

27/1/54

**THE  
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES**

**(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)  
OFFICIAL REPORT**

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**HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE**

*Monday, 12th April, 1954*

*The House met at Two of the Clock*

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

**QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS**

(See Part I)

2-45 P.M.

**PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE**

**PRESENTATION OF EVIDENCE RELATING TO  
SEVENTH REPORT**

**Shri B. Das** (Jaipur-Keonjhar): I beg to present Volume II—Evidence relating to the Seventh Report of the Public Accounts Committee (1952-53) on the Appropriation Accounts (Civil), 1949-50 and unfinished Accounts (Civil), 1948-49.

**PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE**

**CENTRAL EXCISE NOTIFICATIONS**

**The Deputy Minister of Finance** (Shri A. C. Guha): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of each of the following Notifications in accordance with Section 38 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944, namely:—

(i) Central Excise Notification No. 1, dated the 8th January, 1954.

(ii) Central Excise Notification No. 3, dated the 11th February, 1954.

(iii) Central Excise Notification No. 6, dated the 28th February, 1954.

(iv) Central Excise Notification No. 7, dated the 19th February, 1954.

[Placed in the Library. See No. S-112/54.]

**DEMANDS FOR GRANTS\***

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now proceed with the consideration of the Demands for Grants Nos. 48, 49, 50, 51 and 125, relating to the Ministry of Health.

Members and Leaders of Groups may hand over the numbers of the cut motions, which they select, to the Secretary, in fifteen minutes. I will treat them as moved, if those hon. Members in whose names those cut motions stand are present in the House, and they are otherwise in order.

The usual time-limit for speeches will be observed. We shall discuss the Demands for Grants under this Ministry, up to 5 P.M. Since the question list is over already, the House gets fifteen minutes extra for this discussion.

I shall now place the Demands before the House.

**DEMAND NO. 48—MINISTRY OF HEALTH**

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,38,000 be granted to the

\*Moved with the previous sanction of the President.

[Mr. Speaker]

President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Ministry of Health.'

which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Health.'

DEMAND NO. 49—MEDICAL SERVICES

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,38,53,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Medical Services'."

Now the agreed cut motions may be moved.

*Failure to provide adequate medical facilities in rural areas*

Shri V. P. Nayar (Chirayinkil): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

DEMAND NO. 50—PUBLIC HEALTH

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,77,56,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Public Health'."

*Failure to check and control elephantiasis and other filarial diseases in coastal areas*

Shri V. P. Nayar: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

DEMAND NO. 51—MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 70,92,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of Health'."

*Failure to arrest the spread of leprosy in Tribal areas of Tripura*

Shri Biren Dutt (Tripura West): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to arrest the spread of intestinal diseases in Agartala Town, Tripura*

Shri Biren Dutt: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

DEMAND NO. 125—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,84,58,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges

*Failure to proceed expeditiously with Legislation on drug control*

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-East): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to pay proper attention to the problem of nutrition of the people*

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to give medical facilities to the people living in rural areas by sending mobile dispensaries*

**Shri Boovaraghasamy (Perambalur):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Need to compel all the doctors newly qualified in medicine to serve for a specific period in rural areas immediately after they come out of colleges*

**Shri Boovaraghasamy:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure of the Ministry to allot more funds in the Budget for expansion of medical facilities on a large scale in rural areas*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami (Kushtagi):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Negligence of the Ministry in the matter of encouraging the Ayurvedic system of medicine and opening of Ayurvedic centres*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to establish statutory councils for Homoeopathic, Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine*

**Dr. Jaisoorya (Medak):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Inadequacy of equipment, beds and medical assistance in hospitals even in towns and cities*

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Medical Services' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Inadequacy of medical assistance and hospitals even in towns*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Medical Services' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to provide more sanatoriums to check spread of T.B. etc.*

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Public Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Provision of more sanatoriums to check the spread of tuberculosis etc.*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Public Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Inadequacy of funds for health*

**Dr. Rama Rao (Kakinada):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Health' be reduced by Rs. 100."

**Mr. Speaker:** These cut motions are now before the House.

**Dr. Jaisoorya:** Sir, if you go through the list of cut motions, you will find that I have moved one cut motion, and there are twenty-three other cut motions, having similar basis and similar ideas.

I find it difficult to discuss the problem of health, without getting proper statistics. I regret to say that when I asked for certain relevant statistics, from the Health Ministry, they were unable to supply it. I asked for the total number of hospitals and major dispensaries in India, in the year 1953-54, as compared with those for 1948-49. They have not got it. I asked for the total number of beds in 1953-54, as compared with that in 1948-49. They have not got it. I asked again for the total number of in-patients and out-patients treated in 1953-54 as compared with those in 1948-49. They have not got it. Therefore, the question arises, whether it is the fault of the Ministry, that they have not got these figures. I say, no, it is not the fault of the Ministry, because the States have not supplied them the material that they should have. What is it due to? It is due to the fact that health is now at the level of the States and they are not supplying the relevant material which this Ministry should have, in order to fulfil their own functions, and know what is going on in India.

I say once again, that it is not the fault of the Ministry, but the Constitution that has decentralised power in such a manner that the States are not responsible to the Centre, even in respect of giving relevant information. If the Ministry of Health have not got this information, I want to know how this House is to get a composite picture of the state of health in the country.

Therefore, there are two ways possible. Either this Ministry has no function, no function because it has not got a complete and accurate picture of the state of the health of India, or this subject, Health, must be made a Central subject, so that at least we know whom to hold responsible for the state of health in India. I will

give you one example. There is no uniformity. You make recommendations and there is no uniformity. If you do not have uniformity, and if you cannot enforce uniformity, you can have no comprehensive health plan. Under our very noses, we see the disparity of the conditions in hospitals—in Delhi itself. I have seen a very big hospital and, believe me, Sir, I was shocked because it was indescribably filthy, such as I have not seen in even the smallest district hospital in the rest of India.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram** (Visakhapatnam): Mention the name.

**Dr. Jaisoorya:** That hospital is not under the Centre. It does not require much money to be clean. It requires a sense of responsibility and it requires a sense of decency. I have seen in the worst period of the inflation in Germany, German hospitals ill-equipped, suffering from want of money, but there was cleanliness. Even the smallest mission hospital, I must tell you—I travelled throughout the villages—even the smallest mission hospital, small as it is, poor as it is, is clean.

Therefore, the question arises: what is the function of this Ministry? Here we find that the educational side comes up. How can we have an educational side when we do not know the facts about India? The impression I am getting, Sir, is that this Ministry is only advisory. It makes experiments. It is doing some very good work as far as organisation of teaching staff is concerned, but the main factor that still remains, the biggest problem that India still has, is the problem of medical aid in the districts and the villages. Here we have a statement of our Prime Minister in which he says:

"The health of the villages requires special attention. The country derives its vitality from the villages. It is not enough for large imposing hospital and other buildings to be put up in the towns. The benefits of health must be extended to the whole countryside."

That is the crux of the problem. Therefore, when the problem arose, this same Ministry had a Committee called the Committee for Indigenous systems of Medicine headed by Col. Chopra and it produced a magnificent report of two volumes. What has happened to that? In that, they mentioned that the course for Ayurveda should be three years. What has this Ministry done? It has taken the recommendations of the Indian Medical Council and made it five years! The problem in India is how soon can we produce a large number of men who can go into the villages.....

**An Hon. Member:** And women.

**Dr. Jaisoorya:** Men and women, naturally,—you cannot leave women out—who can go into the villages and do some medical work. Obviously if anybody knows the economics of India, it is impossible—not only impossible, but absurd—to expect that high-class graduates are going to settle down in the villages. The Bombay Government and the Madras Government have tried the so-called subsidising of rural medical practitioners in the villages and have failed. Here is corroboration about it from a report by Dr. K. C. K. E. Raja—I believe he is in the Government of India—and he has made this statement:

"The Health Survey and Development Committee reported in 1946, after a careful study, that even the subsidised system of settling private practitioners in rural areas promoted by State Governments over a period of many years had failed to achieve the purpose of providing medical care to the majority of the people living in the areas concerned."

That proves to us on the one side that this Government cannot face such a huge problem. Why is it not facing that huge problem? Because it cannot evolve a scheme by which allopathy or the so-called modern system of medicine can be spread very rapidly or in sufficient numbers in the districts and in the countryside. Now, the only statistics I got

from the Ministry was that from 1949 to 1952, the number of students have increased from 10,000 to 14,000. According to the Bhore Committee, you require 250,000 doctors. We have got 49,000 now. By what mathematical calculation and in how many years are you going to obtain 250,000? On the contrary, even the Indian Medical Association, in one of its presidential addresses, said that the Bhore Committee had deliberately left out taking into account that there was in his country systems of medicine known as Ayurveda and Unani which had got—right or wrong—a large number of practitioners, who might amount to 200,000 or 300,000. When I went to China, the first question I asked the Minister for Health there was: 'What is your attitude towards Chinese medicine?' She said: We cannot do without it. We have only got 36,000 trained doctors and it will take us many years before we can train everybody. But we have got to face the reality, and the reality is that in the villages today, we cannot supply that medical aid. Therefore, the Chinese doctor is an integral part of society and I say the Ayurved here in India is an integral part of village society. You cannot exterminate him, whether this Government likes it or not, whether we all like it or not—I do not care who likes it or not. I say that the Ayurved is going to be the main source of medical supply to the villages for many years to come. I say that as an allopath, because I have studied the whole problem.

**An Hon. Member:** What about Homoeopathy?

**Dr. Jaisoorya:** I will come to that. I am talking pure economics now. It is absurd to say: 'We shall give the very best, we want to give the very best'. It is a very fine idea. But it is not what is desirable that matters. It is what is feasible and necessary within the financial limits of the country that matters. And who is here? I have got in front of me a list of the people who are on the Indian Medical Council. I have got with me here a

[Dr. Jaisoorya]

list of the people on the Indian Research Council. In my privileged position, I happen to know all of them and their background. I say with full authority that they are not entitled to judge on Ayurveda. They are not entitled to judge on Homoeopathy. Only he is entitled to judge who has studied it for several years. I am prepared to take the word of people who have studied it. If the late Dr. Bhadkamkar had said something about it, I would say 'yes': if Dr. Mahsker says so, I will say 'yes', because I know that the late Dr. Bhadkamkar and Dr. Mahsker have studied the subject. How can we judge and what right have we to call ourselves scientists without proper knowledge, without putting it to a proper test?

Now the question arises: How can we allow this country to be treated by people whose medicines we do not know? I say: 'Yes, quite right'. But I also want to ask: 'Do we know of the medicines that we are using?' Here I have got a report. I am reading from the report of the Indian Council of Medical Research, which says:

"Further work showed that apart from some variations in mucinase titre of various strains tested, no evidence could be obtained that immunization with anti-cholera vaccine confers any demonstrable protection to guinea pig ileum against the desquamating effect of vibrio filtrates of homologous or heterologous strains. The pathogenesis of cholera and the mechanism of cholera prophylaxis is vague and indefinite and cannot be explained on the basis of epithelium desquamating activity of *V. cholera* mucinase alone."

Yet, we have mass cholera inoculation. Last year I said that the B.C.G. vaccine was still new and it was not properly studied and that we should take care not to try it on a mass scale before we studied it properly. What have we got here? This is the report

of the World Health Organisation of 1952:

"This raises a perplexing problem of much practical importance in the B.C.G. programme now being carried on by WHO and UNICEF. The present criterion for vaccination is that persons whose reactions measure less than 5 mm to a Mantoux test of 5 TU are accepted as non-reactors eligible for vaccination.

\* \* \*

One important but disturbing finding in the retesting surveys made in the International Tuberculosis Campaign was that there were wide variations in postvaccination tuberculin allergy".....

and yet we have subjected our children to have these vaccinations, no doubt in good faith, but the same can apply. If they do not know about Ayurveda, I say that you and I do not know about it, but the people of India know about it and the Ayurveds know about it. The remarks of Neuburger will be of great interest as he was one of the greatest medical authorities in Germany:

"The request to not administer any remedies in disease, when the chemical and mechanical action in the organism is unknown, would be analogous to the request which the scrupulous investigator could ask the physiologist, namely, to withhold foods until their physiologic reaction on the animal body could be followed in detail."

But the fact is that the people are being treated by Ayurveds. They are going to be treated by Ayurveds, for many years to come. India is in transition and is going to be in transition for many years to come, and our financial outlook is going to be none too bright for several years to come. Therefore, the question arises: what are we to do? If we are to look at

the report, one gets the impression that the WHO has almost taken charge of everything in India:

"The value of the assistance given by the Organisation from 1949 to 1951 and programmes for 1952 is 1.604 million dollars or Rs. 76.35 lakhs. For services in India for 1953 and 1954 the WHO have budgeted a sum of 252,09½ dollars and 171,839 dollars respectively under their regular budget. The assistance rendered by the World Health Organisation is utilized mainly by the States and to small extent by the Centre. In the case of personnel provided by the WHO, their local expenses are paid by the Centre or the States concerned. The estimated expenditure on local expenses on account of WHO programmes including cost of buildings etc. for 1953 and 1954 is Rs. 84,61,094 and Rs. 134,21,760 respectively."

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member has already spoken for fifteen minutes.

**Dr. Jaisoorya:** Then, should I sit down, Sir?

**Mr. Speaker:** He can have five minutes more.

**Dr. Jaisoorya:** Thank you.

I am prepared to welcome any aid. I am prepared to welcome the most modern aid and I am an allopath myself. But in a country like the U.S.A., the wealthiest country in the world with the highest medical organisation, —and on the 6th April Eisenhower said that it is the world's greatest force that God has allowed at his foot-stools —you will be surprised to find that according to *The Nation's Health*, A Ten years' plan—out of 20 million school-going children, 75 per cent. of them need dental attention. In some parts of the country, a recent survey showed as many as 72 per cent. of pregnant women and 85 per cent. of the children of early school age suffering from secondary anaemia. One million children attending public school will

spend some part of their lives as patients in mental hospitals—I will not talk of handicapped children. There is no plan for ensuring proper treatment; less than 20 per cent. population can afford medical care. Half the families with less than 3000 dollar annual income find it hard to pay for even routine treatment. The report shows a severe shortage of medical and health facilities. Twenty-five States have no child guidance clinics. Every nineteen minutes an infant dies which could have been saved. Every four hours a mother dies in child-birth which could have been avoided. Annually 325,000 people die of avoidable diseases. The New York City Hospital Commissioner warned:

"If present trends of living costs continue, there is grave danger that the health of large segments of the population will deteriorate and should food prices climb still higher, a definite increase in the rate of illness will come in a population weakened by malnutrition."

At the Health Conference in Washington D.C. on the 27th November 1951, the Chief of the Children's Bureau stated:

"Babies are dying needlessly in many places, particularly in the South West and South East. They are dying not only because doctors, hospitals and health services are scarce. They are dying because family incomes are too low to buy proper food and other things the family needs, or because sanitation is inadequate."

In 1951, the national death rate from T.B. among Negro girls between the age of 10 and 19 was nine times that of white girls of the same age.

Two years ago, the claim was made that B.C.G. vaccine had reduced the mortality among the Red Indians. Here is the report which says that the death-rate is 10 times or over 10 times that of the U.S. general population from T.B. Therefore, if this great organisation, cannot solve the problems of wealthy America, what can the WHO teach us, a poor country,

[Dr. Jaisoorja]

who have got to find out simpler means of treatment?

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

The crux of the problem is: what can the Government show us as to how to reach the people with simpler aid? There is only one way out, and that is, you should have Ayurved; you should have Unani and you should have Homoeopathy, whether you like them or not. I say with authority that they are cheaper, simpler and more effective. You have no scientific evidence to say that they are not effective. It has got to be done, and if you cannot do that, the people will force you to do that sooner or later. As the hon. Member pointed out, we are not reaching our people. I have no objection to WHO, but please do not imagine that it is going to show us the way out. We have to find the way ourselves, and instead of sitting in Delhi and having International conferences, go to the villages and find out what the condition there is and ask your officials to show you a scheme. If they cannot show you a scheme, we will show you.

Shri Dhulekar (Jhansi Dist.—South): I wish to address in the English language because I find that through the English language I can reach my hon. friends on the right side and also reach the Press and the international world. I am here to speak on behalf of the thirty crores of people of my country who do not get a single pie out of the health budgets of either the State Governments or the Central Government. I have seen the budgets all over the country and I find that only in some States a few lakhs of rupees are earmarked for Ayurved while all the money is eaten up by that great corporation, which is the Agent-General to the foreign medicines in this country. Their official name is the Medical Council of India and, the unofficial name is the Medical Association of India. These two associations are ruling our country and advising the Government of India as well as the State Governments.

Now, in a Budget which envisages an expenditure of about Rs. 400 crores,

Ayurveda, Homoeopathy, Chromopathy, Naturopathy, or any other 'pathy' that caters to the needs of about 30 crores of people, are not getting a single pie. Whenever we make a demand on behalf of these 30 crores of people, instead of bread we are given stones. It is very unfortunate, Sir, that after so many years of life devoted to Ayurveda, a life of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice, I find that I am where I was. I believed that after Swaraj came, Ayurveda will have a chance, that our voices will be heard, that about 30 crores of people who are not getting any medicine out of the annual budget provisions in this country, will at least get some relief. But to my misfortune, I have today to stand in this august assembly and make an appeal on behalf of my 30 crores of people that we should be given something. This is democracy. Nobody has any right to say that 30 crores of people because they are using Ayurveda, or homoeopathy, have no right to get anything. It is a well known fact that while 15 per cent. of the people of our country take advantage of the allopathic system of medicine, 85 per cent. depend upon the indigenous systems of medicine. Why should we not get our share of the budget provision on a *pro rata* basis? As at present while the whole money is used for 15 per cent. of the population, the other 85 per cent. of the people are going without any medical aid from the State and still this is called a Health Department. I cannot conceive of any greater injustice in the democratic world.

Now, so many schemes are in operation, BCG, Planning and all that. There are so many scientists, so-called scientists of modern medical knowledge. They tell us: "No, Ayurveda is nothing." I put a straight question. The report says that every ten years we increase 10 per cent. It is admitted that hardly 15 per cent. of the population get the advantage of treatment by allopathy. Is it meant that the 15 per cent. of the people who get allopathic treatment become 25 per cent. in ten years. What about the other



85 per cent., do they increase or decrease? If you contend that on account of all your health relief measures, the population is increasing, then please show me facts, that only the 15 per cent. of the population of this country who get all this medical aid have become 25 per cent.

There was one friend of mine who said. What is the use of birth control and family planning? If they believe that *Ayurveda* does not cure, then please have *Ayurveda* in this country. It will reduce the population; it will solve your population problem in thirty years, all people will die, because the 85 per cent. of the population who depend on this system will be gradually reduced to 75 per cent., then to 65 per cent. and then to 55 per cent. But Sir, still the population is increasing; our longevity goes on increasing; everything goes on increasing and still the allopathic people say we are the people who are increasing the population; we are increasing longevity; we are doing everything. Yes, you are doing everything for the 15 per cent. of the people. What about the other 85 per cent. of the people who have to depend on *Ayurveda* and who are increasing in number? Why are they continuing to live longer? Why are they not dying? Why is the whole nation not exterminated?

I place the responsibility for all this at the door of Allopathy—that every day our people are becoming more and more degenerated. I charge the Medical Department that our people are becoming more and more blind; our people are getting more and more of leprosy. Our charge is that this system of allopathy is eating into the very vitals of our Indian people; our charge is, on account of allopathy and the Medical administration of this country, thousands of diseases have come among our people which never existed before.

I am prepared to throw a challenge: let the Health Minister show me that our T.B. sanatoria are able to cure even 1 per cent. of the cases. I know their trick. A young man is admitted into the sanatorium. In the first

year he puts on flesh; as soon as he is discharged he goes down. That man is never readmitted. I shall prove that none of your sanatoria in India ever admit a T.B. patient a second time, because they know that within some time he will die. Therefore they are never taken again.

Shri R. K. Chaudhuri (Gauhati): It is said in *Ayurveda*:

उदरी बुदरी जोख हस की दवा नहीं है ।

It means that for tuberculosis there is no medicine.

Shri Dhulekar: Now, Sir, I shall show that the attitude of the Medical Department of this country towards *Ayurveda* and *Ayurvedic* people is one of utter contempt. I may mention a few facts from the correspondence which I had addressed to Dr. Leo G. Rigler, University of Minnesota, the Leader of a team of medical scientists who came to India recently. I told him: "You and your team have come here. These medical people of India will not even tell you that there is anything like *Ayurveda* in this country. Therefore, I shall request you that when you make a round kindly go to any library, or ask the Government of India or the Medical Department, to supply you with a copy of the report of that great man, Col. Chopra." But they did not supply him with that (*An hon. Member*: He is an allopathic doctor.) He was presiding over an *Ayurvedic* Committee, and he (Col. Chopra) also said that allopathy does not solve the health problems of this country. That report of the Col. Chopra Committee could not be handed over to that gentleman. Dr. Rigler went to America and from there he wrote to the effect that in the material that was supplied to him he was not given anything about the *Ayurvedic* colleges, about the figures of the number of people who were being treated by *Ayurveda*, the number of books that *Ayurveda* possessed, and the number of prescriptions in *Ayurveda*. And when he enquired, the Government of India said there were here and there some schools which carry on *Ayur-*

[Shri Dhulekar]

vedic education for two years only. I was very much surprised. I knew that this will be the case. But as an Indian I did not like that I should malign my own countrymen and write them back that these people are not worthy of being called scientists.

We have passed through three stages. There was a time when it was said that *Ayurveda* is not a science. Now there is nobody in this country who will say that, except one or two self-styled scientists who may say that *Ayurveda* is not a science. Now generally it is believed that *Ayurveda* is a science. Another bogey was put up that *Ayurveda* could not be studied up to very high standards and that the knowledge that is contained in the books is not sufficient high. That also has gone away. Now a fad is to go about and say that *Ayurveda* could be taught as a post-graduate course in the medical colleges. I put it to you, Sir, that if *Ayurveda* is not a science and does not contain anything, why is it that after two years' study of Inter-science and five years' study of medical science, one is going to read it in post-graduate course? Surely I shall not be expected to read arithmetic after I have passed my M.Sc. examination! After I pass the M. Sc. in Mathematics, can anybody advise me to read Adnar Chandra Mukerjee's or Gokhale's arithmetic? Why are we told "yours is not a good science but it is still good for the post-graduate course in the medical colleges"? That thing also has gone. One more thing is there, "You have got certain drugs in *Ayurveda* which are very valuable". Very well, they are very valuable. May I know how many prescriptions and how many drugs there are in *Ayurveda*? I have not been able to count all of them, but I can show and prove that there are not less than five lakhs of drugs in *Ayurveda*. If you want to see them, just come out in any garden, and *Ayurveda* will tell you that every herb, here or anywhere else in the world, is a medicine. It is a drug which helps a human being.

It is only ten minutes, Sir.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: True. Hon. Members forget that this Ministry has been allotted only two hours, and the Minister evidently wants about forty-five minutes.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya (Muzaffarpur Central): He has to deal with a whole *veda*—*Ayurveda*.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then, not two hours, but 240 hours will be necessary!

Shri Dhulekar: Sir, my other friends are prepared to give their time to me.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am not going to be guided by the other friends. They cannot take the responsibility which I have to bear. The Minister wants about half an hour. At 5 o'clock I have to apply the guillotine. So at 4-30 I will call her. Now it is 3-30. We have only one hour more. I have to give an opportunity to the Opposition. Dr. Jaisoorya spoke on behalf of the Unattached Group. The Communists are there, then the National Democrats, the P.S.P. Even if ten minutes are given to each one of them it will take forty minutes. And then one or two Members here. Such being the case how can I allow more than ten minutes to any hon. Member. That is my difficulty.

Shri Dhulekar: So, Sir, I will curtail my remarks within another five minutes. I was going to tell you about a third fad, that "you should have research". Now, there is one institution, government institution, in Lucknow which has taken only *punar nava*. More than Rs. 2½ lakhs have been spent for it. What will be the amount if five lakhs of *Ayurvedic* drugs have to be investigated into? I may repeat, Sir, that there is no other go except *Ayurveda*. *Ayurveda* does not deal with drugs. *Ayurveda* does not deal with medicines. *Ayurveda* is not a science of medicine; it is a science of life. It has drawn upon all the past experience and come to the conclusion that the whole body of man, as well as

the body of animals, as well as the body of the vegetable kingdom is made of certain well defined things, *vath*, *pith*, *cuf* twenty-four *gunas*, *shadrasas*, that is, six tastes. In this whole compass, the entire principle of *Ayurveda* has been defined.

I will give you an example within half a minute. Quinine does not cure malaria because it is quinine; quinine cures malaria because it is *kadua*, bitter. And therefore anything which is bitter—it may be quinine, it may be *chirayeta*, it may be *neem*—will cure malaria. The wonder of wonders that allopathy has found is quinine! And the wonder of wonders, that what *Ayurveda* has found is, that it is the bitter taste that cures malaria and not quinine. It is not streptomycin and auriomycin that are going to cure; they must be governed by *vath*, *pith*, *cuf*, and other *Ayurvedic* principles which are so simple that any person who has got some brains can master them within three or four years. Therefore, I plead on behalf of the thirty crores of people that *Ayurveda* and other 'pathies'....

**Shri Syamnandan Sahaya:** Thirty-six crores.

**Shri Dhulekar:** The six crores are left for allopathy! On behalf of the thirty crores who do not get medicine I appeal.

The Planning Commission sits and plans about. I would say, unemployment. Rather it should plan for the removal of unemployment. In India there are about seven lakhs of villages. If you create one *Ayurvedic* physician in each of these seven lakh villages, there will be seven lakh physicians, and then seven lakh compounders, seven lakh midwives, seven lakh *dhais*. Or in a central place if you have got a central *ayurvedic* physician and surgeon in a group of ten villages, you can have seventy thousand people. In that way you can remove unemployment. But you appoint one M.B.B.S. at one big dispensary and it creates unemployment all round.

I shall appeal to you, Sir, and through you to the Health Minister that all these problems should be taken into consideration by her. And she should consider the position of the *ayurvedic* colleges, the Jhansi University, the Research Institutes in Bangalore, in Madras, in Jamnagar, all over the places wherever *Ayurveda* is being taught, where post-graduate courses are run, where research is conducted by *Ayurvedic* people.

And then there are thousands of Homoeopaths who are giving relief to people. There are no medical colleges for homeopathy. Pathy is only *pad-dhati* of Sanskrit. Why is it known as allopathy? Because *Ayurveda* went from India to Arabia. Arabia was the land of *Allah*, and so when it went into Europe, the Europeans called it allopathy. When *Ayurveda* went to Greece; Greece was called Unan, and when it came back, it was called Unani. Therefore *Ayurveda* never says that it is one 'pathy' or another 'pathy'. I may assure Rajkumari Amrit Kaur that I am not against allopathy at all but allopathy cannot solve the health problem of this country. The Bhole Committee has itself said that it is impossible to solve the health problem of this country through allopathy. When Col. Chopra sat over a committee, he gave a report and that report has been thrust into the shelves; nobody cares for it. I shall request the hon. Rajkumari through you, Sir, that she must implement every item that is written in the Chopra Committee report and not simply—whenever any question is put in this House: "What have you done for *Ayurveda*?"—say that "I have created Jamnagar". Do you believe that Jamnagar is going to give us everything of *Ayurveda*—knowledge, medicine, research and everything? That is not so. I shall now crave the indulgence of this House to read a few lines from what Shri K. M. Munshi has written. He writes:

"On December 24, we arrived at Jhansi. This city has a fine *Ayurvedic* University; if

[Shri Dhulekar]

well supported, it could easily become a University with colleges all over India.

It is tragic that during the last century the progress of Ayurveda should have been thwarted for want of Government support. If one-tenth of the money spent on allopathy had been spent on this system, it would have provided relief for an immense number of people. It would also have caught up with modern medical science. Most of the allopaths enjoying power and influence in modern India—however, have, with few exceptions, been superior men. All that they have done is to preach a homily on the need for research in Ayurveda.

The missionaries once called us uncivilised. Our distinguished allopaths dub Ayurveda quackery. Millions and millions, however, are daily being treated under the Ayurvedic system; and apart from surgical operations, antibiotics and sulphonamides, its prescriptions are found by them in no way inferior to the foreign allopathic drugs. I am ignorant of medical system. But I am an expert medicine-taker, and I ought to know. I have survived in spite of having taken every conceivable kind of medicine—Ayurvedic, Unani, Homœopathic and Allopathic—with judicial impartiality. Starting with a feeble constitution, I would not have been able to retain the little vigour that I possess but for three or four Ayurvedic medicines which I have been taking or using for years."

I appeal to you on behalf of the Ayurvedic bodies that are working in India and ameliorating the conditions of 30 crores of people of this country, that our voice may be heard and the Medical Council and the Medical Association may not be called to prevail over the voice of our Health

Minister. We appeal that a separate department of Ayurveda be created in this Health Ministry, either under a Director or a Deputy Minister; Rs. 5 crores should be given out of the Planning Commission's fund for the development of Ayurveda; one crore should be allotted every year for the upgrading of the Ayurvedic and other institutions in India and money spent on their research and other things. I may say that even if several crores of rupees are spent, they will be well-deserved.

Dr. Rama Rao: Sir, before I proceed with what I personally wanted to say on the subject, I will first deal with a proposal which Dr. Jaisoorya has made about training of Ayurvedics. I agree with him as far as the training of Ayurvedics is concerned, if he means that it is training in allopathy. If it is not, then my proposal is something different. I know that scientific organisations are against, but I have come to this view after experience and some thought. It is true that allopathy is not the highest medical aid that we will be able to give to the villages. So, the best thing is to take the Ayurvedic people and other unqualified medical practitioners and give them a short course—one or two years—in modern scientific methods; give them a basic idea regarding causation of diseases, causation of infectious diseases, bacteriology; give them training in giving injections, especially drugs like penicillin which cannot do much harm, which is very cheap and which cures so many diseases. Unfortunately, in villages people suffer due to the non-availability of penicillin and doctors to give proper injections. Therefore, if you train these unqualified practitioners whether Ayurvedic, Homœopathic—whom you find in quite a good number in villages, and give them the basic knowledge of scientific methods, they will be able to do a lot of good and much less harm than they are doing at present.

I now want to touch upon the health field of the country. We find a very sorry, tragic picture of our

condition. First of all, the expectation of life, as you all know, is one of the lowest in the world. I have a few figures of 1945 both for males and females:

Australia	...	66—71
„ Austria	...	55—59
Germany	...	60—63
N.S.A.	...	64—67
India	...	32:45— 31:66

(this is for 1951).

From this it is clear that India is one of the lowest.

Then I come to infant mortality. Infant mortality is very high and our country is one of the highest in this respect. Our Health Minister has produced a beautiful and luxurious health atlas in which they have given us this. They have given the figures of 22 countries out of which with the exception of Egypt, India is the highest in infant mortality. It is given in the statistics that 40 per cent. of the total deaths are of children under ten years age and 50 per cent. of all die before they are twenty years old. That means, as one author puts it, so many have only mouths and no hands; that is looking things from an economic stand-point, they only consume food and do not contribute anything to society.

Then I want to say something about some of the main medical problems which our departments are trying to tackle. Our enemy number one is malaria, which we know is causing deaths upto ten lakhs every year. That is a very modest estimate and according to another estimate deaths due to malaria directly or indirectly, are about twenty lakhs. So, in a way it is one of the biggest killers in India; probably we are having ten or twenty atom bombs every year without our knowing it. Of course, I am glad that the Government have taken steps to tackle this problem in a very scientific and effective way. My quarrel is that it is not sufficient; the way they are spraying D.D.T. is a haphazard way.

Even these haphazard methods are having good results and if we do it on a nation-wide scale, the results will be better. This is something like fire and you cannot put it down in one portion and then say we will come to the other side afterwards. You must put down the whole thing on something like a war basis. I would like the Government to manufacture more D.D.T. They must also manufacture immediately synthetic anti-malarials. It should be bold of me to say that the age of quinine is over but the age of synthetic anti-malarials is on. We must manufacture and distribute them either freely or at very low prices.

Next, I come to tuberculosis. The Bhoré Committee estimated that 500,000 people die of this every year, and that 25 lakhs are active patients. These figures themselves are very striking and awe-inspiring. They estimated that we require 500,000 beds for all these patients. To show that these figures are conservative and that deaths from tuberculosis are increasing, I should just like to quote statistics from a group of States for 1949, 1950 and 1951. Deaths due to pulmonary tuberculosis were 47,500, 48,500 and 52,800. That shows that from 1949 to 1951, the figures have gone up in the same group of States. Compared to this estimate of Dr. Benjamin, the original estimates were conservative. Even then, how are we trying to tackle the problem? It is very unsatisfactory. If we say that we are going at snail's speed, probably the snail will be insulted. Take Delhi. Recently, the Health Minister of Delhi State said in the Assembly that the Delhi State alone is in need of 5,000 beds for treatment and isolation. How many beds have we in Delhi? Probably 500 or 600. In the whole of the country we have got 14,000 or 15,000 beds whereas we require 500,000 beds. My suggestion is this. Even if you cannot provide 500,000 beds, get at least 50,000 beds in the next five years. I am not satisfied with this—I cannot say complacency—speed.

**Shri Syamnandan Sahaya:** Is it hydropathy that you are attending to?

**Dr. Rama Rao:** Yes.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** This takes away some time from the hon. Member.

**Dr. Rama Rao:** The problem that I am speaking about touches me in more than one way and this is the evidence.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Unwittingly we wound hon. Members.

**Shri Syamnandan Sahaya:** It was not my intention, Sir.

**Dr. Rama Rao:** I have little time. If the House allows me to proceed uninterrupted, I shall not trouble the House for a long time.

Municipalities with a population of 100,000 must have at least 200 beds. If they provide at least 100 beds, that would be something.

Take the Government themselves. Railways are one of the biggest employers. We say that the employers must take care of the health of the workers. Government themselves do not do anything worth mentioning about this. The Railway employees and their families require at least 3,000 beds for tuberculosis alone. What have they done? Probably not even 100 or 200 beds have been provided. Two years ago, the Railway Minister promised to have some sanatoria built. All that has evaporated and it has come only to this: they want to reserve some beds in the existing sanatoria which, as I said in the House, is just elbowing out the other patients from the sanatoria. To be brief, the Railways must provide at least 1000 beds immediately, and they can afford to do it. So also about the Posts and Telegraphs staff.

Recently about 40,000 government servants,—not unemployed people, but 40,000 government servants—

were examined and I understand that there are about 200 cases which require treatment. There have been mass X-raying in Madras, Delhi, and other places. The figures are startling. Mass X-ray was done of people working in the factories, not of people sitting in the house and the examination has shown that 1 to 3 per cent. of the people who are thinking that they are healthy, require treatment and hospitalisation or otherwise, they will become bad cases. I hope something will be done very quickly, and not at the present rate. Nowadays some doctors think and probably the Health Ministry is also of the opinion, that what is called home treatment solves the problem under the present conditions; that is, doctors visiting the patients and the patients visiting the clinic now and then. As one doctor put it, home treatment is satisfactory as far as it goes, that is for people who have got a home. But, many people have no homes at all. People live in very small houses in Ulhas Nagar near Bombay and recently we read an article in the *Free Press Journal* which called it a tuberculosis factory: hundreds of tuberculosis patients living in the same place and coughing and spreading the disease. Home treatment does not prove satisfactory in these conditions. Isolation is essential not only in the interests of the patients, but also in the interests of society. Otherwise you go on spreading the disease. Each time a man spits, he brings out millions and millions of germs and these are distributed to all people free of charge. My suggestion is that the Government should make free X-raying available to anybody that asks for it. When a registered medical practitioner sends a patient, he must not only be examined, but the photographs also should be available. Everybody knows that X-raying is one of the easiest ways of early detection of the disease. This must be arranged by the Government. Government must take up the manufacture of new drugs hydrazides and streptomycin.

Maternal mortality in India is 20 per thousand live births. That is, nearly 200,000 young sisters are dying every year. There is absolutely no reason why they should die. If at all anything, it should be a very small percentage especially when the modern drugs, sulphonamides and penicillin are easily available and also cheap. It is a most tragic thing that 200,000 of our young women should die in the prime of their life. We should not tolerate this any more.

More than 200,000 people die of cholera and other things. I must say that the general insanitary conditions in the country are responsible for the various diseases like cholera, typhoid, dysentery, hook-worm, etc. If we tackle this problem, we could ban all these diseases. In this connection, one of the most important things is the disposal of night soil. Proper scientific latrines are very essential. If we could not do anything else, if we could provide decent, scientific latrines throughout the country, you could solve the problem. Unfortunately, this beautiful country of ours is a huge public latrine and there are no proper arrangements. Coupled with this, if we have a protected water supply, that would go a long way in solving this problem.

If the Government tackles the problem of malaria properly, filaria could be also dealt with equally. The only difference in Malaria is that we have a double attack, both mosquito as well as parasite, whereas in filaria, we are helpless as far as the parasite is concerned. It is a pity that very little has been done regarding venereal diseases. You can make penicillin available to the patients freely in every town and venereal diseases being easily curable, they should not be seen at all.

Now, I come to that touchy problem—family planning. I want to make it absolutely clear that I have no objection for anybody using birth control methods individually. In

fact, all sensible people will use according to their needs. I do not say: "Go you and multiply." I do not say: "Every year you must bring forth a child". It is for the individual and his doctor. And if the State wants to provide the facility let them provide. There is absolutely no objection. But I would say that we are going to spend Rs. 30 lakhs of people's money over this, with which we can save thousands of women dying from child-birth, and others from tuberculosis and other diseases. It is a sheer waste. My objection as I said the other day is to the political propaganda behind it. To say all your diseases, all your tuberculosis, malaria, all your deaths are due to your over-population and not due to the economic ills—that is the object of the capitalist propaganda. Of course, I will not repeat all that. The problem can be solved by socialist distribution of wealth and organisation of society on scientific lines and not merely by this family planning.

I want to put this question to the Health Minister. You are going to spend Rs. 30 lakhs. Will you make the facility available in the Delhi hospitals for a man to undergo the vasectomy operation if he wants? I wonder if you can. Any private practitioner can do it. I do not know if it is done in the hospitals. That is the test. Of course, she is going to have a number of hospitals in her hands. Let us make it available. They do not do it. They only want to talk about it so that people are deceived that starvation and death are due to the bringing forth of so many children and not due to this capitalist society.

We have this Lady Hardinge Medical College and Hospital. We are hearing a number of complaints. I would request the Government to take over that institution completely in their hands. This sort of committees and commissions and all these things mismanage more than manage.

[Dr. Rama Rao]

Then I hope the Minister will bring forward the Food Adulteration Bill soon, and also bring out this Drug Act.

Then I come to sports and games. Sports and games must be under the Health Minister. If the Health department and the education department are put under one Minister I have no objection, but as far as sports and national stadia are concerned, I think Health Ministry should have a better voice or concern with these than other departments.

Our Five Year Plan itself says only 30 per cent of the population have adequate diet. Most of the diseases like tuberculosis or malaria are not so much a problem of health as a problem of nutrition. It is not a medical or bacteriological problem, but it is a national problem, and therefore we can solve it only when we solve the whole problem—not that I want the Health Minister to keep quiet. We consume about 5½ oz.—0·3 oz. of fish (probably most of that goes to Bengal), eggs and all these things. So, the only way to solve the problem of the country, in my opinion, is to solve the whole food problem, employment and distribution of wealth. And I wonder from a purely medical standpoint—not from political propaganda—whether we can solve this unless we bring about a dynamic and radical change in society, in the production and distribution of wealth, unless we have a socialist country where we can change these things.

**Dr. Susliranjan Chatterjee** (West Dinajpur): The problem of public health of India is a vast and complicated one. Its vastness commensurates with the vastness of the country itself, and its complications are due to illiteracy, ill-nourishment and low standard of living.

We have got 36 crores of population of which only 20 per cent. is literate. Most of the people do not know what two square meals in a day mean. Our

per capita income is the lowest in the world barring one or two countries.

The complications have been made more complicated by variations in climatic conditions in different parts of the country, and the various kinds of social customs and religious beliefs in different groups of people in the country. It is a pity that there is complete lack of health sense not only amongst the illiterate persons, but also among the so-called literates.

Education plays an important role in the health scheme. You cannot create health sense in the old or adult. The health sense should be instilled into the brains of the young ones when they go to the primary schools. We are told that Switzerland is the cleanest country in the world, and we are also told that when her children first go to their primary schools, they learn the motto "Keep the Alps clean" before they learn their alphabets, and they do keep the Alps clean when they grow up as adult citizens.

When I was a student in the Medical college, Dr. Bentley was our Professor of Hygiene and Public Health. He had several schemes of anti-malarial measures which proved totally unsuccessful in spite of Government help. When he was questioned about it, he said: "First feed the people and malaria will go out itself." The officials—the then officials, of course—ridiculed it, but the good doctor told a good thing. It is not only true of Malaria, but 90 per cent. of the diseases in this country can be traced back to malnutrition.

After independence, our Government are making an all-out effort to make the country self-sufficient in food. Recently our Food Minister announced: "Eat as much as you can" but food does not mean cereals only like wheat and rice. It means some protective elements like milk, meat, eggs and vegetables containing vitamins also. I would ask the Government to divert some attention to animal husbandry, poultry, fisheries and such other things.



How illiteracy, ill-nourishment and low standard of living are affecting our public health can be easily imagined from the statistical report on child mortality which my friend Dr. Rama rao mentioned. Our little babies die in unbelievable numbers. Every year 20 expectant mothers out of 1,000 die during child birth; 40 issues are lost out of 1,000 before their birth; and 145 die out of 1,000 born alive within one year. Nearly half the mortality recorded in India occurs in children under ten years. But this is not all. Those who escape death during the early part of life, some are born deaf, some dumb, some blind, some with deformities and some with combinations of all these. And as such they form a veritable permanent liability on the State.

4 P.M.

Every year ten lakhs people die of malaria, five lakhs of tuberculosis, two lakhs of dysentery and diarrhoea, one lakh of cholera and 1 lakh of small-pox and plague. But tragedy does not lie here. But the tragedy of tragedies is that every death is replaced by 1.5 births. So, there is a clamour for family planning. Family planning should be encouraged, no doubt, but it should be remembered that we cannot expect any results within a period of three generations.

[SHRIMATI KHONGMEN *in the Chair*]

In Western countries, where the people are more educated, have got higher standards of living, and have been practising family planning for several decades, appreciable results have been observed after two or three generations only. But it is also a fact that fecundity of a population is inversely proportional to the standard of living. The higher the standard of living, the lower the fecundity. So, the most important thing is to raise the standard of living. When we consider all these factors, illiteracy, ill-nourishment, and low standard of living, I often think it will be better to have the Education, Health, and Food and Agriculture Ministries amalgamated, and to have all these portfolios under one Minister. If that is not

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feasible, at least a complete co-ordination must be maintained among these Ministries.

Before independence, our health policy was only a disease policy. It was a health policy only in name. There was no question of any preventive policy. The Bhore Committee report reveals to us how far we are lagging behind in our health matters, as compared to other countries. After independence, our national Government have taken up the responsibility in right earnest. But our problems are many and of great magnitude. The Bhore Committee have dealt with them in detail, and put forward a comprehensive scheme for our national health services. A few of their recommendations are so urgent as not to brook any further delay. They are, environmental sanitation; control of devastating diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis; malnutrition and production of food; extension and expansion of health services—medical relief and preventive; improvement of vital statistics; proper training of medical and ancillary personnel; and medical research.

As regards medical research, our Government have established a chain of research institutions all over the country, and they are doing excellent work. Though we are now at a level much below that in the West, still, it is hoped that we shall be able to reach a higher level of attainment before long.

In regard to training of medical and health personnel our State Governments are undoubtedly trying their best to provide adequate training for medical and health personnel, but much leeway has yet to be made.

Our vital statistics are very defective. I would suggest that it should be mechanised. The peripheral units for registration should be made smaller, and with the development of health centres, medical officers should be made registrars of births and deaths. The present Act should be revised. A national survey of sickness and nutrition should be undertaken immediately.

The Bhore Committee's recommendation in regard to the extension and

[Dr. Susilranjan Chatterjee]

expansion of medical and health services, is a huge one, and I do not think it will be possible for any Government to implement it. I would, therefore, suggest that it might be implemented in a modified form, as is being done by the West Bengal Government.

I have already dealt with the recommendation in regard to malnutrition and the need for production of more food. I now come to control of devastating diseases, such as malaria and tuberculosis. Malaria is a known devil; we know its habitate, its whereabouts, and its mode of attack, and we have a few weapons in our armoury to face it. But the unknown devil of tuberculosis is causing a great havoc in our country. Dr. Rama Rao has already referred to this matter. We have no sure cure for tuberculosis, as we have for malaria; nor have we got any sure preventive, such as vaccination in the case of small-pox. Of course, there is B.C.G. vaccination, and people in Western countries claim about ninety per cent. success in their B.C.G. vaccination campaign, subject to two conditions, namely, that the vaccinated children are given proper nourishment and kept in proper environment. Can we afford to do that in our country? If we cannot, we will only be creating a false sense of security as a result of B.C.G. vaccination. Yet, certainly, B.C.G. is one of the anti-tubercular measures.

As regards other normal measures, we are almost in a hopeless position. As Dr. Rama Rao has already stated the number of beds that we have for T.B. patients is very small, as compared with the number of affected persons. Dr. Benjamin has suggested some ways of increasing the number of beds. One of them is this. The Railway Ministry should construct a thousand bed hospital. The Defence Ministry also should start a thousand bed hospital. The big industries like mining and textiles, should provide at least five hundred beds each, for their employees. The tea and coffee planters should pro-

vide five hundred beds each. The universities and schools should be encouraged to provide as many beds as they can. The private organisations in the country should also be encouraged by the State and Central Governments to open such hospitals. Every district hospital should have its own T.B. clinic attached to it.

Lastly, I come to the most important item, namely, environmental sanitation, by which term is meant, protected water-supply and proper disposal of waste material of the family, the community and also the factory. We know these are being undertaken by the Community Projects and the National Extension Service schemes. But much more is needed and immediate attention should be paid to these two items. If these two items are attended to with speed and promptitude and intensive programme of work carried out, as a short-term measure, certainly, it would make a definite impression on the health picture of our rural areas, which are inhabited by nearly ninety per cent. of the population.

**Shrimati Ammu Swaminadhan** (Dindigul): I would like to say a few words about one set of people who are very necessary to look after the health of the people of India, but about whom so far no hon. Member has spoken. That is about nurses in India. A few years ago there used to be a great complaint that Indian girls did not come forward to be trained as nurses. That complaint is no longer there. So many Indian girls are coming forward and getting trained as nurses today. But the unfortunate thing is that while they take their training and spend a good deal of time, energy and money and become nurse very often they do not get a job afterwards. And still there is a cry all over India that there are not enough nurses in this country. While on the one side, you have trained nurses who have no jobs at all, on the other there is this scarcity of nurses. I do not understand how they go side by side. Even in the case of nurses who are employed in hospitals, their lot also is

not very much better. They are hard-working girls who have to be on their legs more or less the whole day or several hours a day and they have to look after so many patients and have to work very hard. But their living conditions are very very difficult. To begin with, their pay is very small. Also when they have to live in the hostels which are meant for nurses, the food is, to say the least, just appalling. I have been to nurses' hostels and I have seen the food that they eat. It is just not fit for people to eat. They are so under-nourished that by the time the day's work is over, they have hardly any strength even to sit down and eat their food. These are matters that I know of and I am speaking from my own experience of having seen these things. If these nurses who are to look after the patients and who are to make the patients better by nursing, if they are not even given proper nourishment, if they are not paid well so that they can have certain comforts for themselves, how are they to carry on their work? They become patients themselves after a year or two, because they have not got any stamina, they have not got any resistance power left at all.

So I feel I would appeal to the hon. the Health Minister, who, I know, is very sympathetic towards the nurses. She has done a great deal to make girls take up nursing profession. But I feel that today she must also see that directions are given, in view of the fact that health is a State subject; I feel that if the hon. Health Minister gives directions to all the States to see that if they wanted nurses, they should see that they are looked after properly, they are paid properly and they are given proper nourishment, all the States will certainly listen to her and will see that the nurses get a fair deal.

Then there is the case of midwives. I know there are not enough doctors in India. Several speakers who have spoken before me have also said the same. But there are a great number of

young women who want to be trained as midwives. I know they are quite willing to go to the villages and help the village people who have no doctors or any medical facilities at all. But they also should be given living wages. It is all very well, Madam, to tell our people: "Give your life for service. Service is the best thing that you can do. Serve your country and then perhaps you will go to heaven." But they want some comforts here before going to heaven; they want certain comforts while they are still alive. We must not forget that nurses and midwives who are working so hard should certainly be given living wages. It is no use telling them just to go to the villages and work. It is no use our saying that people are not going to the villages, our people all want to stay in the cities. Why is it that they want to stay in cities? Simply because they can get certain comforts in cities, which they cannot get in villages today. So make their life bearable even when they go to villages, look after them a little bit, so that they will be able to give relief to the poor suffering and those who are in ill health. That is one way of overcoming this difficulty about not having hospitals in all our villages in India. It is not possible perhaps for us to have hospitals all over the place and it is not possible for us to have doctors for all those people who need doctors. But I do think that certain improvements can be brought about if we have more midwives trained and if we have more nurses trained and give them proper facilities, living wages and see that they have a certain amount of comfort, so that they can carry on their work well and are able to help people who are in the villages and also those people who are in hospitals whom they are looking after.

**Shri Rishang Keishing** (Outer Manipur—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): Madam, this is what Mr. Barr says in his revealing pamphlet *Let us join the Human Race*:

"If you are born in India... you have only a little better than a one-to-four chance of living

[Shri Rishang Keishing]

more than a year. Even if you survive babyhood in that country, you have only a fifty-fifty chance of growing to maturity."

Again I quote:

"If you are born coloured or for that matter in India, the chances are overwhelming that you will be chronically sick all your life from malaria or intestinal parasites, or T.B., or may be leprosy, and, even if you are not chronically sick, you are likely to be sick from hunger. You have about a two-to-one chance of suffering from malnutrition, either from too little food or from food which is not a balanced or nourishing diet. You have a reasonable chance of experiencing real famine to the point where you will be glad to eat the bark of a tree but this chance is extremely hard to calculate."

In India—I am quoting a few figures which are subject to correction—100 million people suffer from malaria and of these, 2 million die; 2 million people suffer from T.B. and half a million die; 13 million people suffer from venereal diseases; a million and over suffer from night-blindness due to bad lighting; 2 million are totally blind; and 2 million have rickets due to deficiency in diet.

Typhoid, small-pox, dysentery, intestinal parasites and other diseases take also a heavy toll of lives. Infant mortality is 162 per thousand. The expectation of life is 32. The number of doctors, nurses, health visitors and midwives is a tiny proportion of those required to cope with the demand of the people for medical attention. In India, we have one doctor for every 6,000 persons, one nurse for 43,000, one health visitor for 4 lakhs of people, one midwife for 60,000 and one dentist for 3 lakh people. The number of beds is 0.24 per one thousand population. Now, Madam, taking into account the number of doctors, nurses, midwives and others available for the population of this country, it is much below the minimum requirement of the people

of this country. Here 88 per cent. of the population reside in the villages and only 12 per cent. live in the urban centres. Of this 12 per cent. in the urban centres, I am sure we have several millions of industrial labourers. The population in the urban areas are enjoying three-fourths of the available medical facilities. From this we can understand that whatever Government is doing at present is not meant for the 88 per cent. of the people in the villages, and including the industrial labourers, 92 per cent. of the people of the country, but only for 8 per cent. of the literate persons like industrialists, Ministers, Secretaries and others who are big personages. In this country, now and in future whatever health programme Government undertakes must be so done as to benefit and relieve the 92% of the country's population. Madam, as you are also a person coming from the tribal areas, you will realise how much the people there suffer due to lack of medical facilities and how they are treated even though they go to Government hospitals. Even here in Delhi, we, the tribal people, are treated in the same unsatisfactory way. Last year, I took one of my friends, a Member of Parliament, to one of the big Government hospitals here—I will not disclose the name of the hospital. As I was in this dress, I was taken to be a common man—of course, I am a common man—and the doctors, nurses and other medical staff there did not care to give any assistance to us. I was asked to push the wheel chair. I personally took my friend to the X-ray room and brought him back from the same. I carried him on my back. From this instance you can understand how people in the hospitals treated the patients and their relatives. Even though I do not look like a Minister, which of course, I will never be, I surely look like a gentleman. If all men like me are to be treated in this manner, what about those millions of people who are ill-clad, illiterate and dirty? Our doctors, nurses and midwives, etc. whether they personally want to go to the villages or hill areas or not, are at present concentrated in

the cities and towns. It seems that nobody is willing to go into the interior of the villages; everyone wants a city life. Most of these doctors, employed by Government, are corrupt and they want money etc. in the shape of bribery even from patients; otherwise the patients are not properly treated. I have seen and heard how even the nurses and midwives go to the patients and ask for a rupee, or a few annas and if they do not pay this amount, the nurses and midwives never visit those patients, and this is still happening. I have drawn attention to this point in public meetings and public have even drawn the pointed attention of the Chief Medical Officer, but no action has been taken. I feel that if the doctors, nurses and compounders etc. are not willing to go to the hill areas and the interior of the villages, what is the object of the Health Minister in giving them scholarships and training them? My own opinion is that a cadre of persons should be selected from the tribal areas and from villages and then they should be trained specially for work in these areas, so that when they complete their training, the benefit of their training may be had in the villages and tribal areas. To get cured of diseases and to get adequate help from medical men, by 92% of the people of the country the number of doctors must be increased. At present they are few, and it will never be possible to provide proper attention to the patients in India without raising the existing strength of doctors. I therefore urge that Government should take effective steps to increase the number of medical men and hospitals in the country. Meanwhile, I think, homoeopathy and other indigenous systems of medicine should be allowed to have their full play and they should not be contemptuously treated. They should be given a proper place, because up till now in the villages and in the hill areas, indigenous systems of medicine are doing very effective work and they are the only source of relief there. I plead that they should be given an honourable place in the country in the medical field. As this is a democratic

country, why should they be deprived of their rights to earn their livelihood by these systems of medicine? If you do not recognise them, it will mean that many lakhs of people would be thrown out of their works. Though you have got mobile dispensary units their activities are confined in cities and towns, and they are not serving as intended to the people living in the interior of the villages. Immediate step should be taken to increase the number of mobile dispensary units. Without motorable roads, mobile Dispensary units will be meaningless for the hill areas. Therefore to render medical attention to people living in interior of the hill areas, touring Dispensary units may be formed. A small team of medical workers under the guidance of a qualified doctor and a dozen of mules for transport will be required for each unit. In the subdivisional headquarters, at least two qualified doctors should be appointed,—one to be allowed to tour the surrounding areas and the other to be in the station to run the hospital.

'Health for all' is the prime social necessity and, therefore, if Government of this country want to give medical attention to all citizens, socialisation of health is the only way. When you do that, people can look up to the Government for help, but if the Government continue to pursue its present policy, it will only continue to serve the 8 per cent. of the country's population. I request the hon. Minister of Health to consider the suggestions that I have made and particularly see that the tribal people, who have so far been neglected and have not been given adequate medical facilities, are given relief as soon as possible. As my friend says, the slum areas of cities are the residences of the labourers and workers who belong to the Scheduled Castes and I request that immediate action should also be taken to give medical relief to these people. Government are at present doing everything only for the comfort of the Ministers and other big officials. In future, anything to be undertaken in this country should be for the benefit of the

[Shri Rishang Keishing]

people in the villages, and the hill areas. If you do not pay attention to this urgent problem in time, it will amount to a great dis-service to the country, and that will bring ruin to the country.

**The Minister of Health (Rajkumari Amrit Kaur):** Madam-Chairman, I have listened with very great interest, not only interest but with pleasure, to all the speakers that have been good enough to ventilate their grievances and also make their suggestions for the improvement of the health of the nation. I will try, in the short time at my disposal, to answer most of the points that have been raised.

One hon. Member complained that when he asked me for certain statistics as to the number of dispensaries and hospitals in our country, the number of beds, patients and so on, I was unable to supply that information. He quite rightly said that he did not throw the fault at my door, because he knew that the States were autonomous in the matter of health and that I was not able to get this information from them. Now that is the absolute truth, because I can only write and ask the States to furnish me with information. And I may say that I have been trying for the last several years to get all such information as would enable me to put before this hon. House a clear picture of the health situation in the country, but I am unable to get those figures. The figures as I have in my possession today would mean a report for perhaps 1948-49 which is not good enough, because naturally I want to know how much progress we have made. Nevertheless in spite of my inability to get these figures I do want to assure this House that progress is being made in the States, that there are more hospitals, that there are more dispensaries and that the attention of all the Health Ministers of all the States has been drawn to the rural areas.

As more than one hon. Member of this House has said, the problem of

health of India is the problem of how much medical aid and relief we can give to rural India. There is no doubt about it that in all our plans—if anybody reads the Five Year Plan with an impartial mind he will find—the basic motivation behind the minds of all those who have made them, is how to get relief and upliftment to the rural areas. In the matter of health this has been no less evident. It will be evident if hon. Members read the report, that I have placed in their hands, of the Health Ministry, the plan for health in the First Five Year Plan and now what is going to be done in the Second Five Year Plan.

Malaria has been enemy No. 1 of India. If hon. Members look at the Plan, they will find that during the two and a half years remaining of the first Five Year Plan, it is hoped that we shall be able to make 125 million persons of this country free from the malaria risk. I am hoping that in the Second Five Year Plan we shall be able to go still further and perhaps embrace almost the whole of the country, if not the entire country.

Now malaria exists very much more in rural areas than it does in the cities. It disables the farmer for months on end and if this protection is given to the farmer he is going to be able to produce more.

In the Second Five Year Plan, even in the remaining years of the First Five Year Plan, I am negotiating and I hope we shall be able to give to the people a clean drinking water-supply, because in my opinion prevention is at all times better than cure and if we can reach out to the people a pure drinking water-supply and if we can by means of modern knowledge that is now available to us get rid of malaria, or at any rate the risk of malaria, I consider that we shall have done a great deal for rural India.

Again, the high rates of maternity and child mortality have been stressed by more than one speaker: the expectation of life has also been referred to. May I humbly submit

that since independence the expectation of life has increased from 27 to 32? Now I do not consider that it is a bad record. I know it is not good enough, but at any rate we have not gone backwards. I also wish to say that wherever one is able to send out a woman health visitor, or a midwife, mortality rates at once come down.

In the All-India Institute of Hygiene in Calcutta we have intensified the training for village workers, so that for child and material welfare as also for environmental hygiene, which again is a very very important subject and which has been touched upon by more than one speaker, we may be able to put into the villages the type of worker that will understand the needs of the villages, that will be able to tell the people how to get rid of the habits that make for insanitation. In addition to that, we had appointed an Environmental Hygiene Committee sometime back. It wrote a very valuable report. But the States, again owing to lack of finance, have not been able to give practical effect to many of its recommendations. All the same the matter has not been allowed to lie still and in the last meeting of the Ministers of the Council of Health a sub-committee has been formed to draw up a Public Health Act which again will be extremely valuable. Attention has again been drawn of the States to the absolute essentiality and the urgency of the problem of environmental hygiene in the States.

I have been accused of being unable to have uniformity of policy in the country. True, there cannot be a uniform policy for various reasons, the main reason being, of course, that the States are autonomous in the matter of health.

**Dr. Jaisoorya:** I think you have misunderstood me. I did not say that you have not got uniformity, but that you cannot have uniformity unless you have power.

**Rajkumari Amrit Kaur:** I understand the hon. Member. His point is

that I cannot have it unless there is Central control. I agree with him. For that we have got to change the Constitution. After all, I have got to work within the limits of the Constitution as it is today. But I do want to say this that I have been able to get a very large measure of co-operation from the Health Ministers of the States and they try their level best, again within the means both material and physical at their disposal, to try to work along the lines of policy after we have discussed them and thrashed them out round the table. That I consider the best that I can do and the Health Council is a very valuable forum which enables me at any rate, to keep in contact with what the States are doing. It also gives me an opportunity of giving them advice and guidance which is at all times available from the Centre, should they wish to use it.

I am grateful to my hon. friend on the Opposition Benches for the very useful suggestions that he made. I would like to tell him that in the matter of training of village workers, I have already recommended a short course. For the community projects we have got three training centres; special centres for training village workers that will go and help in the community projects and that will be continued to be used in the village areas. This is a short course training. In addition to the three centres,—one in the South, one in Calcutta and one in Delhi, I have recommended to all the States, and nearly all of them have accepted it, the training of auxiliary personnel. This gives just the type of training that my friend Dr. Rama Rao suggested.

**Shri Meghnad Saha (Calcutta—North-West):** What is this kind of training? Is it training the Homoeopaths and *Unanis* and *Ayurveds* in modern science or something else?

**Rajkumari Amrit Kaur:** If any practitioner of homoeopathy or *Ayurveda* or *Unani*, or anybody who has got no training at all, wishes to undertake this training, he can certainly

[Rajkumari Anrīt Kaur]

have it; and he can practise his homeopathy, *Ayurveda* or *Unani*; there is no ban on anybody doing that. I am coming to the question of *Ayurveda*, I will take it up last.

It has been suggested that there should be more manufacture of synthetic quinine. We have not got any manufacture of synthetic quinine just now. We produce more or less enough quinine for our requirements, pure quinine which we can never do without. The question of the pharmaceutical industry is under investigation. A committee is sitting to make recommendations. DDT will be begun to be produced this year, and I hope penicillin also. I hope with these two factories coming in, we shall go forward in time with the production of sulphadiazine and anti-biotics which are also greatly in need.

Then many Members have naturally stressed the question of the menace of TB in India today. Nobody is more conscious of it than myself. When I took over, there were only five thousand beds in the whole of India. With the aid of the people of this country I am glad to say, very much more than with the aid from Government, we have been able to raise forty lakhs of rupees in the country, and the number of beds has been practically quadrupled. And I do not think that that, again, is a bad achievement. In addition, there are now TB clinics—and I hope to have two more this year—which will give treatment, first-class treatment, to the people, and also give domiciliary treatment. I know that very many more beds are needed. I would love to have a target of fifty thousand beds in the next five years, as was recommended to me. But I would have the hon. Member who suggested that to remember that fifty thousand beds will cost Rs. 40 crores capital expenditure and Rs. 6 crores recurring expenditure. Where am I to go and get that money from? I would like everybody to remember that TB is a disease that can be eliminated, and will be eliminated, as our

standards of life go up, as the question of malnutrition and under-nutrition is lessened or eliminated when we begin to produce more, as I definitely hope we shall, and also as and when there is less overcrowding in our houses. After all, I cannot really have health, such health as I would like to have, while there is overcrowding, malnutrition and under-nutrition. All these things go together.

I was very glad indeed that somebody mentioned the question of nurses. I would have the hon. Member remember that no one perhaps has done more for nursing than I have been privileged to do in the last five years. And no six months in any year elapse without my writing to the Health Ministers of the States to raise the standard of pays of nurses, to give them better dwelling houses, to reduce their hours of work. A Nursing College has been brought into being. I am glad to say that the pays of nurses too have gone up.

Again, if there is unemployment amongst doctors or amongst nurses, it is because there is not enough financial backing to employ these persons. One of the great difficulties in sending doctors to rural areas is that they are not paid, as an hon. Member said, a living wage. Our young doctors are willing to go to villages, but they must have even a small hospital where they can carry out their skill. But, time and again, it happens there is nothing for them. There again, the attention of the State Governments has been drawn to this and I believe, I hope at any rate, that this question will be solved. I am asking all the medical colleges, and I certainly will want the All India Institute of Medical Sciences that comes up here, to give training actually in the village for all the under-graduates, for post-graduate studies and for research, so that those who practise the art and take up this profession may have a calling to go to the villages and understand the problems, in other words, have the urge from within.



But, there again, it is difficult unless we socialise medicine and unless we are able to pay the doctor enough so that he does not have to rely on private practice. One hon. Member was saying that there is no hope for anything in India unless and until we socialise medicine. Well, we are taking steps towards it, though slowly no doubt. But I also agree with him that we should, as far as we can and within our limited resources at the moment, do all we can to go that way. We are going that way. There is the Employees' Health Insurance Scheme and, for the first time, the Contributory Health Service Scheme for the Government of India employees here. I hope these small steps will lead to bigger steps in the future.

One hon. Member referred to mass X-ray examination. Wherever it is done nothing is charged for TB. In Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Delhi, Patna, in all these places it is free, and it is yielding us, at any rate, knowledge. I want to make a plea for BCG vaccination. Some hon. Member said it had been declared a failure. I am here to say with all the emphasis at my command that all the countries that have gone in for it have reported extremely favourably on it, and even the U.K., one of the most conservative of countries, the last even to move, is now going in for it and is reporting favourably on it. And in the U.S.A. where the standards of life are so high that they do not need it for themselves, where there is illness amongst the Negro population, they are going in for mass inoculation.

In regard to the hill areas I would like to tell the hon. Member who talked about neglect of the hill areas that I am aware that very little has been done. But I would like to assure him that all the hill areas that come under the Government of India have had special attention paid to them in these last few years. And I would like him if he would be good enough—because I have very little time left—to come at any time to my office and I would be able to prove to

him that today there are more dispensaries and more medical aid *per capita* available in some of the hill areas of Manipur than, for example, there are perhaps in other more advanced places. But I will certainly not forget the hill areas for I would like to do as much as I can for them. In the way of mobile dispensaries, we have given them a mobile dispensary in Manipur and another is going to be given to the western hill areas. And today the health services there are greatly improved in comparison with what they were before. As I said, they have got more hospitals and dispensaries than the valley areas which have a population of four lakhs as against two lakhs in the hills. In the valleys there are only seven dispensaries and six branches, whereas we have increased them to very much more than that number—ten more dispensaries have been opened in the year 1952-53 in the hill areas, and more medicines are being supplied and so on. So, I would ask him not to be depressed and believe me when I say that we have these areas absolutely in mind.

In regard to statistics I have to plead that our statistics are not satisfactory. There again, we are trying to do what we can and we hope to show some progress in this sphere also in the coming year.

Now I come to the question of the *Ayurvedic* system which has evoked some very trenchant remarks from some Members of the House. In fact some Members have said that the only solution to medical aid and relief in our country is through *Ayurveda*.

**Mr. Chairman:** May I request the hon. Members not to carry on conversation inside the House?

**Rajkumari Amrit Kaur:** I would like the hon. Members who think in this way to remember again, as I have said more than once, that after all *Ayurveda* has existed here for centuries and for reasons, whatever they may be—I am not going to enter into details—the fact remains that there was a tremendous period of stagnation

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for which they may or may not be responsible. Whatever circumstances may be responsible for it, there is no doubt about it and I say that modern medicine is the outcome or outgrowth of all the medicines and/or systems of medicines that existed in the by-gone years.

**Shri Dhulekar:** No, no. That is not a fact. It is an imported thing; it is a foreign thing.

**Rajkumari Amrit Kaur:** In any case, the Member who is the greatest protagonist of *Ayurveda* in this House, comes from a State whose Health Minister, the other day on the floor of the Council of Health Ministers, said to me: "I have had to change my opinion and come round to your way of thinking. I am giving Ayurvedic dispensaries to the people of the State of Uttar Pradesh, but they want a modern doctor." I may say that the answer to the question whether modern medicine is to be the basis of health and medical aid to the people or whether it is to be Ayurvedic, comes to you from the people of this country. I have travelled about in villages and visited the remotest areas. Wherever I have encouraged the *vaids* to come forward and help me because I could not give the people a modern dispensary, the people have said:

मामूली बीमारियों के लिए तो अच्छे हैं  
लेकिन जब हम ज्यादा बीमार पड़ते हैं तो  
हमें उसके लिए डाक्टरों की जरूरत होती है।

Therefore, the answer, as I say, will come to you from the people. In spite of that, I say that if *Ayurveda* has got to give anything to modern medicine it must withstand the fierce light of scientific investigation and for this quite a fair amount of money has been set aside. I may say that any research that has been done in *Ayurveda* has been done by modern doctors because the *vaids* today do not know how to go in for research; I have to say this with all the earnestness at my command. In every other science,

in all the natural sciences, we are going forward and accepting modern methods. Why only in this science do we want to go back by centuries? The people are not for it and I cannot be responsible for taking the people back. What is happening to the *vaids* today? In Madras, the Director of Health Services and the Health Minister of Madras said that all those who are trained in *Ayurveda* plus the basic sciences of modern medicine, when they are qualified, they all practise modern medicine. Those who are not trained, what do they do? They use penicillin, chloromycetin, streptomycin and all such drugs with the most terrible risk to the people on whom they practise because they do not know the reactions of these medicines on the body. If you train them to make use of these medicines, I have no objection whatever. In the matter of homoeopathy I have tried to help them. The homoeopaths quarrel among themselves. If you expect me to allow people who practise after six or nine weeks correspondence courses to be recognised, I say to you, you are asking me, at any rate, to do the impossible. But I am perfectly willing

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**Dr. Jaisoorya:** What about the three years' course that has been recommended? You have made it five years.

**Rajkumari Amrit Kaur:** I have not recommended it. I have got a committee of homoeopaths who have come to an agreed solution, but now they are quarrelling among themselves because they cannot tell me which institution they would like to be upgraded. I have therefore referred the matter to the State Government concerned. It is not a question of what I want or even what the individual Members of this House want; it is a question of what are the best means to work out these problems; and in the ultimate analysis it is, what the people of this country want. I say again with all the emphasis at my

command that we are trying to achieve the best that other countries in the world have; India cannot remain behind in the struggle. In the fight for progress we cannot remain behind in medical science. I was told that China has said: "We have not got enough doctors; we must make use of Chinese doctors with such indigenous medicines and they have". But the younger ones are being trained in the modern system. The Health Minister of China told me that the basis of treatment in China must be modern medicine and this is rightly so in every country in the world—Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Indonesia—they have all accepted it. Why should India want to go back? I do not want my country to go backwards, but I must take, and take willingly all that *Ayurveda* gives me, provided it is scientific. I want the *vaids* to get the training and then do their research. I say again as a friend of *Ayurveda* that if *Ayurveda* is uplifted to the post graduate stage, only at that stage will it be able to make its contribution to modern medicine. Modern medicine just like any other science knows no barriers. I for one cannot ever concede the theory that because it is cheap, because it is born in this country, therefore *Ayurveda* is best. The same applies to everything else that we have. If it has been outmoded, well, it has got to come into line. There is no ban on *Ayurvedas* it is being employed by *vaids* in many States. There is no ban on the science and wherever we find that good work is done, we are helping and the Planning Commission has also put aside a certain sum of money that can be utilised usefully. But, it is our duty to see that it is properly utilised.

Madam-Chairman, there is no more time for me; otherwise I would have replied to some of the other questions as for example the matter of health education. I entirely agree that we should go ahead with health education. We have got a bureau from this year; I have been longing for this for a long time so that we can put out all our pamphlets, posters etc. to

our schools in order to give education on health.

श्री पी० एन० राजभोब (शालपुर रीढ़ित अनु-सूचित जातियां) : इहली स्टेट के स्वीपर्स की पोर्जेशन के वार्ड में आपने क्या तय किया, उनके वार्ड में आपने क्या पालिसी अखित्यार की है ?

राजकुमारी अमृतकौर : मैं आपका सवाल नहीं समझी, दिल्ली स्वीपर्स इसमें कैसे आजात हैं, मुझे मालुम नहीं है ।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोब : इहली स्टेट के स्वीपर्स ने फास्ट किया था, आपने उनसे फास्ट वापिस लेने के लिये कहा था आर आपने वचन दिया था कि.....

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल (बिलासपुर) : स्वीपर्स इसमें कैसे आगये ?

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: I would request the hon. Member to come and talk to me again if he has any specific grievances against the sweepers or anything about which he would care to come and talk to me so that I may give him the necessary answer but I do not know what relevance this has over my Demands for Grants here.

So, now in all humility I plead that this House sanctions the Demands for Grants in respect of the Health Ministry and I will do my best with what I get.

I am extremely grateful to the hon. Members opposite who raised a new question namely sports. I am myself very keen on sports. If you will kindly read my little report, you will see that I have started doing something and I hope to do more in the future.

5 P.M.

Mr. Chairman: I will now put the cut motions already placed before the House, to the vote of the House.

The cut motions were negatived.

**Mr. Chairman:** I will now apply the guillotine.

The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the third column of the Order Paper in respect of Demands Nos. 48, 49, 50, 51 and 125 be granted to the President, to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of the corresponding heads of Demands entered in the second column thereof."

*The motion was adopted.*

*[The Motions for Demands for Grants which were adopted by the House are reproduced below.—Ed. of P.P.]*

**DEMAND NO. 48—MINISTRY OF HEALTH**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,38,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Ministry of Health'."

**DEMAND NO. 49—MEDICAL SERVICES**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,38,53,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Medical Services'."

**DEMAND NO. 50—PUBLIC HEALTH**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,77,56,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Public Health'."

**DEMAND NO. 51—MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 70,92,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of Health'."

**DEMAND NO. 125—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH**

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,84,58,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Health'."

**Mr. Chairman:** The House will now proceed with the consideration of the Demands for Grants Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 110 relating to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

Members and Leaders of Groups may hand over the numbers of the cut motions which they select to the Secretary in 15 minutes. I will treat them as moved if those hon. Members in whose names those cut motions stand are present in the House and they are otherwise in order.

The usual time-limit on speeches will be observed.

I shall now place the Demands before the House.

**DEMAND NO. 1—MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY**

**Mr. Chairman:** Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 66,19,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the

31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry'."

**DEMAND NO. 2.—INDUSTRIES**

**Mr. Chairman:** Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,11,80,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Industries'."

**DEMAND NO. 3.—COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND STATISTICS**

**Mr. Chairman:** Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 46,88,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics'."

**DEMAND NO. 4.—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS AND EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY**

**Mr. Chairman:** Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 40,15,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry'."

**DEMAND NO. 110.—CAPITAL OUTLAY OF THE MINISTRY OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY**

**Mr. Chairman:** Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,77,28,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the

31st day of March, 1955, in respect of 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry'."

I would like to announce the selected cut motions. Demand No. 1: 8, 215, 216, 219, 224, 434, 435, 436, 438, 442, 444, 1012, 1013, 1289, 1290, 1293, 1294, 1298, 1301, 1302, 1303, 208, 211, 807, 808, 447, 899, 900, 901, 1291, 7 and 1324; Demand No. 2: 892, 1019, 1311, 12,13, 810, 812, 1259, 1260, 1307, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 1325, and 1326; Demand No. 3: 24, 457, 459, 1312, 1313, 25, 26 and 27; Demand No. 4: 1314, 1315, 29 and 30; and Demand No. 110: 1321.

The cut motions may be moved.

*Failure to exercise proper control over the jute industry in national interest*

**Shri Tushar Chatterjea (Serampore):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Closure of several textile mills, and silk factories, small-scale shoe and soap factories*

**Shri Nambiar (Mayuram):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Export policy*

**Shri Nambiar:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Reduction of freight charges on pineapples*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb (Tripura East):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to grant suitable business loans to the small shopkeepers and traders of Tripura*

**Shri Dasaratha Deb:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to stop the production etc. of Bididi machines*

**Shri V. P. Nayar (Chirayinkil):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Foreign-owned industrial and commercial undertakings in India*

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Anti-national effects of the present industrial policy of Government*

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Dire distress of handloom weavers and dismal condition of handloom industry*

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Export and import policy with reference to tobacco*

**Shri C. R. Chowdary (Narasaraopet):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Labour conditions in the jute industry*

**Shri Tushar Chatterjea:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Reconciling the interests of hand-loom workers and textile mill workers*

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quiloncum Mavelikkara):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to maintain steady, reasonable price levels for coir, pepper, coconut and cashew nut*

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to adopt a tariff policy calculated to foster indigenous industry and trade*

**Shri Sadhan Gupta (Calcutta-South-East):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Continuance of Imperial Preference*

**Shri Sadhan Gupta:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to work Industrial Development and Regulation Act in interests of industry*

**Shri K. K. Basu (Diamond Harbour):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Policy of allowing foreign firms to establish factories when Indian firms are already established*

**Shri K. K. Basu:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Proposed rationalisation in Jute, Cotton and other industries resulting in large unemployment*

**Shri K. K. Basu:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to have quantitative restriction on imports of articles for which Indian manufactures do not get proper markets*

**Shri K. K. Basu:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to stop the large profits of WIMCO*

**Shri K. K. Basu:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*The huge profits of the paper industry especially the Titagpur Paper Factory*

**Shri K. K. Basu:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Nationalisation and socialisation of the large scale industries*

**Shri Madhao Reddi (Adilabad):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Setting up a bureau of scientific and technical research to invent and improve low-cost small machines*

**Shri Madhao Reddi:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to give adequate protection and encouragement to cottage and small-scale industries*

**Shri Kelappan (Ponnani):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Unhelpful trade policy of the Government*

**Shri Kelappan:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Policy regarding export and import*

**Shri Boovaraghasamy:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to carry out the recommendations of the Tariff Commission*

**Shri G. D. Somani (Nagaur-Pali):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Policy of fixing uneconomic prices for controlled goods*

**Shri G. D. Somani:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to allow the introduction of rationalization in various industries*

**Shri G. D. Somani:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*General economic policy*

**Dr. Amin (Baroda West):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to promote cottage industries*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Constitution and working of the Cottage and Village Industries Board*

**Shri P. N. Rajabhoj:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to re-orientate the stores purchase policy of the Government so as to help and encourage handicraft and small scale industries*

**Shri T. K. Chaudhuri** (Berhampore): I beg to move:

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

*Necessity for granting protection to the Indian ceramic, glass and electrical industries*

**Shri N. Sreekantan Nair:** I beg to move:

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

*Failure to give price protection and to find markets for products of cottage industries*

**Shri K. K. Basu:** I beg to move:

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

*Failure to aid the Sericulture industries*

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy** (Mysore): Sir, I beg to move:

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

*Failure of Government to solve the problems of the Coffee industry.*

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** I beg to move:

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

*Sad plight of handloom weavers*

**Shri Kelappan:** I beg to move:

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

*Policy regarding Indian concerns and Foreign concerns such as soap and ink industries*

**Shri Kelappan:** I beg to move:

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

*Policy of industrial development*

**Shri Tulsidas** (Mehsana West): I beg to move:

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

*Policy of encouragement of cottage and small scale industries*

**Shri Tulsidas:** I beg to move:

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

*Role of small scale industries in the economy of the country.*

**Dr. Amin:** I beg to move:

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

*Unsatisfactory condition of handloom weavers and the handloom industry*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

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



*Installation of spinning mills on small-scale and co-operative basis in all cotton growing districts*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

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

*Necessity of avoiding competition between handloom products and mill products by nationalising all the big mills.*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

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

*High cost of production of handloom cloth due to false gradation of cotton and manipulated cost of yarn by mill owners.*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

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

*Failure of the Five Year Plan to promote the basic industries for the production of capital goods*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

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

*Failure to encourage cottage and small scale industries*

**Shri P. N. Rajabhoj:** I beg to move:

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

*Failure to support and encourage the leather and tanning industries*

**Shri P. N. Rajabhoj:** I beg to move:

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

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*Failure to take action against the Bengal Chamber of Commerce for directing its constituents not to furnish figures about foreigners employed*

**Shri Sadhan Gupta:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to collect and maintain proper statistics regarding trade and commerce*

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure to maintain proper statistics relating to managing agency firms*

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Arrangements for obtaining commercial statistics which are quite inadequate*

**Shri K. K. Basu:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Manner in which industrial production and trade statistics are worked*

**Shri K. K. Basu:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Control of unwarranted fluctuation in the market prices of agricultural products*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Failure of the Government in not finding adequate external and internal markets for handloom products*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Publication of all statistics in all regional languages*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Grant of patents to foreigners*

**Shri K. K. Basu:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Working of the Trade Marks Committee, Forward Market Commission and Jute Enquiry Commission*

**Shri K. K. Basu:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Inefficiency and negligence of the Textile Enquiry Commission in checking manipulation in price and gradation of yarn*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Dissolution of certain departments whose functions are unnecessary, overlapping and superfluous*

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Miscellaneous Departments and Expenditure under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

*Establishment of Civil Explosive Factory with the aid of foreigners*

**Shri K. K. Basu:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry' be reduced by Rs. 100."

**Mr. Chairman:** These cut motions are now before the House.

**Shri Bansal (Jhajjar-Rewari):** I have great pleasure in commending the work of the Commerce and Industry Ministry during the last year. It has had, in my opinion, an enviable record of progress both in the industrial and commercial field. I will take up the industrial field first. The index of industrial production rose from 128.7 to 134 during the year. Quite a number of new and difficult lines of production were undertaken during the course of the year. I will make mention of only a few lines: drilling machines, transformers of 2000 KVA, steel tubes for bicycles, steel tubes for transformers, bore hole turbine pumps, carding machines and a number of other industries came into being. Investment too has gone up. As against a gross investment of about Rs. 90 crores per year during the five years 1946-47 to 1950-51, according to my estimate, the gross investment during 1951-52 and 1953-54 has been of the order of Rs. 110 crores annually. This is no small achievement on the part of the Government or private enterprise. I have some figures to show that substantial expansion in

existing industries and new undertakings has also been quite significant. The estimated investment in substantial expansion of industries and of new undertakings is Rs. 38 crores in 1952 and Rs. 77 crores in 1953. This again is a very good record.

Having said this, I must admit that considering the vast problems that the country has to face, and the vast unemployment which is facing us, this is not even a flea-bite of what should be done both in the investment field and in the employment field. As you are aware, the percentage of national income originating in our country in manufactures is only 16 as against 30 in Canada, 30.8 in the U.S.A. and 38.5 in the U. K. The labour force engaged in primary and secondary occupations in our country constitutes 62 per cent and 15 per cent as against 35 and 23 per cent in Canada, 24 and 30 in Australia, 19 and 31 in USA. Also considering that we are adding about 18 lakhs of working people to our population every year and that nearly 25 lakhs of people have to find employment in the non-agricultural sector, we have to make quite a big leeway in the industrial field.

Further if we remember that the bulk of our industrial development today is based on the foundations that are as old as 15 to 20 years, we will have some idea of the great progress that we have still to achieve. In spite of the big progress that we have been making in recent years, if you remember that our textile production today is actually less than it was in 1937-38, that the peak of sugar production was almost reached about 12 years ago, that the peak of jute production that we reached in 1941 has not been reached after that, that the production of steel this year is actually less than it was last year and also in 1941, we can imagine what great leeway we have to make in our industrial development. Whatever industrial progress we are seeing in other lines of production, in

my opinion, is like putting up a few annexes, a few out-houses in our building which rests on the foundations of about 15 to 20 years back. The family is growing. It has become more conscious; it is also becoming more ambitious. Therefore, unless we lay further foundations and bigger foundations I do not think the country can make progress. The problem therefore is to increase the rate of investment from about Rs. 110 crores to Rs. 250 crores per year if you are to make any substantial progress. In this great task, we have to get help from everybody.

There is a cut motion before the House against the utilisation of foreign capital. I challenge the Opposition to put forward a single case of a country which has developed without the aid of foreign capital, not excepting Russia. Even China today is accepting foreign aid from Russia.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Do you say foreign aid and foreign capital are the same?

**Shri Bansal:** I will make only one exception. In accepting foreign aid, we should not allow any monopolistic stranglehold of foreigners on the development of this country. If we take care of that we must take every step to invite foreign capital to this country because otherwise, you will not be in a position to tackle this great problem of unemployment, of low standards of living and backward economy in a big way.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** Please give us figures for quantum of export and import trade.

**Shri Bansal:** Therefore, I would like to take a very broad view of Government's activities and their actions in helping industries. While going through the report, I find that the Licensing Committee, while rejecting one or two applications, has given as the reason that the transport capacity in that particular region was not enough. I ask this House if we are going to

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stand in the way of industrial development simply because we have not developed transport. What are the implications of this? The implications of this are that industries cannot develop in those areas where we have not adequate transport. Areas which are backward, but perhaps rich in minerals and other resources cannot develop. Therefore, I would suggest very strongly that we should not allow these reasons to stand in the way of industrial progress, and if transport presents a bottleneck, we must overcome it and not reject the applications on that ground.

I will now come to export and import trade policy. There is a cut motion by Dr. Lanka Sundaram who says that the fall in our foreign trade has been due to lack of integrated trade policy. This sounds a very nice phrase, but I wish Dr. Lanka Sundaram, learned as he is, went through the figures of our export and import trade which have been given in this report which is, after all, not a very bulky document. It is true our import trade has declined by Rs. 233 crores in 1953 as against 1952, but what are the reasons? The reasons are that we imported food grains less by Rs. 130 crores in 1953, we imported less cotton by Rs. 65 crores, we imported less raw jute by Rs. 10 crores. This gives Dr. Lanka Sundaram the figure of Rs. 205 crores.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** May I interrupt my hon. friend for a minute? Let him look at the quantities instead of the values.

**Shri Bansal:** I will come to that also if my friend will have some patience.

This gives him Rs. 205 crores out of a short-fall of Rs. 233 crores. In the export trade also almost the same picture is presented. Our exports in jute manufactures, although quantity-wise they were slightly above the 1952 figure, have gone down by Rs. 52 crores. The same is true of our cotton

and the same applies to cotton piece-goods.

This leads me to the crux of the question—I do not think that the short-fall in our foreign trade has been on account of a lack of integrated trade policy, but it may be that the terms of trade have gone against our country during the period of this year. I was analysing the figures of terms of trade. In June the terms of trade were 85, in July 84, but from August they are again going up. In August the figure was 94 in September 97, in October 94, in November again 97. So, the point is this, what we have to take care of is that our terms of trade do not go against us rather than confining ourselves to this over-all question of a fall in our import and export trade. After all, we all want to be self-sufficient in food grains, we all want to be self-reliant in raw cotton and raw jute. Therefore instead of congratulating the Government on this achievement of making the country self-sufficient in these very essential materials which has been the policy of Government and the policy of this august House, my friend tables a cut motion.

About these terms of trade, I would just like to say it is very difficult to do anything about terms of trade, because if a buyers' market develops there is hardly anything that the Government of India or the trade can do, but this much certainly Government can do, viz., to make enquiries in places where those commodities the prices of which go against our country are grown or are produced. I was told that our terms of trade were the lower most in 1952-53 when the figure was 91. In that year one of the causes of this was that our coir industry was suffering and the export of coir was declining with the result their prices went down. Therefore, Government ought to have at that point seen as to what could be done to rehabilitate the coir industry, to help the coir industry, so that

the income and employment of people in that particular industry did not go down. Therefore, we must look at this export-import problem in this context not so much from the over-all balance of trade position or from the over-all rise or fall, but from the point of view as to how our terms of trade are being affected, how they are affecting our employment and income in particular sectors.

I am very glad that our Commerce and Industry Ministry has taken this step of gradually introducing higher import duties in place of import quotas. About 40 articles were included in the Finance Bill last year and about 32 items have been included this year. Simultaneously import quotas have been relaxed. This is one form of stabilising the fluctuations in our import trade control which was a very serious feature in our economy three or four years back. Now, that feature has almost completely disappeared, and I must congratulate the Commerce and Industry Ministry for having brought about this position of stable import. But while Government have taken this step of controlling imports by raising the import duties rather than by adhering to strict quotas, the Tariff Commission is unfortunately taking a very narrow view of the industrial development of the country. They have a method of computing landed cost and fair ex-works price. I have two or three cases to illustrate my point. The Tariff Commission calculated that in the filature raw silk industry the differential between landed cost and fair ex-works price is 29.2 per cent—that is the figure given by them—and they suggested a tariff protection of only 30 per cent. In the case of hydroquinone they calculated this difference at 49.72 per cent and gave tariff protection of 50 per cent. In the glucose industry they calculated this difference at 49 per cent and gave protection of 50 per cent. Now, I ask the hon. Commerce and Industry Minister if this is consistent with his policy of controlling imports by means of raising our tariff level from

about 30 to 66 per cent. If it is not consistent, then we must do something about it, and I think the Tariff Commission must be told that a more helpful attitude should be taken rather than adhering to these fine points of decimals in giving protection to our industries. As you are aware, there are a number of industries which are protected but which have been included in our Finance Bill for duties being raised.

One or two more points about our Tariff Commission. The Tariff Commission generally gives protection for a period of three to four years. There are only a few cases where tariff protection has been given for four years, but generally it is for three years, with the result that 29 industries came before this House for continuing protection in 1952 and 25 industries came in 1953 without their having been reported upon by the Tariff Commission. Therefore, I would suggest that the Tariff Commission should grant protection for a longer period of time and if in the meantime any industry does not behave properly or if Government thinks that its case has to be reviewed, then it will be for the Tariff Commission to review that case *suo motu* or on a reference of Government.

The Tariff Commission again, I think, is not working as competently as it ought to. In 1952 it went into and reported on 15 cases; in 1953 into 17, and in 1954, so far, six cases. So, I would suggest that something must be done to expedite the working of the Tariff Commission and they should be told about the dissatisfaction of this House as to the manner of their working.

I will take only one more minute, about this question of Indianisation in relation to employment in industries. I do not think it is of very vital importance, but a certain section of this House attaches a great deal of importance, and therefore, I want to draw the attention of this august House to the figure circulated in the report where remarkable progress

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has been shown by the Commerce and Industries Ministry in persuading foreign businessmen and industrialists here to employ Indian personnel. That is, however, a minor problem compared with the bigger problem of their share in our export and import trade. You will be surprised that in the import trade European firms in this country have as much share as 30 per cent share, and in export trade their share was actually 40 per cent in 1951 and in 1952 it was 33 per cent. This is a very serious matter and I hope the Commerce and Industry Minister will do something about it. I know his difficulties, because most of the foreign exchange banks are in the hands of Europeans, most of the insurance of our export trade is also in the hands of foreign insurance companies; then, most of the shipping is also in their hands, and what is worse is the shipping companies are the shippers and shipping agents themselves. So, this means that there is a big octopus working in our export and import trade. And I think it is high time that our Commerce and Industry Minister did something about it.

**Shri Kelappan:** I have given notice of certain cut motions to discuss the trade policy of the Ministry, as also their failure to give adequate protection and encouragement to *khadi* and small-scale industries. I would also like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to his failure to maintain the price level of pepper, coconut and cashew nuts, the important products of Malabar.

I must admit that I have not understood the trade and industrial policy of this Government. I do not understand how the policy followed can be reconciled with the needs of the country. I base my criticism on the proposition that whether it is import, export or any new industry, the one test that has to be applied is how it will affect the employment situation in the country, whether it will give more employment or whether it will

throw out people already employed; for the most important problem that this country with its vast population has to face is that of hunger and unemployment." Dr. Rajendra Prasad, while opening the Gandhi Bhavan in Jammu, quoted Mahatmaji and said:

"Freedom is not only the end of foreign domination, but also employment, food, shelter, education and medical aid for everyone in this country."

The Prime Minister does not miss a single occasion to remind his audience that the object of his Government is to root out poverty, and unemployment, and to liquidate the distinction between the rich and the poor. That is a very laudable object. And I would add, that if, in the process of liquidating the distinction between the rich and the poor, we have to bring down the standard of living of the upper strata of society, we should not mind that, if we could thereby provide work and a moderate living income to all. At present, I hold that no solution has been found for the unemployment problem in the country. I go a step further and say that no serious attempt is being made to solve that problem.

I also wish to add that the trade policy of this Government is not helpful to the industries in this country. Before going into this question, I propose to examine the policy of the Government regarding *khadi*, handloom and mill industries, and the small-scale and large-scale industries in general. I have not understood the policy that the Government are following. They say that they are really helping both *khadi* and handloom. They are spending crores of rupees by way of subsidy to these industries. But our idea regarding the kind of help that should be given, and the place of *khadi* and handloom in the economy of the country, differs from that of the hon. Minister. The Government and the advocates of *khadi*

and handloom do not mean the same thing by the term 'helping these industries'. The hon. Minister in his several utterances has made his position clear, and has stated, there is no conflict between the mill and handloom industries. Speaking at the Textile Industry's Centenary, he said, that *khadi* could not replace handloom or mill industry, and that it was intended to put a little more money into the hands of the people whose income was less than they needed. He also said that it would be wrong to say that the mills should be closed to help the handloom industry. We shall examine this proposition and see how many persons in the country have incomes which suffice to meet their needs. There are about four and a half crores of agricultural labourers in the villages, who are without land, and who are part-time employees. Even among those who have lands to cultivate, how many of them have any income sufficient to meet their requirements? Again, in the case of those who are employed by Government and other bodies, how many have got a living wage? If all those who stand in need of supplementary incomes were to take to spinning, I think they will produce all the yarn required to clothe the nation. If all this yarn were to be woven into cloth, it would require ten times the number of weavers now engaged in this task. If this is the position, where is the place for the mills, I ask. Is there no conflict between the mills and the handloom industry? To say there is no conflict between the two, betrays, to say the least, an ignorance of the real position.

Perhaps, it may be that the hon. Minister considers this help as a temporary palliative. He says that Government are committed to industrialisation. If it be so, one cannot afford to shed tears that several of our cottage industries have been wiped out, and that several others are already breathing their last. I remember the hon. Minister of Commerce and Industry saying to the weavers in

the south that nobody can help them, that handloom deserves only a decent burial, and that they must take to other industries. I ask the hon. Minister what other occupation he can provide for the twenty-nine lakhs of weavers in the country.

The hon. Prime Minister also says that he is for industrialisation. But at the same time, he says that for some years to come, we have to depend upon cottage industries to give employment to the people. That, I submit, does not show a correct appreciation of the place of *khadi* and cottage industries in the economy of the country. I would put it the other way, and say that for some time to come, our mill industries may thrive, but when the other backward countries also take to industrialisation, which they are fast doing, our foreign markets will be lost, and our industries will have to look to internal markets only. Then the question will arise whether to encourage these mechanised industries which give work and better wages for a limited number, and produce a few millionaires, while throwing out of employment millions of persons, or to revert to cottage industries which provide work for all and meet the consumers' demands, though that would mean a general lowering of the standard of living of the higher income group.

I believe most of the hon. Members of this House would have seen the *Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition*, now being held in Delhi. They would have noted that in weaving as well as in other cottage industries, our country has attained a very high degree of perfection. But what is the fate of those industries? Do we realise that we are seeing them on their death-bed,—so to say,—that several of them have already died, without the possibility of being revived, and that others are dying now? As long as the present policy of trade and industry is followed, most of the cottage industries will be wiped out, because they cannot stand the competition of mechanised industries.

[Shri Kelappan]

Here are some tell-tale figures, which I have taken from the brochures prepared by the Ministry, and the Khadi and Village Industries Board.

The figures refer to the change of position during the last 50 years, i.e., from 1901 to 1951. During this period, in the wool industry, while 27,000 persons found employment in big industries, 2,00,000 have been thrown out of employment in cottage industries; in the silk industry, while 18,000 had been absorbed in big industries, 2,00,000 have been thrown out from cottage industries; in wood-cutting and carpentry, 25,000 people got employment in big industries, while 5,40,000 lost employment in cottage industries; in hand-pounding of rice, husking etc., 72,000 people got employment in mechanised industries, while 12,00,000 lost employment in cottage industries; in cotton spinning and weaving also the same sad tale is repeated: 7,50,000 found employment in big industries, while 23,00,000 were thrown out of cottage industries; in leather and tanning, 36,000 found employment in mechanised industries, while 10,50,000 lost employment in cottage industries; in cotton cleaning, ginning and pressing, 90,000 found employment in big industries, while 2,00,000 lost their place in the cottage industries; in pottery and ceramics, 36,000 found employment in big industries, while 8,00,000 lost their employment in cottage industries; in oil-pressing—the figures are given for the last 30 years, i.e., from 1921 to 1951—45,000 got employment in mechanised industries while 3,00,000 lost their place in cottage industries.

So if mechanised industries develop in an arithmetical progression, you find employment increases in a geometrical progression. This is the logical sequence of industrialisation. If cottage industries and mechanised industries work in the same field, cottage industries cannot survive. So it is a matter of choice whether we

shall have cottage industries and give employment to all, or have industrialisation and allow the vast masses to perish for lack of food and employment. It is incorrect to say that there is no conflict between the mill industry and cottage industries. If the Minister holds that mills cannot be scrapped to oblige handlooms, he has to do at least one thing. He must at least eliminate the competition between the two. One way to do it is to reserve for the time being a certain sphere for the handloom and later on probably to decide that mill cloth is for export and not for home consumption. One other thing also he has to do. The import of foreign cloth has to be stopped here and now. Neither yarn, nor cloth, nor silk or artificial silk, nor cotton should be imported.

**Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam):** Is there import?

**Shri Kelappan:** There is. Rayon yarn is being imported also certain varieties of cloth. It goes against the interest of both handloom and the mills. Here the question of rationalisation comes in. No Minister is prepared to give a straight answer to this question.

**Shri K. K. Basu:** They don't give straight answers.

**Shri Kelappan:** I am really for rationalisation. Our cotton mills have to rationalise or perish.

**The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari):** Hear, hear.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram:** It fills your heart.

**Shri Kelappan:** If they are to sell their goods in the open world market competing with other countries using the most up-to-date machinery, our industry has to be rationalised and the cost of production brought down. I know this will throw out a large number of workers. They must be found other occupations.



**An Hon. Member: First.**

**Shri Kelappan:** One cannot have the cake and eat it too. We must know what the Minister means when he says there is no conflict between mill and handloom. If they are for mechanisation, they will fail to provide employment for the unemployed. All their plans are bound to fail. If every able-bodied man and woman must have work and a living wage, you must make up your mind to resort to cottage and small scale industries wherever possible, and large-scale industries must be for heavy chemicals, iron, automobiles etc., which cannot be worked on a cottage scale. Our Ministers, whenever they get an opportunity, quote Mahatmaji. What Mahatmaji thinks about *khadi* is not exactly what the Minister thinks about *khadi*. The Minister thinks that *khadi* is for leisure hours so that people may find some employment; and therefore he is willing to encourage *Khadi*. But what Gandhiji expects the Ministers to do is given here. He says:

"It is legitimate to ask what Congress Ministers will do for *khaddar* and other village industries now that they are in office. I should broaden the question and apply it to all the Provincial Governments of India. Poverty is common to all the provinces and so are means of alleviation in terms of the masses. Such is the experience of both the AISA and the AIVIA. A suggestion has been made that there should be a separate Minister for the work, as, for proper organisation, it will occupy all the time of one Minister. I dread to make the suggestion, for we have not yet outlived the English scale of expenditure. Whether a Minister is separately appointed or not, a department for the work is surely necessary. In these times of scarcity of food and clothing, this department can render the greatest help. The Ministers have experts at their disposal through the AISA and the

AIVIA. It is possible to clothe today the whole of India in *khadi* on the smallest outlay and in the shortest time possible. Each Provincial Government has to tell the villagers that they must manufacture their own *khaddar* for their own use. This brings in automatic local production and distribution. And there will undoubtedly be a surplus for the cities at least to a certain extent which, in its turn, will reduce the pressure on the local mills".

So he expects Congress Ministers to take up this question. He is very clear about his plan. The villages will be surveyed and a list prepared of things that can be manufactured locally with little or no help, things which may be required for village use or for sale outside.

For instance, *ghani*-pressed oil and cakes, burning oil prepared through *ghanis*, hand-pounded rice, *tadgud* honey, toys, mats, hand-made paper, village soap etc. can be made. Here Mahatmaji made only one miscalculation. He thought that these Congress Ministers, when they came to office also would carry out the directions that he gave. That was a miscalculation.

**Shri S. S. More (Sholapur):** The greatest blunder.

**Shri Kelappan:** There is only one way. We have to make up our choice...

**Mr. Chairman:** I am sorry to interrupt the hon. Member. But he has exceeded his time.

**Shri Kelappan:** and resort to cottage industries to give employment to the people.

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha (Patna East):** Commerce and Industry is such a wide subject that I feel incapable, within the few minutes at my disposal, to do justice to the whole subject. So, I will confine myself to the cotton textile industry.

[Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha]

The cotton textile industry has an undisputed claim to be reckoned as India's largest organised industry, controlled, managed and financed by Indian nationals. The capital invested in the industry is estimated at about Rs. 100 crores. It gives direct employment to about 7,50,000 workers. It provides an outlet for consumption of practically the entire cotton crop of India, except about 2,00,000 bales of short staple cotton that is exported from the country. The amount of cotton that is consumed in the country comes to about 4,20,00,000 bales and the industry consumes over two million tons of fuel, and last but not least, it provides occupation and employment for nearly 20 lakh handloom weavers by supplying to them yarn for weaving cloth.

Notwithstanding its being an industry of such vital importance to the national economy, it is not without its special problems; there are the problems of supply of raw material, marketing of finished goods and efficiency. As regards the supply of raw material, as a result of the Partition, we lost large cotton growing tracts in the Punjab and Sind, but thanks to the efforts of the Indian Central Cotton Committee, we have more or less overcome this handicap by producing nearly 75 to 80 per cent of the cotton requirements of our country. In 1953, India's production of cotton cloth came to about 4,000 million yards, which was the highest ever reached.

Coming to the marketing of finished goods, there are many disquieting factors that appeared in our national economy, the most disquieting being that Japan has emerged as the most formidable rival of India in regard to Indian cotton textiles in most of the countries of the world. How serious the situation has become is clearly borne out by the detailed figures relating to exports of mill-made cloth from India, Japan and U.K. The exports of Japanese cloth to Indonesia during 1953, for instance, were 303.26 million yards as against 125.84 million

yards in 1952 while, exports from India during the same year amounted to a bare 34.92 million yards as against 2.88 million yards. Japanese cloth exports to Malaya, Siam, Iran and Sudan were also higher, in distinct contrast to the decline in exports from India. Then, the off-take of Japanese cloth by these four countries in 1953 was higher by 3.67 million yards, 44.93 million yards, 36.50 million yards and 11.07 million yards respectively, while that of Indian cloth was lower by 27.59 million yards, 0.09 million yards, 4.13 million yards and 6.91 million yards. This is a serious situation because textile is one of the most important of our export commodities.

Though it is true that there was very encouraging response in the year 1953 and even in the beginning of 1954, this phenomenal increase in the last year as well as this year is apt to induce a feeling of complacency about the condition of their productive equipment. It is not readily realised that the industry is exerting a far greater pressure on its machinery, which in most units is hardly in a condition to withstand such strain indefinitely. The fact is that the industry had a few opportunities of discarding its worn-out and out-moded equipment, 90 per cent of which, so far as I know, is nearly 25 years old.

A series of adverse circumstances has prevented the industry from undertaking the programme of modernisation or rehabilitation. Before the last war, the home market was dominated by imported textiles, and it left little scope for the indigenous industry to make profit sufficient to meet the cost of rehabilitation of our industry. As the Special Tariff Board reported in 1936, many mills in the country were forced to work 120 to 126 hours a week in three shifts of seven hours each in order to reduce working costs so as to enable them to compete not only against the imported textiles but also against the products of longer established Indian concerns whose large accumulations of depreciation and reserve funds placed them in a more favourable position.

It was pointed out by the Board that in spite of the strenuous efforts, quite a large section of the industry could not earn sufficient profits to cover the depreciation allowances to which the mills were entitled, and the large amounts required for interest on borrowed money.

It is true that the last war brought about a considerable change in favour of the industry. Even units, whose viability had been jeopardised by the depression of the thirties, were able to shake off their infirmities and were able to put their heads up, and they could retain a reasonable degree of financial stability. But these favourable conditions did not materially assist the industry in eliminating the arrears of rehabilitation, because the prices of capital goods rose very much. The abnormal rise in the price of capital equipment has prevented most of our industrial concerns to modernise their equipments. Because I know, in the textile industry in India most of the units are on the marginal degree. So, they could not adopt this policy of replacement and rehabilitation even after the war.

In attempting to focus attention on the gravity of this problem, I can do no better than quote a few authorities on the subject. In its second annual report, the Industrial Finance Corporation observes:

"During the war years, the machinery and plant of textile mills were put to intensive use, and renewals and replacements could not be carried out on an adequate scale, partly as a result of restriction imposed on imports and the diversion of the productive capacity of the supplying countries to war purposes. Since the cessation of hostilities, the supply of new machinery has not been adequate to meet the demand and while the prices are approximately three times pre-war or higher deliveries are extended over long periods, generally speaking, very few textile mills have adequate

new equipment at present prices to replace their old machinery."

The Planning Commission is of the opinion that there are 150 uneconomic units in the industry, which require assistance in order to attain viability. The Commission rightly holds that the emphasis of industrial policy should be on increasing the efficiency of existing plants by renovation and modernisation, and by securing a better balance in the plants.

The Working Party for the Cotton Textile Industry also recognises in its report, released last year, that there has been a back-log in the rehabilitation of the mill equipment, and that it is not possible at this stage to get new capital interest for the purpose of renovation and rehabilitation. The Working Party, however, strongly urges that it is in the interest of the consumer, in the interest of the general economy of the country and in the interest of the large labour population engaged in the industry, that proper rehabilitation, renovation and replacement of these old and deteriorated plants and machinery should be undertaken.

It is evident from these authoritative pronouncements that, while the problem of rehabilitation is serious, the industry has no adequate means for grappling with it. There is no precise data to indicate how much money is required for rehabilitation, but an approximate appraisal of the industry's needs has been attempted by the Industrial Counts in the cities of Bombay and Ahmedabad. From these counts, cotton mills in the Bombay city alone would require Rs. 72 crores for plant renewal and for the city of Ahmedabad, they put the figure at Rs. 55 crores. It is, however not possible to give exact figures, because these figures have been calculated on the original costs which have been increased by 2.7 times only. As far as we know the prices of the equipment have gone up by 7 or 8 times and not 2.7 times.

I think Government is alive to the magnitude and seriousness of the problem, but in the case of the marginal

[Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha]

units, the behaviour of the Government has not been very generous. The first point I would like to mention in this connection is the depreciation allowance that is allowed to the industry. For industries that are making profits, it is very well to accumulate funds, and with the present rate of depreciation allowance, it is possible for them to carry out the renovation of their equipment. But how many industries are making such a huge profit? Most of our textile mills are marginal units and I do not think that the rate of depreciation that is given to them is fair. My view is that in regard to the rate of depreciation, it is not the original cost but the actual cost of replacement that should be taken into account. It is not a new thing that I am suggesting. In France, for instance, the practice is that the balance-sheet values of fixed assets are written up as a means of relating depreciation to current replacement costs.

In regard to the burden of taxation on the marginal units, it should be lightened with the specific condition that the undistributed profits should be exempted from taxation on condition that it would be used for the renovation, remodelling and rehabilitation of the plant. Again Government's import policy is not very helpful to the industries. They have put so many import restrictions. The time has now come to remove some of them. In most of the countries of the world, even in the United States of America, on the import of capital goods no restrictions are put.

I hope Government will look into the suggestions that I have made.

**Shri V. B. Gandhi** (Bombay City—North): Madam-Chairman, I shall deal briefly with the treatment of foreign capital in India. This subject has been suggested by some of the cut motions tabled by five members of the Opposition. Incidentally all of these five Members happen to belong to the Communist Party. By these cut motions they want the Government to

compel foreign-owned industrial and commercial undertakings to retain and re-invest their profits in India.

Now, as against this position of the Communist Members of this House, what is our policy? I should think that our object should be to make a clear statement that we have no intention of imposing new restrictions on foreign capital invested in India. We should not give the appearance, or we should not do anything that will have the appearance of any unilateral modification of existing conditions on our part. Our conduct in this matter should be one of business rectitude and fair dealing. It is, of course, conceivable that a situation may arise when for good reasons, or in the national interest, some modifications may become necessary. Or, even as my hon. friend Mr. Bansal suggested, we may have to deal with individual cases of foreign capitalists in this country whose activities would tend to secure for themselves a kind of monopolistic control over an industry in this country. But, on the whole we should continue our present policy of reasonable restrictions and fair dealing.

Now, what is the object of these communist members? Ostensibly it is that more funds should be available, or would be available for investment in the country. But I am sure that they are all smart enough to understand that the method that they are suggesting is more likely to defeat that object. But how are we succeeding with our measures of reasonable restrictions and fair deal in securing for ourselves investments from foreign sources? I think we are doing fairly well. Here are the figures.

In 1949 we had, invested in this country, foreign capital of Rs. 6.35 crores; in 1950, 2.57 crores; in 1951 it was 9.96 crores; in 1952 it was 5.50 crores; in 1953 it was Rs. 15 crores. Now this refers only two what is generally known as entrepreneur capital, that is to say investments that participate in equity capital. But there are other forms of foreign investments at present being made in India

such as by way of loans and grants: For instance, we know that in the context of our Five Year Plan in the first three years of the Plan we have had, or it is estimated we shall have, foreign loans and grants of the value of nearly Rs. 120 crores; and for the remaining two years of the Plan we expect another Rs. 111 crores. So, on the whole, I think our methods are justified.

6 P.M.

Now these communist friends somehow or other take special interest in this subject of foreign capital. Their interest is understandable, though it is not surprising, for, both China and Russia have not had much luck in attracting foreign capital. It is something like a case of sour grapes. What should be our approach? For, it must obviously be a different approach. For, we believe in a free flow of multilateral trade among all the countries of the world. We believe in unrestricted and willing interchange of ideas and know-how, of technical skills between countries. And we believe, finally, in a growing volume of international investment, subject to a minimum of restrictions in the interests of those who invest and those who receive.

We in this country have a programme of vast development and we certainly can use foreign capital with benefit. It is, of course, possible for a country to carry out its programmes of development without the aid of foreign capital. In that case, it will involve hard work, abstinence and long waiting. In the context of our conditions today it would be no sense to prolong needlessly the suffering and poverty of our people when it is possible for countries to co-operate and help one another.

Then there is the question: "Is foreign capital in this country allowed a free field?" Well, if we consider the present policy of the Government, the answer will be:

No, of course not. For, our Government by its policy does try to invite and encourage foreign investment only in industries of national interest. Our Government also by its policy refuses to grant permission for foreign investments in purely financial or commercial or trading concerns. Our Government has been very particular in the matter always of seeing to it that in all such cases of foreign participation of capital in India a majority interest in the ownership and control shall be reserved in Indian hands. Of course some exceptions to this rule have always to be made and these exceptions are made always for good reasons, good reasons such as where we are able to obtain the know-how from the foreign participation, or where the Indian capital is not coming forward in sufficient quantity to secure the majority of interest in ownership, or where national interest demands that we may rather accept foreign investment without insisting on this majority of interest and ownership.

We also know what efforts have been made in the past few years by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry for making it possible to get Indian personnel trained in foreign industrial and commercial concerns in this country. I am quite sure the House will agree that the Minister of Commerce and Industry particularly displayed a very firm attitude in the matter of Indianisation, and the results of this effort, which are stated in the Administration Report before us, are convincing enough of the success that this firm attitude is achieving. From the response we are getting in this respect I do not believe that the Minister will be required to use the powers he has taken under the new Collection of Statistics (Amendment) Act.

We have to remember in this matter that there are not many countries in the world today who are in a position to spare investible capital for other countries. There are only a few countries, a very few countries.

[Shri V. B. Gandhi]

indeed, who have sparable investible capital. And the background against which we have to consider our problem of foreign investment is that the investible resources in the possession of other countries are limited and the need for such investment in the under-developed countries all over the world is unlimited.

Finally, I would say that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry deserve the praise of this House for the cheerful picture—I shall say justifiably cheerful picture—that emerges from the Administration Report for 1953-54 that they have placed in our hands.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** When I was reading the report supplied to us by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry with all its verbiage, its tall claims of peak production, trade stability and industrial prosperity I was reminded of a certain very gallant gentleman, whose blood boiled & whose heart once pined for the millions of this country, to exclaim in utter exasperation that this Government is good for nothing. What he said during the discussion of the Finance Bill was—I am quoting from the Debates—"I can grow emotional and get excited when I see such an exhibition of wilful, deliberate ignorance being thrust upon 350 million people of this country". And that very gallant gentleman.....

**An Hon. Member:** Who said this?

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I am coming to him. I must do justice to his feelings. This gentleman has subsequently had his blood cooled down, refrigerated by the foreign interests in India. And this gallant gentleman, Madam, is none other than my hon. friend Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari.

Now, going through the Report I find that a picture of industrial prosperity has been painted, and very tall claims about the stability of foreign

trade have been made. It is said that it was on our volition, on our option, that the foreign trade of this country was stabilised between forty and fifty crores of rupees a month. If you go through the import-export figures you will find that this was nothing but turning a necessity into a virtue. The Government of India had absolutely no control over this, because recession had set in in foreign countries. The bulk of our foreign trade was only with certain countries, and when their economy was crumbling, it became necessary and inevitable, it was the only course left for this Government, to cut down our trade. You will find this tall claim about stability of foreign trade is nothing at all, because when you analyse the figures you will find that whereas you had Rs. 862 crores imports in 1951-52, the eight months in 1953 give only a figure of Rs. 320 crores. For exports also, while we had Rs. 701 crores worth of export in 1951-52, for the eight months in 1953 the official figure is Rs. 339 crores. But, these figures by themselves will not give us an idea of the pernicious manner in which the foreign monopolists have gripped our foreign trade. You will find that it is not a mere question of our trade figures, of our figures for export and import falling down; it is a question in which we have exported our goods at almost the same level, in quantity and we have also imported some goods. But the prices realised on exports were far too less compared to the prices which we were getting last year. The price which we have paid for our imports was mounting up in the case of petrol, industrial raw materials and several other articles. That means the per-unit price which we got on our exports was declining sharply, but the per-unit price on import was either remaining stationary or mounting up. I wish very much that the hon. Commerce Minister contradicts me here; I have got all the figures, but I do not have time

enough to read them, I will just ask the hon. Commerce Minister who is an expert on such figures to kindly give the House, figures for the export of gunny, lemon grass oil, pepper, ginger, castor oil and hides and skins. In all these items as in several other items also, our export level from the point of view of quantity has not gone down much but our prices have gone down terribly, while correspondingly for the imports, though the quantities might have been reduced to a little extent, the prices have registered a rise. There is no doubt about that and I would very much wish to be contradicted with figures by my hon. friend also.

Then, it is said in the report that the broad pattern of our trade has not changed. It is unchanged and this is perhaps the only truth in the whole of the report. I submit that the broad pattern of our foreign trade has not changed. My hon. friend Mr. Bansal was giving out some figures. I do not have the machinery which he has, nor am I the representative of Indian big business; or an apologist of foreign capital as my friend Mr. V. B. Gandhi. But, here are some figures. I find that while United Kingdom and the United States of America which have between them about 200 million people have respectively taken 24.2 and 15.5 per cent. of our import trade and 28 and 18 per cent. of our export trade. One portion of the globe with 800 million people, I mean the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Checkoslovakia, Hungary and other eastern democracies together, has accounted only for 0.6 per cent. of our imports and 0.74 per cent. of our exports. This is why the hon. Minister has had to say that the broad pattern of our trade has not changed. I certainly agree with him. This Government does not want the broad pattern of trade to be changed at all.

Madam, I am very happy that there has been a trade agreement with the Soviet Union. In so far as the agreement goes, it is good; but I wish the

hon. Minister, who is very anxious as he told me in a personal conversation the other day to improve trade relations with the Soviet Union and will take adequate positive steps to work up and see that there is greater flow of trade I would like to remind him of a press cutting which I have here. I am reading from the *Free Press Journal* dated 10th February, 1954 in which there is a news. This is what it says:

"On Monday, a firm had to open a letter of credit for import of newsprint from Russia. One of the leading English banks was approached and they refused to open any letter of credit for Russian goods. If the banks will take this non-co-operative alien attitude, trade with a country with which there is a Trade Pact is difficult. All foreign banks should know well that business with any country is just business and that they should respect the Trade Pacts of the Country in which they flourish."

I submit that when this foreign trade is in the octopus grip of British banks, it is not going to improve in this direction at all. Only this morning I found in the Report of the Reserve Bank for February 1954, that in the foreign trade about 60 to 65 per cent. of our imports are under the control of British banks and 50 to 55 per cent. of the exports are also under the control of British Banks. In such a case when there is an agreement signed by Soviet Union and India and when the Soviet Union has offered to sell some articles to a merchant in India, a bank which is functioning in India right down under the very nose of the hon. Minister T. T. Krishnamachari, refused to open letters of credit. Is that the way they want to implement this agreement?

There is another loophole in the agreement. The quantity of the various commodities has not been specified. You know that in the

[Shri V. P. Nayar]

Soviet Union, foreign trade is not like ours, it is state controlled. Unfortunately, when you have signed the agreement, the entire trade, so far as India is concerned, is left to the private sector which monopolised by Foreign Interests, is out to sabotage the trade agreement. There are many loopholes in this and unless you plug them, there is no chance of any effective trade promotion. In this connection I would also remind the House what the hon. Minister for Commerce said in the Upper House in reply to a question from Shri S. N. Mazumdar regarding the utterances of one of the trade representatives of India. I understand from a supplementary question that this representative's business was not to attend most of the meetings. He has stated that although there was an agreement with the Soviet Union it is not going to increase the quantum of trade between the two countries. Mr. D. P. Karmarkar could not contradict it in a manner which the questioner himself desired. Of course, in his own way, he answered.....

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Shr, it has been repeatedly laid down by the Chair that proceedings of the other House should not be referred to as the hon. Member is doing at present. Is it in order for the hon. Member to read from the answers given in the other House?

**Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara):** Replies and speeches of Ministers could be read out.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** I would like my friend Mr. Thomas who was himself a Speaker of an Assembly, to know that it has all along been held to be in order to quote the answer or speech of Ministers in the Upper House.

Now, Shri D. P. Karmarkar said:

"its full potentially or development of trade between the two countries could not be fully exploited until some more positive steps were taken."

May I ask Mr. Karmarkar, what are the positive steps which he has taken or intends to take? It is not trade with Soviet Union only, because in your report you say that trade agreements have been concluded with Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, and other countries. What are the positive steps you have taken? You know that there is recession in the United States and it is now hitting our exports. It has already reduced our foreign trade and unless you do some other business with that part of the world there is no chance of our economy getting to its feet again. The Govt. of India has always been putting all our eggs in the same basket with the danger of decay, and decay has already set in.

In this connection I would like to refer to the infamous GATT agreement—I would call that infamous and even pernicious—I submit I do not have all the details about GATT which my hon. friend Mr. Karmarkar may have because he has been attending the GATT Conference so many times; but from whatever information is available with me I find that the continuance of India under the agreement was certainly a matter in which the Ministers should have come to this House and taken permission. I say that this is an open affront to this House because this House was not consulted when an agreement of its pernicious character was sought to be continued over a period up to June 1955.

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** May, I on a point of information, correct the hon Member? This House did discuss it; may not be this particular House, but its predecessor

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** What I said was that this House did not discuss the continuance of GATT till June 1955, although it might have been discussed before.

GATT, as you know, is an agreement between certain countries. Those



countries which are industrially developed depend upon India and other undeveloped countries for the raw materials to feed their own industries. If you give certain concessions on these raw materials, it is not for the advantage or benefit of the growers of this country, but it is in the interest of their own industry. Then there is this aspect. In a number of articles we have no exportable surplus and in a number of articles we have banned our exports. I would cite the case of raw jute, jute yarn, raw hemp, sesamum seed, linseed oil, castor oil etc. What is the use of GATT for such articles? Then there are many commodities like spices, tobacco, tea and things like that, the bulk of which does not enter the GATT market, but goes outside, into the world market. In such cases when our articles do not get into the GATT market, but go into the world market, what is the use of these concessions?

There is another point which I would like to emphasise. In our imports, we have to show concessions in the case of import of certain materials, which sometimes is very detrimental to the development of our industry. For example, take the case of Ball and Roller Bearings which are products of a protected industry. It is said that ball and roller bearings over a diameter of two inches will get some protection. I ask the hon. Minister, will it not affect the development of ball roller bearing industry in India? There are a number of articles the manufacture of which India has either started or India seriously thinks of taking up very soon. For example, coal tar dyes, staple fibre, toiletry chemicals, drugs, medicines, fountain pens, razor blades, typewriters, type-writer spares parts, etc. are certain articles in which I find the duty has been bound. I do not know exactly what is binding. I think a certain *ad valorem* duty has been fixed beyond which we cannot raise the import duties. What is the advantage to our country? Are we not contemplating the manufacture of some of these articles? Would it be possible for the

Government to go to GATT and ask them to allow us to withdraw in respect of this article and that article every week or month. Would it be possible for the Government to go to the GATT and tell them, we are having this industry now, therefore please allow us to withdraw in respect of that?

You will also find a list of articles in which the Government has bungled. Take spiritous liquor. I am not sure what percentage of pure alcohol is contained in various brands. But liquor containing up to 42 per cent. has protected duties here. Glass beads, false pearls, domestic refrigerators, uncut stones etc., enjoy concessions under the most favoured nation terms and conditions.

The GATT ruins the prices of our monopoly goods. We happen to be the monopoly suppliers of certain articles in which our prices are always stipulated by the countries which have formed the GATT. They also try to dump into this country manufactured goods which will ruin our industry in a great measure. We also find that the growth of Indian industries in respect of several items such as medicines, toilets, even tooth pastes and brushes will certainly be hit if you continue in the GATT. That is my understanding of the matter. I do not know what the Government's understanding is. Only just now, I was reading through the speech of Shri C. D. Deshmukh last year in reply to the Budget debate. He classified, for example, ply-wood, power alcohol refractories, soap and sewing machine industries as basic industries of the country. That is the understanding of the Government. I do not know what they will say about this.

The hon. Minister has attempted to point out that certain industries have recorded peak production. I do not deny that. But, what is the advantage of this peak production? You say you have produced more. What advantage has accrued to the people? Take the

[Shri V. P. Nayar]

case of the textile industry which has touched its peak. It has climbed the Everest of production. Has it resulted in one pie more being paid to the worker? Has it resulted in reducing the price of yarn on which depend the lives of millions of handloom workers, at least to the extent of one anna in a bundle? I grant that there has been peak production in textiles. Has it succeeded in reducing the prices of sarees and dhoties? On the contrary, you find that although textiles have touched the peak of production, the price of yarn has increased, the price of sarees and dhoties has increased and the handloom worker is not any the better for the peak production of yarn and millions of our half-naked people are not any the better for the peak production in textiles.

Take the case of sugar. The hon. Minister may get up and say, it is not in my Ministry. Whether it comes under his Ministry or not, it is certainly an industry and an organised industry as they call it. Sugar has touched the peak of production. But, it is only the other day that we found that it has recorded a price level unprecedented in recent times. Sugar sells at Rs. 35-8-0 a maund in Kanpur a level which was never reached before. (An Hon. Member: It is Rs. 37 today.) Millions of sugarcane growers have not got one anna more on this account. They give the cane to the crushers on credit; they do not get even one anna more. Take tea. The wage cuts that were effected during the time when there was some crisis in the tea industry, are still there in most of the estates. They have not received any benefit in spite of the fact that last year, the export of tea has brought more money. Take the iron and steel industry and the cement industry. If cement production has touched the peak, it costs a pretty penny because 40 to 50 per cent of the cement is consumed for purposes of Government. Have they reduced the prices? Similar is the case of the iron and steel industry.

Take the unorganised industries. Madam, I will not take up the time of the House by generalising, as I find that it is better to quote some authorities than to say something of my own. Here is an article from the journal called *Commerce* which certainly is not a Communist Journal. In the issue of 19th December, 1953.....

Mr. Chairman: Is it a long quotation?

Shri V. P. Nayar: It is a very short quotation. One or two quotations and then I shall finish.

About the idle capacity of industries, it says:

".....the percentage of installed capacity utilised was 49.6 in sulphuric acid, 50.1 in caustic soda, 44.7 in liquid chlorine, 20.5 in bleaching powder, 17.2 in superphosphate and 36.4 in bichromates."

Take the machine tools industry. There is another very interesting article in which the President of the Machine Tool Manufacturers Association says that the Government called for certain specifications from the machine tool manufacturers, that they gave the specifications, that the Government showed them to their foreign consultants who were in India and who altered them slightly here and there to place orders on foreign suppliers. The President of the Machine Tool Manufacturers Association says that in India also, the machine tool manufacturers can change the specification even if it be in the case of machines for precision jobs. This is a matter in which we have got an industry.

You come and tell us that here is industrial prosperity. Look at Travancore-Cochin. I hope the hon. Minister will come to that State one of these days. What about our cashew nut industry? Fifty thousands of our sisters are already out of employment today because Government of India has not

taken time by the forelock. We wanted you to take action; you never did anything. There is the monopoly of the Bombay exporters ruining the industry. What have you done? Take the coir industry. It is in a prostrate condition. The coir manufacturers are having a very bad time. In the case of textiles.....

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member has exceeded his time.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** One minute. I am the only spokesman of my party.

**Mr. Chairman:** I will call the next speaker. Shri Jangde.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** Let me have one minute. I shall finish my argument.

**Mr. Chairman:** Shri Jangde.

श्री जंगड़ (बिलासपुर-रीडित-अनुसूचित जातियाँ) : सभानेत्री महोदय, मैं ने बजट पर जनरल डिस्कशन के अवसर पर बोलते हुए भारत की उद्योग नीति के सम्बन्ध में कहा था और उस समय माननीय मंत्री ने उसका जबाब नहीं दिया था। आज इस अवसर पर फिर मैं उसी उद्योग नीति के सम्बन्ध में यहां पर कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारे इस सदन में और बहुत से पत्रों में उद्योगों के यंत्रिकरण के सम्बन्ध में बहुत सी चर्चाएं हुई गयी हैं और उसमें कहा गया है कि देश के सैकड़ों उद्योगों के जो यन्त्र हैं वह आज बहुत काल बीतने के कारण बंकार हो रहे हैं अपटेंट नहीं हैं वह आज के वर्तमान काल में प्रतिस्पर्धा या होड़-बाजी नहीं लगा सकते और हमारे लाखों मजदूर बंकार हो रहे हैं, ऐसा कहा गया है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि यदि हमने रेशनलाइजेशन यानी यंत्रिकरण किया तो हमारे लाखों मजदूरों को बंकारी का सामना करना पड़ेगा। हमारे मंत्री महोदय कहते हैं कि वह तो केवल एक टेम्परेरी फेज होगा, यह अनिश्चित काल के लिये नहीं बल्कि कुछ काल के लिये मजदूरों को वातनाएं सहनी पड़ेगी, यह तो हमें समझाने के लिये कह सकते हैं पर हम जानते हैं कि हमें इसका

सामना बहुत दिनों तक करना पड़ेगा और वातना सहनी पड़ेगी।

इसके उपरान्त मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम बड़े बड़े शहरों में यंत्रों को क्यों केंद्रित करते हैं, बड़े बड़े हमारे उद्योग हैं इसमें हमें आपत्ति नहीं, पर क्यों नहीं हमारे छोटे छोटे स्टेशनों में, अथवा गांवों में जहां पर कि बिजली या पावर अथवा यंत्र आदि बहुत सस्ते दामों में पहुंचाये जा सकते हैं, वहां से उनका विकेंद्रीकरण क्यों नहीं किया जा सकता। बड़े २ शहरों और स्टेशनों पर यंत्रों आदि का केंद्रीकरण करने से हमारे देश के लाखों गरीब मजदूरों को काफी नुकसान पहुंचता है।

इसके उपरान्त अब मैं गृह उद्योग के सम्बन्ध में आता हूँ। हमें खुशी है कि हमारी सरकार करीब साढ़े पांच करोड़ रुपया गृह उद्योग के लिये खर्च कर रही है पर जिस तरह से हमारे सरकारी कर्मचारी और सरकार आगे बढ़ रही है, यदि वही तरीका कायम रहा तो हम साँ साल में भी इस देश के गृह उद्योग को नहीं बढ़ा सकते। गृह उद्योग के लिए सरकार की ओर से सबसिडी देना एक बात है और गृह उद्योग के जीवन में एक नई रोशनी लाना दूसरी बात है, अकलें सबसिडी देने से ही काम चलने वाला नहीं है। आज हम गृह उद्योग में नई रोशनी नहीं ला रहे हैं। आज हम देखते हैं कि सरकार मिल के कपड़े को टैक्स क्लार्क के लिये, इस्टर्स के लिये और परदों के लिये खरीदती है लेकिन वह खादी या हैंडलूम के कपड़े को नहीं खरीदती है। यहां पर इसी सदन में कई बार अनुपूरक और लिखित प्रश्न पूछे गये, पर हर मर्तबा यह कहा गया कि हम चाँथाई या विहाई गृह उद्योगों का सामान खरीदते हैं। जो खुद ही नहीं खरीदते वह दूसरे लोगों से कहने में कैसे समर्थ हो सकते हैं कि हमें कर्बा उद्योग या खादी उद्योग को प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिये।

इस के उपरान्त मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अभी तक हमारे गृह उद्योगों और बड़े

[श्री जांगड़]

उद्योगों में डिमांडेशन नहीं हुआ है, सीमा निर्धारण नहीं हुआ है। जब तक यह नहीं होगा तब तक कार्टज इन्डस्ट्रीज पनप सकती हैं। आज एक होड़ है, एक कम्पटीशन है बड़े और गृह उद्योगों में। जो यंत्र से चलने वाले उद्योग हैं वह हमारे छोटे २ उद्योगों के उपयोगी सामान को हड़प लेते हैं। इस से हमारे गृह उद्योग के सब व्यवसाय मार जाते हैं। आज मुरादाबाद के बर्तन कहां गये, बनारसी साड़ी और सिल्क कहां गई। उस का स्थान रंजन और नकली रंशम ने ले लिया। इस कारण से हमारे गृह उद्योगों के लाखों मजदूर बेकार हो गये हैं।

इसी प्रकार में चमड़े के उद्योग के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। क्या हम लोग चमड़े के गृह उद्योग के बने हुए जूते नहीं पहन सकते। क्या हम अपनी फॉर्जों के सैनिकों और अन्य नागरिकों को मामूली भनोपड़ियों में बने हुए जूतों को नहीं इस्तेमाल करा सकते? आज हम केवल बाटा, या कानपुर या फूलकुश इत्यादि के कारखानों के जूतों को ही पहनते हैं जिस के कारण लाखों चमड़े का व्यापार करने वाले भाइयों का व्यवसाय मारा जाता है। इस की ओर सरकार ने कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया। अगर में आज हजारों चमड़े का रोजगार करने वाले हैं, उन की कोआपरेटिव सोसायटीज बनाने के सम्बन्ध में कोई विचार नहीं किया गया। अभी हमारी श्रीमती तारकेश्वरी सिन्हा ने कहा था कि जो हमारे उद्योगशील व्यक्ति हैं, यदि वह बड़े २ यंत्रों को इम्पोर्ट करना चाहते हैं तो सरकार को उन को सिलकेशन या सहायता देनी चाहिये। हमारे हजारों लाखों चमड़े के व्यवसाय वालों में एंजी और बुद्धि नहीं कि वे कोआपरेटिव सोसायटी बनायें। उन्हें पका पकाया चमड़ा बहुत महंगे दामों पर मिलता है और आज उनका पंधा छिनता जा रहा है। चमड़ा उद्योग जो है वह गृह उद्योग के विचार से बहुत बड़ा उद्योग है, लेकिन सरकार उस की तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं देती।

इसी तरह से हाथ के बनाये गये कागजों की बात बताई गई। मैं अभी अखिल भारतीय खादी तथा गृह उद्योग प्रदर्शनी देखने गया था। यहां के हर एक सदस्य को यह जान कर खुशी होगी कि किल्ली ऐसे रॉनकदार शहर में, दूर नहीं, इसी प्रदर्शनी में कितनी २ लाजवाब चीजें लाई गई हैं और कितनी सस्ती कीमत पर वह चीजें बिकती हैं। हमारे टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी जी भी वहां गये थे और उन को इस का अनुभव होगा लेकिन शायद वह खरीदने नहीं क्योंकि इस बात को कहना एक बात है करना दूसरी बात है। वे यंत्र से बनी हुई चीजें हैं, उन्हें ही खरीदते हैं। उसी को हम खरीदते हैं, यह सब से बड़ी दिक्कत है। आज जो मिलते हैं वह ७० से ८० काउन्ट तक का सूत तैयार कर सकती हैं, लेकिन हमें इस प्रदर्शनी में यह देखने को मिला कि हमारे बुनने कातने वाले जो हैं वह १६० और २०० काउन्ट तक का सूत तैयार करते हैं। आज उन को प्रोत्साहन देने वाला कोई नहीं है। आज हम सिर्फ २ अना रिबेट देते हैं। पर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि हम १०० या उस से ऊपर काउन्ट वाले सूत के तैयार करने वाले जो हैं उन को ८ अना तक रिबेट दें, तभी उस को प्रोत्साहन मिल सकता है और कपड़े में प्रवीणता और नवीनता आ सकती है।

आज इस देश में व्यापारी कहते हैं कि प्रोटेक्शन दिया जाय। लेकिन उन्होंने बेईमानियाँ और नकली चीजें तैयार करने की नीचता को नहीं छोड़ा। आज आप बाजार में जाइये, साबुन देखिये, कपड़ा देखिये, या कोई भी वस्तु देखिये, उस में बेईमानी और नकलीपन भरा हुआ है। आज हमारे देश को लाखों और करोड़ों रुपया खर्च करने पर भी असली चीज नहीं मिलती। मैं पूछता हूँ कि इस के लिये हमारे चैम्बर्स आफ कामर्स और एसोशिएटेड चैम्बर्स आफ कामर्स के तुलसीदास किलाचन्द जी और बंसल जी ऐसे जो बड़े बड़े लोग हैं उन लोगों ने क्या मदद दी है? क्या सलाह दी है?

इस के बाद आप दहातों में जो धंधे चलते हैं उन को देखिये। उन पर ही गांव के लोग आश्रित रहते हैं। अब हलर मशीन आ गई हैं और धान कटने की मशीनें दहात दहात में ६, ६ या १० मील पर स्थापित की जा रही हैं, इसी तरह बीड़ी बनाने की मशीन तैयार की जा रही हैं और वह दहातों में पहुंचाई जा रही हैं। इस तरह से जो हमारे यंत्र और मशीनें हैं वह दहात के छोटे २ उद्योगों को मारने के लिये जा रही हैं, इस के लिये सरकार ने क्या तय किया है ? आज दहातों में हलर या बीड़ी की मशीनें लगाई जा रही हैं जिस से हमारे दहाती भाईयों को बहुत नुकसान पहुंचेगा इस के लिये कोई उपाय नहीं किया गया है।

इस के उपरान्त मैं साप के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ। जितना कपड़ा धोने का साबुन है, सिवा लिवर बुदर्स के सिवा टाटा प्रोडक्ट्स के या स्वास्तिक मिल के और कोई खास तौर पर नहीं बनाता है। जो यंत्र का उपयोग करने वाले व्यवसाय हैं वह कपड़ा धोने का साबुन अधिक नहीं बनाते हैं। वह अब भी गृह उद्योग के जरिये बनाया जाता है। मैं पूछता हूँ कि इस गृह उद्योग को आप क्यों प्रोटेक्शन नहीं देते ? जो कपड़ा धोने का साबुन है उसे बड़े कारखानों में नहीं बनाने दिया जावे।

खादी का जो कपड़ा है, उस के लिये यह करना चाहिये कि जितने इस्टर, टाबल और दूसरी इस प्रकार की चीजें हैं, उन को खादी के उद्योग को ही तैयार करने के लिये कहा जाय, टैक्स्टाइल मिल वालों के द्वारा उस का तैयार करना बंद कर दिया जाय। मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अभी खादी एंग्लो-इंडियन को खोलते समय पीहित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने कहा था कि इस देश में लोग अब भी रेशनलाइजेशन और यंत्रीकरण करने की बात करते हैं। हम अमरीका और रूस की नकल करते हैं, पर वर्तमान समय में भारत का अधिकांश धान आठ आने से अधिक हिस्सा गृह उद्योग पर ही निर्भर रह सकता है। पर हमारे भाई मिल के

चकाचौंध में पड़ कर हमारे गृह उद्योग को आगे नहीं बढ़ाना चाहते।

**Shri Jhunjunwala** (Bhagalpur Central): We are at the threshold of rationalising industry and commerce. That is what has been stated by the Commerce and Industry Minister and we welcomed the remark when it was said by one of my Madras friends that the Commerce and Industry Minister is going to rationalise industry and commerce.

On this point, I want to ask the Commerce and Industry Minister as to what he means by rationalisation. Does he mean by rationalisation that he will produce the most economic thing or will he take into account also the employment question? Will it be proper rationalisation if millions of people are thrown out of employment and some goods are produced at the most economic price that can be available only to a part of the population of India who will have purchasing power?

I had dealt with this question at length at the time of the general discussion on the Budget when we were asked to confine our remarks only to the policy of the Government. I confined my remarks only to that. I said the present policy of the Government, so far as has been seen, is not going to solve the unemployment question which is the most burning question of the day and should be the concern of each and everyone. The Government should rationalise industry and commerce keeping in view the unemployment question. I do not want to take my time so little at my disposal or the time of the House by repeating what I had said at that time. My main point was that big industries can be justified to replace small scale and village industries only when these can give employment to those who have been and will be thrown out of employment because of such big industries. At that time the Finance Minister said that all these questions would be answered by the relevant Ministry and he would not take up

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these things; he would take up only finance matters. As such, I would expect an answer from the hon. Minister whether he will take into account the employment question, having regard to what I had said in course of the general discussion on the Budget.

I must congratulate the Commerce and Industry Ministry in regard to the progress they have made with reference to industrial production, and also imports and exports. The most important thing in matters of industry and commerce is that we should take immediate action. It is the duty of the Minister of Commerce and Industry to see that he does not lose a moment, when he finds that a particular step is necessary to attain a particular object. I am glad to say that our Minister of Commerce and Industry has not brooked delay, whether it be in the matter of administration or in the issue of export and import permits or whether it is a case of levying a duty, abolishing it or increasing it on certain articles. He has always taken timely action. In fact, many people who were not granted permits came to me and said, well, though they have not been granted permits, yet it is a consolation to them that they have got a timely reply, so that they can take to something else. Formerly what used to happen was that they had to wait for the whole year, and yet no reply came, and no one knew what was his fate. This also led to corruption. But now, whether the decision is favourable or not a quick reply is received. Thus, the hon. Minister has solved the question of delay in a fairly satisfactory manner, though something more has still to be done.

As regards export and import trade, as my hon. friend Shri Bansal has already pointed out, nearly thirty to forty per cent of it is still in the hands of the foreigners. The hon. Minister has stated that there are

certain difficulties in the matter, because the exchange banks are mostly owned by foreigners.

Apart from this, I would also like to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister one other difficulty, which I have been putting before him for the last so many years. I have not been able to follow the policy behind the question of established dealers. Of course, now he has allowed new-comers also to come in, but not to the extent he should. Formerly, new-comers were not allowed on the ground that they indulged in black-marketing. But if you would go into the records, you would find that even the established dealers indulge in a good deal of black-marketing.

In regard to the duty on betel-nuts, the hon. Finance Minister has stated that he has imposed a duty on this, because even now the licences and permits are being sold at fifty to cent. per cent. premium. This is one of the reasons which he has given to justify the duty. I am not satisfied with this reason. What the hon. Minister should do is to root out this corruption and black-marketing, rather than remain content with imposing a duty, and saying, they are making more than fifty to hundred per cent profit on these licences and permits, therefore, this duty is justified.

As regards the question of foreign capital, I do not belong to that school which says that there should be no foreign capital or foreign industrialist here in India. In all sectors of activities be it public or private one cannot work without others' help. Even a private industrialist or trader cannot do without taking the help of others' capital, or without entering into partnership with others. He cannot manage with his own capital, and therefore, he must get some more capital either by borrowing or by some other means. So, I do not belong to the school which says that there should be no foreign capital or

foreign industrialist working here in India, either in the private sector or in the public sector. But I want to say one thing which has come to my notice recently. The foreign capitalists who come here to help the public sector or the private sector try to monopolise the whole profit and business for themselves. This tendency should be checked. Somehow, there is a sort of impression on the part of our authorities that the foreigners can do better and they can work more efficiently. So, there is some favourable inclination towards them. But if they will study the position they will be disillusioned. In this connection, I should like to give the figures relating to the jute industry, which show clearly the difference in the profits which the Indian and the British manufacturers made, during the period 1947—51. I would not like to go into the details as most of my time will be taken in that, but I have totalled up the figures for the last four years, and I find that if the jute-mills which were in the hands of the Britishers had been in the hands of the Indians, there would have been an additional profit of Rs. 33,37,35,041. That means that the British jute manufacturers had made less profit than the Indian jute manufacturers. To that extent, Government had lost revenue by way of income-tax which comes to about 15 to 16 crores. These foreign capitalists took away a lot of money under the plea of overhead expenses etc., and we do not know in what other ways they take away money from our country. Why should not Government see to it that the foreign capitalists who come here to help in the private sector or the public sector, work efficiently so that our country can get full advantage of it? When our own people can do things more economically, why should they not be encouraged, instead of the foreigners?

In this connection, I would like to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister the case of the aluminium industry. It was started in 1937 by an Indian firm and they have carried it

on against several odds till now. But now I understand for want of capital and other facilities, they are not able to carry on, even though their cost of production is less than that of the foreign firm which has established itself here, and is carrying on its activities because of sufficient financial resources behind them and once they get footing they might begin taking undue advantage.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member's time is over.

**Shri Jhunjunwala:** One minute more, madam.

Why should not the Government look to such proposals? I do not know whether the Government has given any consideration to this or not. But if they have not given consideration to this and such other industries in Indian hands where we find that Indian people can do better, but for want of capital or something else they cannot do it, Government should help them to have upper hand over the foreigners. If they think that private persons cannot do it, let them nationalise, and take it into their own hands.

We support the private sector because there is incentive of personal profit in that and they will be able to give us more economical results. But if the foreigners do not give us more economical results, where is the point in encouraging them and losing both by way of not getting things at a cheaper cost as well as losing by way of taxes.

**Shri Meghnad Saha:** Within the very short time at my disposal, I think I can touch only a few points. First, I would like to dispel one of the illusions created by a former speaker, Mr. V. B. Gandhi, that on account of the very liberal policy of the Government, we are having a lot of foreign capital. He has given an impressive figure—Rs. 13 crores last year. But at the same time, this House ought to know that foreign capital is being exported out of this

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country. The complaint has been made that the capital in the private sector is very shy—is not coming. What is the reason? Any number of European firms in Calcutta, Bombay and other places are changing hands. The European owners are selling their concerns and going away to their own country taking the capital with them. In this way, I am told last year about Rs. 15 crores of foreign capital has been exported out of this country, so that instead of having more foreign capital, we are exporting foreign capital which has been invested in this country already. So the policy of the Commerce and Industry Ministry in this matter has been very contradictory. I am not one who would not like foreign capital. At the same time, it must be admitted that if we have to develop this country, we have to depend entirely on our own resources. If foreign capital comes, so much so good. But I do not expect much foreign capital will be coming to this country.

I would like to smash another of the illusions created by the Commerce and Industry Ministry that because our production has increased upto 133 per cent, therefore we can take much pride in it. If you analyse the figures, you find that the production has not increased so much in quantity as in price. If you increase the price of steel and say we have increased our production, that is no increase. As a matter of fact, the retention price of steel has been increased, but the actual quantity of steel which is produced in this country has gone down. Therefore, this increase, about which the Commerce and Industry Minister has taken so much pride, is absolutely an illusion. I would therefore ask the hon. Minister that when he gives us these figures, the quantity should be given along with the prices.

**Shri Bansal:** I think this index is only quantity-wise.

**Shri Altekar (North Satara):** It is quantity-wise.

**Shri Meghnad Saha:** Where I have been able to find the quantity, I have given it.

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** Leave him to have his own illusions.

**Shri Meghnad Saha:** I am not one of those who think that we can cure poverty by imposing more poverty by the use of primitive methods in manufacture. But you must have a bold policy. What is the policy which we have got? If you take the total industrial production of this country, it is extremely small. It is only Rs. 1500 crores as against Rs. 4100 crores of agricultural production. If we have to rise to the status of many other industrial countries, we must have a programme of increasing our industrial production by ten to fifteen times within a short time, and we must have a very bold policy. I find here again that in many of our industries, we have got much of the industrial capacity unutilised. I understand there has been a Committee—the Mulgaonkar Committee—which went into this question of unused capacity. I would like to have the report of that Committee before me. In many other cases, I have found that where the installed capacity is very large, the actual production has been very much less. Take, for example, the automobile industry. I find that the different automobile factories in this country can produce something like 81,000 vehicles—I speak subject to correction—but actually they have produced only 15,000. Over and above that, we have imported not less than 10,000 motor cars from outside. Now, it may be that there is no demand in this country for so many motor cars and therefore, the production has been less. But I would like that when the figures are given, the figures of installed capacity and actual production are given and also the quantity which we import from foreign countries should be given side by side, so that we can know what the facts are. I do not understand why, if we have an installed capacity of 81,000 and we have produced only 15,000, licences should be issued for the import of



another 10,000 automobiles. Here also I speak subject to correction, because we may be importing types of cars or types of other vehicles which are not produced in the country. If that is a fact, we should take steps to see that those types which we are importing should be manufactured in this country.

Production in this country has been divided between the Ministry of Production and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. I think there should be some rationalisation in this matter. As I have been insisting again and again, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry should leave to the Ministry of Production those industries which are in bad need of development. The capital goods industries, on which industrialisation mainly depends, should be taken up by an organisation separate from the Commerce and Industry Ministry. I would illustrate by one example. Take, for example, the manufacture of soda ash, manufacture of alkalies. This is an industry in which we have got very poor capacity. The total capacity is about 55,000 tons in soda ash. Our requirement is 150,000 tons and the rest we are importing from foreign countries. Now, the ridiculously small amount which we are consuming in this country, taking even the imported figures, will be apparent from the fact that in the United States of America, the total amount of sodium carbonate or soda ash manufactured is about 5 million tons. Our total requirement is only 15,000 tons. This is a capital goods industry, because the development of many other industries, glass, rayon for example, then many of the chemicals, caustic soda and so on, all depend upon the production of soda ash. Therefore, our low production of this essential substance has hampered a number of consumer industries. You can look at the figures of installed capacity of glass and see what has been the total production. You find that barely one-third of the capacity has been utilised. What is the reason? The high price of soda ash. As I have informed this House over and over again, the price of soda ash

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in this country is about three or four times that in foreign countries. It is Rs. 130 to Rs. 160 in Great Britain and in this country it is sold at a price of Rs. 370 to Rs. 480. Now, this unfortunately produces a very bad effect on other industries, the glass industry, for example, or the raw material in the glass industry. The manufacturer has to pay a much higher price—of Rs. 110 per ton instead of Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 in England. That is why the glass industry is not flourishing. A number of other industries like rayon cannot be started because we have no soda ash in this country. Now, why this thing is allowed to continue? It is because we have got two soda ash factories in this country which are very incompetent and which have been located in places where no rational person would locate. We have been told that whenever the Government makes something, it is inefficient and when a private capitalist starts an industry, it is very efficient. Here are two great Indian industrial firms which have made one of the worst blunders in setting up a very important industry in this country, because they are producing soda ash at three times the price at which it is produced in foreign countries. And just to keep these inefficient Indian firms alive, we are imposing a duty of about Rs. 200 per ton or something like that. In fact when the real price is Re. 1/-, we are giving them a protection of Rs. 2/-. That is not the whole of the story. Taking advantage of that, the Imperial Chemical Industries, which consider India within their chemical empire, have been charging from the Indian consumer twice the price that they charge from their English consumer. They charge Rs. 130 from their English consumer. When the Indian consumer wants to buy the same stuff from England, they charge from him Rs. 250. If our Commerce and Industry Ministry has got any guts, it should ask for a refund from them of Rs. 3 or Rs. 4 crores, which they have extorted out of the Indian consumer during these five or six years. At the same time, there should be a very serious attempt to manufacture soda ash at economic rates in this country. Four years ago, in 1949, the

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Tariff Commission went into this matter and it found that the methods of manufacture, which were followed by the two Indian firms, were extremely inefficient and it recommended that steps should be taken to start four other soda ash factories in Tutikorin, Sindri and at some other places. I am sorry to find that, though this report has been there for five years, no steps have yet been taken on this recommendation, and we are still suffering from this double extortion by the two Indian firms and the Imperial Chemical Industries, and a number of our industries cannot simply get on their legs. Our industrial policy has been very confused. As a matter of fact, we have not yet been able to understand the importance of capital goods industry in the country. Unless we have got a very flourishing capital goods industry, many other industries here cannot flourish. Take, for example the pharmaceutical industry. We are importing into this country pharmaceutical medicine to the extent of Rs. 15 or 16 crores. While this industry cannot flourish, a number of industrial concerns have entered into subsidiary alliance....

7 P.M.

**Mr. Chairman:** It is past seven now. Will the hon. Member close his speech?

**Shri Meghnad Saha:** How can I be allowed to continue my speech on Wednesday?

**Mr. Chairman:** He has already been given about fourteen minutes. He may take one more minute and finish his speech today.

**Shri Meghnad Saha:** Then, shall I finish in one minute?

**Mr. Chairman:** Then, he may take two minutes and finish his speech.

**Shri Meghnad Saha:** In the pharmaceutical industries, many of the Indian concerns have entered into subsidiary alliance with foreign concerns. They are simply importing most of their medicine in this country, bottling them and then saying that they are Indian products. They charge three or four times the price from the consumer. No industry can flourish in this country unless the fundamental chemicals on which the pharmaceutical industries depend, are started by the Government. They require such a capital that it is not possible for any Indian firm to find. Take the coal tar industry, the sulphur industry and heavy machineries industry. These are of such magnitude that they require heavy capital which private capitalists cannot raise, and unless they are taken up by Government on proper basis, the consumer industries dependent on these cannot be started or cannot flourish in this country. Many of the consumer industries, which depend on them, cannot be started, and even if they may be started, they would have a sickly existence and they would be like a tubercular patient ready to die any moment unless propped up by drugs, just as in the case of the two Indian soda ash factories, they were supported by Government subsidy to an extent which is undreamt of.

*The House then adjourned till Two of the Clock on Wednesday, the 14th April, 1954.*