just say that we are lucky in one thing. In America the Tennessee Valley Authority Bill was passed after forty years of controversy because that is a country of private enterprise and this social Corporation was bitterly opposed and it was only with the incoming of the greatest President of the United States,—President Roosevelt—that it could be placed on the Statute Book. Our Minister is fortunate in that he has the whole country backing htm in this measure and he has been the recipient of so many congratulations, whereas in America the Senator who conceived this [Bill was cursed by almost half the House and he had a very bitter time in steering it through, until finally President Roosevelt with his inspiring authority saw it passed.

Now, Sir, let me point out certain aspects of this Bill which could be improved by comparing it with the T.V.A. Bill. This Bill says in the Preamble that: "Whereas it is expedient to provide for the establishment and regulation of a Corporation for the development of the Damodar Valley in the Provinces of Bihar and West [Bengal". Now, the word used here is "development". I wish the thing had been made more clear as in the case of the T.V.A. where it says:

"That for the purpose of maintaining and operating the properties now owned by the United States near the vicinity of Muscle Shoals. Alabama, in the interest of the national defense, and for ogricultural and industrial development, and to improve navigation in the Tennessee river, and to control the destructive flood waters in the Tennessee river and Mississippi River Basins, there is hereby created a body corporate by the name of othe Tennessee Valley Authority of the United States."

In this way they make the Bill more clear. I think the word "development" should be more comprehensive and it will be much better if we make it more definite and exact.

Then, Sir, much has been said about the authority and the composition. In fact I have very carefully compared the Project and I find that the American Bill is much better in that also. Here it is said:

"The Board of Directors of the Corporation (hereinafter referred to as the 'board's shall be composed of three members, to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. In appointing the members of the Board, the President shall designate the chairman. All other officials, agents and employees shall be designated and selected by the Board."

Here again. I may point out that in this Bill provision, has been made for a Financial Adviser as well as a Secretary who will be appointed by the Government. I think that once you appoint three members of the (Board you must leave the full responsibility to them. If after appointing those three members and placing upon them the full authority again if you appoint a financial adviser, that would really detract them from their responsibility and they cannot really be made responsible if other persons are there who will interfere with their work Therefore. I think this provision of the Financial Adviser and of a Secretary appointed by the Government is not a very happy one. In the Minute of Dissent my Honourable friends Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad and Jaipal Singh have said: "We think that the powers and functions given tz the Financial Adviser, a term which replaced the 'Treasurer' in the original Bill will militate against the autonomy of the Corporation and will require to be toned down." What I wish to say is that this Financial Adviser and the Secretary etc. were left to be chosen by the Board only and what the Government should do is that they must appoint such men on the Board who may inspire confidence as Dr. Kunzru said in the words of Roosevelt shall be pioncers and who shall have the spirit of pioncers.

The terms of office here is also not given, but there it goes by rotation:

"The terms of office of the members first taking office after the approval or this act shall expire as designated by the President at the time of nomination. I at the end of the third year, I at the cod of the sixth year, and I at the end of the minih year, after the late of approval of this Act. A successor to a member of the Board shall be appointed in the same manner as the original members and shall have a term of office explaining 9 years from the date of the expiration of the term for which his undecrease the emponded."

In this way of rotation continuity is maintained and new men are brought into it also. Though the Board is not a permanent body, it continues with all the experience of the previous members, though the terms of office of the members first taking office will expire at the end of the third year.

Then again it is stated:

"Any member appointed to fill a vacancy in the board occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term.

'Vacancies in the board so long as there shall be two members in office shall not impair the powers of the board to execute the functions of the Corporation, and two of the members in office shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of the business of the toard.

Then again the emoluments is not also mentioned and further they have not located this Authority and principal office also, as necessarily it will have to be located where the work is to begin. Here in this Bill I could not find the exact location. Perhaps it will be located there. Somebody said that fore gn experts may be brought in. But I think this is not a healthy thing. It is stated:

"Each of the members of the board shall receive a salary at the rate of § 10,000 a year, to be paid by the Corporation as current expenses. Each member of the board, m addition to his satary, shall be permitted to occupy as his residence one τ the dwelling houses oward by the Government in the vicinity of Muscle Shoais, Ala., the same to be designated by the President of the United States. Members of the board shall be reimbursed by the Corporation for actual expenses (including travelling and subsistence expenses) incurred by them in the performance of the duties vested in the board by this Act. No member of said board shall, during his continuance in office, be engaged in any other business, but each member shall devote himself to the work of the Corporation."

There is an important clause about the Directors being absolutely above suspicion. It says:

"No director shall have financial interest in any public utility corporation engaged in the business of distributing and selling power to the public nor in any corporation engaged in the manufacture, selling, or distribution of fixed nitrogen or fertilizer, or any ingredients thereof, nor shall any member have any interest in any business that may be advocably affected by the success of the Corporation as a producer of concentrated fertilizer or as a producer of electric power."

Here in this Bill we have said in clause 4:

"A person shall be disqualified for being appointed or for continuing as a member of the Corporation-

(a) if he is a member of the Central or any Provincial Legislature; or

(b) if he has, directly or indirectly, any interest in a subsisting contract made with or in any work being done for, the Corporation except as a shareholder (other han a director) in an incorporated company."

The above are the only disqualifications. I think the American clause sounds much better. It says that no director shall have financial interest in any public utility corporation engaged in the manufacture, selling and distributing of fixed nitrogen or fertilizer nor shall any member have any interest in any business that may be adversely affected by the success of the Corporation even remotely. This provision is a most salutary one that the members of the board shall have nothing whatsoever to influence $\frac{1}{2}$,

732 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) [14TH FEB. 1946

[Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena]

Another point that has been omitted here is as to how labour shall be treated. There is no provision whatsoever that the labourers, engaged in the construction shall have proper amenities or shall have proper treatment. Here in the American Bill it is very carefully laid down. They say:

"The board shall, without regard to the provisions of Civil Service laws applicable to officers and employees of the United States, appoint such manager, assistant managers, officers, employees, attorneys, and agents, as are necessary for the transaction of its business, fix their compensation, define their duties, require bonds of such of them as the board may designate, and provide a system of organization to fix responsibility and promote efficiency. Any appointee of the board may be removed in the discretion of the board. No regular officer or employee of the Corporation shall receive a salary in excess of that received by the members of the board."

I am only pointing out some portions of the American Bill in order to show how labour has not been included. They say:

"In the event any dispute arises as to what are the prevailing rates of wages, the question shall be referred to the Secretary of Labor for determination and his decision shall be final. In the determination of such prevailing rate or rates, due regard shall be given to tuose rates which have been secured through collective agreement by representatives of employers and employees.

"Where such work as is described in the two preceding paragraphs is done directly by the Corporation the prevailing rate of wages shall be paid in the same manner as though such work had been let by contract."

I therefore think that this is a grave omission in this Bill and should be included in it.

Sir, somebody said that political considerations should not influence the appointments in the Board. The American Act specially lays down the following:

"In the appointment of officials and the selection of employees for said Corporation, and in the promotion of any such employees or officials, no political test or qualification shall be permitted or given consideration, but all such appointments and promotions shall be given and made on the basis of merit and efficiency."

I think that this is a very healthy clause and should have been included here.

Then, as regards the location of the Corporation. One of the most important aspects of the T.V.A. has been its decentralisation; and I will read a passage as regards the flexibility of that organisation as perceived by commentators. They say:

"The administrative organisation of T. V. A. has been a great asset to the Authority in seeking to cope with the formidable problems which have inevitably confronted it. For T. V. A. is endowed with federal prestige and power, but, unlike most federal agencies, it dwells in the region where its problems exist. Because of its national character, it is able to co-ordinate its work with the programs of other federal agencies. Because it is decentralised, it is able to carry out its activities with a maximum of flexibility. The laster point has been well put by T. V. A. Director Libenthal:

"...... the T. V. A. job is not run from Washington. After its general policies are approved and its projects are authorised T. V. A. carries out its program in the field close to the problems it is trying to solve, in touch with the communities and human beings who will be affected by its decisions. There general regulations are adapted to fit local conditions, there mistakes are plain and can be swiftly corrected, there opportunities are visible and can be embraced before they vanish'."

I do not find in this Bill any provision that the general offices and headquarters of the Corporation will be located in that place, in the valley itself. I hope that is the purpose of the Bill.

The Honourable Shri N. V. Gadgil (Minister for Works, Mines and Power): that shows that we are not imitators.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: It is not imitation; I am-only saying that their good points may be into a solution.

Secondly, I wish that this Corporation should have complete authority once it is created, and should not constantly be interfered within its work by the Financial Adviser or Secretary who will be appointed by Government and who may not be the creation of this body.

Then, Sir, my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru pointed out some very glaring omissions about the use of electricity. In the T.V.A. Act it has been said that electricity will be used in a manner which will promote its use in the offices and elsewhere. I think this should be included in our Bill, specially now that it has been pointed out to the Honourable Minister. In that Act they say:

Then, Sir, irrigation and electricity are dealt with in clauses 13 to 21 of the [Bill which allocate the capital on different objects. But my study of the whole problem goes to show that it is very difficult to allocate capital in this manner. In fact the whole thing is a multi-purpose plan; and if you allocate it in this manner—so much for irrigation, so much for electricity and so much for flood provision—it will perhaps not work. The experience of T.V.A. has been that the problem of allocation has been a very difficult one. There are very many theories on which it should be allocated and then ultimately they appointed a Financial Provisions Committee which worked out how the allocation should be done.

The Honourable Shri N. ∇ . Gadgil: This was as a result of financial arrangement with the provinces concerned.

Prof. Shibban Lel Saksena: Exactly. I want that instead of laying down in this Act that there should be so much for irrigation and so much for other things—which will not work—it should be left to the Corporation who should have full responsibility for varying it or spending the money upon the industries of the place as they unfold themselves.

Then as regards electrical energy, it has been laid down here:

"Provided that nothing in sub-clause (c) shall apply to any person who was, at the commencement of this Act, generating electrical energy at an installation having an aggregate capacity of more than 10,000 kilowatts, so long as the capacity of such installation is not increased."

That shows that private concerns producing electricity below this quantity will be allowed to function. But the experience of the Tennessee Valley in a country like America, where private enterprise rules, was that they had to purchase all such establishments. In fact in the Tennessee Valley there is not a single private concern left; they have all been included and all have come and joined that plan. That has been most useful. So I think that none should be allowed to work there and they should be allowed to sell electricity to anybody requiring it and there should be no such limitation as is put here.

Then, Sir, there is the question of the assessment of this Corporation by Income-tax authorities in the matter of income-tax and super-tax. I think this concern should be treated like the railways and yield dividends to the nation; it should not be made to bear the burdens of income-tax and so on. All the income should come to the State and they should not be handicapped by being forced to pay income-tax, etc. Otherwise it will mean that we do not attach the amount of importance to national development that we ought to. There may be certain aspects of the problem which may be intangible but which may be very useful to the nation. They should not be taxed; and I de SOMETITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) [14TH FEB. 1948

[Prof. Smbban Lal Saksena]

not think the principle of taxing public utilities is at all a wholesome principle. In fact whatever profit it makes will come to the nation, and it is not proper to tax it in this manner.

Another point is about the acquisition of land. Here it has been said that Fart VII of the Land Acquisition Act should be utilised. But I may point out that in this American Bill they have laid down special provisions for doing this. Section 25 there is a much quicker method of disposing of this problem, in 30 days they car do the whole thing, and elaborate methods are taid down by which grievances will be removed and yet the work will proceed very quickly. I think that instead of the present clause we should have special legislation in this respect so that all requirements necessary may be met without delay.

Sir, I have only to point out that **whis** Bill can be improved to a great extent, not by imitating but by taking those points in the T.V.A. Act which have proved to be of very great utility and which have stood the test of time.

Then I come to the important problem of the general river policy. As I said before, I consider this Bill to be the precursor of many more Bills which will come forward. I may tell you that in America even in 1941—eight years after the working of the T.V.A.—they did not think that the American water power was properly co-ordinated. I will quote the conclusions of this author who was perhaps deputed to make a study of this Authority by the American Government. He says:

"Present American water policy is not adequately coordinated. Athough the technology of basin planning for multiple purposes has evolved rapidly, governmental practice in formulating and administering a program of water resource unrevenent has failed to keep pace. We do not subscribe to this belief that there is any single 'correct' na' cal water plan. Nevertheless, we suggest that present procedures for analysing and presenting to Congress proposed projects can be greatly improved."

My Honourable friend Prof. Shah pointed out that we have been presented with this Bill without knowing why we should pass it. If we had full and detailed information about the valley and statistics about the whole basin,* we would be in a better position. This is what this book says:

"So far as possible, the overlapping between agencies which has come to exist as planning has evolved into the multiple purpose stage should be eliminated."

Then it says:

"In contrast with the readily feasible recommendations above, we recognise that our proposals for a thorough stream lining of water resource planning and for decentralized administration involve major institutional adjustments. We accent the proposition that these adjustments can be accomplished only over a period of time, but we believe that they are implicit in the logic of the situation today. Already the National Resources Planning Board has divided the ration into forty five drainage basin planning districts and has made studies along the lines of this geographical classification."

So, in America they have forty-five basin plans and we are also probably having the first for our nation. We should also have plans so that all basins may be divided in this way.

Continuing, the authority says:

"On the administrative side, precedent for docentralized drainage basin agencies exists in the Tennessee Valley Authority. Three aspects of the experience of this institution should be of particular assistance in guiding future public action in water resource upprovement. T. V. A. has demonstrated the importance of integrating water resource upprovement. a broadly empowered, decentralised agency can move flexibly to meet the changing and unpredictable requirements of a comprehensive conservation program.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Is it necessary for the Honourable Member to read all these long extracts in support of his arguments? Could he not refer to the Authority in support of his case?

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: Thank you, Sir, I will cut it short. I wish to say that this Bill is of a very epoch-making character and I wish every effort should be made to make it as perfect as possible. I said this is to be the first Bill of its kind. I expect that many more Bills will come hereafter and the experience gained elsewhere should be made use of fully. Even in America where private industry is so intense, there they felt that this ousted private industry, although private industrialists helped to cut down rates and increase efficiency. The danger here is that unless everything is worked out, probably we may not be so careful about efficiency and other things. I wanted to point out that when we frame our own policy, we must frame it after taking advantage of all the experience that is available to the world, and when we have seen all the plans, we can then have firm hopes that we will improve the condition of the country. We want to come into the forefront of the nations as we ought to according to our population : it is on'y projects such as that suggested by the Honourable Minister will put our country into that position.

These Bills which are coming before the Indian Parliament are epochmaking Bills, and I hope what I have pointed out will be taken note of by the Honourable Minister and I hope he will try to make it a more perfect Bill and a Bill which shall be a model for all Bills to come and in a way be may be able to achieve all the advantages without having to be put to all those losses to which the pioneers were put to in this branch of development. I think we can take advantage of the experience gained by the T. V. A. for the last two years, and I hope this Bill will be amended and suitably drafted in a manner that will include all the good points that the T. V. A. has suggested.

In the end I will say, as the previous speakers pointed out, that when this Bill comes up again we shall have the material ready at our hands so that we can suggest improvements accordingly. I also agree with Mr. Kunzru and Prof. Shah that the personnel of the Board should be such as to establish national confidence. In the American Senate they have to take the Senate's concurrence before the men are appointed. I hope the motion will inspire confidence and we will feel that very soon this Corporation will become a greater success than the T.V.A. has been.

Sir, 1 support the Bill.

Shri Jaipal Singh (Bihar: General): Sir, may I know how long it will be now before we rise?

Mr. Speaker: We adjourn at 1-15 p.m.

Shri Jaipal Singh: As I come from the area that is going to be affected, I would, certainly, like to have as much time as the previous speaker. I suggest that I may be permitted to continue my speech. . . .

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I do not wish to impose any time limit on any speeches. But the Honourable Member will appreciate that his arguments will be considered not by the length of time that they take but by the merit and quality of the arguments. So the Honourable Member need not make a comparison with the time taken by previous speakers. I will give him all the time he wants but he should not repeat the arguments already advanced.

Shri Jaipal Singh: I thank you for the tip. I am sorry; I have been trying to catch your eye the whole morning but, being a new member and not knowing the tricks to do it....

Mr. Speaker: Order. order.

Shri Jaipal Singh: I congratulate my Honourable friend

Mr. Speaker: 1 wish the Honourable Member withdraws that allegation.

Shri Jaipal Singh: I do withdraw it wholeheartedly. I congratulate my

[Shri Jaipal Singh]

friend, Mr. Gadgil, for presenting this Bill. It augurs well for the Nehru Government that the first adventure in planning should affect the Adibasi tracts. It has taken Congressmen nearly 65 years to do for the Adibasis something. For the first time, something concrete, something big and something bold is being done; it is going to be model for future River projects throughout India.

Sir, I do not think my Honourable friend. Mr. Gadgil meant his attack yesterday about grammar and so forth to be taken seriously. In certain quarters of the House, what he intented to be a joke—I think that is what he meant it to be—has been taken very seriously and caustic replies have been made. I think he is democratic enough to realize that neither he, nor his draughtsmen are infallible and that even the most perfect of things he puts before this Assembly will be subject to criticism and improvement. He must, at his experienced age, realize that a little more patience is necessary to win over members of this Assembly. In regard to this Bill, he is most fortunate that there is unanimity that it should go through as fast as possible. But that does not obviate the mistakes, that have to be put right before the Bill receives its final passage. I hope, therefore, he will forgive those of us who have taken a little bit of trouble to assist him in perfecting this Bill by submitting amendments.

On this question, I do not want to go into details. I do hope I shall have an opportunity when we are discussing the Bill clause by clause to make my own submissions as to where improvements might be made in grammer also. I am not a lawyer and I am very seriously handicapped when legalism is argued on the floor of this Assembly. I shall do my very best and you will have to forgive the way I have to present certain things. I do get lost when legalism is thrashed out in the Assembly. I have to look at things in the way they are going to affect me and my people and I do hope you will forgive me if I am blunt in certain matters. The only way I can serve this Assembly is to echo the feelings of my people in the way that I understand them.

Shri H. V. Kamath (C. P. and Berar: General): Does not my friend regard the Indian people as his people?

Shri Jaipal Singh: Take clause 50. It is clothed with verbinge much of which could well be pruned. When we actually discuss it I shall make my own submission, although I have not submitted an amendment. There are amendments galore and I think an addition by me will not matter much.

There is one thing on which I feel I must again make my emphasis and it is in regard to the promise which the Honourable Minister made for displaced persons and their resettlement. When he first begged leave to introduce this Bill, he promised the displaced people heaven. He said that he would give them houses better than they ever had and that every consideration would be paid to their suffering as little as possible in the interim period. I would like to suggest to my Honourable friend the Minister that he might experiment with this promised heaven of his in a temporary way. For example, the villages will have to be evacuated. Obviously people must live somewhere. If this is an adventure in planning, surely, we shall have sometime to think, sometime to experiment with our ideas on these displaced people. I know the area very well: I come from the area myself and let me tell the House quite clearly that this Bill provides Free India to put right a damage on Addhasis that has been there for the last 6,000 years. Most of the villages will be Santhal villages but, though they are not entirely populated by Santhals, banias and years a serious menace to the moral and material welfare of the years and years a serious menace to the moral and material welfare of the people. Now banies be a serious menace to the moral and material welfare of the

Minister, is he going to reinstate the banias in the villages again, just because they are also evacuees from these villages or is he going to take a bold step and see that this disease, this terrible virus that has crept into the simple body politic of these villages is completely uprooted and put at the bottom of the project? What is he going to do? Is he going to experiment? I am not trying to be inhuman: all that I am trying to say is this. Let us be realistic in our endeavour. It is no good saying that we are going to give them better phouses. What is really important is, are you going to give them their self-respect? Are you going to give them a modus visiting whereby they will be able to contribute as men of honour, compatriots having a place of honour in the national life of India. That is the issue. I am not looking as it merely from a material point of view. We are not going to make my fellow Santhals happier simply by making them live in palaces. We do not want your palaces. We want to live for things whereby we can be compatriots in the common endeavour. I am thinking more of the spiritual aspect of the problem of rehabilitation, and this is not a matter with which we can play lightheartedly. We shall have to have the help of experts, of social workers, say from the Tatas Social Institute at Bombay, or we may have to take the help of Anthropologists, so that it will not be merely a matter of lay experi-When I talk of displaced persons, I am not merely thinking of the 300 ment. and odd villages that will be displaced. I think we have to go temporally a little backward. We have to think of the roughly 5 lakhs of Santhals who have been crimped from that particular area and who, because of economic circumstances, have been forced to make their habitat in the tea gardens of Assam. I think most of us are old enough to realise what Mahatma Gandhi tried to do in the tea gardens of Assam. I think most of us still remember that noble march of his, which he endeavoured to make with these same Santhals, so that they might be repatriated back to their homes. I suggest, while we are thinking of the displaced villagers and the inhabitants of those 300 and odd villages, we might as well bear in mind that perhaps we would be reintegrating the Santhals by making an endeavour, as far as is possible. to get back the persons, the families, which have had to desert those villages in order to find a living elsewhere, because this particular area is no longer going to be a desert. It is no longer going to be subject to the ravages of a terrible and obstreperous over. This project is going to make this river walk and not run: that is the whole idea of it. We are going to harmes the waters, which means that we shall have the water under control.

That brings me, as I said, to one rather particular aspect, that is bound to be lost by people who are not Adibasis. When we think of submerging a village we think merely of the submersion of the lands and the houses. But we forget that there are things that an Adibasi values very much. For example, they have their Sarnas, the sal or other groves where most of the worship is done by them. They think very highly of their burial places called Sakana. In fact though he is now there, the march of his race, his aneestors. from one part of the country to another part of the country is known by the be submerged. I want to ask my friend, the Minister, has he any idea of the spiritual rehabilitation of the man I have spoken of? Of course, we cannot reproduce the graves but we are going to destfoy their worshipping places. In the scheme of resettlement that we have, have you any plan in detail that these people are going to have their worshipping places again? Or, is it merely that we are going to give them big cement houses and say that they are better off than in their kutsha ones? That is the spiritual aspect that should not be forgotten.

Similarly, there is the question of akharas. Every Santhal village has a plot, an arena, in the heart of it for their dancing. Dance is rhythm of CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) [14TH FEB. 1948

[Shri Jaipal Singh]

the life of Santhals. Most of you may be inclined to laugh at the aboriginal dances. . . .

An Honourable Member: Not at all.

Shri Jaipal Singh: But believe me there is much that the rest of India has to learn from Adıbasis in regard to the rythm of life. (An Honourable Member: "Certainly"). It was Tagore who chose a typical Santhal area to interpret to the world the rythm of Indian life such as is found in all its pakedness at Bolpur and the other villages surrounding it. I would ask my Honourable friend the Minister not to forget that aspect of it either.

I would like to say something in regard to what my Honourable friend Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru said. He seems to be under the impression that there will be such a surplus of energy that some machinery would have to be improvised which would compel and increase the consumption of electrical energy. So far as I have been able to understand the situation, we shall not have a surplus of energy. The scheme is such that it is in the heart of the industrial country. It is not very far removed from the big industrial areas. It is surely intended that the energy, as much of it as we can produce, will be utilised by all the industrial concerns as well as by the population. So far as I can see there will not be much surplus energy. In any case the shole purpose of the project will be defeated if there is not full use made of the energy. It is surely hoped that new industries will be attracted by this project. So I think on that account the fears expressed by my friend Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru are unfounded. His reference to coal, which was also supported by Professor Shah, to my mind is equally ungrounded. Admittedly we have not as much coal as we would like to have. The Mahindra Committee Report shows that, if we were to exploit our coal deposits a little more scientifically, we can still carry on for about a century: but this project will mean that coal that is now being used for industry will be available for other purposes. In other words, the consumption will be not as much as had been in the past because coal, it is hoped, will be replaced by the electrical energy which should be available in abundance and at a much cheaper rate.

In the speeches that I have heard, T.V.A. has been mentioned a good deal. I have been at pains to try to understand the underlying principles behind the T.V.A., and, I find that there is much we have to learn from the T.V.A. But all the while we must remember that we have, in the last resort, to deal with human beings. The T.V.A. had to deal with America. The Damodar Valley Project has to deal with Indians, and, that is exactly where the difference comes in. I know my friend Mr. Gadgil has taken the very best advice possible. After all what more can any Government do than to get Mr. Voorduin and Mr. Savage, who are experts, and who have had long experience of Tennessee Valley Authority, that is in the technical aspect of it, and, the construction of the dam itself. I do not think there can be much doubt that the very best has been done to secure the finest expert knowledge and that knowledge is being utilised for this and other projects. I understand that Mr. Savage has made a survey of the Hirakud Project also. But when it comes to deal with human beings, his project has to deal with Indians and I think that is where the difference comes in. A suspicion has been thrown that unless the personnel were very carefully selected, they would abuse their power: it has also been hinted that there might be friction between the two provincial governments and various other local authorities that are situated in the area of operation, and so forth. My own attitude to this is: Certainly have the very best men possible running this Authority. I am one of the co-signatories to the minute of dissent in which my friend Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad and I have made it quite clear that we would like the Authority to be unhampered, unfettered and unmanacled by interference from a bureaucracy about 700 miles

away. We do want the thing to work smoothly and the whole essence of democracy is that we do not lose faith in our fellow human beings. We say, let the good in man outweigh the evil in him. When we come to discuss the clauses, my friend Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad and I will have our own arguments to place before the Assembly, but for the time being, Sir,—I notice it is nearly time to adjourn—if I may just say so I think we must trust this Authority. Of course, the very best men must be appointed and they must not be political appointments. There is no doubt whatever that the biggest project, the first colossal project that Free India is going to undertake, must be run on such lines that it will be a complete success, so that all other projects—be it Hirakud, Bhakra, Tungabhadra and what not—will look to this as a mode! and guide.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday the 16th February 1948.