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Sir KailashChandra's 'SHORTHAND TRANSCRIPTIONS', F-35, East of Kailash, New Delhi

A dynamic speech
for dictation
for supreme stenographers

{ Speech of hon. Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh }
made in the Lok Sabha on 14th September, 1991

TRANSCRIPTION NO. 309

Handwritten shorthand transcription of the speech, written on lined paper.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very grateful to all the hon. Members on all sides of this august House / who have taken part in the debate on the Finance Bill. The Finance Bill forms part of the overall Budget, / even though it deals only with the tax elements of the Budget. It was, therefore, quite natural that several hon. Members/ brought up general issues of policies, and the issues that they brought up are issues of profound importance to the / future of our country. For example, reference was made to the primacy of agriculture. Shri Chandrakar brought out the massive problem (100) of land and water degradation in our country which, if not tackled, will hurt the living standard of / millions and millions of farmers living in our country on the edges of subsistence. Shri George Fernandes brought out the issue / of regional imbalances, and these regional imbalances should be a source of concern to all segments of this House. Reference was made / to the growing problem of unemployment. This again is an issue which ought to be the concern of all / segments of this House. So, all these problems have been mentioned. The same way Shri George Fernandes specifically referred to (200) the inadequacy of the infrastructure of power in Bihar, how it is contributing to the continued backwardness of potentially / very rich State of the Union. All these are very live issues and these must be tackled if this country / is to achieve its full development potential, if the aspirations of the people of this country for a better tomorrow / are to become a living reality.

But how is it to come about? I submit to this august House that these / aspirations cannot be given a living reality if the fiscal mess in which we have got into, is not set right. (300)

India today has unsustainable fiscal deficit and this is a point on which all shades of public opinion, / all shades of economists, are agreed. You can go on quarrelling as to how this fiscal deficit came about, / how it gave rise to unsustainable foreign exchange deficit. But the real issue before us today is — what steps are we / going to take that this crisis is contained and that this crisis is, in fact, used as an opportunity to / set in motion those forces of reforms which alone can see that this country's great development potential is made a reality? (400)

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I submit to you that by presenting the Budget in this House six or eight weeks ago, I do not / claim that I have performed wonders. But if you look at the situation that this Government inherited, it was a / situation of almost certain default on international obligations. If we had not acted the way we acted, you have my assurance, / India would have by now been declared a defaulter. What are the consequences of default? To know the consequences / of default, we have to look around. What has happened in Latin America? What has happened in Africa? (500) Once the country defaults on its international obligations, nobody would touch it. They have to import on a 'cash and carry' basis. / Nobody gives credit. Even after that, I think, sooner or later, these countries end up with a hat in hand / before their international creditors in the I.M.F. or Paris Club or London Club. We have prevented that situation. / It has been the sincere effort of our Government that somehow we must keep the honour of this country intact / and also our unblemished record of holding of our commitments intact. I think that unblemished record must be maintained. (600)

I do not submit to you that we have succeeded in doing that. But, I am not promising you that if / this country goes on spending the way it has been spending and if everybody says that subsidies should be increased / and if everybody says that the tax rates must be reduced and if the productivity of investment in this country / remains as low as it is today, I do not promise you that there is divine law which would / ensure that India would not face default, if we continue to do all these things (700)

Therefore, all that I can say is that I have bought some time. This is the time we must use for retrospection, to set / in motion those reform processes which would convert this crisis into opportunity. If we do not do that, I can assure you, / you will face unemployment and inflation of the type you have never seen before in this country.

I regret / that I had to do what I had to do, in cutting the fertilizer subsidies. I wish, it had been done / over a period of time and gradually. Yesterday, an hon. Member quoted a report of a very famous Agriculture Secretary (800) and a gentleman from Karnataka and for whom I have great respect who had, in that report, clearly recommended that / the fertilizer prices have to be raised and they ought to be raised gradually, over a period of time.

840 words

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97/95

9-50

TRANSCRIPTION NO. 310 { Speech of
hon. Home Minister }

Mr. Chairman, I beg to move :

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 15th November, 1954 under clause (1) of Article 356 of the Constitution, assuming to / himself all the functions of the Government of Andhra."

Sir, the House is fully familiar with both the background and / the actual facts which led to the President taking this action. The background has been that ever since the formation / of the Andhra State last year, the party position has been vacillating. There have been no elections and with the (100) division of the State, the Legislature was also divided and 140 Members came away from the Madras Legislature / and formed the Andhra Legislature and the division between the different political parties was very uneven and the result was / that the Government of the day was carrying on with a very slight majority, sometimes 1, sometimes 2, sometimes a little + more, but it was always a very unbalanced thing. Now, Sir, in the Andhra State, as you know, the one / very big question has been the question of prohibition. Under the Constitution, every one knows that prohibition is a matter (200) of Directive Principle. The Constitution has given a directive that every State Government shall aim its policies towards the enforcement / of prohibition. In the old Madras State, the Government of the day had enforced prohibition throughout the entire State / and that was inherited by the Andhra Government and in that State today there is complete prohibition. The Andhra Government / after the separation, appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Shri Ramamurthy to go into the whole question, make investigations about / the actual conditions as to how far the policy has succeeded and make recommendations. The Ramamurthy Committee submitted a big (300) report and made certain recommendations which were, if I may put it that way, somewhat towards relaxing, if not completely abolishing / this policy of prohibition. We are not concerned here with that particular matter. Now, this report was considered in / the Andhra Legislature and a certain Resolution was passed in the month of May - on the 27th May, / 1950. Some Members were dissatisfied as to the action taken by the Government to implement this Resolution of / the Legislature and notice was given of a motion of no-confidence to be moved in October to this effect. (400)

950

Handwritten shorthand notes in Devanagari script, including dates like 15.11.1954 and 27.5.1950.

Now, after three days' debate, voting took place on the 6th November and the total strength of the Legislature being / 140, really it is a very surprising thing that 139 Members were present in the / House - only there was one absentee. Now, out of 139, one was the hon. Speaker and another / Member remained neutral and 137 Members actually voted and if you add the Speaker, actually / 138 Members were present and 137 voted. (500) And out of 137, the result of the division was 69 in favour of the motion of no-confidence and 68 against the motion. / The result was that this motion of no-confidence was carried by one. The Ministry met, they pondered over the / situation and they submitted their resignation, but along with the resignation, they also said that having regard to this want / of equilibrium and always uncertainties prevailing, it was desirable that there should be a general dissolution, so that people may / be given an opportunity of having a stable Government for themselves, of pronouncing their own opinion upon this big question of prohibition and all other relevant questions. (600) That is what they did. They submitted their resignation and they gave this advice. / Now, Sir, the Governor was faced with a very difficult situation. He sent for and saw the leaders of / different groups but these gentlemen, apart from meeting the Governor and telling him in conversations as to what they thought / of the matter, also issued statement to the Press and these gentlemen stuck to the statement and tendered their / advice to the Governor to the same effect.

Sir, we had given notice of a question of privilege yesterday (700) and I understand that the Andhra Bill is coming up before the other House at 5.00 p.m. today. Sir, our / contention was that it amounted to a contempt of this House and breach of privilege because the Lok Sabha Secretariat / had issued a notice saying that the Andhra Bill would be introduced in that House, even before the Proclamation had / been discussed in and endorsed by this House. The Constitution makes it clear that this Proclamation has to be endorsed, / under certain limitations, by both Houses of Parliament. Now, Sir, we feel that the Lok Sabha Secretariat has anticipated the decision of this House. (800)

They should have waited till the verdict of this House on the question of Proclamation was / known to them. Therefore, I submit that this notice has operated to the prejudice of the House as a whole. 840 words

Handwritten notes in shorthand script, likely representing the original speech or a summary of it. The notes are written on lined paper and cover the right side of the page.

A selective passage for
Grade C & Grade D Exams.

TRANSCRIPTION NO. 311 { Speech of
hon. Finance Minister }

Sir, it is now more than six weeks since the Finance Bill was presented to the House along with the Budget / for 1964-65. Government's policies as reflected in these proposals have been very fully discussed / in both Houses of Parliament. In my reply to the general debate, I had explained the broad economic and social / objectives of the tax proposals. Elucidations of the detailed implications of these proposals have also been furnished to hon'ble members. / I would, in particular, draw attention to the document, Rationale of the Tax Proposals, circulated a few days ago, which (100) relates to the basic economic objectives with the specific tax measures in the Finance Bill. It is not, therefore, necessary / for me now to go again into the economic basis of the Budget.

The tax proposals have evoked a considerable / amount of active and well-informed interest and perhaps also active resistance among certain sections not only in this House / but also outside, in the Press and among the public at large. Some of the interests concerned have made specific / representations to Government. This wide discussion that has taken place has been very useful and has helped us to formulate (200) certain amendments to streamline the proposals in the Finance Bill to give a measure of relief where it was deserving / and to remove some unintended hardships and anomalies.

The official amendments that have been tabled are as a result of this / process. I place them before the House in the hope that the provisions of the Finance Bill, as modified / by these amendments, will serve to implement more effectively the basic objectives of the Budget, namely, growth with social justice, / and I shall confine my remarks, in the main, to explaining how the amendments proposed fit into the overall rationale (300) of the provisions in the Finance Bill.

Sir, at the time of introducing the Budget, I gave some thought / whether it was necessary for me to introduce the Finance Bill as it related to direct taxes at the same time / and whether I should not follow the practice, followed in the United Kingdom, of introducing a Bill later on after / outlining the provisions. Finally, I stuck to the convention but in the light of my experience this year, I do hope / to be able to make the departure, namely, to announce the proposals first and bring in the Bill later. (400)

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The structure of personal taxation in the Finance Bill is considerably simplified one. The main changes introduced in this / year's Budget aim at simplification of the rate structure of income-tax, relieving persons in the lower and small / income groups from the burden of compulsory deposits, moderating and readjusting the incidence of tax consistently with the interest of / revenue and introducing the advantage of tax savings in mobilizing greater private savings in the middle and higher income groups. / Overlapping surcharges on income-tax and super-tax have been abolished and replaced by a single surcharge for purposes of the Union. This surcharge operates in respect of unearned income only, (500) when such income exceeds Rs. 10,000 and / in regard to earned income when such income is over Rs. 1 lakh.

In carrying out these changes in the structure / of personal taxation, ~~a somewhat~~ higher incidence of tax might have arisen at some income levels when compared with the / incidence of net tax for 1963-64 exclusive of the element of compulsory deposit. / This has been criticized in the House and outside and I have been considering whether some concession could be given to lower income groups in the income range up to Rs. 20,000. (600)

The effect of these changes on married individuals / with more than one child, which is the most important category of assesses, will be to lower the tax payable / on earned as well as unearned income as compared to 1963-64 rates excluding the / compulsory deposit at all levels of income up to Rs. 8,500. On incomes above this level, / there will be a reduction except at a few points where the tax payable now will be slightly higher, (700) but in no case exceeding one-fifth or one per cent of the total income, and these concessions will provide a measure / of further relief to these income groups.

The annuity deposit scheme, in the new scheme of taxation, is an important / instrument for mobilizing private savings and to counter inflationary trends. The provisions relating to this scheme have already been fully / explained and I need not go into them again. I would, therefore, confine myself to the changes that are / proposed to be made. I had already indicated in my reply to the general discussion in the Lok Sabha that the (800) deposit is proposed to be made optional in the case of persons who are more than 70 years of age. / Such persons, under the amendment, may exercise the option not to make the deposit in the first year of assessment.

840 words

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TRANSCRIPTION NO. 312 {Statement made by the
Rehabilitation Minister}

In the extraordinary situation created in the wake of the partition, it became necessary to enact a law to deal with the / properties left by the evacuees. In the first instance, various State Governments enacted their own laws. The Central / Law on evacuee property was enacted in 1950. With the gradual return of the conditions to normalcy, / it became possible to relax the provisions of this law. In 1950, the provisions relating to intending evacuees / were done away with and the procedure for confirmation of sales under Section 40 simplified. A year later, (100) in May 1954, the next step towards further relaxation was taken and the necessary amending legislation passed / in October 1954. The amending law provided that no person could be declared as evacuee for / any action of his after the abrogation of the law. It also provided that no notices could be issued after / the expiry of six months from the date of its enactment, i.e. after the 7th April, 1955. /

In May 1955, we found that nearly two lakh cases were pending under the (200) Evacuee Property Act and the allied Act relating to the separation of evacuee and non-evacuee interests in composite properties. / The size of the problem was thus fairly large. So long as large numbers of cases remained pending, thousands of / persons, who were involved as parties in these cases, would remain in a state of uncertainty. We thought that it / was our foremost duty to ensure the expeditious disposal of these cases.

We, therefore, studied the working of the Act / to look for any relief which could be afforded to the members of the minority community within the four corners (300) of the Act. We found that about 9,000 Muslims had applied for the restoration of their properties under Section 16. / It was urged that the officers of the Custodians Department tended to insist on very rigid proof of continuous / stay in India in the form of ration cards. Instructions were, therefore, given not to insist on ration cards, and / to accept other collateral evidence as proof of residence in India. Even oral testimony of respectable witnesses living in the / neighbourhood could be accepted. For the disposal of the pending applications, three special officers have been appointed in the Ministry. (400)

Another matter which came to our notice related to persons who had occupied vacant evacuee properties without permission taking advantage / of the abnormal circumstances prevailing after the partition. It seemed unfair to us that after, all these years large scale / dislocation of these persons, many of whom were Muslims, should be caused by asking them to leave the houses. / We, therefore, decided that occupation by those persons who had occupied the premises on or before the 31st December / 1950, may be regularised provided that the arrears of rent were paid. (500) To help those who were unable to pay the arrears of rent, the facility of payment in 12 instalments was given.

In regard to the / large number of judicial proceedings pending in the Custodians Department, I wrote personally to every Custodian expressing my deep anxiety / in the matter and the need for speedy disposal. I also pointed out to them the desirability of taking a broad / view of evacuee property cases and not to be guided by narrow or legalistic considerations. As a result of the persistent / efforts in this direction, the number of cases has been brought down to less than half. (600)

Not content with the above measures, a thorough review of the provisions of the Evacuee Property Law was carried out with a view to / finding out whether any of the provisions could be amended with a view to simplifying the procedure. The present Bill, / which has been passed by the Lok Sabha, is the outcome of this examination. I would like to mention some / of its important features.

Another matter which came to our notice was that the Custodians were sometimes using the provisions / of Section 6, which empowers them to exercise superintendence and control over the subordinate officers, to reopen cases already decided under the provisions of the Act. (700) In order to obviate improper use of this Section, it is being made clear / through clause 2 of the Bill that the Custodian will not question judicial orders passed by the subordinate officers under / the general powers of superintendence and control.

The power of superintendence and control of the Custodian-General is, however, being retained. / In cases of glaring injustice, the Custodian-General would be able to rectify matters by passing orders under the / provisions of Section 27, which give him the power to call for the record of any proceedings for the purpose of (800) satisfying himself as to the legality or propriety of any order and to pass a suitable order on it. / It has been provided that the Custodian-General should be able to condone delays under the Indian Limitation Act. [840 words]

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1085

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TRANSCRIPTION NO. 313

Speech of hon. Transport Minister

Sir, I will briefly refer to the points raised by hon. Members in their speeches. It is true that the / Road Transport Corporations Act has not been utilised as much as one would have wished, but from that to argue / that the Act has remained a dead letter, I think, is not quite correct. Road Transport Corporations have been formed. / The premier road transport corporation is the Bombay Road Transport Corporation, and it has been functioning in a very / efficient way. There are other State Road Transport Corporations but they will all be amalgamated with the Bombay main Corporation, (100) and perhaps the Chandigarh Road Transport Corporation also will be taken over by the Punjab Government. Sir, it is true / that the State Governments have preferred departmental operation, departmental management, for the running of these road transport services. All of / them wanted to make a beginning and some have made a beginning. The States of U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Kerala / wanted to make a beginning and they naturally wanted to proceed cautiously. They wanted to expand slowly, / and it was but natural that they wanted that all the profits that they could make out of this should go into the State coffers. (200) When a corporation is formed, naturally there is Central participation, and it was also envisaged / that private operators might also share in the capital and become part of this corporation, though it has not materialised. / The State Governments thought that they had better keep the Centre away from this business so that they could run / this undertaking themselves, so that whatever profit they are able to make they could have for themselves. I for one / shall not quarrel with such an intention. Perhaps, if I had been in the State set-up, I would have done the same thing. (300) Now, a situation has arisen when the State Governments find themselves almost at the tether's end. / They want more and more capital to be sunk in these undertakings and it is not easy for them to / find this capital. So, this question was gone into by the Planning Commission in consultation with the Ministry of Transport / and also in consultation with the Ministry of Railways. The Railways are willing to participate in these road transport undertakings / because this participation of the Railways in the State undertakings obviates any difficulty with reference to the road-rail competition. (400)

At present, there may not be any question of road-rail competition; there may not be any question of competition. / There may be some competition over particular routes and in particular areas but as a whole, there is no competition, / but it may not be so for ever. A day may come when one form of transport may under-cut / another form of transport. Now, if you run the road transport services by means of a corporation, you immediately avoid / the prospect of such a cut-throat competition on any date in the future and it is for this reason (500) that the Railways are willing to participate and share in the capital of these Road Transport Corporations. They have already / done so in all these Corporations. Not only that. Even when it was sought to run the road transport services / by means of limited companies, there also the Railways had participated in the capital. In fact, when the question arose / as to how the Railways should help by augmenting the capital of the U.P. Transport Undertaking, the Railways were / willing even then to participate even though it was departmentally run undertaking but legally it was not found possible. (600) So, all the State Governments have been advised that if they want more capital and if they want Central assistance, / the best thing for them to do would be to form a road transport corporation and hon. Members would have noticed / that in the Railway Sector of the Plan, a provision of Rs. 10 crores has been made for participation by / Railways in the State Road Transport Undertakings which may be in the form of these Corporations. So, that is the / position with regard to these Corporations.

As I said in my opening speech, we were told that the Karnataka Government is also willing to form a Road Transport Corporation. (700) It may be that other Governments also may come forward to / form such Corporations. Here, I should like to say that it is not so much the form in which these / undertakings are run that is to be considered important as the way in which the services are run. Here are / two hon. Members, one from the State of U.P. and another from the State of Kerala telling us / that the respective road transport services which are managed departmentally in their two States are running fairly efficiently. (800)

If that is so, if the departmental management can provide efficient and quick service, I have no quarrel with that, although / it may be that they may not be able to find additional funds and they may reach a point of saturation.

840 words

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TRANSCRIPTION NO. 314

{ Speech of hon. }
{ Commerce Minister }

The Bill, as passed by the Lok Sabha, is already with the hon. Members. The Select Committee, earlier went exhaustively / into the various provisions of the original Bill and also recorded evidence from some of the representatives of the industry. / The various recommendations of the Select Committee have been incorporated in the Bill. In addition, the wishes expressed by some / of the Members of the Lok Sabha that provision should be made for election of some of the representatives of / growers and nomination of certain other representatives in whose case, due to lack of proper organisation, election is not the (100) best means of choosing the representatives, have been incorporated in the Bill. Then, this Bill, as it has emerged from / the Lok Sabha, I hope is of a non-controversial nature, relatively speaking.

I may be permitted to explain, / in brief, the changes that have been made in the original Act. The difficulties of small growers have been appreciated and / the major portion of the acreage of rubber cultivation is held by the small growers. The small grower has been / defined in the Bill as one whose estates do not exceed 50 hectares in extent. Proper representation to these small (200) producers of rubber will be given on the Board as directed by the Joint Select Committee. The labour representatives in / the Board have been increased from three to four. The House of Parliament, as hon. Members might have noted, / will be represented by three Members—two from the Lok Sabha and one from the Rajya Sabha. Membership of the Rubber Board / will not disqualify a person from being a Member of Parliament. The Central Government will have no representative in / the Board. However, Government officers can attend and take part in the proceedings of the Board, though they will not (300) be entitled to vote. With regard to the mode of selection of the members to the Board to represent the / States of Tamil Nadu and Kerala, provision has been made for election or nomination, as may be prescribed in rules. / The labour representatives will be selected from out of the panel of names submitted by the respective associations.

With regard to the / Chairman of the Board, by and large, Members of the Select Committee and of the Lok Sabha agree on / the need for a nominated Chairman in order that there may be proper co-ordination between the Board and the Government. (400)

Handwritten shorthand transcription of the speech, written on lined paper.

An important provision has been made in the Bill to enable the Board to take steps to secure better working conditions / for workers engaged in the rubber industry and to see that they are provided with amenities and incentives. /

I should also like to tell the House that the present production of rubber is about 22,000 tonnes / a year. The demand is increasing every year, while the supply is not keeping pace with the demand. It is proposed / to fill up the gap over the short period by importing rubber, and over the long period by implementing the scheme for the development of the rubber industry. (500) The Bill, when passed, would enable the Board to import rubber and / a provision has been made as to how any profits that are made out of this import of rubber should / be utilised. To increase the production of rubber, it is proposed to take up the development scheme, the details of / which are being worked out. For this purpose, a provision has been made to enable the Government to increase the / cess gradually from the present cess of 10 rupees per 100 lbs. to 50 paise per pound. (600)

It appears that at present the small grower is at a great disadvantage, as far as the marketing of his rubber is concerned. / This problem is rather difficult to solve. Provision, however, has been made for the Rubber Board to take up marketing / of rubber also. It is hoped that the new Board will be able to tackle the problem of the small / grower successfully. It is hoped that the Board, with such control and advice that Government can give, will be able to / render useful service to the rubber industry. (700)

I have given a skeleton, inviting the attention of the House to the salient features of this amending Bill. I have no doubt that critical observations will be made on the substance / of the Bill, as also on its details, and it will be my duty to refer to them and reply / to them in the course of the debate. Sir, I therefore, commend the Bill to the hon. Members of the House. /

Mr. Vice-Chairman, this is a Bill to amend another commodity board, the Rubber Board. We are now having / various Boards for the development of tea, coffee, silk, and now rubber. There are various others also like the Coir Board and things like that. (800)

You will find that all these Boards are now completely under the thumb of the / Commerce Ministry. The initiative has been taken away from private enterprise and has been passed on to the bureaucratic machine. 840 words

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TRANSCRIPTION NO. 315 { Speech of hon. Housing Minister }

Mr. Deputy Chairman, this small measure which, I thought, would not take much time, has been debated upon with a certain amount of interest and enthusiasm. Criticism has been two-fold: one set of hon. Members who have participated in / the debate have put forward the thesis that this is much too drastic a measure and that it cuts at / the root of the rights of the landlords in regard to the eviction of tenants which they have been enjoying / under the provisions of Section 13 of the Rent Control Act. Very lengthy and elaborate arguments were advanced, some of (100) them legalistic, and a case has been sought to be built on the ground that great hardship is likely to / accrue to the landlords, if this temporary relief is granted as contemplated by the amending Bill. Then, Sir, there has been / another set of speakers, some belonging to the Benches opposite and some to this side of the House, / who have supported the measure so far as it goes but have further taken the line that it does not go / far enough and that it should be made even more stringent. If I may respectfully say, that is some justification (200) for the present measure in the form in which it has been brought forward. These violent reactions, one way / or the other, do indicate that there can be a violent difference of opinion and difference in approach when dealing with / a problem of this nature and from the very nature of circumstances a certain amount of balanced approach has to / be brought about so that the hardship to which the tenants may be exposed may be minimised and, / at the same time, the genuinely difficult cases of landlords may not be covered by this temporary protection. An effort has been (300) made to strike a mean of that nature when this Bill was drafted and brought forward before this hon. House. /

The argument that has been put forward by the set of hon. Members, whom I may describe as pro-landlord / group, has been that under Section 13 of the parent Act after obtaining the decree, the landlord will not be / entitled to execute it or if he brings forward a suit he will not succeed and that would lead to / a great deal of hardship to the landlord. All types of arguments have been advanced in support of that view. (400)

Various clauses have been examined at considerable length by two very experienced parliamentarians. They have posed a question and asked / for justification of this temporary relief with regard to the cases which are covered by those clauses. The basic fact / which is to be remembered while examining a provision of this nature is the practical human side, along with the / purely legal side. After all, it is not the Government's case at the moment that a case has come for / doing away with the various clauses. A case, however, does exist for affording some relief, but what form that relief (500) should take is a much bigger issue which was intended to be thrashed out after a careful enquiry and investigation / of all the relevant facts. I said, at the outset, that it was the Government's intention to go into / this question carefully and the intention is to appoint a committee upon which the various interests may be represented and / in that we also hope to be benefited by the advice of hon. Members of Parliament and it will be / for that Committee to examine the various aspects and suggest as to what revision this way or that way, towards the (600) right or towards the left, is called for and, pending that investigation, there should be some relief to the people / who are on the point of being thrown on the road-side. It could have been argued that the relief / should have been suggested by some of the hon. Members, that this temporary relief could cover all the clauses. Well, / there may be some force in that, but it is a question of balancing the inconvenience caused to one group / as compared to the other and, in the judgment of Government, it was considered that if this selection is made and (700) those cases are only brought within the purview of the present amending Bill whereby the landlord is not put to / any real hardship, then it will be a case really for giving relief to the tenant.

Now, if these clauses / are examined, they will be grouped broadly under one or two categories. The position in Delhi as it obtains today / is that the price of land has increased considerably. My hon. friend who sits on semi-Opposition Benches made out / a case of imaginary hardship for the residents of Delhi. He said lakhs and lakhs of refugees have come down (800) here and they have caused a lot of inconvenience and hardship to the old residents of Delhi. Well, some hardship / may have been caused but he conveniently forgets that it is the resident of Delhi who is the owner of small buildings.

840 words

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TRANSCRIPTION NO. 316

853

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Sir, Agriculture is an important subject because 75% of the population of this country is rural and dependent on agriculture. I shall briefly touch upon the achievements in the agricultural sector in the past 44 years. / This can be gauged from the fact that both India and China have the same area of cultivable land which comes / to about 14 crore hectares. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister towards the fact that / China is producing 45 crore tonnes of foodgrains while India's production has been between 18 and 19 crore tonnes (100) in the last 3-4 years. This means there are certain reasons as a result of which our production / is low.

Sir, I would like to inform the House that agriculture contributes 33%, industries 29% / and other services 38% to the national income. The contribution of agriculture can be easily raised to 50% / in the national income. The main reasons for low national income are the wrong policies and their faulty implementation / by the Government. To increase the national income, we must raise the contribution of agriculture to 50%. (200)

Sir, I would like the Agriculture Ministry to note that irrigation and fertilizers play a key role in increasing agricultural production. /

Sir, so far as irrigation projects are concerned, out of all the projects planned in post-Independence period, about / 200 big and medium projects were undertaken. At the end of these 44 years, only sixty five projects have been / completed and 2300 big dams have been constructed and 1800 dams are yet to be constructed. / But even in this age of science and technology, 70 per cent of the water of these dams gets evaporated. (300)

Sir, fortunately our country has been blessed with great natural wealth. Underground water is also available in abundance and / can be utilised best to encourage irrigation through tube wells in North India. The maximum credit of the achievement made / in this regard so far goes to the farmers. Electricity is the basic necessity to meet irrigation requirement. I need not say / much about the state of electricity throughout the country, particularly in Uttar Pradesh which is the most backward State / in the country. Therefore, my submission is that unless we increase the power generation, we cannot solve the problems baffling us. (400)

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11/27
 Mr. Chairman, Sir, through you, I would like to submit to the hon. Minister of Agriculture that it is a / matter of disadvantage for us to continue the projects in hand for a longer period, because the expenditure goes on / increasing every year. The result is that the expenditure increases twice as compared to the initial cost. It creates a / number of difficulties and the work of the projects comes to a standstill for a long period. In Uttar Pradesh, / several projects have been lying incomplete due to the non-cooperation of the Central Government. (500) In this connection, I would like to urge the hon. Minister of Agriculture that the Central Government should provide funds for these projects in time / so that the projects are completed and the farmers get irrigation facilities and also the production of foodgrains in the country / may increase.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would also like to submit that according to our experts, at least 33 per cent / of the total land should be covered by forests. But due to the continuous denudation during the last / 44 years, presently only 6 per cent of the total area is covered by forests. (600) It is only agriculture which has been suffering. Soil erosion is on the increase and affecting agriculture. I would like to submit to the hon. Minister / of Agriculture that all these things are related to agriculture. Therefore, the Government should pay attention to it and / take measures to encourage afforestation.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the Members of the House / to a matter to which very few Members have drawn our attention. But I consider it a very important issue. / We are unfortunate that in Olympic games we fail to win even a bronze medal, what to talk of gold. (700) What is the cause behind it? The reason is that 75 per cent of the population living in rural areas / remain deprived of milk, 40 per cent of the rural children crave even for a drop of milk other than / their mothers' milk. I would like to submit to the hon. Minister of Agriculture that I would not like / to go into the details of what the Government have done for the poor people so far and what they would / do in future but I would submit that fortunately the cattle in rural areas of the country are taken care of (800) like other members of the family. Therefore, we need not impart any training / in animal husbandry. The cow which / gives only 1 kg milk today can give 20 kg milk if the Government improves the breed. 840 words

Handwritten notes in shorthand script, likely representing the spoken content of the typed text. The notes are written in a cursive style on a lined background. Some numbers like 33, 44, 75, 40, 800, 1, 20 are visible, corresponding to the typed text. The notes end with a signature-like scribble and the number 20.

6.15 PM
25/2

TRANSCRIPTION NO. 317

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Sir, I will now come to the great lacunae or drawbacks in this scheme of tax on dividends because it / has to be considered only on the paid-up capital. Sir, many concerns are under-capitalised; many concerns have ten / times more in the reserves than in the capital or even twenty times more and the price of equity shares / is governed by the reserves and capital. The same thing is seen in the case of the Banking companies where / they are called 'own funds'. So, whether it is capital or whether it is reserves, I think, Sir, they should be treated on par. (100) I do not know why the Finance Minister has taken this attitude of not taking / the paid-up capital and reserves together. On the basis of having the paid-up capital and reserves together, / he would have made the slabs narrower than what they are today. Today, the slabs are 6 per cent to / 10 per cent, and ten per cent to eighteen per cent, and over eighteen per cent. If he had taken both / items together, then the slabs would have been narrower, but that is ultimately the scientific structure, in my opinion, for levying taxes on dividends. (200) After having taken this step, I would request him to do one more thing. If people / make an application for converting reserves into capital, permission should be given very generously. There should be no hindrance / in the way of companies converting their reserves into capital. Such a change would serve the purpose that we have in view / because, once the reserves are converted into capital, they will be used only for expansion, for renovation and for / reconditioning. They will be used in a manner which will serve the cause of the country (300) because if the capital is to be reduced subsequently, then permission or sanction of the Government is required. Therefore, Sir, I suggest that ultimately / return should be calculated on paid-up capital and reserves put together and this is more scientific.

Sir, let us see / what good will be achieved by this tax on dividends. Either people will pay taxes on dividends or / they will plough back the profits into industry and by this process, industrialisation will not be retarded, but, in my opinion, / it will be accelerated. People will be forced to plough back their profits for fear of having to pay more. (400)

Sir, it may be said that the Finance Minister is very hard on industry at present and it has been / said so in many quarters but we have to look to one concession that he has given in clause 6 / regarding Section 23. He has reduced the percentage of distribution from 60 to 50. I think, Sir, / this is a very welcome feature. This was overdue because if industrial concerns want to plough back the profits for expansion / or for re-conditioning and renovation, they should be allowed to do so. (500) This gives us an idea about his inclination which is that the country should be industrialised at a fast pace, and, on this account, he has given this concession. / He is giving exemptions in certain cases, in order that the concerns may expand by not distributing any dividend. / In giving such exemptions, I hope he will be very generous.

Now, Sir, I would come to the third point / about depreciation allowance, development rebate and compulsory deposit. This has been a very controversial point amongst the industrial and business / circles and rightly so. In the Bill, as it has been drafted, Government have taken too much power for asking (600) concerns to deposit a percentage on account of profits and gains before the 30th of June if certain conditions exist / regarding reserves, fixed assets and so on. He has done this with a purpose and I quite understand it / but the way in which it is put is simply embarrassing to those who are carrying on business and industry. / He has assured us that he will use this power in the most liberal manner but that assurance could very well / have been implemented by having some changes in the clause which has been brought before the House because this deposit has to be made before the 30th of June. (700) Because it has to be made before the 30th June, / you know that 90 per cent of the concerns are borrowers and a borrower cannot be asked to deposit earlier. / Therefore, one month before let him know that so much profits and reserves would be exempted. A borrower cannot be asked / to make a compulsory deposit. Sir, although the hon. Minister has assured us that he will be very liberal / in this connection, I feel that it should have been in the Bill itself rather than in the rules, if he at all means that. (800)

As regards working capital, no mention is made that the genuine needs of working capital will / be provided in this rule for compulsory deposit because when the concern requires working capital, it should be fully provided.

840 words

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TRANSCRIPTION NO. 318

5/3/54

Mr. Chairman, we note that the Territorial Army was inaugurated in our country by the Act of 1920. / For a period of something like 28 years, it did not have a much important role to play / inside our country, though during this period the country has witnessed the Second World War and as far as our / country was concerned, enemies also entered from the East, the Japanese forces. After 28 years, after we attained Independence, / another Act was passed in 1948 in order to bring the Territorial Army under a new set-up. (100)

The present Bill was introduced in May 1954 in the Lok Sabha and it / is after two years that it has reached the final stage. This delay of two years in taking up / this measure shows what little interest we take in matters of Defence and particularly the role that the Territorial Army / is likely to play in our country. Those of us who come from the former Indian States do feel that for / some reason or other, for the last seven or eight years, we are not paying much attention to Army matters. (200) This, we are noticing every day, and I will give a few instances which will show that that is the / state of affairs as far as matters of Defence are concerned. We treat this matter with complacency but some day / may come when probably we may have to regret the little interest we are taking in this all-important matter. /

Four or five months ago, we passed the Lok Sahayak Sena Bill and, on that occasion also, I spoke and / gave a little warning to the hon. Minister for Defence, who himself was piloting that Bill, that these matters (300) were not taken seriously and he assured me that that was not the case. Sir, I would submit that soon after that Bill was passed, one camp was allotted to Bikaner division, or the former Bikaner State, from where I come. / The camp was opened in the first week of October, when I also happened to be in that area for / some private work. Sir, the Collector received an intimation from the Defence Ministry that from a particular date the camp / would be started with 500 trainees. The Collector arranged with the Chief Minister of Rajasthan to inaugurate the camp. (400)

91

7.02

Sir, during that period I happened to be there, and I know what a fiasco it was. There were no / rations, there were no arrangements for camping, there was nothing whatsoever, and hardly a few people were collected in order to / show that a camp had started. At least on our side of the country, the notion is that this / country only belongs to the Congress and not to others, and therefore, only a few Congress volunteers were collected to / see that somehow or other the camp was started, whosoever the people might be, whether they were fit for the purpose of training or not. (500) This happened only about two months ago, and the hon. Minister can verify these facts, / because I happened to be on the spot there. If this is how we take army and military matters, / I only feel very sorry what will be the condition if we are to tackle serious matters or if we are / involved in real warfare.

Sir, I note with a little concern whenever replies are given in the House in regard / to Defence matters. I particularly refer in this connection to our army operations against the Nagas (600) Whenever a question in this connection is placed before the House, the reply given generally is that the Nagas are armed with / arms and ammunition left behind by the Japanese and that they are properly armed; and that, therefore, we could not liquidate / them even though we are operating there for over a year or so. It may satisfy the hon. Defence Minister / and the Defence Ministry, but not people like us who claim to know something of it, though we are now / supposed to be out-of-date and not of much use. (700) I would ask: Can the ammunition, left behind by the Japanese something like ten years ago, be of any use now in the year 1956? / I am myself fond of shikar and shooting, and I know that after two years the ammunition which we keep with us, / becomes absolutely useless and we cannot do anything with it, and to say that the arms and ammunition left / by the Japanese some ten years ago are still being used by the Nagas could not be believed. Sir, / the obvious thing is that they are being supplied fresh arms and ammunition by some other countries or some other agencies, (800) but the world has gone far ahead since 1944 or 1945 / when the Japanese advanced into that area, and we are supposed to equip ourselves with the most modern weapons.

840 words

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TRANSCRIPTION NO. 319 730-7 P

Mr. Deputy Chairman, as my hon. friend, Shri Nair, said just now that this Bill is a good one, so far as it goes, and I may add that actually what we have been demanding for a long time by way of /such changes in the Act has been embodied in it now. At the end of the year / 1983, we did discuss in this House certain amendments to the Employees Provident Fund Act and at that time / I had insisted that plantations should be included in the schedule of the industries which come within this measure. (100) Now, at last, this has been done and now the scope of the Act can be extended by the Government / to establishments or industries which are not, strictly speaking, factory industries. So, I welcome this measure. But it has come / very late. Though it has come very late, I do not say that this measure will not benefit the workers. / It will, no doubt, benefit workers. But as my hon. friend has rightly pointed out, the pace at which progress / has been made in this direction has been very slow. The manner of implementation also has been very slow (200) and unless those factors are taken into consideration, the good that will come out of this measure for the workers / will not be very effective.

As regards plantations, again, after 1953 a long time has elapsed and / then in the last Industrial Committee on Plantations, it was agreed that this measure will be extended to the plantations. / A large number of workers, nearly a million or more, who are employed in the plantations were denied the benefit / of this Act. It was agreed in August 1985, that this Act will be extended to plantations. (300) But even after that agreement in the Industrial Committee in which the planters also were present and they also / had subscribed to that agreement, such a long time had to elapse for bringing forward this amending legislation. / Government has extended by notification the provisions of the Employees' Provident Fund Act to factories and to tea gardens only recently / perhaps two or three months back. That could have been done immediately after that agreement was arrived at. In that matter / also, such a long time was taken by Government, and it was necessary to amend the existing parent Act. (400)

Handwritten shorthand notes in Devanagari script, including the years 1983, 1985, and 1953.

In 1953, when we had suggested the expansion of the number of industries in the First / Schedule, we also suggested to the Government that they should take powers to do so and that the powers / which we were proposing to the Government to take, could be exercised, in consultation with the industries and interests concerned, through / the Industrial Committees and other committees. But it has taken such a long time. The extension of the provisions of / the Employees' Provident Fund Act to only the factories and the plantations, covers only a very small fraction of the plantation workers. (500)

Secondly, besides the question of the pace of progress, there are some other questions also. There was an / agreement in the Standing Labour Conference, when this question was discussed, that the provisions of this Act will be extended / to industries employing a thousand persons and the industries come under that category as, for instance, rice mills, cashew-nut factories, / coir factories and other factories. Then, there are the seasonal factories. It may be said that work in these / seasonal factories is of a seasonal nature and, therefore, it is difficult to extend the provisions of this Act to workers in those factories. (600) But, in that connection also, it may be pointed out that even in these seasonal factories / the same workers are generally employed in the next season when the factory opens and begins to work and it / should be the endeavour of the Government to see that the same workers are employed. Therefore, the break in the / period of work need not come in the way of the extension of the provisions of this Act to these workers. /

Anyway, it is good that the Government has taken powers to extend the provisions of this Act to non-factory industries (700) and, I hope these provisions will be implemented without further delay and that the pace will be speeded up. /

There are a few other points which I would like to touch. My hon. friend has already pointed out / the question of forfeiture. Under the present scheme, a worker forfeits the employer's contribution to the Fund, not only / when he retires or leaves the factory prematurely, but also in case of dismissal or disciplinary action. It is a / moot point whether there should be this forfeiture even in the case of dismissal or disciplinary action, for the worker (800) has been working there before up to the point of time when this disciplinary action took place. Often, we find / that even in the industrial tribunals, they have come to the conclusion that the dismissal or disciplinary action was unjustified.

840 words

93

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18/7/26

TRANSCRIPTION NO. 320

213

Handwritten shorthand transcription in Devanagari script, covering approximately 25 lines of text.

Sir, as hon. Members are well aware, the production of coffee is of great importance not only to the coffee / consumers but also to the national interest of the country. It is a fact that not only the internal consumption / of coffee has increased but also Indian coffee is loved for its quality in outside countries. Though it is not / an export commodity bringing in foreign exchange in very large dimensions, it does bring in a fairly good income / to the growers and it is in our interest to develop the coffee industry. With that view, we have brought forward (100) this measure and we are making principally two structural alterations or amendments in the original scheme of the Coffee Board /

Taking the amendments sought to be made by this Bill serially, I would first invite attention to clause 6 of / the Bill which deals with the structure of the new Board. There is also the provision for the appointment of / the Chairman of the Board by the Government. This has been the subject matter of some controversy, as hon. Members / are quite aware and I would like to deal with that matter quite briefly. I shall also be happy to (200) give my reactions to such observations as may be made during the course of the debate. It has been considered / in certain quarters that Government, in introducing this amendment, is trying to do something unjust to the growers. Firstly, / the original Act contained a provision for the election of the growers' organizations by panels.

That was the understanding underlying the / amending Bill. This is one sore point and I might start with that observation from now. Really speaking, Government / could have absolutely no interest in affecting the growers adversely. We cannot kill the goose that lays the golden egg. (300) If we kill the industry, no one could hope to have a development in this industry. No doubt sometimes things happened / in the past and they made Government come to the conclusion that the Coffee Board at that time did not / do all in its power to see to it that the prices were under control. We have to strike / a sort of golden mean. It is not that only the growers' interests are supreme, but I am quite sure that / whereas the growers' interests have to be important, the interests of the consumers have also to be taken into account. (400)

Take the Tariff Commission, for instance. It goes into the cost of production of the indigenous production and also finds / out the import price of an imported product. If the import value of an imported article is Rs.30 and / the cost of production of a local article is Rs.20, the Commission tries to cover the gap of Rs.10 / and add a little more so that the indigenous product may not work with an initial disadvantage vis-a-vis / the imported product. That is what they do. So, in the case of productive industry, it goes without saying (500) that the margin to the grower should be important and should be a sufficient incentive but then we have to / look at other factors also. Take the case of silk, for instance. Silk is a relevant example. Supposing we stop / all imports; the growers might get Rs.58 or Rs.60 per pound whereas the Tariff Commission price would / be round about Rs.32 per pound, giving a margin for the handicap sustained by local production. If prices / soar high, they have a deleterious effect on industry, though for the time being persons in charge of particular concerns may profit by it today and tomorrow. (600) This is not beneficial from the long range point of view and in as much as / we want this coffee industry to develop in the long run into a very prosperous industry, not only to / satisfy the internal needs but also to satisfy our exports as much as possible, we must take effective and proper steps. / Just as we must see to it that the grower gets a proper margin, it is equally important to / see that the growers' prices are not such as would result in prejudice to the particular industry in the long run. (700) In the near future, it may be advantageous for us to do that. During the current year, we could / find it possible to increase the quota because production was higher than before and we want to go ahead farther / than we did so far in increasing production. Maybe, if production increases, we might be able to do it / and we would be very happy to give as great a quota as possible because it naturally helps the industry. / But, we have to look after the internal consumer also. We cannot neglect the interests of the internal consumer. (800)

We believe also in coffee spreading to other parts; recently in Parliament House we have seen how popular coffee is growing / day by day, not only hot but also cold. There should be further expansion in the activities of the Coffee Board.

840 words

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720

TRANSCRIPTION NO. 321

710

Handwritten shorthand notes in Devanagari script, covering approximately 25 lines on the left side of the page.

Sir, this is a Bill which naturally commends itself for acceptance by all right-thinking men. The principle of recall / is one of the fundamental principles of unfettered democracy and it has been explained by facts and figures by the / hon. mover of this Bill that this principle should be incorporated in the Constitution of our country. He has not / expressed any hurry. So, he has said that he is prepared to accept the verdict of the people and this / Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion. As far as public opinion is concerned, we know that it is predominantly (100) in favour of such an Article being incorporated in our Constitution because the public think that they are the masters / of the land. But, unfortunately, owing to certain Constitutional difficulties, they do not have their say in matters of importance. /

Sir, our Constitution naturally is not the final word in constitution-thinking or constitution-making. We are all familiar with / the circumstances in which this Constitution was framed and when we talk about the framers of the Constitution, / we do not have certain abstract personalities or ideas in our mind. We had a definite set of circumstances and a definite (200) set of individuals who took upon themselves the framing of what is called the Indian Constitution today. In the course / of five years of the working of this Constitution, it has been found necessary, maybe for different reasons, that this / Constitution had to be amended and changed. From the Press, it appears that even the Government of India now is / thinking of amending Article 31. Therefore, experience goes to show that this Constitution has got to be altered and / changed and so here is a Bill the provision of which should find a place in the form of fundamental (300) law, as an Article in the Constitution. Sir, we have heard the speeches made from the Congress Party. I can understand / their anxiety when we bring up this measure because if the provision for recall had been there in the / Constitution, the Congress Benches would have been denuded of many hon. gentlemen who sit there today. The Treasury Benches / would have been by now emptied if the provision of this Article was there. We know all this thing and it / is quite understandable why these gentlemen, the great gentlemen, who go by the Preventive Detention Act, are opposing this measure. (400)

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Now, Sir, we are not making it a party issue. We are prepared to be recalled by the people. / We would consider it a great honour to resign from Parliament if the people demand of us that course of action, / and I can tell you, as far as our Party is concerned, we are not even bothered about the Constitutional / provision, whether it is there or not. If, for instance, the people of Calcutta, the majority of the people of / Calcutta, were to demand my resignation from this Rajya Sabha, I shall certainly bow my head to their will (500) and resign from here whether there is a provision in the Constitution or not. Similarly, I can tell you of the Members / of the other House that they will resign their seats if their constituents who returned them in the elections / demanded their resignation. Recall, as far as we are concerned, is an article of faith. Whether there is a provision / in the Constitution or not, we will submit to the will of the people because their will is supreme and / sovereign and I think that nothing is to be more revered and respected than the will of the people. (600) But the point is not that of what we feel or that we do not feel; the point is how you / are dealing with the laws and with the Constitution. That is the main point. The American Constitution required a certain / number of amendments and the Bill of Rights there came by way of amendments. Fifteen or sixteen amendments were adopted / in quick succession. Now, our Constitution too requires many more amendments in the right direction. This is one of the / amendments that have been proposed.

Now, look at this Parliament. I am dealing with Parliament at the moment, not with the State Legislatures. (700) Look at this Parliament and appraise its representative character. The gentlemen who sit there are honourable gentlemen / but they cannot claim that they have been returned to this position of authority with the majority votes in the country. / In the last general elections they got only 44 per cent of the votes but the Opposition parties / between them got 56 per cent of the votes, but the reflection of those votes is by no means / here in this House or in the other House. They have monopolised those seats. That is how those people sit (800) there with so few votes and we come to have a few seats here.

As I was saying, the main / argument of the protagonists of this proposal was that there is a provision to this effect in the Soviet Constitution. 840 words

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TRANSCRIPTION NO. 322

Mr. Deputy Chairman, while moving this Resolution I would like to request the House and the Government, and the Prime Minister / in particular, not to take this Resolution as one moved by this or that Party, but as reflecting the / feelings of our countrymen, at least of a very considerable section of our countrymen. Those feelings are reflected, / if I may mention, in the Resolution that was moved by the All India Congress Committee itself and, to cite another example, / in the statements of an eminent statesman like Rajaji. In fact, he has launched a campaign for our withdrawal from the Commonwealth. (100)

Now, Sir, the Prime Minister himself had said in the Lok Sabha that because of the Anglo-French / attack on Egypt, this question had to be considered afresh. It is today not only a question of sentiment or / moral attitude or of our past attitude towards any association with the Britishers, but it is something more than that. / Sir, if I borrow the phrase of the Prime Minister himself, we have to look at this question in a / larger perspective—the perspective of war and peace—though these factors also count as very important in the consideration of this matter. (200) In the past, the whole stand of our national movement was for complete dissociation from the British Commonwealth. / When that stand was reversed in 1949, the country was not given an adequate explanation / as to why that stand was reversed. The Prime Minister certainly gave some explanations in the Constituent Assembly and in his / public speeches. But the main point which he made was that many things had changed in the world and Britain / had also changed. But there was nothing wrong if we associated with Britain as a sovereign country in the Commonwealth. (300) for purposes which may be to our common good. Now, Sir, recent events, and particularly the Anglo-French aggression on / Egypt, have clearly demonstrated that the British Imperialism has not changed. I do not mean the British people, but / I mean the British Imperialism, which has not changed at all. Events in Malaysia, events in Kenya, and events in South Africa / were all clear pointers to the fact that the characteristic of the British Imperialism had not changed and it / has not changed even now. We were told that we had been associating as equal partners in the British Commonwealth. (400)

While launching this adventure of aggression, the British Government did not think it necessary to consult the Government of India / or, at least, to consider the feelings of the Government of India which represented the feelings of the people of India. / They did not have even that much courtesy. So, where is the question of equality of status then?

The Bill, / Sir, which I have moved for the consideration of the House mainly falls into four parts. As I have / more than once pointed out in my speeches in connection with the First Amendment Act that was passed in 1952, (500) the list that was prepared and appended to the original Bill was done in a very haphazard way. / In the First Amendment Act, an effort was made to correct some of the mistakes and to add / a few more archaeological sites and monuments. In connection with that Bill, Sir, I had pointed out even then that there were / quite a few monuments which were not included in that, even though they should have been immediately included therein. / Hence, in this Bill that I have put forth here I have tried to include some additional monuments which should have been included therein even last time. (600) The second thing that I have tried to do in this Bill is this. / In the original Act as well as even after the first amendment Act, there remained quite a few mistakes, / very patent mistakes, which need to be corrected. For instance, the districts of Rajasthan were never correctly named and all / the districts were not even included in that Act.

Thirdly, I have held the view that all the important monuments / which have been protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, and which are in the States should be declared to be of national importance. (700) I urge this for two reasons. Firstly, I have always / been of the view that there is no reason why, just because certain actions can be taken and certain moves / can be made in the States under that Act of 1904, those monuments should not be / declared to be of national importance. Sir, I am really amazed to see that while some petty monuments have been / declared to be of national importance, the great stupa of Sanchi which is revered not only in India but also in (800) lands like China, Japan and the Far East, when people from thousands of miles have been coming here for centuries / past, that stupa has not been declared to be of national importance. I am amazed at this state of affairs.

840 words

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217
930 920

TRANSCRIPTION NO. 323

Mr. Deputy Chairman, this is only an amending Bill and the time is also very short. So, I cannot take up all the industries separately but I shall confine myself to a few observations. Last year also in this House / by about this time, we discussed another Tariff (Amendment) Bill. In connection with that, I made certain observations as well as / suggestions for the Government, but I do not find that any attention has been paid to these suggestions. / My suggestions were to this effect that when any Bill for granting protection or discontinuing protection to an industry was brought, (100) we should be supplied with certain information under three categories. The first information was whether the protection granted to an / industry had been used only by the indigenous industry or advantage of the protection had been taken by foreign capital / entrenched in that industry, because, Sir, I submit that the main purpose of granting protection to certain industries is to / develop our national industries, but if it is found that taking advantage of the protection, foreign capital goes into those / fields where the industry is not highly developed or it does not involve a huge outlay of capital or huge (200) outlay of machinery, the protection becomes a farce. My second category of suggestions was that when protection was granted to / an industry, it should be seen how far that industry was progressing properly and also how far it was taking / steps to lighten the burden on the consumers. Thirdly, when we are granting protection to certain industries, we have the / right to demand of that industry that it should give a fair deal to its own labour. I suggest that / when notes are circulated to us in connection with a Tariff Amending Bill, we should be supplied that information on these various counts, particularly these three. (300)

Lastly, I would like to make another point in connection with the soda ash / industry. The question of this industry was discussed thoroughly on the floor of the House last year. The fact is / that I gave certain suggestions and also drew the attention of the House to certain peculiar features connected with this / industry. The domestic production is still far less than the actual domestic demand. That is why, import of soda ash / is being allowed. But it was complained that licences for importing soda ash were given to the Imperial Chemical Industries. (400)

Handwritten shorthand notes in Devanagari script, corresponding to the typed text on the right.

Secondly, Imperial Chemical Industries is a world monopoly and serious allegations were made against that concern not only by us but also by those Indian gentlemen who are engaged in the soda ash industry that that concern taking advantage of its / monopolistic position was manoeuvring the price of that commodity in such a manner as to put the Indian indigenous industry / in very serious difficulties. The only ground or criterion on which the licence was given to Imperial Chemical Industries for / importing soda ash was that for a number of years it was the greatest importer. (500) But if, while granting protection to a national industry, we look at things in such a mechanical and superficial way, it defeats the very purpose / for which Parliament is enacting this piece of legislation. About these things, I have no information as to what is the / present position, whether these suggestions were considered, whether the matter was looked into, whether any investigation was undertaken, / and if so, with what result. On these matters, we have not been supplied with any information. Therefore, I agree, / to some extent, with my hon. friend, Mr. Kishen Chand, that we are confronted with some tariff amending Bills in instalments. (600) These Bills are presented before us as necessity arises, but while they come to us we do not have the / total picture before us. Whatever information is given is of a very general nature and superficial and it does not / really help us to understand the real position as regards those points which I have made out.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, / as the time is short, I should like to confine myself to two or three observations. First and foremost, / in addition to certain information being given to Members who are interested in the subject, it is necessary, when the Export (700) Advisory Council meets twice a year, that invitation should be given to such Members to attend these meetings. The Government / itself will benefit by the Members listening to the view points put by those people who are in the trade. / I had made this observation with regard to Education Advisory Boards, and every other body, that Members of both Houses / should be informed about the meetings of such bodies and they should be allowed to attend them as spectators. / They will not take part in the proceedings but there could be nothing lost, as far as both the Government (800) and the Members are concerned, by the Members being allowed to attend their meetings.

Secondly, though this may not be exactly / the occasion to deal with it, I want to put to the hon. Minister this point and seek his advice. 840 words

[Handwritten shorthand transcription of the printed text, written in a cursive style on lined paper.]

25/2

TRANSCRIPTION NO. 324

25/2

While moving the motion, the hon. Member made a very fine speech giving us a clear picture of what the / universities are today and what the universities should be. But, Sir, I was unable to follow the objects of the Bill. / The aims of the Bill do not seem to be clear even to the framers of the Bill. / In the Statement of Objects and Reasons, it is said: "The Constitution of India vests Parliament with exclusive authority in regard to / co-ordination and determination of standards in institutions for higher education or research and scientific and technical institutions.(100) It is obvious that neither co-ordination nor determination of standards is possible unless the Central Government has some voice in the determination / of standards of teaching and examination in Universities, both old and new."

If we observe this statement, we can see / that it is the intention of the framers of this Bill to have control over the Universities at least / with regard to co-ordination of standards of examination. If that is the object with which this Motion is brought, / then I wish to submit that they should have introduced a Bill for controlling the Universities. If we go through (200) this Bill, my suspicion that the objects are not very clear to the framers of the Bill is confirmed because / on the face of it the title of the Bill is University Grants Commission Bill. So, the object that is / intended is that a Commission should be established and the Commission should have control with regard to the utilisation of / the funds that are given to the Universities. It means that the University Grants Commission should control the Universities / in respect of spending the grants that are made to the Universities but if you look at the provisions of the(300) Bill, they go far beyond this. Several clauses are provided here not only for Universities which receive grants but for / all Universities which have been asked to furnish particulars to the Commission and to observe certain other conditions. Then, / they will also be made liable to certain penalties in case they fail to submit returns. I could have understood if / these clauses were made applicable only to Universities which receive grants but it is not so. As per definition, 'University' / means a university established, or incorporated, by or under a Central Act or a State Act under the Concurrent List. (400)

[Handwritten shorthand notes in Devanagari script, covering the left side of the page.]

So, I wish to know from the hon. Members what exactly is the object of this Bill to have some sort of control over Universities, to regulate the Universities, then I am afraid this Bill will not do. He must bring forward another Bill called the Universities Bill in which they can have any provision to assume control over Universities / to any extent. On the other hand, if the object of this Bill is only to exercise control over the / spending of the grants made to the Universities, if this is to be made applicable only to such Universities as (500) are applicable to the Grants Commission, then I am afraid some of the provisions have to be deleted entirely or / materially altered. This point, I wish, is to be made clear.

Coming to the composition of the Commission, it / has already been observed by some of the hon. Members that the number is either small or large. One lady Member / said that the number is small while another hon. gentleman said that the number is large. The University Grants Commission provides / for a small number, that is, five. And it should be so in order to make this Commission effective. (600) Sir, I wish to submit that the number should not be large. We all know by our experience in the / working of Committees and Commissions that a large Commission or Committee means only procrastination or delay in working. If the / Commission is large, the quorum will also be large and members may not come and, therefore, meetings will have to be / postponed and delayed. In the interest of success of this University Grants Commission, it should be an efficient body, / it must be a small body. I think five would do and I wish to direct the attention of the Committee to this aspect. (700) The Members of this body should be very eminent educationists.

With regard to composition, a provision / is made for appointment of Members from among the Vice-Chancellors of Universities. That is provided in sub-clause (a) / of clause 5. Sir, this is a matter which involves a very great principle. When Universities are applicants for grants, / would it be advisable to put the Vice-Chancellors of those Universities on the Commission? We want this University Grants / Commission to be an impartial body. We want the Members of this Commission to be above all influences. (800)

Even the hon. Parliamentary Secretary who moved this Motion has admitted that the University Grants Commission should be above politics and above / all favouritism. If we have to do it, there should be no subjective element in the composition of the Commission.

840 words

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7-15

TRANSCRIPTION NO. 325 227

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Mr. Deputy Chairman, so far as the principles underlying this Bill are concerned, I am in full agreement. I also / find that the provisions of this Bill are an improvement upon the various provisions of the Essential Supplies Powers / Act, 1946 which this Bill proposes to replace and I would like to congratulate the Government / for implementing the recommendations of the Committee which you so ably presided over but I shall soon point out to / you that very many important recommendations, which your Committee was good enough to make, have not been implemented in the (100) provisions of this Bill. I agree with the hon. Minister that in a planned economy it is essential that the / Government should have such reserve powers as they seek under the provisions of this Bill. It is imperative that they should have / powers to regulate the production, supply and distribution at correct prices of the commodities which are most essential / for the life of the community and I find that most of the Government, of the different countries / in the world today possess such reserve powers in a small or a big measure. In the United States of America which (200) still believes largely in a laissez faire economy, they have such powers in a very big measure. Therefore, I don't / grudge the grant of such powers to the Government but as has been pointed out by my hon. friend, the / mover of this Bill, there is no immediate necessity of enforcing the provisions of this Bill because we have passed / through the era of plenty, as has been pointed out by my hon. friend. But we must take lessons from our / experience in the past when the control measures were there and you have in your report very ably pointed out (300) as to how these defects could be removed, but I would like to view this measure from a little / different angle. We have got to view this measure from two different angles. We have to keep in view the / big towns, the small towns and the big centres of production. We have to control production and distribution by big / undertakings and we have to maintain supplies in big towns and cities where the Government machinery is functioning and we / see so many officers there. But we have also to keep in view that we have got to regulate production.(400)

Now, the bulk of our population lives in the villages where we have got to maintain the supplies. Now, these villages are spread over big distances. There is lack of communications in the countryside and we don't have the officials / who administer these controls there. They are to be found only in the district or sub-divisional headquarters or mostly / in some circle headquarters in the villages but the vast rural areas which constitute the village population do not have / any officer of the Government to enforce these measures and there in those areas we have a large number of (500) small tradesmen who come under the compass of this Bill. The question is how to enforce these controls in those / areas, in the villages and in the rural areas, and I see that unless we get the active and willing / cooperation of the people in the countryside, it is impossible to administer the control through the agency of the Government servants. / The people were indifferent to controls and the question that now arises is this : how can we enlist their cooperation and sympathy? The village people must feel that they are getting a fair deal under the control measures and (600) unless they feel that they are being justly treated, they cannot give their cooperation to you. There was a big / disparity between the prices of the controlled commodities which were products of agriculture and the products of industry. The villagers / felt that their products, the agricultural products, which they produced were being snatched away from them at very unfair prices / and they had to purchase industrial products at very much higher prices. So, unless the Government sees to it that / a proper parity is maintained between the products of agriculture and the products of industry, you cannot have the full (700) cooperation of the people in enforcing the control measures. The people must feel that they are being fairly dealt with.

Then, the other point that I would like to emphasize is that people must have a hand in administering the / control itself. What happened during the last control days? The control measures were being enforced by Supply Inspectors at the / lowest level. They used to live in the district or divisional headquarters and there was nobody to enforce the controls / in the villages. Then the corruption started at the village end. The small tradesman and all the people who dealt (800) in the commodities at the village level were in league with these officials and they victimized the people. The people were helpless victims and helpless witnesses to all those things that had been happening for centuries in the villages. (840)

840 words

Handwritten shorthand transcription of the typed text on the right side of the page.

TRANSCRIPTION NO. 326

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I associate myself wholeheartedly with the suggestion made by Prof. Ranga that Postal Life Insurance should be / thrown open to the general public. Incidentally, I may say that I am glad to find myself on this occasion / in company with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta also. They say that one is known by the company one keeps but I / only wish that I shall not be judged by the little company that I am going to keep with Mr. Gupta. / I have said that I associate myself with the suggestion made by Prof. Ranga. I have called it a (100) suggestion because it can only be suggested to the Government to take such a step at some subsequent stage because / so far as this Bill is concerned, this suggestion could not be incorporated therein. My friend, Mr. Gupta, has unnecessarily / criticised the Government for not having incorporated this in the Bill itself. Though it is well and good to make / the suggestion for the Government to adopt, there can hardly be an occasion now for us to accuse the Government / for not having incorporated this suggestion in the Bill itself because Postal Life Insurance cannot be thrown open to the (200) general public by any amendment of the Life Insurance Act. That has to be done by amending the Postal Life / Insurance Act and I hope and trust that the Government will take note of this suggestion which, I hope, has / the support of every Member of this House, excepting of course my revered friend, Mr. H. P. Saksena, who at least / on this occasion is grievously in the wrong, though generally he is very much in the right, / and I have no doubt that on sober consideration he will be sorry for having opposed the suggestion of Prof. Ranga. (300)

Sir, there is a general feeling in the country— a feeling with which most of the Members, I believe almost every / Member here, would be in agreement— that insurance business should be nationalised though in due course, and I think the / first step that the Government might take in that direction is to throw open the Postal Life Insurance to the / general public. Thereby, we shall also be in a position to know as to how the Government would fare in / the business if it is undertaken on a large scale because they are unable to put in, the adequate organisation. (400)

There is certainly one great advantage which will immediately accrue to the Government and which will be to the benefit / of the existing policy holders and subsequent policy-holders and that is that the cost of insurance will considerably go down. / Even at present, the cost of Postal Life Insurance is very much less than the cost of ordinary life / insurance and if it is thrown open to the general public also, the cost will be reduced still further / and that will be not only to the advantage of the Government because the Government will be having the advantage of (500) all the premiums that will be accruing therefrom but the policy-holders will also have the advantage of the reduced cost. / For these reasons, I once again submit that I whole-heartedly support the suggestion made by Prof. Ranga and / the suggestion which has the support of Mr. Gupta also. With these words, I support this Bill.

Sir, I rise / to support this Bill which is of a non-controversial nature because the benefit of assignments and transfers of policies / to the heirs is thought fit to be given under the amending Bill and that is very necessary. (600) But, while amending this Bill, so many other points have been raised on which I would like to offer some remarks. / Prof. Ranga said that this may be extended to the general public. I am in full agreement with that / and there is no objection in extending the benefit to the general public but the organisation which is at present carrying on / the Postal Life Insurance will have to be expanded to a very great extent, and whether the State will be / able to do that in the four lakhs and odd post offices that are existing in India is the question. (700)

The second question is that some State Governments have also their Life Insurance Companies and they are also having them / in the public sector. All the States are under the Government of India and they can expand their activities / all over the country. But even then, it is not done because every State has the responsibility of administration in one / respect or the other and I think the present duties which have fallen on each State to administer its own / departments are too many for them to handle. The whole thing hinges on organisation which has been established in the country (800) on a large scale from which we have ousted the foreigners. Now, to have a parallel organisation is good / and there should be no objection but we must assign priorities—what to do first and what to do next.

840 words

Handwritten shorthand transcription of the printed text, written in a cursive style on lined paper.

TRANSCRIPTION NO. 327

Sir, I am as dejected today as I was on the day the Finance Minister presented the Budget. The description / of the problems is correct but the proposed solutions are not acceptable to us. I do not agree with the / concept that linking the Indian economy with the world economy will improve the situation. By world economy we mean the / combined economy of the G-7 nations. These nations taken together account for 12% of the world's population and / 70% of the world production. How can we compare the economy of poor countries like India with the economies (100) of those nations when the per capita income in India is Rs.4000 and the per capita income in / U.S.A. is Rs.5 lakhs, and in the case of G-7, it is between Rs.4 lakhs / and Rs.5 lakhs. The needs of the Indian people are different from those of the people of America, Britain / and Japan. When we return from visits to foreign countries, we talk about the developments in those countries and want/ to know why such developments do not take place in India. We always try to adopt the latest trends in (200) foreign countries but this thinking is detrimental to national interest. Therefore, it is not possible for me to think the / way the hon. Minister of Finance thinks, nor do I agree to his views.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I heard the / speech delivered by the hon. Minister of Finance. He reiterated the same point that had we failed to pay back / the debt we have taken, we would have also been in the same condition in which countries of Latin America / have fallen. I share the concern of the hon. Minister about Latin America whose condition deteriorated because of their close (300) link with international institutions like IMF, World Bank and other financial institutions and multinationals. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, / Sir, I would like to tell the people of the country this stark reality that by getting this Finance Bill passed, / the Government is going to take the path which would lead to a dangerous situation and which will not be a / different situation from the situation of political slavery of the country passed through for a long time, unless corrective measures / are taken against the implementation of this Bill, especially when the country is in a very bad shape. (400)

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the ultimate goal of Swaraj movement was to instill national feelings in people and attain self-sufficiency. / Gandhiji started that movement and many of the present hon. Members of the House did not participate in that movement. / At that time, they may be too old to participate in the movement. It might be possible that the students in / schools were not taught the lofty ideals of our Swaraj movement in the country and political leaders also do not / bother to understand it. However, it is a fact that if we do not have national feelings and fail to (500) achieve self-sufficiency, we would be in great difficulty. I know that the Government will be able to get the / Bill passed in the House, but we cannot associate ourselves with the Bill and the policies adopted by the Government. / After presentation of this Budget, there has been steep rise in the prices, particularly in regard to fertilisers, / and though it has been stated by the hon. Minister as a regional issue, it has further deteriorated the financial condition / of the farmers.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in view of the present situation, I fear, the policy adopted by the Government (600) and the Budget would lead the country towards destruction. The hon. Minister has not suggested the solution to these three issues / the way he should have.

When Mir Jaffer allowed East India Company to do business in India, he did not / visualise the political ramifications of it. He thought that it was just a trading company. A senior Minister in the / Indian Cabinet had stated in America that the Government of India would invite American investment, though ultimately he did not / succeed in getting it done. But the policy the hon. Minister of Finance proposes to implement seems to be very dangerous. (700) I am more disappointed because such a great politician like Shri Advani also praised it. Would it be possible even / for such capitalists as Tata and Birla whom we accuse of imbalancing the Indian economy to compete with Rockfeller and Ford? / It is sign of danger for our economy and also for the capitalist system. The industrialists who fail / to understand the motive of this Bill will have to repent and face the consequences afterwards.

There are a number of / banks in our country. The hon. Minister of Finance has been the head of these banks. When nationalisation policy was (800) implemented, there were 14 banks. At present, various branches of banks are working in every area and / the Government have / to bear heavy expenditure. Would it not be in the interest of the country that all the banks should be unified?

840 words

Handwritten shorthand transcription of the printed text, written in a cursive style on lined paper.

TRANSCRIPTION NO. 328

Mr. Deputy Speaker, I am thankful to the Hon. Members opposite and also on this side of the House for participating in the debate on this very simple amending measure that I have put before the House. They have all supported the amending Bill for increasing the time of take-over of sugar mills from 6 years to 7 years. / At the same time, they have brought into focus the problems faced by the farmers, the workers and the factories / in general. This is a very simple measure. Six-year period elapsed in November last. We have taken over 8 mills (100) in the year 1978-79, soon after the main Act was passed by the Parliament. / The limited object of this amending Bill is to gain more time, to think how the factories that government / has been managing for the last 6 years or so could be handed over to the owners, to the erstwhile management, / whether co-operative or private, and the future of the workers and the cane-growers could also be ensured simultaneously. / At the same time, they could guard against, if possible, these mills going sick again.

This Act is a sort of (200) a deterrent against mills going sick by various methods. Some of them are fraudulent methods—I do not hesitate / in saying—as several of my friends have pointed out. There is leakage of revenues, there is manipulation of accounts, / and losses are shown in the balance-sheets by methods which are not so desirable. At the same time, / some old mills run into genuine difficulties and we do not want that the farmers of those areas who cannot immediately / switch over from one pattern of cultivation to another should suffer. We try to help the industry as well as (300) the farmers and workers through this measure.

Hon. Members from both sides have pointed out several difficulties. Sir, I admit / that this temporary take-over is no remedy for bringing back these mills to permanent health. Ultimately, the Government either / has to think of nationalisation or of putting pressure on the management to modernise these mills.

The question of nationalisation / has been raised from time to time. Even today, some of my friends have suggested that we should resort to / nationalisation of sugar industry. One hon. Member suggested setting up of a Commission to evolve a long-term policy for sugar (400)

Handwritten shorthand transcription in Devanagari script, covering approximately 25 lines on the left side of the page.

All I can say, at the moment, is that nationalisation of sugar industry cannot be thought of in isolation / from the policy as regards the other sectors of industries. We have to take one view and we have opted for / a mixed economy — public sector as well as private sector. And I am not in a position to say that / nationalisation, even if Government thinks of it, will solve the problem. Because we know that our experience with the public sector / also is not very happy. Everybody will admit it. Therefore, we have to try and help the industry, wherever possible. (500)

As regards sugar industry we are giving preference to cooperatives. In the matter of licensing of new mills, they will / be under the co-operatives as far as possible. If in an area where no cooperative societies are set up / or no public sector factory comes up but there is enough sugar-cane there, then only we agree to new licences / to be given to the private sector.

Now, hon. Members will appreciate that the cooperative sector has done very well / in the matter of sugar production. More than fifty per cent of sugar production in our country comes from cooperatives. (600) We heard, a short while ago, one hon. Member from Maharashtra asking for nationalisation, whereas another Member, who is also / from Maharashtra, was opposing nationalisation. I do not know how these two views can be reconciled. We have to see / that the farmers get remunerative prices. We also agree that there should be a long-term policy on sugar. /

Sir, there have been difficulties created on account of wide fluctuations in sugar production from year to year. We have seen / shortages for years in the past; we have also seen times of glut and over-production in our country. (700) After the period of Janata rule, the sugar production had come down to only 38 lakh tonnes from a / previous high production of more than 64 lakh tonnes. Within two years, on account of the policies pursued to give / remunerative prices to farmers and to help the industry to modernise, the production came up to 84 lakh tonnes / in the year 1981-82. That was the highest production in the world. We try to / control the price in free sale also by applying the mechanism of release from month to month (800) so that if the prices tend to go high, more sugar is released from the factory. We try to see / that the difference between the price of levy sugar and the price in the free market does not become very big. [840 words]

Handwritten shorthand transcription of the typed text on the right side of the page.

TRANSCRIPTION NO. 329

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support this measure. When we talk in this House or outside, we always / talk in terms of the farmers. It is a fact that our country is predominantly a farming country. Eighty per cent / of our population is dependent on agriculture. Therefore, even in the sphere of industries, particularly those which are agro-based, / a scientific approach is required. Up till now, it appears that the trend of thinking for industries is mostly / in favour of those which are not agro-based. In fact, most of our industries in India, whether they are sugar, (100) textile or jute, are agro-based industries. But, particularly with regard to sugar industry, you would appreciate that majority / of the farmers, whether they are in the North, or in the East, or the South or in some parts / of the West or even in Central India, find that sugarcane growing is becoming more and more unprofitable. / It is true that in some of the States where there is canal irrigation or where there is perennial cheap irrigation, / people do cultivate sugar. Sugar is one of our agricultural produce which heavily supports our Exchequer. Moreover, because of the sugar (200) production we are in a position to maintain the stability of prices in the country. Therefore, my primary submission would be / that we should realise that this industry should survive, progress and prosper. Its maladies and the causes of its sickness / have got to be tackled. For quite a long time, we have been hearing complaints from the farmers / that they are not being paid sugarcane prices in time and that the sugarcane prices are becoming more and more unremunerative / to them. It is unfortunate that in this country, whether it is profitable or not, the farmer is compelled (300) to go on growing his farming products. This is his weakness. He cannot think in other terms. If you apply / cost-benefit ratio principle here, you will find, unlike other industries, the farmer has got no choice to divert to other fields. / Therefore, this industry needs the utmost attention by the Government.

My friend from the Opposition rightly said that it is well known / how the profits and capital of these sick industries have been siphoned off. Today, we know that 600 textile / mills are suffering because of its maladies and sickness. We know that millions of people are out of job. (400)

Handwritten shorthand notes in Devanagari script, corresponding to the typed text on the right. The notes are written in a cursive style on lined paper.

Similarly, if you do not give specific attention to the sugar industry, the fate of the farmers and workers in the / sugar factories would be in jeopardy. Therefore, my submission is that until we make the entire farming community stand / on its own legs, our goal of making our economy self-reliant as early as possible will not be achieved. /

Therefore, Sir, my submission is that today we export our sugar at a subsidised rate. People also say that sugar / should be made available at cheaper rates in our country. No doubt, the interest of the consumer has to be protected. (500)

The same thing is happening even with regard to milk industry, our dairy industry. The farmers and the women / who are rearing animals do not get remunerative prices for milk and milk products. But we want to provide them at / cheaper rate because butter should be available at the table for the morning breakfast. Ghee should be available at the / dining table at cheaper rate. All these are the demands made by the vocal people. So far, we are going on / yielding to the demand made by the vocal people and not by the people who are perspiring on the soil. (600) So far, we have not paid any attention to the difficulties of the farmers. I come from a village and / I know the difficulties of villagers. There is no 8-hour shift. There is no dearness allowance with the rise / in the price index level. But does it mean that he should not get even the remunerative price for the / products he provides—maybe sugarcane, maybe milk, maybe foodgrains, maybe castor oil, maybe pulses or anything else? Now, the time has / come when we have to pay attention to their needs and aspirations and see that the farmer gets the remunerative price. (700)

Of course, I welcome and support this Bill. But I would say it will be in the strict relevance of / the situation, if I impress upon the hon. Minister and the Agriculture Department in the Government of India to pay / more attention to the difficulties of our farmers. Now, the time has come that even with regard to agriculture and / agrobased industries, a scientific approach and thorough examination has got to be done. Otherwise, the discontent and the poverty / that you want to eradicate, you would not be in a position to root out for all time to come. (800)

In the sugar industry, modernisation is not there. Depreciation funds which are being collected by the industry, are not used properly. / Allotment of funds, as already mentioned, is done for the other industries, but not for the sugar industry at all. (840) 840 words

Handwritten shorthand transcription of the typed text on the right side of the page.

TRANSCRIPTION NO. 330

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I take my stand here to support the Constitution Amendment Bill moved by Shri Thomas. / I think he has done a service to this House and to this country by drawing the attention of this country / to the very important aspect that unless right to work is made a Fundamental Right in the Constitution and every / young man and woman is guaranteed some job, the very basic premise of our Constitution is going to flounder. / Our Constitution, in the Preamble, guarantees justice—social, economic and political. Article 19 (1) (a) of the Fundamental Rights guarantees (100) freedom of speech and expression. Article 21 guarantees protection to life, and Article 23 says that there will not be / any traffic in human beings, and beggary is prohibited. All these Fundamental Rights and the laudable principles laid / down in the Preamble can have no effect if millions of unemployed men and women in this country move about / in search of job and livelihood.

Today, the unemployment register shows that there are millions of unemployed men and women. / Even that, I think, is a tip of the ice-berg because a large section of our men and women do not (200) register themselves either because facilities are not available or it is not known to them in many rural areas / that they have to register themselves and also because of the indifference that even if they register themselves, they are not / going to get the job. I believe the greatest threat that this country is facing in all its aspects is / from these unemployed young people. Every young unemployed man and woman in my view is a potential bomb. We talk / of very high principles, of democratic ways and of moral values. But what does it mean to a young man (300) if he cannot sustain himself by two square meals a day if we talk to him that he has to / maintain certain values in life because, after all, one cannot maintain values with an empty stomach? Therefore, this State owes / a duty to the country and to these young men and women that they must be given the minimum security / of their life.

Article 19(1)(a) guarantees freedom of speech and expression. To whom? Freedom of speech and expression / to those who have got sufficient means to exercise that freedom. That freedom is not available to the millions here. (400)

Handwritten signature

After all, a man who does not have even one square meal a day, what freedom of speech and expression / can he ever hope to aspire? After all, he shall have either to beg, borrow or steal from somebody to maintain / his livelihood.

Article 21 gives protection of life and personal liberty. The highest court of this land has given / an extensive meaning to the words 'right to life'. But the right to life connotes, in my respectful submission, that / he must have the means to maintain his life. When the State guarantees or when this Constitution guarantees right to life (500) to an individual, automatically it follows that there must be a guarantee that he can maintain his life. If we / cannot guarantee two square meals a day to him, if we cannot guarantee to him the subsistence level, what is the / use of having Article 21 in the Constitution saying that you have the right to life?

Traffic in human beings / and beggary are prevented and prohibited. But what can a man do? Either he shall have to go for / illegal means or irregular means, and even for trafficking in human beings or beggary. (600)

In Article 39, which deals with the Directive Principles of State Policy, in part (a), it has been said: "that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood."

In fact, when the Constitution was framed, a number of very / eminent personalities spoke about the inherent rights of man to maintain himself. At that time, it was thought that / to make this right justiciable, to give a justiciable right, would probably be a tremendous burden on the State. / And the framers of the Constitution, at that point of time, decided not to introduce it in the Fundamental Rights. (700) But we know this has been said not only from this side of the House but also from the other / side of the House. Mr. Bhardwaj has, on a number of occasions, said that the Directive Principles are the conscience of the / Constitution. In fact, one can find the real fragrance of the Constitution not in the Fundamental Rights but in the / Directive Principles. This House and the other House, on a number of occasions, had to go for Constitutional amendments / to give primacy to Directive Principles over Fundamental Rights. The framers of the Constitution, when the Directive Principles were being discussed, (800) made it amply clear that though at that point of time, it was not possible to bring in all the / laudable provisions made in the Directive Principles within the scope of the Fundamental Rights, yet they should be made justiciable.

840 words

Handwritten shorthand transcription of the printed text on the right side of the page.