

[Mr. Speaker]

I believe the Criminal Procedure Code makes provision for a reference to the High Court by the party who feels aggrieved. There is a legal remedy about it. That is the meaning of the previous ruling. Therefore, it has been the general rule in this House that, there shall be no adjournment motions in cases where orders under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code are promulgated, the remedy having been provided by the Code through the ordinary course of law. (*Interruption*). That is very clear. I do not think I need mention the whole string of rulings in this House. This procedure has been adopted and accepted for 25 years and I do not think I should change that now. (*An Hon. Member*: We are under a new Constitution.) It is a new Constitution and therefore perhaps further restrictions are called for.

Shri R. K. Chaudhury (Gauhati): May I know for future guidance when an order is passed by the local Government and it is not appealable to any authority, whether such an order may be a subject for discussion here?

Mr. Speaker: It is a hypothetical question. The hon. Member may take the opinion of his legal advisers. I cannot imagine that the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code can apply only when orders are passed by certain States and not by other States. It applies to all.

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): A short notice question may be allowed on the subject, Sir. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. He can try that remedy.

REPORT OF PRIVILEGES COMMITTEE

Shri N. L. Sharma (Sikar): May I know, Sir, when the House will get the report of the Privileges Committee?

Mr. Speaker: I understand that the Committee is meeting at 5 P.M. today.

Shri N. L. Sharma: When will the House get the report?

Mr. Speaker: When the report has been made. (*Interruptions*). Order, order. The Privileges Committee of the House is not interested in this or that party. It is a Committee whose function is to protect the rights of all

Members, irrespective of their political leanings. The Privileges Committee does not work, as is done in the House, on a party system. Whether it is the case of a Member of this or that party, the Privileges Committee is concerned with the prestige and privileges of every Member of this House, irrespective of his party inclinations: the prestige of the entire House is concerned. The report will take some time but it does not matter. Let these questions be decided once for all. I would earnestly request Members of the Opposition that they should not treat questions of privilege, purely as party questions.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (Calcutta South-East): That should be addressed to Government Benches. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The Chairman of the Committee, the hon. Home Minister, is a well known lawyer and a good Parliamentarian but I thought that Members of the Opposition were new ones. That was why I referred to the Members of the Opposition.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

(i) Appropriation Accounts Posts and Telegraphs); and (ii) Audit Report.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): I lay on the Table a signed copy of the Appropriation Accounts (Posts and Telegraphs) 1949-50 and the Audit Report 1951 under Article 151 of the Constitution. [*Placea in Library. See No. IV N.O.(6)*].

GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION

Mr. Speaker: We shall now proceed to the discussion of the General Budget. I have to announce to the House that under Rule 184(3), I fix that the time-limit for speeches will ordinarily be 15 minutes for each Member excepting the Finance Minister for whom one hour or more will be allowed, if necessary.

At this stage the House will be at liberty to discuss the Budget as a whole or any question of principle involved therein.

I am making this suggestion so that, Members may make the best pos-

sible use of the 15 minutes at their disposal and not go into individual questions or minor matters, unless they are really necessary and very relevant to bring out a general question.

I have received requests on both sides. There is on one side the suggestion to limit speeches to ten minutes to accommodate more Members and on the other side, there is a suggestion to extend the time limit to 20 or 30 minutes for each Member. Well, I think I have taken the mean and that should be taken as a general guide. I hope hon Members would be to the point, and if any Members of any party take more time, I think I shall have to debit it to the account of that party with the result that a smaller number of that party will be called upon. I shall not undertake to accommodate all. We have from the beginning fixed four days and the hon. Members need not entertain the hope that there will be a further extension. The limit is fixed from now. Perhaps some of them might think that, on two occasions they had extensions of a day each and this time also there may be an extension. Nothing of that sort is going to happen now. I am saying this merely to request Members to bring out all the important points within the time at their disposal.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (Calcutta South-East): How have you divided the time between the Opposition and Government, Sir?

Mr. Speaker: That is a matter for the Chair.

Dr. S. P. Mookerjee: We should know.

Mr. Speaker: No, they should not know. If they want to know I will put the strictest limit according to the number of Members, but that will not be the standard by which I am going. The Opposition will have a certain latitude but that does not mean they can carry on, any way. Hon. Members I suppose now know the practice as to what I mean by an equitable distribution.

Shri B. Shiva Rao.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly): Before the hon. Member begins may I know when the hon. Home Minister is going to reply to the Short Notice Question in regard to the Delhi situation and with regard to the arrest of an hon. Member? Sir, while you disallowed the adjournment motion you said short notice questions may be put. I understand notice of short

notice question has been given and we were expecting some reply from the hon. Home Minister. May I know when they will be answered?

The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju): They might be put for Monday.

Shri B. Shiva Rao (South Kanara-South): Sir, I would like to utilise the time you have been pleased to allot me for placing before the House and also before the Government certain suggestions for their consideration. But first I would like to say a word about the Budget as a whole. I regard this Budget as an honest and a courageous Budget: with dwindling reserves and an international situation which is not particularly bright at the moment, whether one looks to the Far East or to Europe, I think the Finance Minister was more than amply justified in being cautious in such circumstances of uncertainty. I think he is entitled not only to the appreciation but the gratitude of every section of this House for the courage he has shown in refusing to afford relief in certain directions.

Having said that about the Budget as a whole, I would like the Finance Minister to consider two points. One is not a new one. Last year when the Provisional Parliament was considering certain supplementary grants, I ventured to suggest that the measures adopted to prevent smuggling were not sufficiently effective. And in reply my hon. friend, Mr. Mahavir Tyagi said that he would tighten up the measures in order to check, if not completely to prevent, smuggling. I am not satisfied that even if those measures have been put into operation they have proved particularly effective. It is a layman's estimate but I reckon the annual loss of revenue to the exchequer through large-scale smuggling through French and Portuguese territories at not less than two or three crores—not a negligible sum. I was recently in Goa on my way to my constituency and I was told that it is a paradise for smugglers and anti-prohibitionists. I was informed that the import of whisky and alcoholic liquours into Goa has increased ten to twelve times in the last few years since prohibition was put into force in Bombay. Therefore I would ask the Finance Minister not to be soft or half-hearted in adopting measures to prevent smuggling; because as I have said, it will not only help to swell his pockets, but I venture to add it will help the Prime Minister in

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solving this difficult problem of the continued existence of these foreign pockets in our country. I have reasons to believe that so long as smuggling continues, there will be, both in French and Portuguese territories in this country, a fairly appreciable section of the indigenous population to support the maintenance of foreign rule. And therefore for both these reasons I would ask the Finance Minister to tighten up the regulations against smuggling.

The other point for consideration of the Finance Minister refers to the work of the Estimates Committee and of the Public Accounts Committee to which he has made appreciative references in his Budget statement. As a Member of the Estimates Committee for the last two years I think I am in a position to say, and in this I am sure that I have the support of all the other Members of the Committee...

Shri B. Das (Jajpur-Keonjhar) : You have.

Shri B. Shiva Rao.....that our labours were considerably lightened by the assistance which we received from the Secretary to Parliament and his staff; by their ability and willing co-operation at all times the Committee's work was greatly facilitated. But, we are at the beginning of a new Constitution, and I think the work of the House of the People will increase greatly in volume and complexity. I would therefore suggest to the Finance Minister to consider the desirability of giving to each of these two Committees, the Estimates Committee and the Public Accounts Committee, a separate whole-time staff in order to increase their effectiveness and practical usefulness.

Now, Sir, I would like to pass on to a subject in which I have taken a good deal of interest in the last three or four years, and that is industrial housing. I am glad that the Finance Minister has at last found it possible to make a beginning with industrial housing, though it is a modest beginning. I hope that in course of time this movement for house building will assume national proportions. So far as industrial labour is concerned, having had a good deal to do with its organisation at one time, I feel I cannot stress too strongly or too often the great need for industrial housing, because proper housing for industrial labour will solve many of its urgent problems: disease, vice and inefficiency. Incidentally, I would like to suggest for the consideration of the Government, I do not know if any final decision

has been taken, that now that Production has been made a separate Ministry—I do not know what would be the precise label for what is left to the new Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, I presume it will be called, "Works, Housing and Supply"—I would suggest a briefer and a more elegant title, just the "Ministry of Housing", because I think it would indicate the interest of the Government in the solution of this problem and it would also point out both to this House and to the country that the Government attaches the highest importance to industrial housing.

Recently there appeared in the press long extracts from a report made by an expert committee on housing. I hope copies of that document will be made available to Members of this House. But I would like to suggest that the new Minister should exercise constant vigilance in two directions: first in keeping down the costs of house building and secondly in regard to research on the use of indigenous building materials.

Now, there is one important aspect of this problem to which I would invite the attention of the hon. Minister. If I may borrow for a moment a phrase which is so dear to my hon. friend opposite, Mr. Gopalan, the time has come for a "declaration of war" on slums throughout the country. The Prime Minister has spoken out very strongly against the continued existence of slums in Kanpur and I believe the municipal board of Kanpur has at last begun to wake up to the necessity for action. But speaking quite frankly, municipal boards in this country in too many instances are either too weak or too indifferent. They are unable to resist the very powerful influences of vested interests, namely the owners of slum areas; and if this problem is to be tackled on a national scale, I would suggest to the Minister for Housing that the initiative should start from the Centre.

If I may throw out a suggestion, the Ministry of Labour, when a new Statute has been passed by Parliament sends out to State Governments model rules for immediate adoption; and the advantage is two-fold. In the first place, it ensures the implementation of labour legislation with the least avoidable delay and secondly it ensures uniformity of action. In the same way, I would suggest that the Ministry of Housing, in consultation with the Ministry of Law, may draw up a model

Bill for the abolition of slums throughout the country and pass on that Bill for adoption by the various State Governments. In no other way it seems to me can this problem be tackled satisfactorily and on a national scale. It is essential that that Bill should contain a provision to the effect that slums are unfit for human habitation. If there is any section of the community which deserves no consideration whatsoever it is the owners of slums throughout the country. They have reaped fat dividends in the past on the miseries of the poor. While on this point I would like to say that if slums are to be abolished, as I hope they will be, some provision will become necessary for those who will be rendered homeless by radical action in the direction I have suggested.

Now I would like to pass on to the Planning Commission with which is now combined multi-purpose river projects. The Report of the Planning Commission is reaching, or has reached, its final stage, and I hope that the document will be in our hands long before the conclusion of this session. I think the time is appropriate for repeating a suggestion which I had made informally to some of the Members of the Planning Commission last year, when we had group discussions. I would like to see a Bureau of Personnel started, one on all-India scale by the Centre and two for service within the State at State levels. I attach a great deal of importance to securing experienced personnel for the hundreds, possibly thousands, of schemes, which would be undertaken very shortly, either on the basis of the report of the Planning Commission or as part of the various community projects. I discussed this matter in my constituency only a few weeks ago, and I know from the reactions I have had that a number of experienced officials who have either just retired or who are on the eve of retirement.—I am thinking at the moment of engineers, doctors, public health workers, men in the agricultural ministries, even teachers—such men I know would be glad to render public service either in an honorary capacity or in a semi-honorary capacity. Since for the success of the various plans you will require literally an army of trained workers I would ask the Minister for Planning to consider seriously the desirability of starting a Bureau of Personnel on the lines I have indicated.

If I may say a word about multi-purpose river projects, I would like to have an assurance from the hon. Minister that everything is being done at

the present moment to ensure maximum encouragement being given to indigenous talent. We have had a good deal to say on this subject when the Estimates Committee visited Damodar Valley last year. I do not want to be misunderstood. I am not against the importation of foreign experts, if indigenous talent is not available. For instance, I would like to suggest we may benefit very considerably through the importation of foreign experts to strengthen the Geological Survey of India to hasten a comprehensive Geological Survey of the mineral resources of this country. But so far as dam construction is concerned, so far as hydro-electric works are concerned, I do feel—and I come from a province which has a magnificent record in this direction—I do feel that for various reasons which we need not discuss at the present moment, this essential aspect of national development has not had the attention that is due to it.

Last year when this particular subject was being handled by the Minister for National Resources, who is now the Governor of Madras, I had made a suggestion that there should be at the centre a Board of Indian consultants or advisers drawn from all the provinces and particularly from provinces which have achieved striking success in regard to dam construction and hydro-electric works, so that such a Board may not only advise the Minister, but visit these various large-scale schemes like Damodar Valley, Hirakud, Bhakra-Nangal and see whether these works are progressing at a satisfactory rate and keep reasonably close to the original estimates.

I would refer to one or two points more briefly, because my time is very nearly over. I hope the Finance Minister will expedite the publication of the report of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee; and I hope that this House will have a very early opportunity of having a full-dress debate on food policy when the new Minister for Food has had the opportunity and time to formulate his policies and plans. At this stage I would only like to refer to one aspect of this matter. I have never been able to understand why, in the past, in publishing statistics of food, whether grown in this country or imported from abroad, there has been no reference to things like fish which is a very important item of food. Even small countries, countries like Denmark have made great progress in regard to the fishing industry. Out of Denmark's national income today I am told about 15 to

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18 per cent. is derived from the fishing industry. I feel that the statistics in respect of food should not only relate to foodgrains but to other items as well. I hope the Planning Commission has taken note of this aspect of the food problem and will make adequate provision for fishing, both deep-sea fishing and also inland fishing.

One last word I would like to say before I conclude, and that is in regard to Defence. I feel the House owes it to itself to place on record—and on this point I am quite sure every section of the House will agree with me—I think the House should take this opportunity of placing on record its deep gratitude to the officers and the men of the Southern Command for the magnificent work they have done in the last two months in Rayalaseema. So far as Defence expenditure is concerned, I am quite sure the Finance Minister will not give any attention to the fantastic suggestions which have been made by some critics to slash down this expenditure. That is not the suggestion to make at the present moment, with the international situation as it is. Nevertheless, I would like to say, from such preliminary examination as the Estimates Committee made last year of certain aspects of Defence expenditure, that there is room for fairly substantial economies in certain directions. And, speaking for myself, I am content to await the report of the Departmental Committee on Defence Economies to which the Finance Minister has made a reference. Only one point I would like to add. I find from the Defence estimates this year that the Army will consume, on the side of effective services, Rs. 149 crores, the Navy Rs. 11 crores and the Air Force Rs. 23 crores. Obviously the structure of our Defence forces cannot be changed overnight. At the same time, I would like the Ministry of Defence to consider whether there should not be a greater balance between expenditure on these different wings of the Defence forces. I have particularly in mind the Navy. A country like ours, with a long coast-line, must certainly have far greater naval resources than it has at the present moment. Perhaps that is not a topic one can appropriately discuss on the floor of the House. But I would like to add one suggestion for the consideration of the Ministry of Defence. We have not only a long coast-line, but we have living on the coast-line communities with long and

splendid sea-faring traditions. I would like to see established as soon as possible a net-work of nautical schools which would give opportunities to the young men belonging to these communities for adequate training, so that in times to come both the mercantile marine and our Navy may have a backbone drawn from the people of these communities.

Shri A. K. Gopalan (Cannanore): I do not know whether I will be able to go through the whole subject and some of the most important points which I want to bring out while pointing out what our reactions on this Budget are. I have not forgotten that on a certain word that I had used here the other day it had been said that it was not proper and that I should not have used it. Today I shall try to see that I do not use any word like that. But there are certain facts and figures—they may be correct or not correct, according to me they are correct—by which I think I will be able to prove that what I have said is correct.

It is said that this Budget is an 'honest' and a 'courageous' budget. I also say the same. I do not say there is any dishonesty in it. I say it is an honest and courageous budget—honest in the sense that it is very honest in safeguarding the interests of the few people and in disregarding the cause of the millions of this country. Certainly it is honest in the sense that the policy that had been carried on by this Government during the last five years, the same policy and the same principles are followed in framing this budget. And it is certainly very courageous in the sense that when there is famine not only in Rayalaseema as has been discussed here—I do not want to go into the details here—but when famine is spreading in the country, when there is a slump in the country, when not only are workers turned out of factories but the entire people are suffering, at such a time it is definitely and courageously said "No question of restoring the food subsidy, we will never do it whatever may happen in the country". It is also courageously said that there is a Plan which after five years will reach to the extent in which the country had been in 1939. So they say "If today you ask for any relief, if you ask for food, if you ask for job, we will not be able to give any of them". As far as that question is concerned it is courageously said that the policy that is there

will be no relief to the ordinary man in this country. When saying this I have to quote the Gorwala Report in which it has been stated:

"No Government, least of all the Government of India, can afford to proceed on the basis that it is better to attempt many things, than achieve a few. If it does so attempt, it must dissipate its energies and resources to little purposes. The basic things are food, clothing and shelter... Emergent remedies must be found for acute economic ills; and economic well-being must be built up... There are undoubtedly many other activities in which a modern government have to take part and these cannot altogether be ignored; but the efforts and expenditure in men and money on these must obviously not be such as to prejudice the fundamental task, for, if this fails, everything else must also fail."

So, if this fails, everything also must fail. The fundamental duty of the Government today is this. As Mahatma Gandhi has said, a Government that cannot feed the people... (*Interruption*). May I tell hon. Members opposite that I have a right to quote Mahatma Gandhi because I was a Congressman for about ten years and I have also played a part in building the Congress movement in this country? So what I would request the other side is, let us not fight on words when the name of Mahatma Gandhi is mentioned. We do not say that you are not patriotic. We do not question your patriotism.

Mr. Speaker: He is not addressing me!

Shri A. K. Gopalan: Sir, I am making certain suggestions to the other side. I would make this request to them. Let us understand each other. If there are differences between us let us understand them. Let us not question the patriotism of each other. Let us not go on saying who is more patriotic or who is less patriotic. We are placing before the Government certain suggestions. We have every respect for them. We are not criticising any individual in the Congress. We say there is a certain policy and we say we do not agree with that policy. We want the other side to understand these things and we want them to examine whether there is any reality in it or not. This is what I said, that any Government that

cannot feed the people, whatever the composition of the Government may be, that Government has no right to be there in that place. (*Hear, hear*). It may be a Communist Government; it may be a Congress Government; it may be a Government of all parties, but any Government that does not solve the problem of food, that does not effectively try to solve the problem of food, that Government has no place in the country. Supposing one Government goes and another Government comes and the same situation continues, the same thing applies. I am not speaking of any one Government or any kind of Government in this country.

So the whole situation in the budget seems to be that if the hon. Minister who has framed the budget, if he has really understood that there is very great economic crisis in the country and that economic crisis is deepening in the country, certainly the budget would not have been placed as it is today. Wherever the country might be, if there is a war we have to certainly defend the country and the very interest of the country because the life of the people of the country is involved in it. Certainly the budget at that particular period will be according to the situation and the defence requirements of the country. We see every day in the newspapers that people are dying, that the famine is spreading. We see in many places that cattle are dying and I consider that the budget should be framed on the principle that immediate relief is given. There is the Gorwala Committee's report. The fundamental thing is that we are not against any plan. We are not only not against any plan; but we agree that minor irrigation schemes are necessary, the river valley projects are necessary. We will certainly support them because it is in the interests of the country and the people.

When we understand that there is a certain situation in the country today, whatever the cause might be, what is it that we should do today in order to give relief to the people? Whatever the budget figures might be, whatever the plan might be, as far as the defence is concerned and as far as the planning is concerned, what is the basis? It is not the money and material. It is not only money and machinery but it is the co-operation of the people. If there is no co-operation of the people, if there is no interest in the people, if the people are not behind the Government, nothing will succeed. Is the

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budget based on the confidence of the people? Are the people able to say that today we are given some relief and there is a plan after 5 years when we will be able to reach the goal. We will not be satisfied if the Budget is not able to win the confidence of the people and inspire them. It must show the people that certainly the Government has made an attempt; and they must do something more, and that they must help the Government. Certainly that budget can be said to be a popular budget which has got the whole-hearted co-operation of all sections of the people.

[SHRI M. A. AYYANGAR *in the Chair*]

I shall not go into the details but I shall refer to the main things that have been said in the budget. The first thing is that there is no new taxation. I quite agree that there is no new taxation. There is no taxation collected by the taxing machinery, but when you say that the food subsidy is not restored, that is taxation. Is it not a taxation on the poor man? It means that he must pay some money in the shape of the price of food. A man with a family of 4 people had to pay Rs. 4 per week previously and now he has to pay Rs. 12 more per month. Certainly that is taxation, though it is not collected by the taxation machinery. People are taxed in some other form.

10 A.M.

The second thing is about the present slump being a blessing to the people. That had been said by the hon. Finance Minister. I only want to ask whether the present slump is a blessing to the people and whether the fall in prices has actually been a gain to the ordinary man in the country. There is fall in prices, I admit, but take an ordinary man, a clerk, a worker or a peasant. What is it that he buys? What are the articles that he purchases? 90 per cent. of the money goes for getting the foodstuffs. He has to pay 12, 13 or 20 rupees more according to the number of people in the family and always he does not buy the other things. Therefore, to say that the fall in prices has helped many people in this country is not correct. What is the effect of this slump on the working classes in this country? I have got certain figures from the trade unions in this country of the number of unemployed people turned out of the factories in several provinces. I submit these figures before the House. The slump has affected tanneries, textiles and the

most affected industries are the handloom and the pit loom. In Malabar, especially in Travancore and Cochin about 5,58,000 people are out of employment, in handloom 5 lakhs of people and in pit loom another 5 lakhs are employed. The number of workers affected in the various industries, I shall read out to the House.

Bengal	... 15,592.
Bombay	63,474
Bihar	1,400
Coorg	39
Madras	30,750
Madhya Bharat	... 37,700
Madhya Pradesh	1,000
Mysore	... 2,000
Kerala	... 5,58,400
Tripura	... 2,000
Rajasthan	2,300

The above are not merely handloom workers, but also those employed in various industries. The above are incomplete figures.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): I should like to know from what authority he is reading. It is only for my information.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: As for the authority, we had asked the registered trade unions to give us the particulars. After the last meeting we sent letters and wires to them, because we had been told that whatever we speak is not correct. So we have asked them to report as to how many workers have been turned out in the various industries and these are the figures sent by them. Information from many places have not come yet. These figures are based on the reports that we have got from the provincial and local trade unions and the particulars are also based on the reports that have been published by the unions. As far as Malabar is concerned, I will be ready to place before the hon. Finance Minister the reports of the coir factory workers as well as the handloom workers, the pamphlet that had been published by them and also another memorandum that they have submitted to the hon. Prime Minister and the other Ministers here, both from the handloom industry as well as the coir factory individually. It is on the basis of those memoranda and also the other things that I place these figures before this House.

The hon. Finance Minister stated in his speech:

"I venture to suggest that a fall in prices is not perhaps a thing to be feared especially if it can be brought about in an orderly manner. It is only when it is of such a nature as to lead to a reduction in production and employment that contains a threat to the country's economy."

The figures as quoted below from the Monthly Statistics of selected industries (April 1952), published by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, demonstrate fully that there is a fall in the production of a large number of industries between January 1951 and January 1952.

Coal	Jan. 1951	118.8	Jan. 1952	130.2
Cement	" "	207.2	" "	218.7
Woollen	" "	80.3	" "	99.6
Sugar	" "	120.8	" "	105.3

There are about 10 or 15 items, but unfortunately, I have not got the time and I shall not read them out to the House. If it is necessary, I will read out. There are so many industries in which according to the figures given by the Commerce and Industry Department, there is a reduction in the production. Not only this, but in cigarettes, paper, leather cloth, sulphuric acid, caustic soda, Soda Ash, Cement, sheet glass, laboratory glass and others there is a fall in production. I think the hon. Finance Minister will not question the fact that in the handloom industry, in the pit-loom industry as well in the tanneries and other industries, there are lakhs of people who are unemployed. As far as Malabar is concerned, I have got two or three memoranda from the factory owners also. At a meeting of the factory owners, they have decided to close all the factories. Day before yesterday, I got a wire that the spinning and weaving mill owned by a prominent congressman Samuel Aaraon had been closed and 600 workers thrown out. The slump has affected the industries of this country; and production has fallen down according to the figures given by the Government themselves. To say that the slump has not affected the people and that the slump is a source of happiness to the people, in my opinion, is not correct. I am not using any other word because the opposite side may be angry. So, I say it is not correct.

The other thing I have to say is as to how the Budget stands as far as social services and nation building services are concerned; and as to how it stands with regard to general administration and defence. For education, a very small amount is provided. The Budget stands thus:

Total receipts 404.98 crores. Total income from custom and union excise duties 251.90 crores; total income from taxes—Corporation and other taxes 104.16 crores; income from Railways Posts and Telegraphs 8.81 crores. Total expenditure 401.00 crores approximately. Defence 200 crores, 50 per cent; General administration 50 crores, 12½ per cent.; Education 6½ crores, 1 per cent.; Scientific Research, public health, labour all put together 1.6 per cent.; Industry, commerce and agriculture 14 crores, 3½ per cent.; Subsidies to State and Tribal welfare 30 crores, 7½ per cent.; Displaced persons 10 crores, 2½ per cent.; Food and housing subsidies 25 crores, 6 per cent.; civil works 20 crores, 5 per cent.; and Interest charges 36 crores, 9 per cent.

Now, what is the relief that is given to the producer? What is the relief that is given to the employees in the postal department, Railway department, non-gazetted officers, who are working under the Government and the section of people who are responsible for the Government and whose satisfaction and contentment is necessary for any planning, for the promotion of welfare of this country? In a country like ours, the money provided for education is only 1 per cent. It may be .001 per cent more; but it is only one per cent. I have to say that the Budget has not taken note of the serious economic crisis in the country. Nothing is done about that.

The one thing that will be placed before us is the Five Year Plan. If there is time, I shall go into the Five Year Plan and show how inadequate is the provision made for the industrial development of the country. No country can solve the problem of unemployment without a great deal of industrialisation. According to the Five Year Plan the Government propose to spend 1493 crores. The analysis is as follows: Agriculture and rural development 191.69 crores, 12.8 per cent; Irrigation 450.36 crores, 30.2 per cent; Transport and Communications 388.12 crores, 26.1 per cent; Industry 100 crores, 6.7 per cent; Social services 254.22 crores, 17

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per cent.; Rehabilitation 79 crores, 5.3 per cent; Miscellaneous 28.54 crores, 1.9 per cent. Our Government expects to raise internally 300 crores during the five years for further investment. The other day, while speaking in the Council of States, the reply of the hon. Finance Minister was that food subsidy is not restored because that money is required to be spent on the Grow More Food campaign. I want to ask the hon. Finance Minister this question. So far 90 crores have been spent on the Grow More Food campaign. According to the figures we have got from the books, 4 million tons have been produced less than in 1951. It is not a question that there is no irrigation. Irrigation is an important factor. As long as there is eviction going on in the country, as long as the land does not belong to the tiller, as long as the burden on the tiller in the shape of rents and taxes and other things are there, the position will be the same. If we accuse that the people are not producing more foodgrains, if we say that the people are idle, it is not correct. People want to work. I want to bring this fact to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister. In Malabar, in the West coast, there are *varam* lands, thousands of acres of forest lands, fit for cultivation. What happens is this. The tenant goes there once a year, stays there for three months, clears the forest, and cultivates the land. Today, these lands are in the hands of the landlords. They have not even gone there. They have not given the lands to the *kisans*. When the *kisans*, after putting in a petition to the Government tried to cultivate those lands, the M.S.P. was brought and they were shot at. According to Government calculation, there are millions of acres, some belonging to the landlords, some belonging to the Government, some to other people. These lands should be given to the tillers. In some cases, the landlords have not even seen their lands. If tomorrow the Government allows the *kisans* to work on those lands and tell them, you can cultivate these lands, take all the produce, and after retaining enough for your consumption, hand over the surplus grains to the Government, the Grow More Food campaign would be a success. We have been trying to do this. I want to place this case before the Finance Minister. In Malabar,—the Congress Members from the Malabar also know this—at Puttali there was an estate belonging to a

big landlord. He was the only member in the family. When he died, the estate came over to the Government. There were about 2000 acres of land with him, very good. This was in 1946. The *kisans* wanted to cultivate the land. It was the rainy season, and the time to cultivate. We did not get the permission of the Government. We put in a petition to the Government and said that we are cultivating because if we did not cultivate then, later we may not be able to do it. After putting in this petition, the *kisans* began to till. The result was, the M.S.P. was brought and 250 *kisans* were put in jail on a technical ground that they did not get the permission. It is not that the *kisan* does not want to grow more food. He wants to produce more food. If the land belongs to him, if he has the right to take whatever is produced from the land by his labour, he will do it. There are a large number of evictions in the country. Especially in Malabar and Kasargod, I know, there are hundreds of evictions. If the *kisan* feels that tomorrow or two years later he will be evicted from the land, he is not interested in working on that land. Certainly it is the agrarian system that is responsible for not getting the maximum production from the land. As long as the Government does not take that courageous step and say that the land must belong to the tiller, and until the tiller is told that he may take the product of his labour, the position will be the same. He must be made to understand that there will be nobody to exploit his labour and there will be nobody to take a half or three-fourths of what he produces. Our main contention is that unless and until you are able to get the co-operation of the vast masses of the people you will not be able to do anything with regard to your Five Year Plan.

As far as China is concerned with regard to its production I shall quote some figures. Look at these production figures in China. Within two years the production of metals, raw materials, consumer goods have increased 4 to 6 times and even that in two years from 1949 to 1952.

Iron and Steel Production:	1949	1951
Pig iron	100%	584%
Steel sections	100%	675%
Steel ingots	100%	650%

Natural resources:

Tungsten Production	100%	446%
Tin regulus production	100%	600%
Electrolyte copper production	100%	420%

Chemical Industry:

Ammonium sulphate production	100%	935%
Caustic Soda production	100%	240%

Paper machinery:

Paper production	100%	169%
Automobile tyre production	100%	521%
Belt production 1950		
2nd half	100%	431%
Sugar	100%	151%

Agriculture:

Rice production	100%	131%
Wheat production	100%	122%
Soyabbeans	100%	214%
Cotton	100%	256%
Jute	100%	723%

That is how China's production went up without depending upon any outside country.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: On a point of information I want to know whether the hon. Member has in his possession the absolute quantities over which these increases have been registered. In the case of steel for instance, from how many million tons to how many thousand million tons? What are the percentages? I am only asking if he has in his possession all these figures.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: I will be able to give the figures within two days. I have not been able to get them today.

Some Hon. Members: What is your source? (*Interruptions*)

Mr. Chairman: If hon. Members want the source one of them can ask for it, and he will be able to give the source. It is no good all of them asking for it at the same time.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: If hon. Members want the figures I will certainly give them, not only the figures but also books and I will even spend with them as many days as they want to explain to them the figures.

89 per cent. of the people are agricultural labourers, small peasants or middle class peasants in this country. They are people who live on the land either by working on them or by owning them. Unless the purchasing power of the people is increased our industries cannot develop. Unless there is the proper relation between the purchasing power of the people and the industrialisation of the country, we will have to go to outside markets and without outside markets the development of industries in this country is not possible today.

There are other things, but for want of time I am unable to touch on them. But I would like to say something on Defence. Very much money is being spent on Defence. One hon. Member had the fantastic idea that the money spent on Defence must not be heard or known. Our suggestion about Defence was that there is much waste on it. According to the information we have, the increase in the M.E.S. has been great, even after the war. I will quote some figures to prove this:

In a Commander Works Engineer's Office; (i.e.) military area office of the M.E.S., in the Pre-war days, there used to be one C.W.E. and one or two assistants. Now in the same office, there are:

- 1 C.W.E.
- 1 D.C.W.E.
- 1 or 2 A.C.W.E.
- 1 S.B.O.
- 1 S.W.
- 1 C.A.O.

We are not able to understand every thing on Defence but we do know that the top-heavy administration in Defence can be reduced and the expenditure reduced considerably. Secondly, we do not say that it should be completely reduced. Today we are not threatened by the democratic nations of the world such as the Soviet Union, or China. (*Interruptions*) Also we are friendly with other countries and those countries with whom we are friendly will not attack us. Then there remains only Pakistan and the possibility of an attack from that quarter. But is it only the military that is to defend the people? Is it only the sepoys who for a salary of Rs. 45 defend and die for the country? If there is to be an attack on our country, not only the ordinary man but even the Members of Parliament will have to

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fight and die for their country. There were countries which had big armies. Chiang Kai Shaik had the biggest army and the help of all the war materials. But millions of the people of that country rose up to die for the cause of their country. For the defence of a country you require the enthusiasm and sacrifice of large sections of the people. Even though we may have a big army and we spend 50 per cent. of the budget, if the people of the country are starved, the workers are out of their factories, for whom are they to defend their country? They will say "We have no jobs, we have no land to till, we have no work to do and what are we to defend?" Unless and until you spend a good portion of money on the people, unless you give them relief, they will not have that enthusiasm to defend their country. If you do that, then you can ask the people to defend themselves and their country. The whole country must be ready to defend itself and you will have to give training to all the people. If you depend on the army alone, you will not be able to do much.

As regards the budget our proposal is that one-third should be spent on Defence, one-third on social services and one-third on national improvement in the country.

As far as the general administration is concerned I have got all the figures worked out. All the money is spent on four or five officers and not on the ordinary people. I will read out a few figures regarding the Ministry of Home affairs:

	Officials		Establishment	
	No.	Salary	No.	Salary
		Rs.		Rs.
Delhi Police	31	1,29,600	8,200	49,12,000
Special Police	6	79,900	106	1,38,000
H. qrs.)				

Thus it will be seen that 75 per cent. of the money is spent on four or five officers. I shall place these figures on the Table to show what a top-heavy administration they have.

I have no time and I have only one thing more to say. Let us as Members of Parliament show an example to the other people in the country. We are getting Rs. 40 a day as allowance. I say on behalf of the Communist Party that we will be ready to accept—because the situation in the country demands it,

there is an economic crisis—and we will be satisfied with Rs. 10 a day and a room to live in. And we do not want I class or II class—we will travel Inter, and if you will all agree we will travel III also. So, what I have to say is that whereas so many crores are spent by you on general administration, when we make this suggestion there is no use saying that we are unpatriotic, we are the agents of Russia, and so on. Today when the situation in the country is so serious that we make a suggestion that the Members instead of drawing Rs. 40 a day should make a sacrifice and take Rs. 10; when we say that if you shout at and hoot at us, all we have to say is that we will place it before the people and ask them who is patriotic, who wants to save the people of the country. I have already said at the beginning that we as a party may have differences of opinion, but there is no difference of opinion so far as serving the country is concerned. All of us want to improve the condition of the people. And unless and until you are able to understand us, to see whether there is any reality in what we say, to hear what we say without exhibiting this kind of intolerance, I do not think we will be able to serve the purpose for which we have been elected. If that is so, I have only to say that you the hon. Members or the Ministers sitting on the other side will certainly understand that there was a time when many of us, as Congress Members sitting on opposition benches had been hooted down, but then we had said, "We are here to serve the country and we will do so in spite of people hooting at us", and, Sir, those persons who were suppressing us are not here today—they have gone out. The position will be that if you do not care, do not try to understand what the Opposition has to say, as to what the realities in the country are, well a time will come when you will understand it. We, just like you, have got certain opinions, we know the feelings of the people just as you do.

Because I had no time I have not been able to place all the facts before the House, but all the relevant papers are there and because there are certain figures therein which the hon. Finance Minister may look into, they will be placed before the House. I hope they will be looked into. As far as the Budget is concerned all I have to say is that this Budget does not satisfy the needs of the crores of people in the country and this Budget is certainly a disappointment as far as the people of this country are concerned.

Col. Zaidi (Hardoi Distt.—North-West cum Farrukhabad Distt.—East cum Shahjahanpur Distt.—South): May I know if there are different time-limits for Members of different parties? If so, we should like to know about it.

Mr. Chairman: The general rule is fifteen minutes for all, but the hon. Speaker allowed thirty minutes for Mr. Gopalan but he took ten minutes more. That will be cut down in the time allowed to Members of his party.

Dr. M. M. Das (Burdwan—Reserved—Sch. Castes): What is the allotment of time on the basis of party? Are the Opposition and the Government party getting the same time?

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Başirhat): There is need for clarification on this point.

Shri Namdhari (Fazilka—Sirsa): But the number of the Opposition is only nominal—why should they get equal time?

Mr. Chairman: That will be considered. Now, Mr. G. H. Deshpande.

Shri G. H. Deshpande (Nasik—Central): I rise to support the Budget that has been introduced by the hon. Finance Minister in this House, the first Parliament which has been elected on adult franchise. The hon. Member who preceded me was on his legs for forty minutes but he spoke more about China than about India, and when he was speaking on India I doubt whether he was speaking for this hon. House, or for the galleries. They say love is blind. I thing his intense love for China and his adopted father land, Soviet Russia, has made him blind to all the good things that have been done during the past five years. I rise to support the Budget because I look at it from the point of view of the common man in this country.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Hazari-bagh West): You have got to do it.

Shri G. H. Deshpande: I am not unaware of the distress through which the common man of this country is passing today. No hon. Members of the Opposition tell us about that. We here are people who have got their fingers on the people's pulse. We are not only for the people but of the people and I am sure we ought to support the Budget because the Budget has been framed on policies enunciated in this country by the Father of the Nation. It is not as though we have taken to these policies and principles simply because we should get a passage to this House. We have taken

to these policies and principles for the betterment of the country, and we have made it a mission of our lives to work for their realisation whether in this House or outside.

The lot of the common man in the country ought to be improved, but how can it be improved? There are so many mouths to feed and so little to eat, there is a dearth of essential articles. Unless and until an organised effort is made to increase the production and supply of essential articles and food, how can the lot of the common man be improved? Unless and until increased effort is put in nobody can improve the lot of the common man. Look at even Russia and China. In Russia there was a revolution in 1917; is it contended that in 1918 every one in Russia was well fed? Did the revolution pass away without any starvation, without famine conditions and were there no deaths due to that in Russia?

Shri Velayudhan (Quilon cum Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Nobody said that.

Shri G. H. Deshpande: People must work hard, you must tighten your belts for some years and if you put in efforts for some years then and then alone you can achieve the betterment of the common man. It is no use playing to the galleries. The situation in the country is too serious and those who realise the seriousness of that situation better not play to the galleries. Those people who do so will not take the country ahead. If we have to face realities we must put in greater efforts to improve our production, and I support this Budget because there is a sincere effort made therein for the implementation of the Five-Year Plan. Often times in this House I have heard people criticising us and saying that we are often breaking pledges. Shakuntala and Dushyant were introduced in the discussion. We have not broken pledges, but there are people in this House who have done so. They judge others by their own standard and because they are often breaking pledges they think that others also must be breaking pledges. We went to the people a few months before and we placed before them the draft of the Five Year Plan. We told the people that this is an humble effort, we did not tell them that heavens will be realised, we did not give them false promises. We only told them that this is an humble effort. We told them, "Come together, get together, meet in a co-operative spirit, try to realise this Five Year Plan".

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And we told them that if it was successfully implemented the lot of the common man will be improved. We told them, "If you vote for us we will try sincerely and to the best of our capacity, to the best of our material available to see that this Five Year Plan will be implemented". People voted for us and returned us with a large majority. I was surprised to find that people who are here simply because of the remnants of communalism and feudalism wanted to belittle our victory. They wanted to remind us that we did not represent the majority but only 47 per cent. But those who say so, if they look at things properly, will find that they are in this House not because of the support of the people but because of the remnants of communalism and feudalism. In Pakistan some Ministers are harassing the minorities there and that is having repercussions in this country, utterances of Nazimuddins and Zafrullahs have helped the communalist here in getting into the House. We do represent the country and we do represent the people, the common people, and they have sent us here. We have a mandate from those people who have voted for us, and voted in their millions, so that the Five Year Plan should be implemented. I support this Budget because it is a sincere effort in that direction. It is a genuine effort for the implementation of the Five Year Plan. If the Five Year Plan is implemented I have no doubt that much of the miseries will not be there, much of the distress that we are feeling today will be a matter of the past and will be a matter of history. That is why I support it.

We were reminded here time after time of what Pandit Motilalji said. We were told that Pandit Motilalji was saying so and so. But the hon. Member who quoted Pandit Motilalji—where was he when Pandit Motilalji was putting a brave fight against British Imperialism. My hon. friend who tried to remind us yesterday of great Motilalji, was, in the camp of the henchmen of British Imperialism when Panditji was putting up here a brave fight.

Truth is many times unpalatable.

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): On a point of personal explanation, Sir. As a matter of fact the insinuation which has been made by the hon. Member is absolutely incorrect.

Shri G. H. Deshpande: As I said truth is many times unpalatable.

Shri S. S. More: Sir, I seek the protection of the Chair. The hon. Member is making a definite allegation that I was siding with the Britisher against the Congress. (*Interruption*)

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. The hon. Member says that the hon. Member opposite was a henchman of British imperialism. He says it is not correct. But I cannot allow an argument on that point. If he catches the eye of the Chair and he gets an opportunity he can explain his case *in extenso*.

So far as the word 'henchman' is concerned, I would say that he could have used some other word.

Shri G. H. Deshpande: Sir, I have no objection, to withdraw that word. I do not want to use any unparliamentary expression.

If we had broken pledges, we would not have been here. We went to the country first in 1937 and then for the second time in 1946. My hon. friend opposite very eloquently quoted the simile of Shakuntala and Dushyanta and told us that repeatedly we have broken pledges. But it was he who came to us in the Provincial Congress Committee in 1946 and asked for a ticket. If we had broken our pledges given in 1937, why did the hon. Member come to the Congress for a ticket. If the hon. Member sincerely believed in his charges he would not have approached us for a ticket which was refused. Since then he is harbouring a grudge against the organisation, and in season and out of season he attacks the organisation. He might say that we have broken our pledges. But people do not think so. We went to them in 1937; again we went to them in 1947; again we have been returned in large numbers—because people believe in us. Shankutala never felt that she was offended. There were cordial relations between Shakuntala and Dushyanta. Neither Shakuntala nor Dushyanta want to disclaim the child. They are proud of the legitimate child they have produced. The Congress and the people of this country have lived together for several years as representatives and as voters and both are happy. Both have cordial relations. But if we carry the simile in a restricted sense to the district and the constituency which the hon. Member has the honour to represent, we find quite a different picture. Shakuntala there has been offended by Dushyanta who is occupying the

opposite bench. Shakuntala, is not weak and docile as has been depicted by the poet, but Shakuntala today is sufficiently strong and she has disowned Dushyanta there recently.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. Is not the hon. Member carrying the simile a little too far and making it appear personal.

Shri G. H. Deshpande: I carry it to his party; I do not want to criticise him individually. His party recently in the Sholapur district has been utterly defeated in the local board elections and Shakuntala in the form of the electorate has disowned Dushyanta.

I want to say a word about the Bombay State which I represent. Bombay, you know, is the greatest industrialised province in this country. It has comparatively speaking a large proportion of the city population. Bombay has land most of which is dry. Only 4 per cent. is irrigated land and 96 per cent. is dry land. The food situation there is very very grave. For very sound reasons no doubt the subsidy has been withdrawn. I want to request the hon. the Finance Minister to take into consideration the special circumstances that prevail in Bombay where only 4 per cent. of the land is irrigated, where 96 per cent. of the land is non-irrigated and where there is a very large proportion of the city population. I would like to request the Minister in Charge of Planning to undertake one or two more major irrigation projects for the Bombay State.

In the end I congratulate the Finance Minister for the Budget. I tell him that we have a mandate from the people to carry on the policies and programmes enunciated in this Budget and with this word I support the Budget.

Kumari Annie Mascarene (Trivandrum): This is the first time in the history of the Indian Parliament that the functioning of an Opposition is taking place. If we look back at the history of Parliamentary rule in Westminster and America, we will find that the salient features in those institutions have been moulded by heroes in the opposition. Starting from the *Magna Carta*, going through Edward I, Pim, Hampden, Elliot, the Glorious Revolution, the Reform Act of 1832, the House of Lords Bill of 1911 and the women suffrage of 1917—an epitome of five hundred years of opposition has moulded the salient features of Westminster. Looking back on the other side we have Jefferson, Lincoln

—men who have moulded the American democracy.

I regret to mention that here in this Indian Parliament when we are beginning to mould the history for generations to come the Opposition, however defective, should be hooted and treated in a manner as was done by the leader of the nation the other day when he said: they are strange bedfellows; they are convenient marriages and so on and so forth.

I beg most respectfully to tell the Leader of the Nation...

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Not of the nation, of the party.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: ...that it is not a 'marriage of convenience' but a solemnized marriage and that we have become one to stand as a strong Opposition.

Coming to the Budget, in the onward march of democracy from the threshold of history, through the zig-zag path of jutting rocks and deep ravines the nation has now come to a juncture when it pauses for a while to turn back and look behind to review the achievements of the nation during the last five years. The impressions created by our experience in the past may quicken us to greater achievements in the future, but may also slacken us to retrogression, pinning for what is not. The history of the survey of public finance and expenditure during the last five years is like the course of the billows in the ocean with ups and downs, till the last breaker bursting against surging forces of uncontrolled economic conditions fell flat, foaming into the furnace of an economic depression. It is time for us to think what the Budget means to us. The Finance Minister with great ability has screened the Budget with a nominal surplus of Rs. 3 crores, while the overall deficit of Rs. 75 crores and the refusal to pay subsidy is staring us in the face. From the time we had taken up our Government, this country of ours had been a helpless victim in the grip of international trade policy, when the western capitalistic countries held us by the ear and measured to us our daily bread in terms of their own. The Budget only proves that we are none the better for our external relationship. On the other hand we are worse off for our trade which from the height of a surplus last year fluctuated and dropped us into deficit depths. That has been our experience. During the

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last five years of strenuous administration we have come to the conclusion that the nation is in the grip of famine. That is the achievement of the last five years, the nation wailing, emaciated, sepulchral figures of men and women, walking almost on the precipice of the grave, looking back to the party in power for one day's minimum needs. And why was this? Because the Government failed in their fundamental duty of preserving the nation and feeding it. They have failed to come down from their dizzy heights of capitalism to the *terra firma* of the tiller of the soil and give him the land he owns. It is, there that they have failed.

I come from a deficit area and I want to invite the attention of the Finance Minister and the Food Minister to certain facts and figures which I am going to lay before them. It is a deficit area because according to Government calculations we produce only 42 per cent. of the grain required for Travancore-Cochin. Then there is the figure of the autocratic government of days gone by that we produce 22 per cent. of tapioca and fish and 10 per cent. of fruits (jack, banana, etc.) That means 74 per cent. The Central Government is giving us a quota of 60 per cent. So it comes to 133 per cent. on the whole. Then why should we have famine in Travancore-Cochin State? With 134 per cent. we are having famine in the State because it is due not to deficiency of food but to inefficiency of administration, the most scandalous form of procuring grain and allowing the grain to go underground to be sold for hundreds and hundreds of rupees in broad day light. A month back I had the privilege of taking one of the Ministers of the Cabinet to the market and telling him "Here is rice, country rice, sold in the open market". So your plea that the projects are not completed, that the price abroad is high and so on is no argument. Look to yourself for an introspective view and purify your administration. Then the people will be fed.

Another question, and a very serious question, that I want to place before this House is the treatment given to us, the Southerners, by the North. The Constitution proclaims liberty, equality, fraternity and justice to all citizens alike. But I beg to submit that they are violated, and violated with impunity, not only in letter but in spirit also in regard to the South. The dollar-earning area of the South with its pepper, cardamom, tea, rubber,

coconut and coir products and so many things, which yields crores and crores of rupees is neglected, and all the major schemes are in the North. These are facts which nobody can deny. It is in the Five Year plan. I had studied the other day "In the Five Year plan that there are schemes for Travancore and Cochin State. I have looked in, and I have found that there are schemes like the Peechi scheme, the Perunchrani scheme, the hydro-electric schemes and the Neyyar scheme. Three years back I had the privilege, when I was a Member of the Cabinet in Travancore-Cochin, of inaugurating the Palliwasal scheme II, at State expense. I had the privilege of extending the Peechi and perigalkuthu schemes and three months back I had seen the completion of Perunchrani. Then, what new thing has been included in the Five Year Plan? It is very misleading. There is of course one item there, namely Neyyar. It is in the dream. But that scheme was taken advantage of during the recent election in my constituency. But the people chose to favour me rather than the schemes. Yesterday in answer to a question of mine the Finance Minister replied, "The information is laid on the Table". I looked into it. What do I find? Rs. 19 lakhs set apart for handloom weaving; Rs. 35,000 set apart for fisheries. People in those industries are the worst sufferers. And there is a good majority of them on the coast 3,000 per square mile. These are the amounts given. But in one Column it is written that the amount is not yet paid. It was allotted in 1949. Is it not cheating, if it is not anything more than insulting to a dollar earning area like ours to be given a pittance of Rs. 35,000? Is it from anybody's patrimony that we are claiming it? This is the demand we are fighting for I wish to tell the Leader of this House of the treatment given to our personnel in the offices of yours, how their services and their qualifications are ignored, how their grades and their liens are not given consideration. They are not given the right to represent their grievances; the recommendations of the Krishnamachari Committee are ignored and the article 311 of the Constitution which gives equal pay for equal service has been thrown overboard and today we are in political and economic servility, which we will resist with all our force (Hear, hear). Travancore-Cochin is under "the patria potestas" of the Centre. In theory we have the right to choose our ministers and cashier them for misconduct, according to

Edmund Burke, but in practice they are chosen by the States Ministry. Our chief officers are appointed by them. Our revenues, from income-tax, radio, telephone, railway, Anchal, Accountant General's Offices are all appropriated at the Centre besides the other appropriations and most of all, we are asked to live under a democratic Government. This is really the fate of part 'B' States and having article 371 to justify, they utilise it for domination of exploitation and not to curb corruption, in the state. We will resist it and I shall tell the Leader of the House and the majority party that you have built your edifice of ivory on igneous rock with subterranean rumbling and grumbling, the discontented molten matter, foaming and fuming up through creeks and crevices threatening to blow the whole edifice into one great conflagration.

The day is not far off. They are having a Union Government allowing the southerners, an intelligent people with the resources at our command to be exploited by the North. The time has come when we have begun to resist. If Russia can have Ukraine, if Ireland can have Ire you are driving us to the extent of claiming a republic in the South. That is what you are going to do. I give a timely warning to give us equal treatment and a respectful treatment. But for this, we would have co-operated with all our might. We had done in the past by agitation but when agitators become administrators, they have treated the Southerners like curry leaf thrown out during the time of eating. That is our experience. I wish that the opposite party and those of the Southerners in the opposite party may utilize all their intelligence and capacity to fight for our rights. We claim no patrimony from others. We have our own wealth. I am very happy that Mr. Shiva Rao, had mentioned about one point and about which I had to beg at the feet of this Government in 1949 that is about fisheries. The marine wealth of our country is very great and they are not tapped. You are having grand schemes on land to harness rivers for hydro electric schemes. We have got a fine scheme in the south which can supply white coal (electricity) from Bombay to Cape Comorin and which can irrigate lands in Malabar and Kerala to a great extent, but that is ignored. Our industries in the South like the silk and coir industry and the coconut industry are neglected and the hon. Finance Minister says there is a fall in prices, and that will be helpful to us. I want to tell the Finance Minister that most of the people in

50 PSD.

Travancore-Cochin are coconut growers and they live on the products of the coconut tree. Now that the prices are falling due to your policy in Ceylon, the people feel that the price of rice has risen and the price of commodities have fallen. We are taxed to our stomach and I wish to show him a specimen of the rice that the Central Government has been distributing to us. This is a part of my ration which I have brought all the way to show to the Food Minister the quality that you have given us.

11 A.M.

I suggest that they taste this rice. We are paying for this a high price. If the Finance Minister had rendered some service to this country by getting about Rs. 257.4 crores worth of food-grains from abroad, he has rendered a greater and more meritorious service to the western capitalists by finding a market for them in India. They recommend that the rations should be reduced but this is the stuff we are eating. We refuse to eat it. I tell the hon. Food Minister that I shall refuse to eat it hereafter. The people of my constituency had asked me to carry this to you and express their grievances and if you are not going to give relief to us in the nature of very good rice, which you yourself eat, I wish to tell you.....

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member will kindly address the Chair.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: I wish I had more time, but for the little time that you have given me, I am extremely grateful.

Shri Abdus Sattar (Kalna-Katwa): I rise to support the Budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister. I repeat the words which my hon. friend Shri Shiva Rao said, namely, that the budget is a courageous one and an honest one. It has been said that nothing has been done for the common people. Not only have I been elected by the common people but I belong to the common people. I say that many things have been done for the common people. My hon. friend on the opposite side has said that the only thing that they want is land. I say land alone cannot give food. It requires water and something else. I come from that part of the country where tillers have got lands. The lands there did not give them food this year because there was no water. There are river valley projects; there are also minor irrigation projects which will bring water to the tiller of the soil. Hence I say that this budget has brought hopes for the

[Shri Abdus Sattar]

common people. Many things can be said in one speech or in 10 minutes but many things cannot be done in a very short space of time. We hear now and then of Russia. May I remind my friends on the opposite side. How many years were required in Russia to bring her to the position she holds today? We must not forget that we had the most difficult period during the past five years and particularly the years just after the partition. May I ask: can they mention a single country where they had to face the problem of rehabilitation? Where a Government had to manage for the shelter of lakhs of people? Not only that our Government had to maintain the internal peace and security of the country. We must not forget those unhappy days of 1950. My friends on the opposite side emphasised on food and clothing. I say man cannot live by bread alone. I know the unfortunate section of men and women of my province of West Bengal, had enough food and clothing, but had no sense of security. Food and clothing became meaningless. I congratulate this Government of India and the provincial Governments for maintaining peace and tranquility.

My friends on the opposite side would like to bring the millennium in one day. It is not like the morning Sun which removes all the darkness of the night in a single moment. It requires hard work. It requires concentrated work; it requires united work. My friends on the opposite side often say that Opposition is necessary for a democratic Government. Let them prove that Opposition is necessary for a democratic Government. In England, there is the Opposition; there it is part of the Government. There, the Opposition is not reckless. There, the Opposition is not only to criticise the Government and find fault with the actions of the Government. They come forward with constructive suggestions too. My friends on the opposite side should come forward with constructive suggestions for solving the food problem. But, on the other hand they like to create famine conditions in the country.

Some Hon. Members: You have created it.

Shri Abdus Sattar: In West Bengal, I read a statement of the Hon'ble Relief Minister that some newspapers are exaggerating the conditions in the Sunderbans area. One distinguished Member on the opposite side said that it is a man-made famine. Yes; it is a man-made famine. But, may I know who those men are? They are sitting on the other side.

Some Hon. Members: Yes; the other side.

Shri Abdus Sattar: The Opposition Members instead of helping the Government to procure more food, are creating hindrances, in the way of procurement. They go to the surplus areas like Burdwan and Midnapore and make the people say, "We shall give our life, but we shall not give paddy". On the other side, they go to the deficit areas and raise slogans, "Give us rice or give up office". Instead of helping the Government to procure more food, they create hindrances and preach civil liberty. What sort of civil liberty they advocate? They ask the people to sell their paddy anywhere they like, at any rate they may get. In that way, they encourage the people to launch on anti-social activities and help the hoarders and smugglers of food grains.

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri (Berhampore): On a point of order, Sir, is the hon. Member speaking on the Budget? (Interruptions)

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. There cannot be one way traffic only. Hon. Members have been accusing the Congress and the Government for not having done this for not having done that. Now, the hon. Member from this right side says that all the trouble is due to the hon. Members on this side. (Interruption) Order, order.

Shri Abdus Sattar: What I say is, let the Opposition come forward with constructive suggestions. Our leader, the hon. Prime Minister has said so many times that he is prepared to accept the co-operation of the Opposition. Let them come forward. There are the River Valley projects. There is the Five Year Plan. In one moment nothing can be done. It requires time. We must not forget the vastness of the country; we must not forget that our country is an undeveloped country. We must not forget that the Britishers have left only five years ago. What has been undone by them in 200 years cannot be done in two years or five years. It will take time. In no country, even in Russia or China, things have been done in a moment. They have not the Alladin's lamp or a magic wand. What they did they were able to do because of sincere work and co-operation from all sides. We should have that co-operation from the Opposition. Yes the Budget has brought hopes to the common people.

I am glad that the food subsidy has been stopped. This stoppage of sub-

sidy will make the provincial Governments think about the situation seriously. Because they were getting subsidies, I know many of the States were asking the Central Government to give them more food, instead of attempting to procure more food internally. Now, this stoppage will make the provincial Governments take to internal procurement more seriously. I congratulate the Finance Minister on this stoppage of the subsidy. The Leader of the Opposition Mr. Gopalan said that this is another way of taxation. If this is another way of taxation the reduction in the price of many commodities has brought relief to the common man too.

I do not want to take much of the time of the House. I give my whole-hearted support to the Budget.

श्री जाटव-बीर: उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, 6

आज में इस संसद् में बजट (Budget) के ऊपर अपने कुछ विचार ले कर आप के समक्ष प्रस्तुत कर रहा हूँ। श्रीमान्, चाहे इस पार्टी (party) के महानुभाव हों, चाहे बहुमत के हों, पार्लियामेंट (Parliament) के अन्दर यदि कोई विरोधी पक्ष सुझाव की बात अपने देश को उस का स्तर ऊंचा बढ़ाने के लिये रखती है, तो बहुमत सत्ताधारी महानुभावों का यह कर्तव्य नहीं है कि वह उस को मजाक कह कर, चाहे वह सुझाव अच्छा ही क्यों न हो, टाल दें।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह: बहुत ठीक।

श्री जाटव-बीर: श्रीमान्, आज बजट के ऊपर मैं कुछ थोड़े से विचार आप के समक्ष रखता हूँ। मैं आप के आज्ञानुसार बताना चाहता हूँ कि मैं कृषक लोकपार्टी का सदस्य हूँ तथा परिगणित जाति का भी सदस्य हूँ। मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि बजट जो हमारे अर्थ मंत्री ने बड़ी मेहनत से तैयार किया है, मैं जानता हूँ कि वास्तव में जमाने को देखते हुये वह अच्छा है। परन्तु जब मैं उन परिगणित जातियों की ओर आप का ध्यान आकर्षित करता हूँ जिस का सहस्रों वर्षों से लोगों ने शोषण किया है

तो मुझे बड़ा दुःख होता है। यदि भारत के विधान के अन्दर उन के उपर दस वर्ष का संरक्षण न लगा होता तो मैं इस संसद् में थोड़ा सा भी इन प्रश्न को न उठाता। लेकिन उन को बराबर लाने के लिये केवल दस वर्ष ही दिये गये हैं तो मैं नहीं समझता कि जैसा बजट बना है उस के अनुकूल दस वर्ष में उन का स्तर कैसे ऊंचा हो जायगा।

मैं इस बात को लेते हुए अध्यक्ष महोदय, भारत के उस पिछड़े हुये समाज की, सताये हुये भाइयों की, जो कि इस देश का चौथाई हिस्सा है, उन की थोड़ी सी वास्तविक दशा इस संसद् के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। यदि हमारे शिक्षा विभाग के आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर यहां पर होते तो मैं इन भाइयों की शिक्षा के लिये बतलाता कि परिगणित जाति की शिक्षा कितनी अघोगति को प्राप्त है। क्या संसार में भारतीय संसद् में यह हमारे लिये कलक की बात नहीं है कि अमुक जाति का सदस्य अशिक्षित हो अंगूठा लगावे। दलित जाति के हमारे कुछ भाई संसद् में आ कर बैठे हैं, सुनें। आप की आज्ञा से मैं यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह हंसने की बात नहीं है, बल्कि भारत की संसद् के लिये ही नहीं बल्कि तमाम मूलक के लिये रोने का समय है। यही नहीं, मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूँ कि संसार में भारत की एजुकेशन सब से पिछड़ी हुई है। हमारे मित्र तथा माननीय मंत्री महोदय ने यह बतलाया कि हम शिक्षा के लिहाज से सब जातियों को बराबर लाना चाहते हैं। तो क्या मैं अपने माननीय शिक्षा मंत्री से पूछ सकता हूँ कि क्या वह मुझे बता सकते हैं तमाम स्टेट्स (States) में शोषितों के लिये फ्रीस माफ़ कर दी गई है, परिगणित जातियों की फ्रीस माफ़ कर दी गई है, लेकिन क्या दिल्ली में भी उन की फ्रीस माफ़ है? आज दिल्ली के अन्दर तमाम परिगणित जाति

[श्री जाटव-जीर]

को कोई सुविधा नहीं है। मैं दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि मुझे इस का कोई जवाब नहीं मिल सकता है, क्योंकि मैं स्वयं अपनी बाँसों से इस बात को देख रहा हूँ। यह बात तो आप की तालीम की रही।

अब दूसरी मैं उन की सामाजिक दशा पर भी आप का ध्यान दिलाऊंगा। भारत ही नहीं, हमारे संसद् के सदस्य ही नहीं, बल्कि बाहर के लोग भी हँसेंगे नहीं तो एक बूँद आंसू की जरूर छोड़ देंगे कि आज मानवता के नाते से शोषित समाज का स्तर ऊंचा नहीं उठाया जा रहा है। मैं जानता हूँ कि हमारे समाज के अन्दर पूज्य बापू, पूज्य महात्मा गांधी, का जो रचनात्मक कार्य शेष रह गया है उस को क्रागज के रूप में तो अवश्य दिखलाया जाता है मगर क्रियात्मक रूप में कुछ नहीं किया जाता है। क्या मैं अपने आन्ड्रूल मिनिस्टर आफ होम ऐफेयर्स (Minister of Home Affairs) से पूछ सकता हूँ कि आज इस स्वतंत्र भारत में बालूत वर्ग के लोग क्यों अपना विवाह विधि-भत् स्वतन्त्रता से नहीं कर सकते, पालकी घर नहीं चढ़ सकते हैं किसी सवारी पर नहीं चढ़ सकते हैं ?

एक माननीय सदस्य: वह खत्म हो गया है।

श्री जाटव-जीर: बिल्कुल असत्य है, नहीं हुआ है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि आप को कुछ कहना है अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बैठ जाऊंगा। लेकिन मेरे माननीय सदस्य का कर्तव्य है कि वह अध्यक्ष से आज्ञा ले कर खोलें। लेकिन यदि इस प्रकार इन्टरफिरेन्स (interference) होता रहा तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस संसद् की नियमावली की हत्या हो जायेगी।

महानुभाव, मैं आप की आज्ञा से बत-राना चाहता हूँ कि आगरा नगर में ऐसी मिसालें हैं, और आगरा ही नहीं, राजस्थान में ऐसी मिसालें हैं। इसी वर्ष का उदाहरण है कि आगरा में केवल चांदनी तानने के ऊपर तीव्र दिन विवाह रका रहा। यदि आप मेरी बात सच नहीं मानते हैं तो डि मैजिस्ट्रेट को लिख कर पूछ लीजिये। यहां राजस्थान से जो लोग आये हैं उन से आप पूछ सकते हैं कि अभी राजस्थान के अन्दर क्या व्यवस्था है। धौलपुर के अन्दर शिवजी के ऊपर पानी चढ़ाने के ऊपर क्या हुआ ? धौलपुर में विपदपुर गांव है, जहां दलितों को मारा और लूट लिया गया। क्यों, वह भी केवल इसलिये कि परिगणित जाति के लोगों ने शिवजी के ऊपर पानी चढ़ा दिया था। अगर यह बात सच है तो क्या मैं पूछ सकता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार ने क्या किया ? हमारी उन्नति कैसे हो सकती है ? और दस वर्ष के लिये जिस जाति का संरक्षण है वह जाति दस वर्ष में कैसे ऊपर आ जायेगी ? मैं केवल दस वर्ष के संरक्षण के प्रश्न को लेकर आप के सामने रख रहा हूँ। जिस जाति का वर्षों से शोषण हुआ है कान्स्टिट्यूशन के अनुसार यदि आप की यही रफ्तार रही तो इस जाति का स्तर ऊंचा नहीं हो सकता। प्रत्येक काम, प्रत्येक वस्तु, प्रत्येक देश, और प्रत्येक विभाग, धन के ऊपर ही चल सकता है। यदि धन इस काम के लिये प्राप्त नहीं है तो मैं कह सकता हूँ कि यह दीन जाति कभी बराबर नहीं आ सकती। अस्तु मैं आप की आज्ञा से आपसे चल कर बताना चाहता हूँ कि यह दशा तो आप की शिक्षा की है और यह दशा आप के समाज की है। अब थोड़ा सा मैं उन की आर्थिक दशा का अवलोकन आप को कराना चाहता हूँ। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यदि मैं उन की

इस दशा का वर्णन करूँ तो आप के रोमांच खड़े हो जायेंगे। यह बुन्देलखंड का दुःख है। हम सन् १९४७ में स्वतन्त्र हो गये, लेकिन यह परिगणित जाति आज भी परतंत्र है और बेगार प्रथा उन के ऊपर जारी है। हमारे माननीय राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में सत्ताधारी समुदाय की ओर से कुछ मेम्बरों ने संशोधन दिये थे, हर्ष हुआ। पर मुझे दुःख है कि वह मेम्बर डर गये और बोल न सके। मैं आज उस अभागी परिगणित जाति की ओर से आप के जरिये प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि देखा जाय कि उन की क्या दीन दशा है।

जैसा कि मैं ने आगे कहा, मैं आप के सामने अब उनकी आर्थिक अवस्था को रखना चाहता हूँ। मैं जानता हूँ कि मैं ने समय ज्यादा ले लिया है लेकिन जब २५-२५ मिनट दे दिये जाते हैं तो क्या उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मुझे दो तीन मिनट और नहीं दिये जायेंगे।

सभापति महोदय: दो मिनट और हैं।

श्री जाटव-बीर: मैं आप को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि वह जाति जिस को कि अनुसूचित जाति कहा जाता है बहुत गरीब है, उसकी आर्थिक अवस्था में कुछ परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ है, यद्यपि जमींदारी और जागीरदारी प्रथाओं का खात्मा हो चुका है। जो सदस्य हैदराबाद से आये हैं उन के नुमाइन्दे हो कर वह आप को बतलायेंगे कि वहाँ पर कितने भाग में यह लोग काश्तकार हैं और कितने भाग में खेतिहर मजदूर। मैं आप का ध्यान राजस्थान, बुन्देलखंड, विन्ध्य प्रदेश को ले जाता हूँ और थोड़ा उत्तर प्रदेश को छोड़ कर पंजाब आदि की ओर ले जाना चाहता हूँ। यहाँ पर चौथाई खेतिहर मजदूर वर्ग के लोग हैं। उन लोगों पर खेती के साधन हैं, लेकिन खेती की उपज में उन का कोई भाग नहीं है। क्या सरकार इन

के लिये कोई व्यवस्था करेगी? केवल दस वर्ष का समय है। इस पंच वर्षीय योजना के साथ ही इन के प्रश्न को भी ले कर अपने इस अभागे कुटुम्ब को, जो आप ही का अंग है आगे बढ़ाने का प्रयत्न क्यों नहीं किया जाता, इन के जीवन के स्तर को क्यों नहीं ऊंचा उठाया जाता? क्या किसी स्टेट सरकार को हमारी भारत सरकार ने ऐसा आदेश भेजा है कि जमींदारी उन्मूलन के बाद कृषि का विभाजन किया जाय तो विशेष सुविधायें हरिजन जाति के लोगों को दी जायँ जो कि खेतिहर मजदूर हैं।

यही नहीं मैं अपने आनरेबिल फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर साहब का ध्यान इस तरफ भी दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि दस्तकारी के क्षेत्र में भी इन की सहायता की जाय। जब से देश का विभाजन हुआ है और पाकिस्तान बना है तब से यहाँ के जूते बनाने वाले कारीगरों की दशा बहुत खराब है। इस काम में दो तीन लाख से ज्यादा आदमी काम करते हैं। मैं शू बरकस मजदूर यूनियन (shoe workers mazdoor union) का चेयरमैन हूँ। मैं उन की दशा को जानता हूँ। देश के विभाजन के बाद से कच्चा चमड़ा पाकिस्तान को चला जाता है और हमारे यहाँ जूते के कारीगर, जिन को सन् १९४६ के पहले सब प्रकार की सुविधा थी, आज त्राहि त्राहि कर रहे हैं। उन को मैटीरियल (material) बहुत महंगा मिलता है। मैं कह सकता हूँ कि पूंजीपति भारत सरकार के जरिये से इंडस्ट्रियल मैटीरियल (industrial material) के बड़े बड़े ठेके परमिट (permit) ले कर उसे सीधा मंगा लेते हैं और फिर उस को चौगुने और पंच गुने दामों पर देते हैं। मैं अपने वित्त मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस ओर आकषित करूँगा कि इन को सहायता दी जाय, इस की सहायकारिता के रूप में दुकानें खोली जायँ ताकि

[श्री जाटव-वीर]

उन को मँटीरियल ठीक दाम पर और सस्ता मिले। मुझे दुःख है कि मेरे पास समय नहीं है। मैं कट मोशन (cut motion) ला कर आगे आप को इस बारे में बतलाऊंगा। मैं कोई सरकार की आलोचना नहीं कर रहा हूँ मैं केवल यही ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि दलित जातियों को केवल दस साल के लिये संरक्षण प्राप्त है और इस को बजट पूरा नहीं करता है।

इन शब्दों के साथ, सभापति जी, मैं अपने आसन पर बैठता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि मुझे इस का उचित रूप में उत्तर दिया जायगा।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri Jatav-vir (Bharatpur-Sawai Madhopur—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Sir, I am taking this opportunity to express my ideas on the Budget in this House. May I submit to the hon. Members belonging to the party in power in the House not to laugh away any suggestion put forth by any member of the opposition for the benefit and interest of the country.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Quite right.

Shri Jatav-vir: Now, coming to the Budget, I would like with your permission Sir, to tell the House that I am a member of the Krishak Lok Party and belong to a Scheduled Caste. I may say straightaway that in view of the present conditions the Budget so elaborately prepared by the hon. Minister of Finance can be said to be a good one on the whole, but, at the same time, I regret very much to draw your attention to the problem of the Scheduled Castes who have been subjected to exploitation for centuries past. I would not have touched upon this subject in the House had there been no provision in the Constitution relating to the protection of the Scheduled Castes for ten years. I, however, wonder if such a Budget could possibly raise their standard even in ten years.

In the light of these observations, I would try to acquaint the House with

the real picture of this backward class, of these tortured beings who constitute one-fourth of the population of the country. If the hon. Minister of Education were present in the House I would have explained to him how inadequate the educational facilities provided at present to the Scheduled Castes are. Is it not a blot on the fair name of this August House that persons belonging to a particular caste should mostly be illiterate? I want the Harijan members of this House to give due consideration to this fact. I would with your permission Sir, say that it is something not to laugh at, it is a matter of great sorrow not only for Indian Parliament but for the entire country. Not only that, education in the country as a whole compares very unfavourably with that in the other countries of the world. Our friend the hon. Minister, had stated that so far as education was concerned they wanted to bring all the castes on an equal footing. In this connection, may I ask the hon. Minister of Education whether like all the other States, as Delhi too exempted the students belonging to the Scheduled Castes from paying fees? I find no special facility being given to them in Delhi. I am confident that no satisfactory reply could be given to this point for I have seen things for myself. This much about education.

Now I come to their social conditions. Not only inside the House but also outside people would shed tears to see that no efforts are being made to raise the standard of this neglected section of the society. I am not unaware of the fact that the constructive programme laid down by Mahatma Gandhi is confined to paper only and nothing is sought to be done to give it a practical shape. May I ask the hon. Minister of Home Affairs what are the factors that prevent the members of the depressed classes from freely and legally solemnizing their marriages and using palanquins or other conveyances?

An Hon. Member: Such a practice does not exist now.

Shri Jatav-vir: That's not true; it does. I would request the hon. Member to speak with due permission from the Chair. If he wants to speak I would not mind resuming my seat but so long as I am on my legs let him not interrupt. If such interruptions are allowed to continue, I am afraid it would make the rules of procedure of the House meaningless.

May I submit with your permission Sir, that there have been instances not only in Agra but in Rajasthan also which go a long way to prove these facts. Only this year a marriage had to be postponed for three days in Agra on account of a canopy being fixed by some persons of the Scheduled Castes. If you have any doubts regarding my statement you may refer to the District Magistrate of that place. You can ask the Members from Rajasthan how things stand there or what happened in Dholpur when a few persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes poured water on the idol of Shiva. Vipadpore is a village in Dholpur where some Scheduled caste persons were beaten and looted simply for the reason that they had dared to pour water over the idol of God Shiva. If this be true how can you expect us to progress. What did the Government do in this direction? How can a caste, which has got protection for ten years under the Constitution, raise its standard after the expiry of this time-limit? I am only referring to the provision of ten years provided in the Constitution for protecting this class of society. A class which has been subjected to mass exploitation for years cannot be brought to a higher level with this speed of improvement. The success or otherwise of every work, every scheme, every department and every country largely depends on the availability of finances. In this case also, I would submit, we cannot possibly bring this class at par with others unless, of course, adequate funds are found for its development. Now, having described the educational and social conditions of the Scheduled Castes I come to their economic condition. If I were to describe their plight I am sure Sir, that it would make your hair stand on end. This is the story of Bundelkhand. Although we achieved independence in 1947, the Scheduled Tribes are still a dependent class. The practice of *begaar* i.e., taking work without making any payment whatsoever, still continues. I was glad to see that certain hon. Members belonging to the ruling party of the day had given notices of amendments to the President's Address but later when I found that they did not press their amendments any further I was simply disappointed. Today I would like to request the Government through you Sir, to look into their plight in order to better their lot.

As I have said earlier I would not take the economic aspect of their conditions. I realise that I have taken a little more time but in view of the

fact that others have taken time to the extent of even twenty-five minutes, I hope I would also be granted a couple of minutes more.

Mr. Chairman: Two minutes more are left.

Shri Jatav-vir: May I tell you Sir, that the so-called Scheduled Castes are very poor and that their economic condition has not yet changed in spite of *Zamindaris* being abolished. Hon. Members representing the Scheduled Castes from Hyderabad State may tell you in what part of the State these persons of the Scheduled Castes are cultivators and in what agricultural labourers. Leaving apart for a while the case of Uttar Pradesh I would draw your attention to Rajasthan, Bundelkhand, Vindhya Pradesh, Punjab, etc., where one-fourth of them are agricultural labourers. They have means of agriculture, but they have no share whatsoever in the crop. Will the Government make some provision in this connection for such persons? They are given protection for only ten years. Why no scheme has been formulated side by side with the Five Year Plan by which the standard of these unfortunate persons, who form a part of your society, could be raised? Have the Government of India directed any State Government to give special consideration to the agricultural labour belonging to the Harijan class while allotting land after the *Zamindari* abolition?

I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister of Finance to the fact that in the field of handicrafts and other cottage industries also these people deserve State help. Since the partition of the country the condition of our shoe-makers has further deteriorated. About two to three lac persons are engaged in this important industry. I happen to be the Chairman of the Shoe-workers' Union and as such I know what their condition is. After the partition, raw hides and skins have begun to be exported to Pakistan with the result that our shoe-makers, who used to get all facilities before 1946, have now been rendered quite helpless. They get material at exorbitant prices. I have every reason to believe that capitalists purchase industrial material direct from stockists by obtaining permits from the Government of India and then sell it at four or five times the original price. I would request the hon. Minister of Finance that Government should extend every help to the shoe-makers and should open co-operative shops from where they could purchase material at reasonable rates. I regret

[Shri Jatav-vir]

not to have enough time at my disposal. I shall, however, try to bring more facts to light by moving a cut motion. It is none of my intention to criticise the Government; I am only emphasising the fact that the Budget does not extend any protection to the Scheduled Castes as provided—for a ten years' period—in the Constitution.

With this I resume my seat. I hope that the points raised by me would be properly dealt with.

Shri A. K. Basu (North Bengal): I desire to bring before the hon. Finance Minister the grave situation that obtains in the tea industry in the hill areas of the District of Darjeeling. In the course of last year more than half the number of tea gardens of this area incurred heavy losses. As many as eleven tea gardens have closed down, three have been taken possession of by the Deputy Commissioner of Darjeeling under the Payment of Wages Act and notices have been issued for the sale of these gardens by auction. I apprehend, that the tea industry of that District which produces tea which is famous for its quality all over the world is about to disappear. Enquiries should therefore be made to ascertain whether there are *prima facie* grounds for coming to the conclusion that I have been compelled to come to.

I represent North Bengal in this House and I have some knowledge of the details of this subject of the tea industry. Although normally gardens or any other industries that are not economically sound should close down, consideration should be given to the grounds for the protection of this particular industry. If it is not a feasible policy or if it is against the policy of the Government, then I submit that there should be an enquiry made to see whether alternative sources of employment are possible for the large number of people that would be thrown out of their jobs in those gardens when they close down. This District has only the tea industry—there is no other industry there. The question of unemployment and the acute poverty are already problems facing the people of the District. Therefore, arrangements should be made in advance to absorb the labour that will come out on the dissolution of these tea gardens. In my estimate, on a rough calculation I believe there will be about 100,000 persons, including the dependents of the labour, that will suffer if these gardens close down. Now that is not an ordinary proposi-

tion. With the labour problem already there in that District, this huge mass of unemployed workers coming out of the gardens would create a problem which would be very difficult, economically and politically. It is no overstatement to make, that this border area is very important on the political map of India. Most of the tea gardens in this hilly area are uneconomic propositions for the very simple reason that the topography of the country does not allow of large gardens. Out of the 88 tea gardens in this area only 14 gardens are above 750 acres each. More than half the gardens have acreages of between 150 and 450 acres. These are naturally uneconomic propositions and because of the topography of the District amalgamation of these smaller gardens is not possible either. The whole of the area that is covered by the tea plantations in the hills does not cover more than 45,000 acres and compared to the areas in Doars and Assam this is very small. About 30 million lbs. of tea grows in the hilly area of Darjeeling including the Terai, as against 139 millions in Doars and 284 million lbs. in Assam. Another difficulty that these gardens suffer from is this: the terrain and the nature of the bushes is such that the labour put in is not very effective. The amount of collection, either plucking or pruning, that a worker can do in this terrain is less than half, and sometimes one-third, of what is possible for a worker in Doars or in Assam. Another factor that has to be considered is that the produce of these gardens is very much lower than what you have in Assam or Doars per acre. You have only about five maunds per acre in this area as against 15 maunds that you get in Assam or Doars. Then there is about 20 per cent. surplus labour in this area which is over and above the requirements. No worker has work every day. Every worker has dependents,—on an average there is one dependant to every worker. When a child comes of a particular age and is about ten or twelve he automatically comes on the register of the workers of the garden. So, as a result of all these, the number of persons that the management has to keep in the tea gardens is very much larger than the actual labour itself.

The managements do not get rice at controlled rates from the Government, although they have got to supply the surplus labour and their dependents rice at Rs. 8 a maund. The management have also to get rice on

their own from Nepal and from Pakistan which is also at a very much higher rate. The result of it is that these 88 tea gardens lost over Rs. 50 lakhs last year because of the concessional rates at which they have to give rice to labour. It is difficult, in the circumstances for the Darjeeling tea gardens to stand. They cannot bear this burden. It is difficult for the other gardens also, but for the moment I am speaking of the tea gardens of Darjeeling only which are hard hit and which are likely to go out of existence, unless the Government is prepared to do something in the matter.

There is an export duty of four annas per pound of tea which was levied, I believe, by Sir Jeremy Raisman in 1942. It was levied at the rate of 2 annas by Sir Jeremy Raisman, but it was enhanced to four annas in 1947. I submit that this is precisely the time when that export duty should be taken off to help the industry to tide over the difficult situation that has arisen.

You will be surprised to hear that in this Darjeeling area there was no labour strike during the year 1951, although there were as many as 19 labour strikes in Doars and 22 in Assam, involving a loss of 15,000 man days in Assam and 18,500 man days in Doars. I have reason to believe that this is due to the realisation by labour in this area that the industry cannot stand any further burden.

Now Darjeeling is a hill station which is about the finest in India. The range of Kinjijunga surrounds it. The mountain railways, the hill roads, numerous public schools, health sanatorium, T.B. hospitals, all these are the results of the prosperity of the tea industry. Now a city like that, a city which is the pride of Bengal, is a joy of millions of visitors from all over the world. Is that city to be abandoned without any effort to save it?

Now I will turn to the question of the development of natural resources of the country. There can be little doubt that the hon. the Finance Minister's refusal to spend large sums of money for food subsidy and laying emphasis on the development of the natural resources of the country is the correct policy. Food is one of the items in the multi-purpose projects of the river valleys and there can be little doubt that in the course of the next few years when these river valley projects are completed the problem of food will to a very large extent be solved.

I will, with your permission deal with the Damodar Valley Project to illustrate this. I am taking Damodar Valley because I had been to that Valley and have seen the place in recent times. Now the cost of the Damodar Valley project is Rs. 74.98 crores. The allocation to the various projects are these: to flood control the allocation is Rs. 12.21 crores; the allocation to irrigation is Rs. 25.38 crores and the allocation to hydro-electric schemes is Rs. 37.38 crores. Now it is scheduled to be completed in 1955-56. From what I gather and what I saw during my inspection of the Damodar Valley during the course of the last month, leads me to think that the time table will be followed. It has so far been followed and if there is no difficulty in the way of the hon. the Finance Minister finding money according to the estimate in the next few years, I have no reason to doubt that it will be completed in the course of 1955-56. The irrigation project will cost Rs. 25.38 crores which includes Rs. 2 crores for a navigation channel which will join the river Hooghly about 30 miles from Calcutta. This navigation channel is estimated to carry about 2,00,000 tons of coal monthly from the coal area, to Calcutta, this relieving congestion in that area. The irrigation project is expected to bring under cultivation about 1,25,762 acres of land which is not under irrigation now, excepting for about 185,000 acres which is at present not irrigated properly. The main rice season in Bengal is the Kharif season. It is sown in the month of June and harvested in the month of November. In June the seed is sown. . . I would skip over the figures and I would like to tell the House that if we calculate the extra yield that this irrigation project will give to the country in rice, at the control price of Rs. 16, it will amount to Rs. 19.2 crores. On an investment of Rs. 25.38 crores you will therefore get food of the value of Rs. 19.2 crores. The extra yield of food, it has been calculated, would be 350,000 tons per year.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member must conclude. His time is already over.

Shri A. K. Basu: This is my concluding sentence, Sir. I would like to say this that I consider the achievement of the last Government in the matter of these river valley projects to be the biggest achievement. It is comparable with Stalin's first five year plan which was planned and put through in spite

[Shri A. K. Basu]

of privations, in spite of almost famine conditions in Russia.

Shri Velayudhan: Let me at the outset inform you and the House that in the previous Parliament I was one of those who had the fortune to speak on the same Budget as it has again come before this House today. At the same time, the Finance Minister has in his second Budget speech made some diversions as far as certain matters of major importance and the consequential situation in the country are concerned. So, without repeating what I have said before, I wish to mention a few facts regarding the Budget that is before the House today.

I remember some of the points in regard to which the Finance Minister himself spoke a few days back in the other House—and I think it will not be irregular on my part if I take a leaf out of it and explain here certain features of the Budget—he himself said there that the Budget of the Government of India which he has had the privilege to present to the first Parliament “has got a philosophy, a plan as well as a programme”. I again surveyed the Budget as a whole and may I humbly submit this? If it has got a philosophy behind it, it is the philosophy of the exploitation of the common man in the country and nothing else. Let me humbly submit to you that if it has got a philosophy behind it it is the philosophy of the extortion of the middle and the lower middle classes in the country. Of course, my leader here has presented in facts and figures what the situation in the country today is. The Budget has completely ignored the crisis already taking place in the country. As we noticed in the Presidential address also, it had callously evaded the true situation in which we are today.

The Budget reveals the condition in India today. The Finance Minister was taking credit that the slump that has occurred is mostly due to the activities of the Government of India for the last four years. Let me tell you that when the first Budget was presented and when we were discussing it for 2½ months, even at the fag end of the discussion the Finance Minister never mentioned or discussed the slump. He was totally silent over it. I am surprised how the Finance Minister or his Department can take credit for the slump in regard to which he was saying that it is because of the activities

of the Government of India for the last four years that the slump has come. Then he says that the slump has benefited the people.

Mr. Chairman: He said falling prices and not slump.

Shri Velayudhan: Of course falling prices. And where has it fallen? Is it in food materials? Is it in consumer goods? No. Government have created a situation in which the prices of jute, cotton, hessian, coal, sugar etc., have fallen, because of the duty imposed on them. Has it given any relief to the poor man who is dependent on the consumer goods and foodgrains? The Finance Minister also said that he has given relief to the hessian, coal, sugar industry etc. But do these affect the common man in the country, the middle or the lower middle classes? That is why I say there is a great crisis in the country and he has thoroughly forgotten it. He has not understood it, or if he has understood it he has ignored the fact that we have got a terrible economic and political crisis in the country. It was a challenge before the Government for the last four years, and they have utterly and miserably failed to face that crisis. What have they lead the country to? To economic anarchy. What were the cash balances in the country when it was divided in 1947? It was more than Rs. 285 crores, and the Finance Minister has said it will be Rs. 83 crores by the end of this year. If the facts can be scrutinized again—and the Finance Minister himself said this last year in a private meeting—our cash balances will not be more than Rs. 7 or 8 crores at the end of 1952.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: What private meeting, Sir?

Shri Velayudhan: It was said by him in the Congress party meeting when I was a member of the Congress Party.

Mr. Chairman: That must be some years ago.

Shri Velayudhan: Yes, Sir. The present Budget which is before the House is conditioned by the Five year Plan. So many Members have spoken from the other side, gloating over the Five Year plan. From our side, our Leader has himself stated that we have nothing against the Five Year Plan as such. How is this five year plan going to be worked by the Government which has miserably failed the people? Have we got the men behind it? Have we got the technicians to work this five year Plan?

You speak of last year's industrial organizations which you have formed and you gloat much about the multi-purpose river valley projects. The other day when I went through a pamphlet which was issued by a Chamber of Commerce, I found that when these projects are completed, we would have enough electricity. Have they got a plan for utilizing that electricity at the end of five years? For the industrial development in the budget you have allotted Rs. 10 crores. How are you going to make use of this huge quantity of electricity? That is why our Leader the other day said that he pooh-pooched the idea of a five year plan and Members from the Treasury Benches and others were laughing at him. We are putting it before the House as well as the Prime Minister. Is he able to satisfy this House and the people of the country on how he is going to consume the electricity after 5 years? Has he got a plan of industrialization of the country thoroughly? We have gone out for foreign loans. I ask what purpose is it going to serve in the development of large scale industries? Foreign loans are not brought here to develop our industry in our country but for the production of consumer goods and not capital goods. If we want to make our country the best industrialized country in the world, firstly we must develop our own industries by getting loans from the U.K., U.S.A. Russia or China. Now the position is that the foreign people who used to dump their goods here, will produce their goods. Take for example, the face powder which we use and also soap. Most of the foreign goods that we are accustomed to use are made in India by the British or American magnates. They are the consumer goods. Have the Government given any thought to the development of the major industries in the country so that we may also produce the capital goods in the country?

Having had the fortune to represent the State Travancore-Cochin, I have to bring a few grievances before this House. In that State there is not only a famine but a lot of unemployment. At least we are on the verge of a famine today. You have filled the country with gruel kitchens. You have been able to create kitchens and increase the beggars in the country and you have made the whole of the population to become beggars. Even in our State also it is high time that you start gruel kitchens. The figures given by my Leader show that more than 55,000 people are unemployed today in the factories in Alleppey,

12 NOON.

Cochin and Quilon. So my humble request to the Prime Minister as well as the Finance Minister is that they will have to take immediate steps to extend some relief to my State which is practically groaning today. The Prime Minister while speaking the other day on the presidential address said that he extended his co-operation to us. Of course, we from our side are very happy to hear that from the Prime Minister of India. He is not the Prime Minister of India alone, but he is one of the world personalities today and I am proud to say that we have got a personality to inherit Mahatma Gandhi in this country, but at the same time the whole country is looking up to him to see whether he will give relief to the common man or not. That is the problem. We can co-operate with the Government but I do not think that the Prime Minister means that we should not oppose the Government or we must simply shut our eyes to what is happening in the country or of the activities of the Government. I do not think any party or even the people of India will co-operate with the Government on that basis. Here is a solemn opportunity for you, Sir, to come and co-operate with the peoples' representatives on this side of the House and thus create a comfortable atmosphere in this country, so that we can have peace and a common programme for the country. Let us all sit together. We have not come here to oppose the Treasury Benches. We have not come for that here. We want to co-operate with the Government for those programmes which will give relief to the people. As long as we are in this House, as my Leader had stated before, we are here to co-operate with you—not for creating famine and poverty in the country, but to relieve famine in the country and help in the formation of a good social order.

Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam): The hon. Finance Minister introduced the Budget just a week ago and not only had the press and the public had opportunities to criticise the budget to put forward the reactions which the press and the public had but a House of this sovereign Parliament had opportunity to discuss it threadbare. As is natural with any budget, this budget has met with mixed reception. Certain sections characterized the budget as a bureaucratic budget and certain irresponsible sections of the House also characterized it as...

Shri Punnoose (Alleppey): On a point of order, is it open to an hon.

[Shri Punnoose]

Member to say "certain irresponsible sections of the House"? Is it not unparliamentary?

An Hon. Member: It comes from an irresponsible mouth.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member may avoid such expressions.

Shri A. M. Thomas: When this budget has been characterized as a budget of exploitation, what other words may I use, Sir?

An Hon. Member: You will get some appointment there.

An Hon. Member: The dictionary is available.

Shri A. M. Thomas: I am voicing the feelings of the majority of this House and also the majority of the vast millions of this country.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Some Hon. Members: Yes, yes.

Shri A. M. Thomas: I say that no Finance Minister could have done better. My hon. friend, Shri Shiva Rao referred to the budget as a courageous budget. That was objected to by many members of the Opposition. The learned Finance Minister could have passed as a very good boy and as a good Finance Minister if he had for winning cheap popularity restored the food subsidies, but he had the welfare of the State in his mind. He did not want us to put the finances of the State and the welfare of the State in jeopardy and that was the very reason why after the most anxious consideration of the views expressed in this House, when the House discussed the address of the President, he expressed his inability to restore the food subsidies. The people of this country have breathed a sigh of relief when they heard the Finance Minister to say that no new taxation was contemplated. All the same, budgetary burdens continue to be heavy. The learned Finance Minister himself has said:

"If the budgetary burdens are sometimes found to be irksome. I trust those who find it so in this House and outside will remember that we carry these burdens for ourselves and our children and not for someone else."

I think the Members of the Opposition have some quarrel with the tone which resembles that of the good manager of a joint Hindu family

when he made these expressions. When the learned Finance Minister said that we have to put up with certain privations, that also was the subject matter of a quarrel by the Opposition. I would ask the Opposition, and especially the Members of the Communist Party to look up to the history of the Russian Revolution and how Russia was able to implement her Five Year Plan and Ten Year Plan. Had there not been privations? When you look at the history of the Russian Five Year Plan and the Ten Year Plan, you will be able to find that when there was famine, when people were dying in lakhs, foodgrains were exported to get machinery, to fulfil their Five Year Plan and Ten Year Plan. That was all right with the Russians. At a time of great financial stringency, the hon. Finance Minister is prepared to get as much food imports as possible to feed the starving millions of this country.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: At a high price.

Shri A. M. Thomas: Whatever be the price that is paid, the primary consideration is that our hunger must be satisfied.

Shri Punnoose: That is why the subsidy is taken away.

Shri Velayudhan: That is why the famine is there.

Shri A. M. Thomas: The declared object of this Government is to promote the standard of living by a most careful and efficient exploitation of the resources of this country, both material and human. With that object in view, we have drawn up a tentative plan. Many of the hon. Members of the Opposition who have spoken, have no quarrel with the Five Year Plan.

Some Hon. Members: We have.

Shri A. M. Thomas: My friend Mr. Velayudhan said that he joined with his Leader in the remark that there is nothing wrong in the Five Year Plan. Even then, my hon. friends are not prepared to have that Five Year Plan worked out.

The common man of this land is having for long a life with rations and food cards. For more than a decade it has been like that. It must be stopped. As a great writer has put it, "life with rations, food cards and queues is unworthy of the human race."

The hon. Finance Minister has taken advantage of two occasions to

inform the Members of this House what the exact position in the matter of food subsidy is. In answer to the criticisms levelled against the President's address, and in reply to the demand put forward by both sections of the House, he has quoted figures which are really frightening. In this connection, I would point out the real need of the people of India. It is the necessity for the Government to insist on a united food policy and equality of sacrifice, so as to enable the total food resources to be utilised equitably for the benefit of all parts of the country. The Planning Commission in page 72 says:

"In some of the States while the general policies relating to procurement are accepted in theory, implementation is weak and is, in fact, out of accord with all-India policy."

Later on it says that "adequate procurement supplemented by necessary imports and efficient arrangements for distribution of the available supplies at reasonable prices are the essential corner stones of food policy under present conditions." For this purpose, my submission is that every part of this country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin should be viewed and taken as a whole. There is a feeling that the surplus provinces are having their way and the Centre's control is not strong enough to put an end to this pull in opposite directions. Is the Centre powerless to tide over this difficult situation, I ask. If the fortunate among the citizens of this country will not look to the less fortunate brethren of their, what has the Centre to do? I invite the attention of this House to article 369 of the Constitution. It lays down:

"Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, Parliament shall, during a period of five years from the commencement of this Constitution, have power to make laws with respect to the following matters as if they were enumerated in the Concurrent List, namely:—

(a) trade and commerce within a State in, and the production, supply and distribution of cotton and woollen textiles, raw cotton cotton seed, paper.....food-stuffs (including edible oilseeds and oil), cattle fodder (including oil-cakes and other concentrates), coal (including coke and derivatives of coal) iron, steel and mica;"

The House will note that production, supply and distribution of foodstuffs is made specific mention of in this article, so that the Centre is not so powerless as to meet the situation that may be created by certain States in regard to this matter. I would like to warn this House that the less fortunate men are not to be treated as beggars. Take the case of the State from which I come. There have been certain outbursts on the part of my hon. friend Kumari Annie Mascarene...

Kumari Annie Mascarene: Naturally.

Shri A. M. Thomas:.....which were the result of, I should say, wounded vanity.

Kumari Annie Mascarene: For what?

Shri A. M. Thomas: Giving some allowance to the exaggeration and platitudes of my lady friend,.....

Kumari Annie Mascarene: Thanks.

Shri A. M. Thomas:.....I would say that there is some substratum of truth in some of the things she said.

Shri Velayudhan: She is happy at your saying that there is truth in what she said.

Shri A. M. Thomas: I would like to bring to the notice of hon. Members certain figures. My friends Mr. Velayudhan and Annie Mascarene have referred to them. Prior to the federal financial integration, the Travancore-Cochin State was deriving a large portion of its revenue from export duties on certain monopoly products, such as pepper, tea, coir, coir products, rubber products and cashew nuts. Out of a total export earning of 597 crores for the whole of India in 1950-51, the earnings of Travancore-Cochin amounted to nearly 50 crores or 8 per cent. From this figure, you will be able to find that six Members from this side and those six Members from the Opposition out of a total strength of 499 have brought 8 per cent. of the total export earnings of this country. With regard to pepper out of the total foreign exchange of 20.04 crores earned by the commodities in 1950-51, 16.3 crores were contributed by Travancore-Cochin out of which 11 crores were derived from the USA. I would also like to bring to the notice of the hon. Members certain other figures with regard to this matter. The Central Government is now levying an export

[Shri A. M. Thomas]

duty on some of the commodities of which, as I said before, Travancore-Cochin had a monopoly. Tea and pepper are two such products. The Government of India levy an export duty on tea, at the rate of four annas per pound, and on pepper, 30 per cent. *ad valorem*, subject to a maximum of Rs. 150 per cwt. On these rates, the Central revenues are benefited to the following extent: Tea Rs. 1,17,76,769; pepper Rs. 3,20,56,650.

Sometime ago the Travancore-Cochin Government claimed a portion of the export duty on the ground that that State is also entitled to preferential treatment as in the case of jute with regard to Assam, Bihar, Bengal and other areas. I am aware of the fact that the Constitution does not make special provision with regard to the case of Travancore-Cochin. Even then if the Finance Minister considers the distress of that State, I am sure he will give liberal grants to minimise its distress. I would request him to keep this request in mind when the case of Travancore-Cochin comes up for his consideration.

As I have said much of the outburst of Shrimati Annie Mascarene is out of place. I would only refer to the Rs. 3 crores grant given by the Central Government to Travancore-Cochin. Is it not a special consideration shown to the State and was not that consideration a matter of envy to other States? I am not for a moment saying that I am satisfied with the grant. I would say that it was only a portion of the amount that we are morally and legitimately entitled to. The incidence of taxation in our State is 9.9 per head and in the neighbouring state of Mysore it is 7.24 per head. All the elastic sources of income have been taken away. The sales tax which is our main stay cannot be increased and if there is scope for anything it is only for reduction having regard to the cases pending before the Supreme Court.

The export duties were an unique feature of the fiscal policy of the Travancore-Cochin State but customs duties including export duties are now a Central subject.

One more point I would like to mention. We were having the benefit of a 75 per cent. subsidy and that was the main consideration which induced our state to accept the terms of the financial integration, in view of the fact that we had to abolish our internal customs. I would refer to

one observation in the Krishnamachari report on page 13:

"With effect from the prescribed date, the Travancore-Cochin Union should, as a direct consequence of federal financial integration, be entitled to receive food subsidies at the enhanced rate of 75 per cent. of the loss on the sale of imported foodgrains, as in the case of Provinces. These subsidies and all grants-in-aid and other forms of financial and technical assistance from the Centre, whether in cash or kind, whether on revenue or capital account, and whether by way of loans or outright grants, should be payable to the Travancore-Cochin Union by the Government of India quite independently of the above scheme of transitional adjustments."

I submit that too technical a construction has been put on the words "as in the case of Provinces" and the State has been put on a par with other Provinces. I submit it is a very hard thing for the State to bear, having regard to its resources and revenues.

The leader of the K.M.P. Party and Mr. Gopalan of the Communist Party have mentioned that the land should go to the tiller of the soil. May I remind them that soon after the Constitution was passed and hardly the ink on the signatures was dry, did not the provisional Parliament pass an amendment to the Constitution mainly for the purpose of helping the passage of tenancy legislations which were on the anvil of state legislatures? In the U.P. lakhs of tenants have been benefited by such legislation and there are tenancy laws on the anvil in other States as well as in Travancore-Cochin, where all the tenants are now temporarily given protection. In view of these facts may I point to the honourable lady Member that not a single tenant in Travancore-Cochin can be evicted under the present law. (Some Hon. Members: Question.) Despite these state legislations, I would suggest that the Central Government should have a policy of a comprehensive land legislation. If the land problem is solved the ideology now cultivated by our hon. friends would not grow in the land. The best way to do away with their agitation is to give a lead to all the states especially the 'B' class States by helping them to enact a comprehensive land legislation rather than applying article 371 of the Constitution by appointing Counsellors.

10 **Sardar Lal Singh** (Ferozepur-Ludhiana): Some of the hon. Members commenced their speeches by saying that they were new and strangers to parliamentary procedure. My case is worse still, because I am not only a new Member but I am absolutely a novice to the very game of politics, because I retired as Director of Agriculture only a few days before I fought the election. Consequently I am not accustomed to those tactics, nor do I possess the oratory or eloquence which are usually associated with the names of politicians. As Director of Agriculture I was naturally concerned more with cold facts and figures than with eloquence. In case you find my little talk devoid of eloquence or thunder, it will be no fault of mine.

Some hon. Members on the Government benches have appealed to the Opposition for cooperation. I welcome their sentiments, because I feel that in the critical days through which we are passing, whether it is the refugee problem, the food problem or the explosive international situation or the general unrest in the country threatening our very freedom, the best interests of the country demand, both from the Government benches and the Opposition, close and accommodating spirit of "give and take." I may assure them, like many other hon. friends, that we shall be prepared to give full credit to the Government where due and make only constructive criticism, where necessary. Of course I hope that it will not be a one-way traffic. The Government benches, entrenched as they are with a thumping majority, can afford to be a little more generous and should not mind any criticism and in fact should be glad to hear criticism, no matter how unpalatable it may happen to be.....

An Hon. Member: Please come to agriculture.

Sardar Lal Singh: Certainly I do propose to devote the major portion of my talk today (and later on at the time of the cut motions when I shall exclusively speak on the subject) to agriculture yet at this stage I cannot help making some passing remarks about two or three matters that are agitating the minds of people in the Punjab. The law and order position, both in the PEPSU and the Punjab, with daily reports of murders, daylight robberies, dacoities and holdups is something of which any Government should feel greatly embarrassed, if not actually ashamed. It has become many times worse than it

ever was in the days of much-maligned British bureaucracy or in the days of the so-called autocratic rule of the Maharajas. While, in the olden days, people could go about at night without any fear of molestation for hundreds of miles, but in these days of democracy, and within four or five years after the exit of the British rule, I dare say (and I know that gentlemen from the Punjab and P.E.P.S.U. will bear me out) that it has become absolutely risky to stir out of the house after sunset. I have had a personal experience of this. Some time ago, when I happened to go from Ludhiana on the main road towards Jagraon side I was stopped by the police—and it was only about 7:30 in the evening—and told that I should not go in my car because there was some sort of a gang lurking there and it was not safe and that I should go under armed escort. Mind you, it was not an isolated or lonely area but an area which is very thickly populated. I doubt if, people had ever seen or heard of such conditions during the last 50 or 100 years. This is something of which we have got to take serious note of, i.e., the law and order situation both in Punjab and P.E.P.S.U. is deteriorating from day to day.

As regards rehabilitation, undoubtedly refugees are feeling sulky and sullen. Although it is true that because of their helplessness they are unable to effectively express their resentment, yet as their resources get exhausted, a time will soon come when they will feel compelled to do so.

The third point, to which I have to invite attention, is the communal tension in the State. It is a border State and without communal harmony I am afraid the State people are likely to suffer very seriously—both Hindus and Sikhs—and I feel the position is getting very serious indeed. There was never so much bitter feeling and disharmony as at present. The gulf is widening.

An Hon. Member: Who is to blame?

Sardar Lal Singh: There is no use blaming one party or another. Let us always face facts as they are. In fact in this House one thing that strikes me and makes me despair is this: the Opposition would like to find fault with the Government even when there is no fault to be found, and similarly Government benches also would like to ridicule every suggestion that would come from the Opposition. I would beg of you, with all the earnestness at my command, to realize

[Sardar Lal Singh]

that we are here to find out the causes and try to remove them and improve the atmosphere as far as it lies in our power. Somebody asked whose fault it was. I do not want to go into the matter further although I am prepared to discuss it outside. For the present all that I want to say is that the communal position in Punjab is very serious and it is statesmanship of the highest order, coupled with generosity and broadmindedness, that is necessary to solve the situation. Petty minds and efficient administration do not go hand in hand—they do not suit each other.

Coming to the food problem, although I propose to analyse the various Grow More Food schemes and the Five Year Plan later, when in utmost humility I would try to point out some of the loopholes that are likely to frustrate or shatter our hopes of achieving the target of production just as our hopes in the case of previous schemes have been falsified. But as time is short I propose to discuss now only a few basic facts about Indian agriculture because I feel that unless we keep those facts in mind all the time, we are apt to be led astray. Unfortunately, we are generally the slaves of slogans and many a time,—as I shall have opportunity to explain later—we do not study the pros and cons and are not inclined to probe into the details of the thing. So, while I reserve my remarks about the Five Year Plan and also about the Grow More Food schemes to a later occasion at the time of moving cut motions,—I would like to say that it is not a question of finding fault with the Government because some other party may not have done better—but there is no harm in analysing the present position to find out the true state of affairs, i.e., to have a dispassionate study of things. I am certain that most of my friends will agree with me that we, during the last five or six years, cannot boast of increased food production. If there is any achievement for which Government can take credit, it is the spiral increase in the import of food grains—imports, more imports and still more imports, that is the greatest credit of which Government can feel proud. Here are the figures. In 1944 India imported 15.8 lakh tons of food grains. This import went up to 18.8 lakh tons in 1945, 26 lakhs in 1947, 37 lakhs in 1949 and 47 lakhs in 1951; and this year the import is going to be of the order of 50-60 lakh tons which means something like 17 crores of maunds and in terms of money it means a drain of Rs. 250 or 300 crores,

a staggering amount which no country, and much less an agricultural country and a poverty stricken country like India can afford for long without going into financial bankruptcy and blackening its face before the world for its incompetency. These are the facts that we have always to bear in mind. I am told that from 1st January to 26th March, that is within twelve weeks of this year, we have already imported 12,64,360 tons. You can very well imagine where we are heading to.

An Hon. Member: Let us know the way out.

Sardar Lal Singh: Yes, Sir. I shall. But let us know the disease first in its ugly nakedness. This I propose to discuss in detail later, on the occasion of cut motion when I will not mind exposing the hollowness of some of the things that people on this side (i.e. opposition) are saying and some of the things that they (Government benches) are saying. As a scientist it will be my duty to analyse the position as it is.

Nor do our Grow More Food schemes appear to yield any tangible results as is evident from the following data. The Planning Commission on page 76 of its report says that while the area under cereals during the three years ending 1949-50 (compared to the period immediately preceding the war) has not changed appreciably and had remained (taking comparable areas only) in the neighbourhood of 167 million acres, the production has declined from 46.16 million tons to 42.1 million tons. In terms of yield per acre, this suggests a decrease from 619 lbs. to 565 lbs. The significance of this decrease will become more pungent, more painful when we realise that our yields are already shockingly low as compared with other countries. For instance, our average yields of rice are only 17 per cent. of the yield in Spain, 20 per cent. of that of Italy, 27 per cent. of that of Japan and 43 per cent. of that of the U.S.A. In regard to wheat, our average yield is only 40 per cent. of that of Egypt, 45 per cent. of that of Japan and 46 per cent. of that of Italy. In regard to maize our yields are only 39 per cent. of that of Italy, 42 per cent. of that of Egypt, and 50 per cent. of that of U.S.A. These yields are shockingly low, they are perhaps the lowest in the world, but even these low yields may not have been a source of great worry if we had any large cultivable area in India. But here again

we are terribly handicapped; it would be of interest to know that the total cultivable area in India is only three-quarters of an acre per person, of arable land or one acre including nonarable land also, i.e. forest area etc. which is one-third of the area which is considered by responsible authorities as absolute minimum to maintain a person. This fact we have got to bear in mind all the time. As a contrast with other countries, we have got only 5 per cent. of the area available per person in Brazil, 10 per cent. of that of Russia and 14 per cent. of that of the U.S.A. I am purposely omitting Canada and Australia because they are big countries having very little population—Australia has got exactly 100 times more area per person than we in India have got. These facts—small areas, low yields and decreasing returns—are facts that must give a rude shock to every person.

As regards milk production, the position is still worse. While India has got no less than 4 crores of cows besides one crore and 95 lakhs of buffaloes, the yield of our cow is only 413 lbs. a year as compared with 8,000 lbs. average milk yield in Netherlands, 7,200 lbs. in Austria and 5,588 lbs. in Japan and 4,136 lbs. in Indonesia. This means that we have got to keep 10 cows here to produce the same quantity of milk as a single cow in Indonesia or 20 cows in India against one cow in Netherlands.

Further facts that we have got to bear in mind are that while there is no appreciable increase in our output (there is in fact a decrease) the population on the other hand is increasing rapidly and the Planning Commission envisages that by 1956 our deficit of food grains will be of the order of 69 lakh tons on the basis of semi starvation diet of 13.6 oz. per person per day or 158 lakh tons on the basis of 16 oz. This shows the magnitude of the problem. I ask, can any country afford to import 69 lakh tons, much less 158 lakh tons without going into complete financial bankruptcy, and afford a subsidy which even at the rate of 20 per cent. would amount to from 70 crores to 160 crores—and that for a country which has got a total revenue of about Rs. 400 crores? It is not a question of our wishing or not wishing to give the subsidy. It is just impossible. Let us face the facts as they are and not unnecessarily plead for restoration of the subsidy. I feel that there is no other alternative except to stop imports and to produce food locally at all costs if we are not to mortgage

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our future to any foreign country, if we want to maintain our economic and political independence and if we are not to expose ourselves to anarchy and chaos which will naturally follow as a result of hunger; a starving people will not die of hunger (taking it as the "Will of God"), without resorting to violence and smashing the heads of politicians and capitalists.

Mr. Chairman: If the hon. Member has much to say, he can reserve it to some other occasion.

Sardar Lal Singh: Well, Sir, the position is this. Apart from this unbearable drain on the resources of the country I feel it should be the greatest humiliation for India an agricultural country which cannot boast of any industries worth mentioning, to prostrate herself before foreign countries for food. No wonder one of the foreign papers is said to have remarked that if Indians cannot manage to produce their own food and if they go on multiplying like pigs and rats, it should not be the concern of the United Nations to feed them. I feel that we should prefer our countrymen to die rather than undergo such humiliation and scorn. This determination alone will open the eyes of our politicians to keep food above politics and force us to become self-sufficient. I have to appeal to all parties, congressmen as well as non-congressmen, that food production should be treated as a non-party subject and all should be prepared to contribute their mite.

I have a great deal more to say, but as my time is over, I shall reserve it to a future occasion.

Shri Thimmaiah (Kolar—Reserved—Scheduled Castes): I thank you for the opportunity you have afforded me to express my views on this occasion. As a humble representative of the Scheduled Caste people, it is but natural that I should speak a few words about the economic condition of the Scheduled Caste people.

On behalf of the Scheduled Caste people I feel it my duty to express my gratitude to the Congress Government for the interest they are evincing in the amelioration of the scheduled castes in the country since the advent of freedom. I am of the firm conviction that if there is any Government which has some affection towards the Scheduled Caste people it is the congress government alone, because they have almost wiped out untouchability.

An Hon. Member: No, no.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. The hon. member is shouting—is it proper decorum?

Shri Thimmaiah: I know there is untouchability existing in India, but it is not due to want of measures taken by the Congress Government. The country has suffered under the yolk of foreigners. Unless the people become literate and educated nobody should be blamed.

However, taking into consideration the needs of the community and the backwardness of it, I will have to say that the measures taken by the Government are inadequate. We are all aware of the fact that Government had to face many problems with the advent of freedom. In their pre-occupation with their other problems, Government may not have been able to devote much attention to the problem of scheduled castes. I have, therefore, a few suggestions to make for the amelioration of the condition of the Scheduled Castes. While the Minimum Wages Act has been passed, I am sorry to state that it has not been implemented in all the States and in some of the States there is no likelihood of its implementation. In order to improve the Economic condition of these people, I beg to suggest that agricultural colonies may be established for these people wherever waste land is available and make them settle there by giving them all necessary financial help to become ryots. So long as the Scheduled Castes are kept in a backward condition and subjected to economic exploitation, I do not think the country will progress.

There are of course certain States which have taken measures to improve the lot of the Scheduled Castes. I would request the Central Government to grant them some financial aid so that the progress of the Scheduled Castes may be speeded up. For example, Mysore which is one of the progressive States in the country, has taken many measures for the amelioration of the scheduled caste people. I am proud to say that it is one of the best States in the country. We have of course been agitating for more facilities for the Scheduled castes which the Government of Mysore is considering sympathetically. If the Central Government were to give a grant to Mysore it will be utilised for the development of cottage industries amongst scheduled caste people exclusively and also for other ameliorative work. I feel it is very essential and I would request the Central Government to take this into consideration.

It may be out of the way if I speak something about prohibition. But I am forced to say something on this matter as it is connected with the scheduled caste problem. The Congress Government was bold enough to introduce prohibition. There was much controversy at the time of the election when some political parties advocated and included in their manifesto that they would remove prohibition and thereby meet the financial crisis of the country. I am here as a humble representative of the scheduled castes people. I say boldly that this prohibition has benefited the people and we have gained morally and materially. I know the Government has incurred a financial loss on account of this prohibition, but I should congratulate the Government for having withstood the financial loss incurred as a result of the policy of prohibition. It was one of the aims of Mahatmaji to bring about prohibition throughout the country, and in accordance with that principle our Government is proceeding. I hope and trust that in due course the entire country will come under prohibition, thereby enabling the scheduled caste people to improve their moral and economic condition.

Then I want to say something about the representation of scheduled caste people in government services. It is stated in the Constitution that discretion is given to the States to reserve appointments for the scheduled caste people in proportion to their population. From the economic and social point of view I must urge upon the Government that a certain percentage of employment should necessarily be reserved for the scheduled caste people in each State. I request the Central Government will be kind enough to see that the States would reserve a certain percentage of appointments for the scheduled caste people. The scheduled caste people in the country are the most sincere, faithful and simple folk of humanity in the country, I can say. It is a community that has suffered since times immemorial under social tyranny but that has faithfully served the society and the country in its own way. I therefore request the Central Government as well as the State Governments to be always sympathetic towards the scheduled caste people and to improve their condition in all possible ways.

Coming to education, I must thank the Finance Minister for having reserved in the Budget Rs. 17 lakhs for the education of the scheduled tribes and the backward classes.

An Hon. Member: That is not sufficient.

Shri Thimmaiah: By reading the report of the Commission I understand that from the amount sanctioned last year only one-eighth of the number of students who applied for scholarships could be given the same. You know the backwardness of the scheduled caste people and their backward condition. If you give scholarships to all that apply for them it is not going to be a loss to the country. On the other hand you will be encouraging the education and literacy of the country and you will be giving opportunities to the scheduled caste students to develop their talents and serve the country according to their capacities. From the amount now sanctioned you can give scholarships only to one-eighth of the number of students that apply for them. In view of the fact that the number of students is increasing every year I think it is necessary for the Government to allot Rs. 1 crore at least for the year.

I have also to say that no foreign scholarships are given to scheduled caste students and they are not encouraged for foreign studies. I can confidently and boldly say that there are students among the scheduled caste people who are fit enough to receive foreign education and who will be able to distinguish themselves in scientific and medical fields.

[Mr. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Therefore I request the Central Government to make some provision in the Budget for foreign scholarships to scheduled caste students and to encourage them to receive foreign education.

Another point I wish to bring to the notice of the Government is this. When selections were made to the I.P.S. and I.A.S., I am sorry to state that no scheduled caste candidates were selected to these services. This I am saying with particular reference to Mysore State. I therefore request Government that while making selections to the I.A.S. and I.P.S. due consideration may be given to scheduled caste people and they may also be encouraged to show their talent and efficiency in the administration. When I am saying this the question may be asked whether efficiency and qualification should not be taken into consideration. As far as Mysore is concerned I say that any officer, whoever he may be, whether he belongs to the scheduled castes or to any other community, will be really efficient. I am proud to say that.

Things about the famine conditions in Mysore State have been brought to

the notice of the Government and also the Minister concerned. Mysore has always been the first to handle the situation bravely and boldly. It does its best. But when there are famine conditions, wherever they may be, it is the duty of the Central Government to aid the State Government to handle the situation and bring it to normal.

I do not want to take much of the time of the House. I shall conclude by saying that the Central Government should give more funds to Mysore for the amelioration of the scheduled caste people and also for other things, particularly education. Mysore State is coming forward and it should be allotted more funds so that it may be encouraged to become the first model State in the work of the Scheduled Caste people also, thereby setting an example to the whole of India and for other States to follow.

Mr. Speaker: I do not know whether I should call upon any other Member now. There are only five or six minutes left now, and no speech can be completed. Even if any speech is begun now, it is going to be repeated again when it is resumed. So, if the House is agreeable, we might proceed with the next business. Of course, there might be a ground for complaint that we began five minutes earlier. However, there is no contest for the position and we will proceed with the next item of business, namely the election of the Deputy-Speaker.

ELECTION OF DEPUTY-SPEAKER

Mr. Speaker: Two motions have been tabled.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): I beg to move:

“That Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar be chosen as the Deputy-Speaker of this House.”

Shri U. S. Malliah (South Kanara—North): Sir, I second it.

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

“That Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar be chosen as the Deputy-Speaker of this House.”

I do not think it is necessary to move the second motion. There is no occasion for it. There is, however, a point at the back of my mind that if, later on, it is found that one nomination was not valid or was defective,