



# CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (LEGISLATURE) OF PAKISTAN DEBATES

Thursday, the 19th March, 1953

## OFFICIAL REPORT

---

### CONTENTS

|                                                            | PAGES   |
|------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Starred Questions and Answers ... ..                       | 323—335 |
| Unstarred Questions and Answers ... ..                     | 335—337 |
| General Budget—General Discussion— <i>Continued</i> ... .. | 337—394 |

## CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (LEGISLATURE)

Thursday, the 19th March, 1953

The Constituent Assembly (Legislature) met in the Assembly Chamber, Karachi, at Ten of the Clock, Mr. President, (The Honourable Mr. Tamizuddin Khan) in the Chair.

### STARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

#### INDO-PAKISTAN BOUNDARY LINES

**209. \*Mr. Nur Ahmed:** Will the Honourable Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations be pleased to state :

(a) the total length of mileage of boundary lines between India and Pakistan in both wings, separately ;

(b) the length of boundaries which have been demarcated between India and Pakistan up to this date in both wings ;

(c) the length of boundaries still remaining to be demarcated in both wings, separately ;

(d) the causes of delay in the demarcation of the boundaries in the remaining sectors ; and

(e) the total amount of cost incurred on the demarcation of boundaries up to this date ?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan:** (a) East Pakistan : 2,162 miles. West Pakistan : 1,324 miles.

(b) East Pakistan : 455 miles. West Pakistan : 778 miles.

(c) East Pakistan : 1,707 miles. West Pakistan : 546 miles.

(d) The delay in the case of Punjab and East Bengal is mainly due to differences in the interpretation of the Radcliffe and Bagge Awards in respect of certain portions of the boundaries ; in the other sector demarcation has not been completed. There are disputes over some portions.

(e) The expenditure incurred so far over the demarcation of boundaries in West Pakistan is not readily ascertainable but the total expenditure incurred on the East Bengal side is Rs. 8,64,000.

**Mr. Murtaza Raza Chowdhury:** Will the Honourable Minister be pleased to state whether the delay in demarcation between Rajshahi and Murshidabad is due to the negotiations with the Bharati Government for exchanging charland areas of Ghugumari Ghat near about the proposed Faraka Barrage of Bharat with that of charland near about Rajshahi town.

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan:** I would require notice to answer a question of that kind.

**Mr. Murtaza Raza Chowdhury:** Is it a fact that the negotiations that are going on with the Bharati Government are with a view to change the Bagge Award so far as these charlands are concerned.

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan:** I would require notice of that also.

## KARACHI AND CHITTAGONG PORTS

**210. \*Mr. Nur Ahmed:** Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of ships arrived at and departed from Karachi and Chittagong ports, separately, in 1950-51 and 1951-52 ;

(b) the total cargo in tonnage brought in and carried abroad by these ships in these years ;

(c) the number of ships which had to wait for berths during these years ;

(d) whether the berthing was satisfactory during these years ;

(e) whether any ship with her cargo had to be diverted to other ports during these years ; and

(f) whether there was any acute congestion at any of these two ports during these years ?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan:** (a), (b) & (c) A statement giving the required information is placed on the Table of the House.

(d) Yes.

(e) No.

(f) At Karachi there was no congestion of shipping in the harbour, but for some time there was some congestion of cargo in the storage sheds. At Chittagong there was congestion both in the harbour and in the storage sheds, particularly between April and November, 1950.

## Statement

| (a) |             |         |     |     | Ships called |             | Ships cleared   |  |
|-----|-------------|---------|-----|-----|--------------|-------------|-----------------|--|
|     | Karachi,    | 1950-51 | ... | ... | ...          | 1,054 ships | 1,053 ships.    |  |
|     | Chittagong, | 1950-51 | ... | ... | ...          | 272 ships   | 285 ships.      |  |
|     | Karachi,    | 1951-52 | ... | ... | ...          | 1,084 ships | 1,078 ships.    |  |
|     | Chittagong, | 1951-52 | ... | ... | ...          | 332 ships   | 323 ships.      |  |
| (b) | Karachi,    | 1950-51 | ... | ... | ...          | Imports     | 23,91,325 tons. |  |
|     |             |         |     |     |              | Exports     | 10,81,396 tons. |  |
|     |             |         |     |     | Total        | ...         | 34,72,721 tons. |  |
|     |             |         |     |     |              | Imports     | 26,22,202 tons. |  |
|     |             | 1951-52 | ... | ... | ...          | Exports     | 11,55,725 tons. |  |
|     |             |         |     |     | Total        | ...         | 37,77,927 tons. |  |
|     |             |         |     |     |              | Imports     | 12,68,000 tons. |  |
|     | Chittagong, | 1950-51 | ... | ... | ...          | Exports     | 4,26,431 tons.  |  |
|     |             |         |     |     | Total        | ...         | 16,94,431 tons. |  |
|     |             |         |     |     |              | Imports     | 12,03,777 tons. |  |
|     |             | 1951-52 | ... | ... | ...          | Exports     | 4,45,378 tons.  |  |
|     |             |         |     |     | Total        | ...         | 16,49,155 tons. |  |

(c) Karachi—Information prior to 15th September, 1951, is not available. 43 ships had to wait for berths during the period 15th September, 1951 to 31st March, 1952.

Chittagong—77 ships during 1950-51 and 22 during 1951-52.

## UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION CONGRESS REPORT

**211. \*Mr. Nur Ahmed:** Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state:

(a) the main recommendations made by the Universal Postal Union Congress held in Brussels for two months and ended in July, 1952;

(b) the steps taken to implement these recommendations;

(c) whether any report regarding the proceedings of the Universal Postal Union Congress has been submitted to Government by the Pakistan delegate to this Congress; and

(d) if so, the main purport of his report?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan:** (a) The main recommendations which cover a comparatively large field are placed on the Table of the House.

(b) The decisions of the Brussels Congress, as embodied in its Acts are being examined in detail by the Posts and Telegraphs Directorate. Necessary measures are also being adopted to give effect to them. These decisions are to be effective from 1st July, 1953.

(c) Yes.

(d) The main purport of the report will be found in the information placed on the Table of the House as referred to in (a) above.

---

Important items of recommendations by the Universal Postal Congress

(i) A system of simultaneous interpretation in English, French, Spanish and Russian was to be used hereafter, at the meetings of the Congress and Conferences of the Universal Postal Union. Hitherto French was the only language that was allowed to be used. It was also decided that other languages could also be used, provided the country concerned made suitable arrangements for the interpretation service, and also paid the cost of interpretation, etc.

(ii) The membership of the Executive and Liaison Commission, a body which maintains the continuity of the work of the Universal Postal Union during the interval between Congresses was raised from 19 to 20, and members thereto were to be elected on an equitable geographical basis. Pakistan was elected to the said Commission, securing the highest number of votes in her geographical group, and second highest in the whole world.

(iii) Observers from International Organisations of U.N.E.S.C.O., I.C.A.O., W.H.O., and Council of Europe were to be allowed to participate in the deliberations of the Congress without the right to vote.

(iv) Air conveyance charges paid to Air Carriers for carriage of air mails were to be reduced below the rates prevalent at present, more particularly in respect of postal articles other than letters and post cards. This would enable Pakistan to reduce air mail rates on second class mail.

(v) International recognition has been accorded to the "Air Letter" service which was hitherto available with a few countries only. The air letter will hereafter be known as the "Aerogramme".

(vi) Hitherto Air Mail correspondence could be re-directed by air to another address provided the airmail fee for redirection had been paid in advance. The Brussels Congress decided that airmail correspondence could be redirected at the request of the addressee or the sender and that the airmail fee payable for the redirection, would be collected at the time of delivery of the article.

(vii) The sender can ask for the advice of Delivery to be returned to him by air.

(viii) The transit charges for Surface Mails have been appreciably reduced, and the method of their calculation rationalised.

(ix) All categories of postal articles sent to, or posted by, the prisoners of war and civil internees have been exempted from postal charges.

(x) The literature for the blind has also been exempted from postage. Administrations which have not granted such an exemption in their inland post are allowed to collect postage at the inland rate on Blind Literature intended for foreign countries.

(xi) Administrations have been given the right to increase postal rates for surface mail by 60% over the basic rates laid down in the Universal Postal Convention. The percentage fixed prior to the Brussels Congress was 40.

(xii) Postal Administrations have been absolved of all responsibilities for payment of compensation when registered or insured articles are seized by an Administration under its internal regulations.

(xiii) Payment of compensation in case of proven loss, or damage to registered or insured articles which, according to present regulations, is required to be made within a period of one year from the date following the date of complaint, will now be made within a period of 6 months.

(xiv) Packets containing medicines of urgent necessity which are difficult to obtain, will be accepted for transmission by post in all cases. They will be charged for at the sample rates.

(xv) The minimum size of a letter has been fixed at 10 x 7 cm. The countries which are unable to enforce this minimum limit immediately have been given a period of two years' grace to enforce it.

(xvi) The minimum selling price of International Reply Coupons has been raised from 28 cents to 32 cents. Consequently the selling price of the Coupon in Pakistan, which is 5½ annas at present, will increase slightly.

(xvii) The insurance fee on insured parcels which was hitherto calculated on the basis of 300 francs or part thereof of the insured value will now be calculated on the basis of 200 francs or part thereof of the insured value. Consequently, there will be an increase in the insurance fee payable on insured parcels sent to foreign countries.

(xviii) Pakistan has been authorised to collect an additional sea component for the transport of foreign parcels between Karachi on the one hand and Pakistan offices of Ormara, Pasni and Gwadar on the other.

#### DEFALCATION OF PUBLIC MONEY

**212. \*Mr. Nur Ahmed:** Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state:

(a) the total number of cases of defalcation or loss of public money including money orders on account of frauds and loss of cash in 1949, 1950 and 1951 and up to the first half of 1952;

(b) the number of officials involved in these cases during the said periods;

(c) the number of the officials involved, dismissed, convicted and excused, separately during the same period;

(d) the increase or decrease of these cases in 1951 and up to the first half of 1952; and

(e) the remedial steps taken from time to time to check such offences?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan:** (a) 383 in 1949; 162 in 1950; 176 in 1951 and 92 in the first half of 1952.

(b) 180, 176, 164 and 107 respectively.

(c) Dismissed: 21, 28, 26 and 8 respectively; convicted: 18, 24, 21 and 9 respectively; excused: 27, 23, 23 and 5 respectively.

(d) Slight increase over 1950 but marked decrease as compared to 1949.

(e) Instructions have been issued from time to time for exercising strict supervision over the staff and the enforcement of departmental rules. Control over investigation has also been tightened up by requiring officers to take prompt action in loss and fraud cases.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta:** Will the Honourable Minister be pleased to tell us why the officials involved in dafalcation were excused?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan:** Sir, with regard to those who have been excused, the action taken by the Department must have been based on the fact that there was not sufficient evidence to prove their guilt.

#### INDO-PAKISTAN BOUNDARY LINES

**213. \*Mr. Nur Ahmed:** Will the Honourable Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations be pleased to state whether the boundaries between East and West Punjab and East and West Bengal and Assam have been finally settled between India and Pakistan? If not, why not?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan:** The boundaries between East and West Punjab and East Bengal and West Bengal and Assam have not been finally settled owing to differences in the interpretation of certain points of the Radcliffe and Bagge Awards.

#### TREATMENT OF MUSLIM MINORITY IN INDIA

**†214. \*Mr. Nur Ahmed:** Will the Honourable Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations be pleased to state:

(a) the number of cases, if any, of loot, arson and other acts of violence against the members of the Muslim minority in India brought to the notice of the Government of Pakistan since February, 1952 to date;

(b) the number of cases of forcible conversion, if any, brought to the notice of the Government of Pakistan during the same period;

(c) whether any representation was made to the Government of India drawing their attention to these incidents; and

(d) if so, the result of such representation made to Bharat?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan:** (a), (b), (c) & (d) Information is being collected and will be placed on the Table of the House as soon as possible.

#### CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PRIME MINISTERS OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN

**215. \*Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer:** (a) Will the Honourable Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations be pleased to state if it is a fact that there has been an exchange of correspondence between him and the Prime Minister of India recently?

(b) If so, is there any proposal to invite the Prime Minister of India for settling the differences of both the countries in a joint meeting? If so, when?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan:** (a) There has been an exchange of correspondence between the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India recently.

(b) I regret it is not in the public interest to make a statement on this point.

**Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer:** Will the Honourable Minister be good enough to place this correspondence on the Table of the House for the information of the House?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan:** No, Sir, not at this stage.

† The answer to the question was laid on the Table, the Questioner having exhausted his quota.—*Ed. of Deb.*

**Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer :** What is the reply ?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan :** I said not at this stage.

**Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer :** Will the Honourable Minister be pleased to tell us whether there was the question of evacuee property dealt with in this correspondence ?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan :** It is not in the public interest to divulge any portion of the correspondence at this stage.

†216.

#### DR. CHOITRAM GIDVANI'S ALLEGATIONS AGAINST PAKISTAN

**217. \*Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer :** (a) Will the Honourable Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations be pleased to state if it is a fact that in the Bharati House of the People recently Dr. Choitram Gidvani alleged that "when Hindus were migrating from Karachi, new Saris were removed from the body of the girls and even feeding bottles were detained by the Pakistan Customs authorities" ?

(b) If so, have the Government of Pakistan lodged a protest with the Indian Government on the allegation of Dr. Choitram Gidvani ? If so, what was the reply received from the Indian Government ? If not, why not ?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan :** (a) The Government of Pakistan cannot take note of baseless allegations made by members of foreign Parliaments in their own countries.

(b) The question does not arise.

**Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer :** Sir, is it not a fact that the Muslims crossing the Indian frontier are being harassed by the Customs authorities ?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan :** It does not arise out of the question.

#### ARREST OF SYED ABRAR ALI BY INDIAN MILITARY

**†218. \*Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer :** (a) Will the Honourable Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations be pleased to state if it is a fact that Syed Abrar Ali, an Inspector of the Land Customs, while patrolling on the Sind-Kutch border in the Pakistan territory on the 18th November, 1952, was arrested by the Indian Military along with six others of the Pakistan Excise staff and were taken to the Kutch State, India ?

(b) If so, have the Government of Pakistan taken up the matter with the Indian authorities for the release of Syed Abrar Ali and other persons ? If so, what reply has been received from the Indian Government ? If not, why not ?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan :** (a) & (b) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to my answer to his starred question No. 135 given on the 16th March, 1953.

† Withdrawn.

‡ Prior permission having been given to the Honourable Member to ask other questions, the answer to the question was laid on the Table.—*Ed. of Deb.*

RAILWAY STAFF

**219. \*Mr. M. H. Gazder:** Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state:

(a) whether retired railway employees of class IV are treated differently from other railway employees in the matter of complimentary passes; if so, whether Government propose to abolish this distinction; if not, the reasons therefor;

(b) whether the option to inferior staff to contribute towards provident fund after reaching a certain stage of service and pay limit has been withdrawn; if so, the reasons therefor;

(c) whether Government propose to grant the railway staff all gazetted holidays enjoyed by Government servants; and

(d) whether Government propose to abolish the existing difference between the scales of pay and allowances of class IV railway staff in the port area and the other staff of the Central Government; if not, the reasons therefor?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan:** (a) Each class of railway employee has his own set of pass rules and so have class IV employees.

It is not proposed to make any changes in the existing pass rules, because there is no justification and because any liberalisation of the pass rules evokes criticism.

(b) No.

(c) The grant of holidays to Government servants is intimately connected with the nature of their duties and, therefore, Railway staff have to be given holidays in accordance with the rules specially made for them.

(d) The question requires detailed investigation before an answer can be given. This investigation will be made.

SIND ELECTIONS AND PRODA PETITIONS

**220. \*Mr. M. H. Gazder:** Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether his attention has been drawn to an editorial note in the *Pakistan Times*, dated the 27th May, 1952, under the caption "Sind Elections";

(b) the date when these elections will be held; and

(c) the reasons for not disposing of these PRODA petitions by His Excellency the Governor when more than a year has passed?

**The Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin:** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The date of the election has not yet been fixed.

(c) The unfortunate delay in the disposal of these PRODA petitions occurred due to the change in the office of the Governor and obtaining legal advice in the matter.

**Mr. M. H. Gazder:** Will the Honourable Prime Minister be pleased to state whether any PRODA petitions are still pending before the Governor?

**The Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin:** I believe there are two petitions pending before the Governor.

**Mr. M. H. Gazder:** It is already more than a year; how long will they take to be disposed of?

**The Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin:** Very soon, Sir.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta :** Will the Honourable Prime Minister be pleased to tell us the approximate dates when the elections will be held ?

**The Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin :** I may hope that the Governor would be able to hold the elections about the first and second week of May.

#### PERMISSION TO CARRY PASSENGERS BETWEEN KARACHI AND DACCA

**221. \*Mr. M. H. Gazder :** Will the Honourable Minister for Defence be pleased to state :

(a) whether his attention has been drawn to an article in the *Dawn*, dated the 21st May, 1952, under the caption "A wrong decision" ; and

(b) whether it is a fact that the Government of Pakistan have not so far given the airline necessary permission to carry passengers between Karachi and Dacca ?

**The Honourable Syed Khalil-ur-Rehman :** (a) Yes.

(b) No.

**Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer :** May I ask the Honourable Minister for Defence when does he propose to remove the restriction of allowing foreign airlines to carry passengers between Karachi and Dacca ?

**The Honourable Syed Khalil-ur-Rehman :** Sir, the restrictions were placed on foreign airlines in order to protect our national airlines operating between Karachi and Dacca.

**Mr. Abdulla al-Mahmood :** Will the Honourable Minister be pleased to state whether the national airline has to be subsidized and patronized at the cost of Pakistani lives ?

**The Honourable Syed Khalil-ur-Rehman :** That does not arise.

**The Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin :** Sir, I object to this question very much. It is very unfair to put such a question.

**Mr. President :** It is not a proper question.

**Mr. M. H. Gazder :** Sir, with regard to planes possessed by the national airline, has Government decided to give permission to this company or not ?

**The Honourable Syed Khalil-ur-Rehman :** The question is under the active consideration of the Government. Only recently the number of passengers to be carried by the B. O. A. C. from Karachi to Dacca per week has been doubled and if the demand is there, Government is actively considering to increase more seats.

#### FANS IN RAILWAY BOGIES

**222. \*Mr. Mohammad Abul Quasem :** (a) Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state whether Government have fitted third and inter class railway bogies with fans ?

(b) If so, what is their number on the East Bengal Railway ?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan :** (a) Yes.

(b) 10 of the existing lower class carriages have been fitted with 56 fans. In addition, 35 new lower class carriages, out of the 45 imported from abroad, are fitted with 278 fans and have been put in service on the Eastern Bengal Railway. The supply of 113 more carriages, of which 90 will be third and inter and will have 710 fans, is expected to begin shortly.

## WATER IN EAST BENGAL RAILWAY COMPARTMENTS

**223. \*Mr. Mohammad Abul Quasem :** (a) Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state whether he is aware that water is not available in the third and inter class compartments of the East Bengal Railway ?

(b) If so, what action have Government taken to remove this defect ?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan :** (a) No. The Railway Administration is not aware of such a complaint.

(b) Does not arise.

**Mr. Mohammad Abul Quasem :** Will the Government make further enquiries whether there is such a defect ?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan :** If specific instances are brought to the notice of the Administration, the matter will certainly be enquired into.

## WATER IN EAST BENGAL RAILWAY COMPARTMENTS

**224. \*Mr. Mohammad Abul Quasem :** (a) Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state whether Government are aware that water in the upper class compartments of the East Bengal Railway is muddy and unusable ?

(b) If so, do Government propose to take necessary steps to supply pure water in these compartments ?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan :** (a) No, it is not so bad.

(b) Steps are being taken to improve the quality of water by installing tube wells and filters at some stations and by renewing the old tanks of the railway carriages.

**Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer :** With reference to his reply to part (a) of the question, will the Honourable Minister please tell us if the water is not so bad and muddy, is it as good as pure water ?

**Mr. President :** That is an argument.

## WAITING ROOM ON EAST BENGAL RAILWAY

**225. \*Mr. Mohammad Abul Quasem :** (a) Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state whether it is a fact that in the junction stations like Tista and Kaunia and important stations like Gaibandha and Kurigram, but combined inter and third class waiting room for inter class travellers ?

(b) If so, do Government propose to take up the construction of separate waiting rooms for the inter class passengers ?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan :** (a) There are no separate waiting rooms for inter class passengers at Tista, Kaunia, Gaibandha and Kurigram, but combined inter and third class waiting rooms do exist at these stations.

(b) Separate waiting rooms for inter class passengers are not justified at Tista, Kaunia and Kurigram by the traffic obtaining at present. It is, however, proposed to construct one at Gaibandha in due course as funds become available.

## EXTENSION OF RAILWAY LINE FROM KURIGRAM TO CHILMARI

**226. \*Mr. Mohammad Abul Quasem :** (a) Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state whether he received a representation from the questioner regarding extension of railway line from Kurigram to Chilmari *via* Durgapur, Ulipur and Balabari?

(b) If so, has he passed necessary orders for survey of the proposed line?

(c) If so, when is the survey report likely to be considered?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan :** (a) I received two letters from the Honourable Member. A D.-O. reply was given to the first. The second letter, recently received, is under examination.

(b) & (c) A decision whether a survey should be undertaken will depend upon the result of the examination now in hand.

## PROGRESS OF PAKISTAN RAILWAYS

**†227. \*Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer :** (a) Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state whether any booklet or literature has been prepared showing the progress made by the Railways in Pakistan since partition to-date?

(b) If so, is it available for sale?

(c) If not published, why not?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan :** (a) Yes, two pamphlets entitled "Pakistan Railways" have been issued by the Railway Division after partition.

(b) The pamphlets which were distributed to all concerned are not available for sale, but can be had free of charge on demand from the Railway Division, the General Managers, North Western and Eastern Bengal Railways at Lahore and Chittagong and also from the Tourist Adviser, Hotel Metropole, Karachi.

(c) Does not arise.

## MANUFACTURE OF RAILWAY WAGONS

**†228. \*Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer :** Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state :

(a) whether any steps are being taken to manufacture railway wagons in Pakistan ; if not, the reasons therefor ; and

(b) the number of wagons assembled in Railway workshops in West and East Pakistan ?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan :** (a) The question whether the manufacture of wagons in Railway Workshops can be established as an economic project is receiving consideration. In view of the above, second part of the question does not arise.

(b) Nil so far, but the Railway Workshops are to assemble some wagons during the course of the year.

## DRIGH ROAD AIRPORT HOTEL

**229. \*Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer :** (a) Will the Honourable Minister for Defence be pleased to state whether a decision has been reached on the tenders that were invited for the running of the Drigh Road Airport Hotel last year ?

† Prior permission having been given to the Honourable Member to ask other questions, the answer to the question was laid on the Table.—*Ed. of Deb.*

(b) If so, whose tender has been accepted and what are his rates?

**The Honourable Syed Khalil-ur-Rehman:** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) Messrs. Khair Mohammed Bros. The Caterer shall pay by way of rent for the furnished Restaurant, offices and bedrooms an amount equal to Rs. 3 per head per day for each bed actually occupied plus twelve and a half per cent. of the gross receipts from casual meals, and other sales (other than cigarettes the profit on which shall be shared on a 50/50 basis) charged at tariff rates subject to a guaranteed average minimum payment of Rs. 6,700 per mensem.

**Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer:** Is it not a fact that one of the contractors offered to construct a new hotel if he was given the contract of this restaurant, and if so, was this fact taken into consideration?

**The Honourable Mr. Khalil-ur-Rehman:** Sir, I do not know.

#### INDIAN MILITIA AND DACOITY RAIDS ON BORDER

**230. \*Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer:** Will the Honourable Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations be pleased to state:

(a) the number of Indian militia raids on Tharparkar-Jodhpur border in Pakistan territory from the 1st January, 1952, to 28th February, 1953;

(b) the number of dacoity raids from the Indian side in Pakistan territory on Tharparkar-Jodhpur border from the 1st January, 1952, to 28th February, 1953; and

(c) whether Government have lodged a protest each time against these incidents as mentioned in (a) and (b) above to the Government of India; if so, with what results; if not, why not?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan:** (a) to (c) The information is being collected and will be placed on the Table of the House as soon as possible.

#### TRAIN SERVICES

**†231. \*Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer:** Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state:

(a) the steps taken or being taken by Government to overcome the congestion in passenger traffic on railways;

(b) whether Government have any scheme in hand to increase the train services in the country;

(c) if so, what the schemes are; and

(d) if not, the reasons therefor?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan:** (a) The following steps have been taken, since 1st January, 1952 up to date to remove congestion in passenger trains on the Pakistan Railways:—

(i) Twentyfour additional trains including fourteen trains on the E. B. Railway and ten on the N. W. Railway, have been introduced.

(ii) Two through coaches were introduced on the E. B. Railway and two through and sectional coaches on the N. W. Railway.

(iii) The composition of eight trains on the E. B. Railway and four trains on the N. W. Railway was strengthened.

(iv) Eight trains were extended on the N. W. Railway and two trains on the E. B. Railway.

(b) Yes.

† Prior permission having been given to the Honourable Member to ask other questions, the answer to the question was laid on the Table.—*Ed. of Deb.*

(c) It has been decided to introduce, on and from 15th April, 1953 additional local train services between :—

- (i) Chittagong—Feni
- (ii) Shaistaganj—Habiganj
- (iii) Bhairab Bazar—Mymensingh ; and
- (iv) Mymensingh—Mohanganj sections of the E. B. Railway.

More passenger trains will be introduced on both the Pakistan Railways as passenger coaches ordered from abroad become available.

(d) Does not arise.

#### RAILWAY ROLLING STOCK

†232. \***Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer**: Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state :

(a) the rolling stock for the North Western Railway and the East Bengal Railway to be purchased in 1953-54 ;

(b) the amount of loan, if any, to be granted by the World Bank during 1953-54 for these purchases ;

(c) the name of the country, if any, which has come forward to advance credit facilities or loans for the supply of railway rolling stock in the years 1952-53 and 1953-54 ; and

(d) if so, what are the details of such help ?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan**: (a) It is not in the interests of the Government to disclose this information in advance. World-wide tenders will be invited as and when purchases are required to be made.

(b) Nil.

(c) Nil.

(d) Does not arise.

#### TRAFFIC AND SIGNAL CONTROL ON RAILWAYS

233. \***Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer**: Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state :

(a) whether Government propose to adopt the Japanese system of traffic and signal control for utilizing the single track line traffic system of railway as an economy measure and to reduce congestion on the railways in Pakistan than is being done at present ; and

(b) if so, the steps being taken by Government in the matter ; if not, the reasons therefor ?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan**: (a) The Government do not wish to copy the traffic and signalling system peculiar to any one country but they adopt such good systems as may suit the needs of their railways.

(b) Does not arise.

#### RAILWAY ROLLING STOCK

†234. \***Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer**: Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state :

(a) the amount of each contract given to different manufacturers in different countries for the supply of railway stock in the years 1950-51, 1951-52 and 1952-53 for the North Western Railway and the East Bengal Railway, separately ;

† Prior permission having been given to the Honourable Member to ask other questions, the answer to the question was laid on the Table.—*Ed. of Deb.*

(b) whether deliveries have been made against these contracts ; and

(c) if not, the deliveries still to be made ?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan :** (a) As the time and labour involved in the compilation of the information required by the Honourable Member will not be commensurate with the result achieved, Government are not prepared to supply this information.

(b) & (c) Do not arise.

#### ANTI-MUSLIM CAMPAIGN IN BHARAT

**235. \*Syed Shamsur Rahman :** (a) Will the Honourable Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations be pleased to state whether he is aware that a state of alarm is prevailing amongst the Muslims of Bharat on account of increase of anti-Muslim campaign in Bharat and the proposed Bill moved by the Hindu Mahasabha leader Mr. Khare to the effect that the dead bodies of Muslims will not be allowed to be buried with Islamic rites ?

(b) If the answer to the above be in the affirmative, will he be pleased to state what steps Government propose to take in the matter ?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan :** (a) Government are aware of certain political parties in India having successfully incited communal incidents at various places in that country recently. This must have naturally increased the sense of insecurity prevailings amongst the Muslim nationals of India. Government have also seen press reports about the resolution proposed to be introduced in the Indian Parliament by Dr. N. B. Khare.

(b) The responsibility for the protection of life, property, and religious rights of the minorities in each country lies upon the Government of the country concerned.

**Syed Shamsur Rahman :** In view of the fact that there are Minority Ministers in both the countries, may I request the Honourable Foreign Minister to inform us what steps is he going to take in the matter ?

**The Honourable Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrulla Khan :** These questions are continuously looked into and jointly consulted upon by the Minority Ministers.

---

#### UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

##### R. P. A. F. PUBLIC SCHOOLS

**95. Mr. Nur Ahmed :** Will the Honourable Minister for Defence be pleased to state :

(a) whether the British Concern " Air Service Training Limited of Bamble, Hampshire," have been given a contract for establishing and operating two public service schools in Pakistan for boys intending to serve in the Royal Pakistan Air Force as officers or technicians ; and

(b) if so, where and when these schools would be located ?

**The Honourable Syed Khalil-ur-Rehman :** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) R. P. A. F. Pre-Cadet School has started functioning at Sargodha with effect from 1st March, 1953. The Pre-Apprentices School will start functioning from 1st May, 1953, at Lower Topa, Murree but will ultimately be located at Sargodha when sufficient accommodation becomes available at the latter Station.

## CENTRAL SCHOOL FOR DEVELOPMENT OF POTENTIAL OFFICE QUALITIES

**96. Mr. Nur Ahmed:** Will the Honourable the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the answer to my starred question No. 37 of the 17th March, 1952, and state whether Government have set up a Central School for the development of potential office qualities of the candidates on the lines of Army's pre-cadet training as suggested by the Public Service Commission? If not, why not?

**The Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin:** No, Sir. The Ministry of Education opposed the proposal which they considered unpracticable. The Pakistan Public Service Commission, on reconsideration, recommend that, in view of the imperative need for economy, the proposal should be given up for the present. The Commission are, however, considering other means of implementing the idea behind this proposal; their recommendations when received, will receive consideration by Government.

## TOURIST TRAFFIC

**97. Mr. Nur Ahmed:** Will the Honourable Minister for Communication be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government have held any conference of the representatives of the Central and Provincial Governments to discuss the question of development of tourist traffic throughout Pakistan;

(b) if so, the result of the same; and

(c) if not, the reasons therefor?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan:** (a) A conference of the representatives of the Central and Provincial Governments to discuss the question of development of the Tourist Traffic was held on 26th July, 1950.

(b) The Conference served as a means of exchange of useful information and ideas. The subject could not be pursued further because for various reasons it has not been possible to form a Central Tourist Bureau.

(c) The question does not arise.

## RAILWAY CONCESSION FOR CARRIAGE OF HAND-LOOM CLOTH AND YARN

**98. Mr. Nur Ahmed:** Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state:

(a) whether any concession in the rates of freight is allowed for carriage of hand-loom cloth and yarn by Pakistan Railways;

(b) if so, the rate or percentage of such concession; and

(c) if not, the reasons therefor?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan:** (a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) The Railways have not received any representation for grant of the concession.

## RATIONALISATION OF RAILWAYS RATING STRUCTURE

**99. Mr. Nur Ahmed:** Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state:

(a) whether the special officer for rationalising the Pakistan Railways rating structure has submitted his report;

(b) if so, the main recommendations made in his report; and

(c) if not, the causes of the delay in its submission?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan:** (a) Not yet.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) The delay is due to the complicated and intricate nature of the subject and due to the necessity for the collection of a mass of information from other Departments also.

#### DISPLAY CARRIAGES

**100. Mr. Nur Ahmed:** Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to refer to his reply to my unstarred question No. 2 of the 12th November, 1952, and state the progress made in converting some passenger coaches into display carriages and bazar specials in both wings?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan:** No progress has been made so far in regard to conversion of any passenger coaches into display carriages and Bazar Specials on either of the Pakistan Railways, as we still do not have coaches spare for this purpose.

#### RECOMMENDATION OF MR. SURI, UNITED NATIONS EXPERT ON INLAND WATER NAVIGATION

**101. Mr. Nur Ahmed:** Will the Honourable Minister for Communications be pleased to state:

(a) the main recommendations made in his report by Mr. Suri, the United Nations Expert on Inland Water Navigation; and

(b) the steps taken to implement the same?

**The Honourable Khan Sardar Bahadur Khan:** (a) Mr. Suri's final report has not yet been received by Government.

(b) Does not arise.

#### THE GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—*Continued.*

**Mr. President:** Now we shall resume discussion on the Budget. Today is the last day of general discussion. I would like to know how many Members are willing to participate in the debate.

**The Honourable Mr. Ghyasuddin Pathan** (Minister of State for Finance and Parliamentary Affairs): Sir, I have already submitted a list. As many as five will speak from this side.

**Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya** (East Bengal: General): From our side there is only one speaker.

**Mr. President:** How many Honourable Ministers are likely to speak?

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan** (Punjab: Muslim): They have not got anything to say. So they would not speak.

**The Honourable Dr. Mahmud Husain** (Minister for Education and Kashmir Affairs): Three or four.

**Mr. President:** So about ten Members will be speaking. If we stick to the time that was allotted on the first day, namely, half an hour for each Member.....

**Mr. Abdul Monem Khan** (East Bengal: Muslim): It will be cruel on those who will speak today. You should be generous to one and all alike.

**Mr. President:** I do not want to be cruel to anyone.

**Syed Shamsur Rahman** (East Bengal : Muslim) : In view of the fact that there is going to be an afternoon session today, will the Honourable President kindly not restrict the time for speaking ?

**Mr. President** : If there is an afternoon session today, it will have to be more or less of indefinite length. However, so far as I am concerned, I shall be agreeable to whatever is the desire of the House. If the House intends to sit in the afternoon I have no objection and I shall be prepared to sit as long as the members desire. Is that the general wish that the time limit should not be reduced and that we should have an afternoon session if necessary ?

**Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer** (Sind : Muslim) : Yes.

**Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya** : Let us go on up to half past one and then we can decide thereafter.

**Mr. President** : If it is not necessary, no session will be held in the afternoon, but I am sure it will be necessary if all the members mentioned are going to participate in the debate.

**Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya** : Mr. President, Sir, we have been hearing general discussion on the Budget for the last three days and from the trend of the speeches, I find that there is not one sweet word for the Ministers of this State from any side. Therefore, I think, that is enough so far as commenting on the conduct of the Ministers here is concerned.

Now, so far as this Budget is concerned, I find that it looks like the Budget of a company with unlimited liability to the shareholders with many managing directors with high salaried officers conducting the affairs of the company. If there is any difficulty, well, it will come upon the shareholders. They must recoup the loss. But even in the case of unlimited companies also, the shareholders have got limited income. You cannot fleece the shareholders for all times to come. The ultimate result is that the company goes into liquidation or bankruptcy. I thank the Honourable the Finance Minister for exposing the conditions of our State on the verge of a crisis brought about by the unsound policy in our present Budget. This is the Sixth Budget of this State and it is for the first time that an alarm notice has been given of a crisis. So, my submission, through you, to my esteemed friend, the Prime Minister, will be to avert that crisis with a strong hand and without mercy and at the same time direct an inquiry about the affairs of our State so that it may not go into liquidation. He should try to find out as to who are responsible for this crisis and chaos in the State.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan** : Is there any doubt about it ?

**Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya** : We have lost enormous money and now we find at the end of 1952 that next year our revenues are going to fall to 92 crores and something like that showing a loss of 32 crores. Who are responsible for this loss ? Shareholders are not responsible. They entrusted the Company to the Managing Directors ; the Managing Directors were responsible for the proper conduct of the affairs of the State. If there is any loss, it must be on account of mismanagement, if not misconduct, of some of the Managing Directors. Who framed the policies ? Why were they not checked ? It is owing to the mismanagement, unwise and unsound policies of some of the Departments—economic policy, trade policy, commercial policy and other policies as a whole policy of education too and above all the policy of the Minister for External Affairs.

Huge amount is spent in Foreign Embassies. We know from our past experience that some of your Missions look like grand Moghul States. They do not care for Pakistan. They are busy there showing pomp and glory, showing how big our State is. They are there not to make our State popular, not to give any history of our State, not even to tell the people what Pakistan is. A question was put to us—I think the Honourable President also remembers that—in one of the foreign countries: "Where is Pakistan? What is Pakistan? Is it in Afghanistan or somewhere else?" These very questions were put in 1948-49 in London. Even now wherever you go, you will find this. We have heard from the people of some of the countries that instead these Embassies being a credit to our country; they have lowered the prestige of our State by their conduct in some countries. I ask the Prime Minister to inquire into these affairs. I will not mention the name of the States but he should make an inquiry. I make this prayer that you should minimise and curtail the expenses instead of allowing them to live there like grand Moghuls. You must do that and it is high time to do it.

Then, so far as our income is concerned, I know that we drive the bulk of our revenues from jute in East Bengal and other crops in West Pakistan. Who is responsible for the crisis about jute in East Bengal and thereby fall in revenue? We have been talking about that for the last two years. We have been thinking how we will be able to balance our Budget this year seeing this crisis about jute. You have not only lost income from jute trade on account of your wrong policy, but you have spoilt the jute trade in East Bengal for all time to come. Who are the greatest buyers of jute? Not the foreigners. I have conducted this jute restriction in 1921. What is the consumption outside? Out of about 60 lakh bales of jute at that time, 40 lakhs were sent to India and only 20 lakhs were sent to outside. Why it was so? It was on account of the fact that jute was practically the monopoly of East Bengal. In no part of India jute of such good quality could be grown as in East Bengal and even now it cannot be grown as it would be seen from the jute cultivation map which I had. But what has happened today? India is very anxious to increase the cultivation of jute to be self-sufficient and the West Bengal is coming forward in this direction. They have already made up their deficit. They have almost cut down their demand from outside and they will cover every thing by next year. May I ask who is responsible for this? I must say it is your unwise and unsound policy of commerce that has encouraged them to grow jute there, otherwise they would never have tried to grow jute because it is a very difficult job to grow jute there. All soils are not suitable for jute cultivation. However, they are going speedily in this direction and in this way you will lose your jute trade. What will happen then? You will find that East Bengal peasants will starve; they will lose the means of their livelihood for all time to come for want of cash money for purchasing essentials. There is economic crisis in East Bengal. All cash crops such as jute, betel-nut and tobacco (for high taxation) are practically gone and East Bengal has impoverished permanently. I ask my esteemed friend the Prime Minister to look into it. I do not want to use any strong word because strong word does not break a stone wall, built by the majority of votes behind the Ministers. He should deal with the man responsible for this crisis without any favour to him whosoever he might be. Out of 92 millions, 62 crores will go for Defence. How will the Finance Minister maintain his show with this small amount? If there is another fall in this way in his revenue, how will he manage again. He will again come over to the poor tax

[Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya.]

payers. How you have produced balanced budget. It is no credit to you. What is the actual deficit? It is not only five crores but actually it is about ten crores—I do not remember all these lump cuts being an old man. After a long cut you have got a deficit of Rs. 5 crores, otherwise it would have been ten crores of deficit. If you cannot check this with strong hands, I think actually it will be deficit of ten crores. Anyhow you have managed to get 5 crores out of the fresh tax levied on the poor people. Sir, you know that our people are naked. Even at the price of cloth prevailing in East Bengal, poor people cannot manage to purchase any cloth. If there is 12% increase, practically it would not only be 8 rupees but it will be 9 rupees for a piece of cloth. Not only this, but there will be also increase of sales tax and it will practically come to Rs. 9-8 and over this, merchants will charge some profits. I know big and rich people have not to worry much for all this but it is the poor people who use this textile cloth. Sir you have put tax on sugar and petrol. I do not think sugar and petrol are commodities of luxury. These are essential items. Therefore, you have only tried to pick the pocket of the poor tax payers and thus have balanced your budget. It is not a credit at all. Sir, my esteemed friend the then Finance Minister who is now Governor-General of Pakistan was frantic about saving the jute trade in East Bengal and had suggested something to avoid this crisis. After the non-devaluation he had anticipated this. But when he came forward with a suggestion abuses were hurled on him—the then poor Finance Minister. One Karachi paper with the Minister for Commerce raised such a hue and cry against him that he gave up his suggestion and his attempts were baffled and now you have seen the result how the jute trade has been finished and the East Bengal cultivators have been asked to restrict jute cultivation and lose their cash money for ever.

Sir, on page 13, you will find that immediate measure has been decided to be taken not to grant extension of service to those who have reached the age of superannuation and to terminate their services. Now I put one question. How many people have been re-employed after their retirement? What is their present salary? What post they held at the time of retirement? What was their salary at the time of retirement? Is it not a fact that a man at the time of retirement who was drawing only Rs. 600 as his salary, is now getting Rs. 2,000 two thousands) per month after his retirement and sitting idle all the day long. Why was he appointed? What is he doing now? I ask the Honourable Minister to find the name of this person. I do not wish to name. You will find any number of such persons in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Why have you allowed these persons to pocket this money so long. I find in the lists of appointments any number of Secretary, Joint Secretary, Deputy Secretary and Assistant Secretary, demi hemi and semi Secretaries and what not in every department. Why are they given such big names? They are merely glorified clerks.

Why so many big lists of Secretaries? I do not ask you to retrench them, these poor people. It is hard time. Let them be engaged in some others jobs, without that appellation, that glorified appellation "Secretary", "Joint Secretary" and such others. Why are they so highly paid? Why is not the attention of the Ministers drawn to their high salaries? You remember how their salaries were fixed. They were fixed by our erstwhile masters, the Britishers, and the Muslim League and the Congress used to call this as "Lea Loot". Their salaries were fixed as a result of the recommendations made by the Lea Commission, and therefore it was called "Lea Loot". You are now perpetuating

that Lea Loot. You must curtail their salaries and in future you may announce when you fill up new appointments that this will be the salary. Rs. 4,000 as pay was the highest pay in the world which our Secretaries used to get. At that time this pay was allowed because they were foreigners. They came here to loot and therefore they thought that they were entitled to it. But now it is our own State. You must fix your salaries according to our income. You must cut the coat according to the cloth. What is our poor man getting? They cannot get even rice twice a day. They cannot get a *gamcha* and their women cannot come out of house for want of cloth but our highly paid officers will drive in Rolls Royce. If you really want to avert the crisis, you will have to curtail these big salaries.

Then about the Punjab affairs, we have heard many things. There ought to be an inquiry set up immediately. I do not want that *Mamuli* Inquiry, like Hunter Inquiry. Let there be a genuine inquiry and find out the real causes. It is said that there was a movement against Qadianis. This is most objectionable. I do not question whether you accept them as Muslims or non-Muslims. They follow their own religion. What right have you to attack them? Let them call themselves anything and why do you say that Qadiani Minister must leave? Is there a bar against non-Muslim being a Minister? Will you accept that? Therefore I say; let there be an inquiry to find out the instigators. I do not say anything against any person. Because a person is a Qadiani, therefore he must be driven out of Pakistan, I cannot understand. Then it may be said because a person is a Hindu, he must be driven out and because a person is a Shia he must be driven out of Pakistan, because he is Hanafi, he must be driven out. I strongly object to that.

I have already said about the Railways. There is a deficit in the Railway. I have no time, otherwise I would have discussed it. It is the fault of the Railway machinery or the fault of those who are managing the affairs, the Railway affairs. I have got the papers, but there is no time to deal with this fully. We expected that there will be loss from the fares in East Bengal. When we knew already that there will be a loss, what steps did you take? Without doing that you come on the poor tax payer and enhance the railway fare. Therefore I make a humble submission and say that you must cut down the administrative charges and remove some of the so many secretaries and, if possible, reduce the number of Ministers of the State. We have so many Ministers, Deputy Ministers, Assistant Ministers.

About the Secretaries, my friend there knows how many Secretaries the Central Secretariat at Delhi had in the United India. I know very little of the then Central Administration. I do not say about the present Secretary who is there. Both the States are doing the work in the same way. I am told in the United India there were only 12 Secretaries. Now there are 47 Secretaries and we find here also any number of Secretaries, Joint Secretaries, etc. Therefore this has to be looked into, if this crisis is to be averted. Otherwise next time it will be impossible for my friend the Finance Minister to present the so-called balanced budget by picketing the poor tax-payer who will be out of pocket by that time.

**Moulavi Ebrahim Khan (East Bengal: Muslim):** Mr. President, from good olden days guests in this our good olden country have been entertained according to a good olden tradition. That tradition is that the hosts begin by treating the guests with bitter. Sweets come to the table later. In my observations on the budget just before us, I want to follow this time-honoured custom.

[Moulavi Ebrahim Khan.]

Sir, the House has been presented with a balanced budget. I know that the difficulties with which the Honourable the Finance Minister had to struggle were immense and terrifying. I know he had a Herculean task and that he succeeded in extorting a balanced budget from out of the unfavourable circumstances is certainly a performance of considerable credit to him. But, Sir, I must confess I am not enamoured of a merely balanced budget. To me a deficit budget with richer investment, and with richer promises of possibilities for the future of Pakistan would have been much more welcome. As the budget stands, it is singularly free from all traces of any masterly plan, any ambitious scheme, any lofty project that may inspire the youths with new visions of life, that may cheer up the drooping spirit of our sunken masses, that may fill the withering bosom of the old with the consolation that before they embark on the final journey they have seen their dear Pakistan well on the way to progress and prosperity.

Sir, it seems the spectre of the lesson given by old Aesop in his Fables of the Tortoise and the Hare has completely possessed us. We are most faithfully and most scrupulously imitating the cool, calculating, crawling progress of that dubious animal. Sir, the vision of that imperial eagle of the great Iqbal that looked straight into the eyes of the sun and ploughed the unexplored blue with tireless wings has become a mere dream to us. It appears we were going to convert Pakistan into a dwarfdom. But, Sir, it has been complained that "Well, we began from a scratch, we have got so small a country compared to our neighbour's and that our resources are so inadequate." We conveniently forget that the entire history of human achievements points to one lesson that the dreams of new things were seldom borne in the brains of those who were pampered on profusion.

Sir, I confess again that I have not felt happy over the revelations that have been made here and there in the Budget before us. We are told, Sir, that Pakistan's foreign exchange earnings are going to fall from 288 crores in 1951 to Rs. 150 crores in 1953, while the gold sterling reserves have come down from 148.17 crores in January 1952 to only Rs. 60.61 crores in January 1953. This, Sir, speaks of a sorely alarming situation.

It has been said that for various reasons there was a sharp fall in the prices of the fibres; that the level of demand and of prices for raw materials is determined by conditions in the world market over which no one country has control. Sir, these are undoubtedly very important arguments but they fail to explain away the enormity of the deterioration. Serious charges have been made in responsible quarters that there has been an inefficient handling of the situation. We do not take these charges as gospel truths, but we do not at the same time feel inclined to dismiss them as the scandalous creation of wily brains. For various questions irresistibly raise their heads and cry for replies: what were the jute lords of Narayanganj doing all the time that clouds were gathering on the horizon of the jute market? Why did they so utterly fail to read the writings on the wall? Why could they not foresee that the boom in jute was most likely to be followed by a fall in price? Why did they not give a timely warning to the cultivators of East Bengal to grow less jute than before? Who, by their crimes of omission and commission, are responsible for causing this untold misery to millions of the peasants in that part of Pakistan? These questions have got to be replied.

Sir, I now come to the food situation. The Honourable Minister for Finance says that the food situation is satisfactory in East Bengal

except in some parts of Khulna. I am afraid the source of information of the Honourable Minister is not dependable. I know from my personal experience that many other parts of East Bengal are suffering very badly from food shortage. The condition of food shortage in Western Pakistan is positively discouraging. Again, circumstances have been cited for explaining away the responsibility of those who were at the helm of affairs. It has been said the monsoon did not come in time; it has been said there was a low level of water in the rivers; it has been said that the diversion of canal water was also partly responsible for this state of affairs. I know these factors had their own effects on the food situation but we must confess that those circumstances alone are not fully adequate to explain away the entire position. Some part of the responsibility has got to be shared by those who were at the helm of affairs and I believe a competent Enquiry Committee is a necessity to investigate into the causes of this sudden food shortage. Various questions arise in our mind: how were the frontiers guarded against our food-stuff going out? How many cases of smuggling and malpractice in this connection were brought to trial and whether sufficient effort was made to supplement the irrigational schemes by having resort to new schemes of water-supply and why did the schemes which were already in hand show such utterly slow progress?

Sir, the Honourable the Finance Minister tells us that orders for Defence stores have so far been placed through our Embassies abroad but that it has now been decided to set up a Defence Purchase Directorate here. Sir, in the present state of our financial position, the proposed Directorate is likely to prove a white elephant! The idea should be given up at least for the present.

The Honourable the Finance Minister has informed us in all honest and just pride that among industries sponsored by the Pakistan Development Industrial Corporation, the Adamji Jute Mills alone will produce 75,000 tons of goods in 1953, of which 35,000 tons will meet our annual requirements, leaving 40,000 tons for export. We are further informed that other mills are in the course of construction and in 1955, 2,15,000 tons of jute goods will be available for export outside.

This is good news so far as it goes, but I have not been able to receive the tidings with an open mind. We have got powerful rivals in Bharat and England. America is advancing with her ever increasing output of substitutes. It may well be that just as at present we are face to face with over-production of jute, in the near future we may quite equally face for our jute goods a surfeited market outside. It seems to me, Sir, that a peril of gigantic magnitude is thus lurking behind the horizon. We must, therefore, immediately apply ourselves for manufacturing additional types of goods as well from jute. We need not venture into professing about the kind of things we may expect from jute. Even the greatest of scientists have often practically stumbled on new discoveries and new inventions in the course of their research.

Sir, on page 13 of his speech, the Honourable Minister for Finance informs us that a committee is going to be set up to recommend measures of economy. The idea is most welcome. We have, however, a grave suspicion lest the committee proceed in the antiquated way of pruning off those that are weak, though it is the weak who have the natural priority for protection. We must make it clear that for the sake of more economy no one of the low paid ranks must be pruned off, be he temporary or junior in service. The country is faced with an acute food problem; in this situation it will be cruel, inequitable and unjust to throw the weak overboard. Indeed it will be against the

[Moulavi Ebrahim Khan.]

fundamental principles of Islamic conception of social justice. All employees drawing over Rs. 350 per month should have a graded cut in their salary for the purpose of meeting the situation.

Fresh tax on mill-made cloth and on petrol will be a burden on the poor who are already groaning under the weight of various wants.

My suggestions on this occasion are as follows. (1) An inquiry committee should be formed for investigating into the causes of the present financial crash and of food shortage and to suggest preventive measures for the future. (2) A research should be instituted for exploring the possibilities of new manufactures from jute, jute stick and jute leaf. (3) The proposed committee for recommending measures of economy should be composed of members coming from both zones of Pakistan. (4) The possibility of adequately supplementing the existing irrigation in the Punjab and Sind should be explored as early as is practical. (5) Excise duty on betel should be withdrawn at once.

**The Honourable Mr. Ghyasuddin Pathan:** Betel or betel-nut?

**Moulavi Ebrahim Khan:** Betel nut.

**The Honourable Mr. Ghyasuddin Pathan:** Betel of pan?

**Moulavi Ebrahim Khan:** Yes. It should be withdrawn at once. The exorbitant tax is forcing extensive gardens of betel-nut tax to be cut down and the entire cultivation is facing extinction. The Honourable Minister for Finance should please remember that it takes years together to have a new garden of betel nut unlike jute field or the paddy field. (6) A Cadet and a Marine school should be established early in Eastern Pakistan. The necessity has been explained before this House from year to year and it has been voiced again this year by Messrs. Abul Quasem and Wahiduzzaman. (7) In olden days Chittagong was wellknown for its shipbuilding industry. We are told that even the Sultans of Turkey used to place their orders of shipbuilding with the men in Chittagong. The industry should be revived and a ship-yard should be established there early. (8) Amenities in railway journeys should be increased and the existing congestion removed as far as practicable. (9) The proposed scheme of compulsory savings for certain categories of employees is most welcome. The teachers of primary and middle and High Schools should also be included in the categories. This will be rendering immense service to education and it will earn the Honourable Finance Minister eternal gratitude of the neglected teachers.

Now, Sir, I turn to the shining phases of the Budget. It is really heartening to hear from the Honourable Minister that notwithstanding the difficulties of economic situation steady progress has been maintained in the industrial sectors, that textile and yarn produce has increased by 36 per cent during the expiring year; that jute industry is already in a position to supply all the local needs of the people; that the Government are directing all their efforts towards increased production in agriculture and other sectors of the country's economy, that allotment for development work has risen from Rs. 10.88 crores in 1948-49 to Rs. 56.08 crores in 1953-54, that in the specific sphere of industrial development alone the provision has been raised from Rs. 6.85 crores in 1952-53 to Rs. 12.41 crores in 1953-54, that the work of the national savings scheme is being pushed forward with sympathy, vigour and vision and that cotton textile industry is at the end of 1954 expected to be sufficient to meet our full requirements even at the basis of 18 yards *per capita* of cloth. All these efforts constitute an inspiring example of

earnestness and application for promoting the welfare of the people of our dear land and the Honourable Minister for Finance has my sincere congratulations.

With these words, I accord my support to the Budget.

**Syed Shamsur Rahman:** Sir, it is undoubtedly true that the country is facing a crisis, and it is undoubtedly true that the whole world is today groaning under the difficulties of world trade depression. It is undoubtedly true that in the wake of the last war very many problems have arisen that are baffling the powers of the Legislators. But still when everything is said, when all legitimate criticism has been made, it remains to be said, Sir, that the feat of the Finance Minister of Pakistan was a remarkable feat, and has caused a landmark in the history of our times. Sir, he has boldly and courageously taken the bull by the horns. He has not hidden the black spots in the pictures. He has not tried to hide from the country the defects and the difficulties that are facing the country and he has with a frankness that redounds to his credit, told the nation that it must rise to the occasion and must do everything that is possible to energize and activitise the machinery of the Government and the people so that we may prosper as a nation. Sir, I congratulate him for that, and in congratulating him, I cannot make that invidious distinction that has been sought to be made on the floor of the House between one Member of the Cabinet and others. Sir, I congratulate the entire Cabinet and I agree that the Honourable Finance Minister has honestly and boldly tried to solve the problem and along with that his honourable colleagues have tried, honestly and boldly to rise up to the occasion. Sir, an invidious distinction was sought to be made between the Honourable Finance Minister and his colleagues. Sir, I say only this much that these gentlemen were the men behind the immortal Quaid-i-Azam. They stuck to the Quaid-i-Azam through stress and strain, through thick and thin, through rain and storm and with all sincerity of purpose they stood behind the Quaid-i-Azam in the great fight for Pakistan and they will not let Pakistan down in spite of every difficulty that may arise.

Sir, the budget speech—of course I shall come to the budget later on—of the Honourable the Finance Minister is a remarkable one and it enunciates a rational, and for the first time, a national policy for the entire Pakistan.

Sir, I may say without any fear of contradiction that the state of things that occurred in Soviet Russia in 1924 when the new economic policy was enunciated by Lenin, practically a policy of that nature has been enunciated here today. It would be more correct if I say that it is a policy of the kind enunciated by Stalin in 1929 on the Five-Year Plan or a policy enunciated by Mr. Roosevelt in the National Recovery Plan. I would draw a parallel in the plans that have been given by the Honourable the Finance Minister. I request all the members of this House and the public outside to read his speech very carefully and with the eyes of an economist to analyse what he has said and then to apply their minds to the problems that are there.

Sir, it is undoubtedly true that grievous mistakes have been made and mistakes will be made. Crisis will come; crisis has come. But in spite of that I should say that the policy that has been enunciated to make Pakistan self-sufficient in industry, in food, in all other matters, including defence, is a goal which really is the national goal. If the policy is followed religiously, vigorously and fervently, with a holy zeal and if the officers, the Ministers, the Legislators and the country at large stick to this programme, then I am sure that Pakistan will attain its

[Syed Shamsur Rahman.]

rightful place in the comity of nations very soon. It may be that we are a very small nation today ; it may be that our resources are very limited, still, by husbanding everything that we have got in the right manner and by sacrificing everything that we hold, I think, Sir, still there is the greatest chance that in a very short time the Islamic State of Pakistan will take its rightful place in the comity of nations.

Sir, the items of State policy that have been enunciated by the Honourable the Finance Minister are as follows. He says that one of his policies is to make Pakistan self-sufficient in foodgrains. Then he wants that we should also be self-sufficient in cotton, jute, paper, leather goods, sugar, cement and small arms, within a very reasonable time. Then, he says that his policy is introduction of effective system of price control. Fourthly, his plan is to have economy in expenditure in every Department of Government and in every other aspect of national life. The fifth and the most important is the full development of productive resources of the country in the east as well as in the west so that the nation may prosper and make full use of the resources at its command.

Sir, it is undoubtedly true that food is the main thing that governs the human race. Karl Marx said that the human race hinges upon food. It was only the other day that the members of this House assembled to listen to not less a person than Mr. Bevan, the earstwhile ex-Minister for Food and Health in England. He said that it is food alone that is now engrossing the attention of the whole world.

Sir, I do not want to find fault with anybody. I do not want to divide the fault but I want to point out that unfortunately the whole nation was going after the cash crops till yesterday and thinking that windfall of the Korean war would last for ever. Everybody thought of the cash crops in hand and paid no heed to the rumbling of the distant drums. Unfortunately the lure of the cash crop has gone. With jute unsold, people are starving in the streets. Sir, the picture in East Bengal has been described by my Honourable friends and I need not repeat the matter again. With jute in our godowns, we have nothing to eat ; with jute unsold, our people are going without any cloth. We are in the difficult position of making the two ends meet. That being the situation it is imperative to cry a halt from the house-tops to the entire nation : Produce food or perish. Cash crops will take their chance as the things may turn out later on with better times.

Now, Sir, you will see that the Honourable the Finance Minister has frankly said that rupees nine crores have been wasted in jute and rupees five crores have been wasted in cotton and the total sum amounts to rupees fourteen crores. That might have been utilised in developing our resources, in developing our productive industries, in developing agriculture and in developing our other defence forces. That money has been wasted only to bolster up jute and cotton. Sir, I hope this mistake will not be repeated and I hope that the Government will see to it that they profit from this mistake of the past. The whole nation should indeed think of food and food alone ; and after having sufficient food for them, they may also export. They may also keep any reserves and they may also try to feed other nations, feed those who are hungry. Therefore, Sir, this cash crop craze must go. Our British masters introduced the indigo and jute plantation in their own interest. The nation must be told that they must get out of this habit and cultivate food instead of cash crops.

Then, Sir, another important fact that has come to our notice is that with all the jute in our godowns, we are seeing that every

country in the world is sending its cement and sugar and every other commodity in paper bags or in cloth bags—substitutes for jute. The Government should scratch its head and find out methods so that these substitutes may go. If jute is to be grown, it must have an economic market so that the people who produce jute must be sure of economic prices so that their children may not starve for providing jute to the world.

Sir, 99 per cent. of the population of the country is such that it cannot think of its interests. The Government has its leadership. It is for the leaders to see that people understand their interests so that they may not suffer as in the past again and again.

Then, Sir, with regard to self-sufficiency in the potentialities of leather, paper, etc. I should say that Pakistan is one of the countries in which leather is cheap and abundant, and if this industry can be developed, along with other industries—for example paper and jute—I think we can undersell any other country in the world by the cheapness of our produces. I think, Sir, that the Honourable the Finance Minister and his colleagues will kindly see that that is done in the near future and not in the remote future. The nation should think that the Government is up and doing.

Sir, much has been said about price control. I will not take much time of the House on this issue but I shall be failing in my duty if I fail to say that the prices are already rising high. I have been sent letters from East Bengal saying that prices are already sky-high. Sir, I would have been a very happy man if I could concur with Honourable the Finance Minister in his aspiration that the prices will not go up. Unfortunately already the expectations have been belied. If there is to be price control, let it be effective price control so that the public is assured that the Government is active. I draw the pointed attention of the Government to the people who are devoid of clothing, who are devoid of smoking, of food; unless these people are given relief, what does it matter whether control is there in Karachi or in Dacca. What does it matter if there is control on paper in the Secretariat? Sir, the real control should be there in every village and home. These black-marketers must not be allowed to fat and batten on the miseries of the humanity.

Sir, I would draw the pointed attention of the Government that if there is any sincerity in their utterances, then without any further delay prices should be controlled, especially in view of the duties that have been imposed. Sir, duty has also been imposed on cloth. Jute is rotting in our godowns. Public has not got enough money even in the present stage to purchase cloth. After the duty, the price will go up and what will then happen? Ladies will not be able to come out of their homes. Children will be starving for milk because of sugar and the ordinary cultivator, who wants to smoke which is the only pleasure that he cherished after food, will probably be deprived of it. These things must be taken into consideration by the leaders of the nation and they must rise to the height of the occasion and must ensure that whatever they say, they actually put it into practice and let it be known to the people that what they say they really mean.

With regard to the economy of Pakistan, about which a lot has been said, I want to say only one thing. Sir, we are a nation of poor people, of cultivators, of wage-earners, whose average income is only Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 a month. Sir, I cannot conscientiously say that in such a nation the highest officers should get Rs. 4,000, or Rs. 5,000, per month. Certain

[Syed Shamsur Rahman.]

people must get higher rates of pay, and certain people must get low rates, but variation must be within a certain limit which the whole nation can honestly understand and honestly expect to follow. Sir, we say that we are going to start an Islamic State. If that is so, then the ideals of Hazrat Omar and Hazrat Abu Bakr should rule the entire country. We do not want so many Secretariats. Let all the offices be disbanded. Let all the officers come out of their beautiful European dresses and dress like the ordinary peasant in the field and show that they are the brethren of the common community and not live like their masters. Let our leaders, our Ministers and our officers learn that they are now the masters of the country, but still they are servants of the people. If, Sir, Hazrat Omar and Hazrat Abu Bakr could take pride in the service of the people, I think our presentday rulers should also take equal pride, if not more, in the economy proposed. There is a great deal to be done. There must be a cut in prices; there must be a cut in wages from Rs. 300 upwards, so that the nation really understands that the Government is really out to do justice, that the Government really means business and they are really out to create an Islamic society in which every man is proclaimed equal to the others; not only he proclaims to be equal to others, but he actually acts like an equal of others. Sir, if that Islamic society comes into existence, there need not be any fear of the spectre of Communism. Communism is bound to thrive where there is inequality and inequity, because it is the hot bed of inequality that produces the spectre of Communism and revolution. We the Muslims need not be afraid of Communism if we really stick to the Islamic principle, if we really stick to the Islamic ideals and practise Islamic ways of life. Merely uttering shibboleths in season and out of season will help nobody. Therefore, I request the Government, especially the Honourable Finance Minister, to administer economy in such a way that every man in the country may understand that the Government is really earnest about it and that everything possible is being done with a sense of justice, so that nothing is spared which should not be spared, and nothing is cut which should not be cut. In this connection I wish to say that I have heard a great agitation outside that the axe is going to fall upon certain unfortunate people, most of whom have come from East Bengal at a very late stage. As you yourself know, it is a punishment to travel from East Pakistan to West Pakistan. Sir, as regards travel by air, the less said the better; but if one must travel by a long route by sea, it takes one's money and it takes one's time. The poor people are unable to do that. We have heard a great deal about the subsidizing of travel between the East Pakistan and West Pakistan. Unfortunately, it is a great problem to come from East Pakistan to West Pakistan. Sir, some boys came to the Capital after spending their entire fortune in the hope of getting some employment here. They have no money at all for going back to their homes. I, therefore, say that the cruel axe of the executioner or rather I should withdraw the remark and should say that the cruel axe of retrenchment is going to fall upon them. I do not know how and what these poor boys will do after retrenchment. Probably, they will not have the money to go back to their homes. Probably, they will not have shelter to place their heads under; they will not have clothing to hide their shame. I, therefore, appeal to the Government to consider the miserable plight of these unfortunate people, who could not come here in 1947, who could not come in 1948, 1949 or 1950 because it was so far away from their native place—I mean the people of East Pakistan,—and the cost of travel was so much and the land was so unknown that these people could not come earlier. They have come very late and they are now crying for justice, and I hope justice will be done.

Sir, with regard to the developments that have been proposed, I should only say this much that more developments need be taken in hand immediately. Sir, I come from a district in which since 1881 up to date population is going down progressively at the rate of five per thousand every ten years and that is a fact which can be verified from records with the Government. Unfortunately, nothing has been done to resuscitate those places to enable the people living there to eke out their existence. They are dying there in enormous numbers under the very eyes of the Government. Of course, so long as the British Government was there, they had not much interest in them irrespective of whether they lived or died, but now that the national government has come into existence, may we expect that something tangible will be done for them. May we expect that at least the assurances held out to them would be translated into action immediately, so that the people may not disappear from the surface of the earth, before that scheme of development—Ganges-Kabadak Scheme—if not full, in part is put into operation about which we have so long heard only in print.

Similarly, there are other matters, also. For instance, our transport requires immediate overhauling, so that both by air and by sea East Bengal is made approachable to the whole world. Chittagong Port is crying for a long time for improvement and the newly started Chalna Port, about which we have heard much, but in the last Budget speech of the Honourable Finance Minister there was no mention of it. I hope that the Chalna Port will receive equal attention and that both the ports will be improved in no time, so that East Bengal may be made accessible to the rest of the world, which is now far distant from the Capital, nearly 2,000 miles away.

Sir, we believe that when a child is absent from the place of the mother and if the mother is surrounded by her ten other children, then the attention and affection of the mother is more concentrated in the absent child than on those of her children who are around her. Unfortunately that is not so in the case of East Pakistan. We are far away from the Capital. Government should, therefore, show more compassion for the people of East Bengal than they had so long, and I should remind them that the cry of East Bengal should not be taken as a cry in wilderness, but full justice should be done to them and an equal amount of attention should be given to them in the matter of their grievances. The methods are many and they are known to our Government and more may be made known to them if they like. But I hope that Government will kindly attend to the problems of those people who are far distant from the seat of the Capital and give proper care and attention to their woes and miseries. Sir, with regard to development, many things have been said on the floor of this House, but I want to say one thing with regard to the development of man and that is the most important problem in the world, because all these laws, rules and section 144, etc., would be unnecessary if man was developed to behave in a proper manner and if man was given training and proper education that he requires.

Sir, primary education of the country is a cry in wilderness. The low-paid teachers are too poor there, and I hope that the Government will bestow at least some generosity on its poor low-paid teachers in the name of humanity and of the nation who are now starving and who are crying for justice and mercy to the Government. Sir, in my province, the maximum pay of a teacher in a compulsory school is only Rs. 30. Sir, I pose this question: whether a man can make two ends meet with a sum of Rs. 30? Sir, this and like other problems are there.

I think this problem of saving would not have taxed the Government so much if the people were really educated and if they understood their

[Syed Shamsur Rahman.]

own responsibility towards their family and towards their dependants and if they understood that by saving some of their earnings, they would be helping not only the nation, but themselves too. Sir, I think that the entire machinery of the Government should cut away from the bureaucratic moorings of the past and take the nation into confidence; go out to the masses in the villages and do their duty towards them and not only merely sit in offices and take decision on some point or other. Sir, I think that the entire outlook should change, the entire outlook of administration should change and the entire policy of the Government should change and then and then alone, a proper solution can be found.

Sir, with regard to the Refugee problem, I have got one word to say, that it is gratifying to learn that the Government has done much for our brothers who sacrificed their everything in the interest of Pakistan. Sir, as a matter of fact these two crores of people, they have given up their homes, their near and dear relations in the cause of Pakistan and they became helpless and homeless. Of course, Government has done much, but much remains to be done and that has been amply agitated by my honourable friend Mr. Qasim who is himself a refugee and who is representing East Bengal in this Assembly. Sir, I would say only this that in the speech of the Honourable the Finance Minister he has said that three satellite towns and seven colonies have been erected in the West for these refugees for a total number of 66 lakhs of refugees and whereas although there are 75 lakhs of refugees in East Bengal, only three colonies housing 33 thousand refugees have been erected there. I think, Sir, that is not fair. I think, Sir, that much remains to be done and other satellite towns or rather industrial towns or technological towns should be built up in Pakistan so that not only they will give shelter to millions and millions of people, but that all round development of the country is possible and thus the problem is solved. With regard to the refugees, Sir, I have nothing to add because it has already been agitated by my honourable friend Mr. Qasim. Only one thing at last I should say that I cannot welcome the proposal of taxation as revealed by the Honourable the Finance Minister. I have already explained the reasons. Sugar is an important item in the diet of children and of the adult and, Sir, if prices are going to soar higher and higher, it will be absolutely impossible for the ordinary man, already hard hit by the prices, to make both ends meet. Probably, they will not be able to feed their children. It may not be very hard in this beautiful city of Karachi, it will be very hard in my district town and my village where I find every day people are going abegging for a spoonful of sugar.

Then, Sir, with regard to cloth I have already said that the problem is very severe. All the cash crop is lying in their godowns unsold and people are going naked. I propose to the Government to give relief to these poor men in the street so that, after all if taxes are to be imposed in such a way, the poor men may have at least the consolation of their getting supplies at a proper price under any circumstances with the best endeavour of the Government.

Then, Sir, with regard to cigarettes, I should say only this that a great majority of the people in my country is smoking Biri and the entire Biri industry has come to a standstill on account of various factors, on account of very many difficulties and the entire Biri-smoking people have taken to cigarettes. This is an additional fact which has already carried the price very high and has hit them hard. Sir, I submit that after food, that is one of the first requirements of the poor and the Honourable the Finance Minister and the Government should take

every step to reorganise the Biri industry and to see that adequate supply of Biri be manufactured or in some other way be given to the public so that this additional tax on cigarettes may not cost them any more.

Sir, with these few words, I commend that the speech of the Honourable the Finance Minister is really a landmark in the history of our times and I think that every attempt will be made by the Government to rise to the occasion sincerely and honestly to take the bull by the horns, to establish an Islamic State and make a beginning thereby showing to the world that we mean to do it as quickly and methodically as we can.

With these few words, Sir, I resume my seat.

**Mr. Birat Chandra Mandal** (East Bengal : General) : Mr. President, Sir, I congratulate the Honourable the Finance Minister for acting like a juggler. Through his financial jugglery and by his magical wand, he has made the deficit Budget a surplus Budget and besides that, I find that the Finance Ministers of the Government of Pakistan have all along been suffering from the contagious disease of making the Budget a surplus one.

Sir, it is a fact that last year we had a Budget of Rs. 124 crores and this year we have got a Budget for 98 crores only. This shows that we have earned less money this time. A deficit of 26 crores and by dint of his magical power, the Honourable the Finance Minister had made it a Budget of Surplus. Now, Sir, whatever it may be, I find that the Honourable the Finance Minister has accepted at least one piece of advice from me. During the last Budget session I told him to make an extensive tour throughout the length and breadth of the country. He went to Dacca and spent some time. Because he suffered much, he could not do well to see the conditions of the people there. But in the next year, I think the Honourable the Finance Minister will make it a point to make an extensive tour not only throughout East Bengal, but also throughout West Punjab—throughout the Frontier, Baluchistan and Sind. I hope, at least, three months will be given to the Finance Minister for touring and getting first hand information of the real conditions of the country. I find less revenue this year. I think the Commerce Department is guilty because in the Department of Commerce we find at least 20 crores have been less than what it was in previous years. It is a matter of very great regret that the Department neglected to study the facts. In East Bengal, we know, Sir, for the last 50 years, that whenever the prices of jute go up, Bengal is all right, but whenever the prices of jute go down, Bengal suffers very much. Not only the aristocrats do suffer but even the most ordinary people, I mean, the shopkeepers, the lawyers, the clerks, the boatmen, and even the coolies suffer. Everybody suffers in Bengal when the jute prices go down. Because jute is the money crop. There only food crop is not sufficient for the maintenance of a family. There has been slogan for production of more food. All right, cultivate paddy as much as you can but you must have some cash money. Unless you have got money, how will you pay your taxes, how will you buy your clothes, how will the people be able to manage their other affairs besides food. So, Sir, there must be the necessity of money also for every family. Therefore the price of jute should be managed in such a way that the poor people may be able to buy their bare necessities of life. We had heard from our bureaucratic masters that whenever the jute price went down, they used to talk about the substitutes. They used to say : 'oh there are substitutes being manufactured' and therefore, jute will no longer be required and it will not fetch any good price ! That was the talk we have been hearing for the last 50 years from the bureaucrats but now they are no longer here.

[Mr. Birat Chandra Mandal.]

They have gone and so we no longer want to hear this sort of talk. We must know that in our country, there are four crops; in the West Pakistan there are cotton and wheat and in East Bengal there are rice and jute. But the cash crops do not get proper prices in the market and therefore the people suffer. So the policy of the Commerce Department should always be how to secure good prices for jute and cotton. The condition of the people in East Bengal in general is very bad. People there do not get their food properly. People do not get their clothes properly and therefore in my view this guilty Department should be punished. You must remember that you cannot punish the poor chaprasis and peons of the Government for this offence.

Then, Sir, I want to draw your attention to the Education in East Bengal. I do not know much about Punjab. But I know that in East Bengal thousands of private schools have been closed down on account of the negligence of the Education Department. They are not doing justice to the matters of education in East Bengal. Sir, in Karachi we find that scheduled castes people are suffering for want of education. They have got neither any school either primary or secondary nor they have got any hostel for the boys and girls of the Scheduled caste living in Karachi. So, Sir, the Education Department has also failed in the proper discharge of its duties.

Then, Sir, I come to the Department of Law and Order. This Department has also partially failed to discharge its duties.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan:** *Hear, hear.*

**Mr. Birat Chandra Mandal:** Sir, we find that in forty-eight hours in Karachi forty-seven theft cases took place. This is the report given by the *Dawn*. This proves the inefficiency of the Department. Karachi is a Metropolis. If you compare it with the other Metropolitan cities of the World such as New York, London, etc., you will find that there people can walk about safely in public thoroughfares up to 12 o'clock in night but in Karachi after 8 o'clock at night nobody dares to go out because the law and order is defective. The Minister of Law and Order is advised to have a proper note of these things.

Then, Sir, I want to talk about retrenchment because in the name of replacement Government is trying to retrench some people. The economic condition of the country is very bad and specially the Government servants belonging to third class and fourth class; the latter are like the depressed class in the rank and file of the Government servants of Pakistan. So I do not think it will be justified if the scissors of retrenchment fall upon the third and fourth class Government servants. If there will be at all any retrenchment I would like to advise the Government to do so in respect of those Government servants who have got salaries not below Rs. 500. So in the name of replacement they are doing retrenchment because they must use the most dignified word 'replacement'. But I must say that the scissors of retrenchment should in no case fall upon the third and fourth class categories of the rank and file of the Government servants.

**Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin** (Punjab: Muslim): There should be retrenchment of the Ministers!

**Mr. Birat Chandra Mandal:** Now, Sir, I would draw your attention to the fact that the Government should adopt such a policy which will make the commodities such as jute and cotton welcome by the foreigners. If we behave with foreigners in a very bad way we shall not

get any customer. It is the duty of the shop-keepers to be polite and amiable so that the customers may come to them. But if the policy of the Government is based on hatred, then the foreigners would not come to buy our jute and cotton. Therefore, Sir, policy of conciliation should be adopted in the best interest of Pakistan. I do not say that there should be no tariff but if tariff like 30% duty on raw jute remains there, it is like a wall between the two countries—between Pakistan and other foreign countries. So no customer will come to purchase our jute. Therefore, the tariff wall must be demolished to a certain extent and the policy of conciliation should be adopted. My Honourable friend Mr. Gazder made a very good suggestion with regard to the conciliation with neighbours. I say that conciliation is the only thing by which Pakistan will be prosperous. Greater the enmity greater the loss, greater the friendship greater the gain. This is what I believe. If conciliation fails, then we can take recourse to force but if force fails nothing remains.

So, Sir, I appeal to the Leader of the House, I appeal to the Leaders of the majority community, I appeal to all members of the Government to adopt a policy of conciliation with neighbour which will lead Pakistan to a prosperous condition. With these words, I resume my seat.

**Sardar Bahadur Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogezi** (Baluchistan : Muslim) : \*Sir, Baluchistan too feels the pinch of difficulties experienced in other parts of the country. If this year there were sufficient food-grains in Baluchistan, people had no money to buy it with. They have no work, no employment and are therefore hard put to it. Six years have passed but hitherto no one has evinced any interest in Baluchistan, nor has the Government done anything in the matter.

It is now two years that the report about the reforms in Baluchistan was submitted but so far nothing has come of it. During the British rule British-made laws were not operative in Baluchistan and everything was done through *jirgas* and in accordance with our customs and usages. But since the establishment of Pakistan, the Government has been pursuing a policy of opportunism there. It enforces whatever laws would serve its ends. If sometimes Shariat laws are enforced, at others British-made laws are resuscitated. If sometimes our customs are invoked and the *jirgas* revived, at others Pakistani laws are pushed into service. Thus the administration in Baluchistan proceeds in a most arbitrary manner. In a single province four different systems cannot work. There must be one uniform system of laws for the Government to follow. At present the Government exploits every kind of law for its own ends and ignores the rights and privileges of the people. The Government should either relinquish its charge or restore to the people their customary rights and privileges.

We have a three hundred mile long common border with Afghanistan. During the British rule British troops were subjected to frequent raids and firings as a result of which many Englishmen died but the British Government did not throw the people into jails as a punitive measure. Some days back some raiders kidnapped four men from a lorry. I went there in person and rescued them from their clutches within a matter of seven days of the incident. But I am very sorry to say that people are now being kept freely in jails. Nine months have passed but nobody has bothered to bring their cases before either the

\* English translation of the Urdu speech.

[Sardar Bahadur Nawab Mohammad Khan Jogezeai.]

jirgas or any other competent authority. At the time of their arrest, they were secured with ropes as if the Government were in short supply of handcuffs.

I am trying to point out that in Pakistan the Pakhtoons are quiet. We are Pakhtoon by race, we speak the Pakhtoon tongue but we never joined in the agitation for the establishment of Pakhtoonistan. In spite of this, the Government is suspicious of our intentions, thinking that we are making common cause with the agitators for Pakhtoonistan. If facts can speak for themselves I would point out that only one incident has occurred during the last four or five years, notwithstanding the pinch of growing hardship felt in every home of Baluchistan. Nobody can foretell the result. Some are crying for food, while others are clamouring for cloth. May I ask, what this will lead to if the Government persists in its present policy?

Now a word about the educated class of Baluchistan. Those who are well educated, young, handsome and pushing succeed in getting nominated as naib-tahsildars with our efforts. They start for joining duty with their luggage but they hardly reach their destination when they receive a retrenchment order from Karachi and helplessly retrace their steps. This is the condition of our educated young men. Here I wish to emphasize that there are no avenues of employment in Baluchistan. Those who have immigrated with some capital of their own carry on without any difficulty but the poor Baluchistani can secure no employment whatsoever.

Sir, I would make a request for making Baluchistan a full-fledged Province in pursuance of the declaration of the late Quaid-i-Azam who had constituted an Advisory Board for us. This Board should continue to manage the affairs of Baluchistan pending the formation of the new Province. The Government say that the Board is divided against itself. Sir, I would like to know the name of the Province which is totally free from internal difference. Every Province has as many as five, ten or even twenty conflicting parties within itself, whereas in Baluchistan all the Sardars have united to form a single party. But nowadays the Sardars have been deprived of all their power. Formerly, they used to iron out the differences arising between the people and the Government but now these Sardars have sunk into oblivion. Frankly, Sir, I am puzzled to visualize where these conditions would lead us to.

Quite recently two gentlemen from among the educated class of Baluchistan managed to get into political service but, as chance would have it, they too are due to retire on pension after a couple of months.

As to agriculture, we all know only too well that it has suffered badly from the indifference of the British in the past and the Government of Pakistan too has done little during the last six years to improve it. The canal that was dug during the British rule has become a bone of contention. It is lying useless and is doing no good either to the Government or to the people. Four or five lakhs of rupees were spent on it, but, thanks to the dispute that has arisen between the Government and the people, it is now lying dry. The latter has withheld the payment of dues and the former has stopped the flow of water in the canal.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan:** Did you speak to the Prime Minister about this?

**Mr. Abdul Monem Khan (East Bengal: Muslim):** Mr. President, Sir, I rise to support the budget. But at the same time, I think, I would be failing in my duty if I do not make certain observations on

facts which I do sincerely feel should be brought to the notice of those who are at the helm of administration.

The Budget, Sir, as a national document reflects the economic conditions of the country. It formulates policies in keeping with the existing economic conditions and tries to better those conditions in accordance with certain objectives and targets. Apart from keeping the State running, it has also to keep the people running,—I repeat the words “the people running”—and make them prosperous. So in framing the budget one must have an eye to the needs of the people of the different areas and cater accordingly.

Viewed as such, this sixth budget of Pakistan cannot really be said to be a surplus budget. It has in fact been balanced with great effort and forced to become surplus by suggesting huge retrenchments and taxations, some of which lack justification. The Finance Minister has proposed certain taxation measures in order to bridge the gap between the revenue and expenditure estimates, some of which will really cause hardship to the common man, the poor and the agriculturists. Although there is no direct taxation on them, the main burden of most of the taxation proposals will fall on the masses, the poor agriculturists, who form the backbone of the country and of the nation.

Sir, we cannot honestly support the increase in the Railway fare suggested for the poor third class passengers. Similarly I can't see eye to eye with the Honourable the Finance Minister's proposal for economy in expenditure by retrenchment of a considerable number of employees who have just started their lives with a very small pay, just the living wage. In this respect, I would suggest an alternative. Without laying his axe on the poor new recruits, I would request the Honourable Minister to make this economy by introducing a cut on the salary of the highly paid officers, officers who to their advantage have earned double or treble promotions because of the partition. If a general cut is immediately imposed on officers drawing Rs. 500 to Rs. 4,000 per month at 5 to 25 per cent, I think it will not be difficult for the Honourable Minister to reach his target of 4 crores and odd savings under this head. Though it may not sound well to the Honourable Minister we insist on this and with all the vehemence. We refuse to tolerate the Finance Minister's policy of showing unmerited favouritism towards a group of highly paid officers. We would request him to be more Islamic in an Islamic State, where we are going to formulate our laws according to the Holy Quran and the Sunna, the cardinal principles of which, in this respect according to Shaikh Sa'adi are as follows :—

*Neem naney gar khuraḍ mard-e-Khuda*

*Buzl darweshan kunad neeme digar.*

If a God-fearing man eats half a loaf—

He keeps the other half for the needy.

So should be the principle of the Honourable the Finance Minister and not to cut the throats of some and to carry coals to Newcastle. Sir, I cannot also support the policy of the Government regarding jute. The Ministry of Commerce was given a timely warning but to no effect. By their lack of foresight the Department have brought the agriculturists of East Bengal to their knees. Today the growers of the golden fibres, people who form the backbone of the nation, are faced with a great economic crisis, a great calamity. The fixation of price without a support scheme was a colossal blunder. We urge upon the Government to come forward with some beneficial measures for the relief of these dumb millions and to think out a scheme from now for the next jute season.

[Mr. Abdul Monem Khan.]

Sir, it is no doubt a matter of gratification that in spite of all round depression and financial stringency, the Budget provides for a considerable increase of expenditure on development projects. The Government deserves congratulations on having maintained a steady increase in their expenditure under this head ever since the establishment of Pakistan. This is really a very happy feature in the policy of the Government and it deserves hearty welcome.

Sir, in this connection also I would like to point out that we cannot share with the allocation policy of the Honourable Minister for Finance. I am really sorry that I cannot join Mian Iftikharuddin in extolling the able Finance Minister. Mr. Mohamad Ali was hinting at "a contract" by Quaid-i-Azam with "some men of his old group", but should I not remind him here that the basic contract of the Quaid-i-Azam was with the people. Pakistan was achieved on population basis for the common good of the common man and never for "any group of blessed persons".

Sir, in the matter of the catering of the Central Revenue, the Honourable the Finance Minister probably forgot for the time being that he was the Finance Minister for the people of Pakistan as a whole. We are confident about the qualities of head and heart of the Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali and I am sure "the clarion call of Mian Iftikharuddin, which he probably inherited from his erstwhile British masters, the sinister policy of divide and rule" will be understood by him and that Mian Sahib will not be able to entrap him in the seducer's net.

Mr. President, Sir, I would now like to point out some of the main problems of the province from which I come, that is East Bengal. I know that there are some members in this House who think that the members from East Bengal always refer to the special needs and requirements of their province and they dub them as 'provincial'. I would like to point out and without any reservation that this House consists of members who have been elected on provincial basis. I represent East Bengal and I have been elected from that province on a provincial basis. If there is any member in this House who honestly thinks that he has not been elected on a provincial basis, I think there is time for him to find out his constituency from a place where there is no provincial bias. It is for this reason I maintain that it is our bounden duty to bring before the Government the special needs and requirements of our provinces. If for doing so, we are dubbed as provincial, I will then, Sir, be the first man to plead guilty to the charge and I shall be the last man to plead for any mitigating circumstances to mitigate the sentence that may await me. I must be true to my province and I feel it my duty to place the special needs and grievances of my province before this august House. With these remarks, I would like to place the following problems of my province before this House.

Sir, the House is aware that 56% of the population of Pakistan comes from East Bengal, though in area it is much smaller than the Western wing. It is also known to this House that a majority of our people are agriculturists. So for this vast majority of Pakistan's population it is the incumbent duty of the Government to make special provisions for agricultural and industrial development. Similarly in the matter of Education and other matters of social uplift this far-flung wing of Pakistan should have a fair deal from the Centre and from Central revenues. But to our utter disappointment we have seen in the past, as now, that all our cries were cries in the wilderness. The Honourable Minister for Education the other day admitted that social uplift works and other works of development are needed for the population and not areas alone.

In these days of democracy, may I ask the Honourable the Prime Minister, through you, Sir, how the following allocation of grants by the Central Government for the two wings of Pakistan can be justified? I give these figures from the Budget estimates from 1947-48 to 1953-54 under the different heads. I hope the Honourable the Prime Minister will take special note and the Finance Minister will do the same. I may be wrong and subject to correction. Now these are the figures of financial assistance given to the two wings of Pakistan from 1947 to 1954 from the Central Revenue as grant-in-aid. In the matter of the agricultural development out of the total grant-in-aid of 1.67 crores, East Pakistan got 73 lakhs whilst the western zone got 94 lakhs.

For road development out of 1.91 crores only 47 lakhs were given to East Pakistan while 144 lakhs were given to the western zone. For Universities and Colleges out of the total grant-in-aid of 90 lakhs only 12 lakhs were given to East Pakistan while the Western zone got 78 lakhs. Similarly, for social uplift out of a total of 18 crores East Pakistan got 5½ crores whilst the Western zone was given 12½ crores. Thus out of the total grant-in-aid of 22 crores 48 lakhs the ill-fated Eastern Wing of Pakistan gets 6 crores 82 lakhs only and the Western Wing, having a population of 44 per cent only has got 15 crore 66 lakhs.

---

(At this stage the Honourable President vacated the Chair, which was occupied by Mr. M. H. Gazder, one of the Members of the Panel of Chairmen.)

**Mr. Abdul Monem Khan :** Now let us divert our attention to the loans advanced by the Central Government to the two wings respectively. The total loan advanced for development purposes is 33 crores 17 lakhs, out of this 5 crores 40 lakhs have gone to the under developed Eastern Bengal and 27,77 lakhs to the Western zone. Under miscellaneous head out of the total of 43,10 lakhs of loans only 19,31 lakhs have fallen to the share of ill-fated Eastern Wing and 23,79 lakhs to the already over-fed people of the Western zone. Thus out of the total loan of 76 crores 27 lakhs, advanced till now only 24 crores 71 lakhs have gone to the Eastern Wing and 51 crores and 56 lakhs to the share of Western Wing. The dumb figures will speak for themselves and I do not want to comment much on it. How and to what extent step-motherly treatment has been given to the people of the Eastern zone by the Honourable Finance Minister, is a matter to which I want to draw the attention of the Prime Minister, the Leader of the House to examine and to remedy.

My next point is with regard to the defence policy of the Government and its treatment towards the neglected people of East Bengal. I would like to tell the House that the people of Eastern Pakistan specially the younger section are growing restive for getting an adequate share in the defence of the country and for the upkeep of the 'Azadi' which they have so dearly bought. If I say that the East Bengal people are very eager to take part in the Defence of this country, along with their brothers of the Western zone, I think it is no crime rather it should be welcomed. If proper facilities are denied, if adequate steps are not taken for opening training centres for their training in Army, Navy and Air Force, they have a right to make a grievance of it. Sir, in the year 1951, when we made a unanimous demand for a full-fledged military academy for the Eastern zone for the training of Military personnels from our wing, the then Prime Minister gave an assurance for such an Academy. But to our utter disappointment today we find that only a Pre-Cadet school has been

[Mr. Abdul Monem Khan.]

opened, at Joydevpur, which is no better than a selection board for pre-cadet training in West Pakistan. I lay emphasis on "Pre-pre-cadet school" because, in my opinion this is in a way a retrograde measure rather than a progressive one. In the pre-pre-cadet school our boys will have to go through a test course for two years, to get them admitted in a pre-cadet institution while boys from this wing can directly get into the Pre-Cadet Institutions. I cannot quite understand while our Government can run one full-fledged Military Academy, 2 Pre-Cadet Colleges and a number of training centres and public schools, in the western zone what right they have to deny these facilities to the people of Eastern Pakistan. Why this discrimination. We must have equal number of institutions and our proportionate quota in the Eastern Zone.

Now, Sir, let us divert to the recruitment policy of the Central Government. Sir, this is my last point, but not the least important. It is the recruitment policy of the Government in all Central Services. It is the general impression that the Bengalis as a class are intellectually more advanced than the people of other Provinces. According to the last census the percentage of literacy in Bengal is 16 whereas in the Western zone nowhere it is more than 10 per cent. This supports the above view. But to our utter disappointment we find that in the Central Services the Bengalis have practically no place. At the desire of the Party a ratio for East Bengal was fixed at 40 per cent. in 1949 but it was in practice never respected. May I know who is responsible for this flagrant disregard of the Government's decision. Why no action has been taken against the person or persons responsible for this grave injustice done to East Bengal. Then again on the demand of East Bengal M.C.A.s when a resolution was about to be moved in the House, the late Quaid-i-Millat gave us an assurance for a Ratio Officer and in fact appointment of a Ratio Officer was made but he was not given any duty for some time and ultimately to our utter disappointment we hear that the post has now been abolished and we do not know why? Have we not a right to know, Sir, who is responsible for this and why it has been done?

Sir, as a result of our efforts during the last few years some Bengalees were recruited in the various departments under the Central Government. But now we hear that the Honourable Finance Minister just to show a surplus budget to his credit has come out with proposals for heavy retrenchment of the newly appointed employees which means practically removing all the employees from East Bengal, thus setting at naught the very slight progress which was made towards the maintenance of the ratio fixed for the unfortunate people of that far flung wing of Pakistan. I would request the Honourable Minister for Finance, through you, Sir, not to touch any of the employees from that Province, not as a matter of favour towards East Bengal but to avoid new problem and a crisis. Sir, whenever any demand is made for East Bengal, however legitimate that may be, you come out with sermons of Islamic brotherhood without probably much knowing what it means. Islam does nowhere teach "Have everything for yourself and nothing for your fellow brethren".

*Gar too Quran bareen namat khwani,*

*Be baree ronaq-e Musalmani.*

"If you interpret the Holy Quran like this you will mar the beauty of Islam."

Now, Sir, I appeal to the Honourable Prime Minister; through you, I appeal to the Leader of the House, nay to one who is at present entrusted to mould the destiny of the entire nation. Sir, I would like to make it

clear that whatever Mian Sahib might have said or might hold, we have full confidence in you as our leader, the leader of 99.9 per cent of the people of Pakistan. Our fervent appeal to you is just to have a pull for the sake of Pakistan. We appeal to you in the name of *Allah* to rise to the occasion to redress the legitimate grievances of the common man, the teaming millions. *Allah* will be helping you. The entire nation is with you and at your back. Our cup of bitterness is full. Let it not overflow, that is my last request. With these remarks I support the Budget.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman** (Minister for Food, Agriculture and Law) : The food situation in the country has got to be explained in view of the various points raised by the members not only of the Opposition but also from the Government side.

You would remember, Sir, that this question was raised at the last session of the Assembly in November in the shape of an adjournment motion and I had welcomed the discussion at that time, and many of the points raised by the Honourable members at that time had been answered.

Today, Sir, some points have been raised over and over again and some new points have also arisen. Therefore, it is necessary to explain the whole situation.

The main point then, as well as now, has been that Pakistan has been surplus all these four years or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years and why has it happened all of a sudden that we are deficit and we have had to import large quantities of foodgrains from abroad to meet our requirements.

It must be remembered that the production figures of Pakistan in regard to foodgrains have not been such as the Honourable members of the Opposition have described from time to time. I am not going to take you into the various statistics of all these years but it would suffice to say that in 1947-48 the rabi crop harvested April/May 1948—we were deficit to a large extent in wheat and I would remind the Honourable members that we had to import about 2 lakh tons of wheat from Russia and other countries to meet our requirements. Then, Sir, the following year there was a bumper crop—the crop harvested in April/May 1949—when there was a surplus of about two lakh odd—about 2,16,000 tons, which we were able to export. That is the year to which my Honourable friend, Mian Iftikharuddin, has referred and said that if we had saved the surplus, we would have had a reserve of 12 lakh tons in our hands and therefore we would not have had to import anything at present. By what arithmetic these 215,000 tons have been converted into 12 lakh tons, I am not able to understand. But, Sir, I will explain this later on.

Coming to the subsequent year, 1951-52, we were just self-sufficient—nothing was exported. Then, Sir, the year 1951-52 came in and the difficulties started. Even the crop harvested in May 1951 was normal and would have sufficed us up to the end of that year. But, unfortunately, what happened, as I had emphasised in the last session, that the rains in 1951 failed. I had given figures at that time that we did not have even half the rains that we used to have in Western Pakistan. If you open the debates of that session you will get the statistics that I gave. So far as water in the rivers and canals is concerned, I had given levels of water at Attock, which is the main gauging area of the Indus River, and also at Panjnad where the five rivers come and meet, I also gave you the water level at Mithankot where all the six rivers of Pakistan come and join. There, you would remember I had given water levels from the bulletins published from day to day, saying that the water level had not

[The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman.]

been even half of what it had been in the previous ten years. The rainfall then had decreased. That was the position and that resulted in shortage of kharif crops in West Pakistan to the extent of about 2½ lakh tons.

**Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin :** May I ask for a clarification about 12½ lakh tons ? It was not that I suggested that you had so much surplus that year. If during the previous two years the reserves had been kept, you would have had the required surplus.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** I am glad Mian Sahib has awoke after all.

Sir, I was on the point of giving shortage in the production of Kharif crop harvested in October, 1951. I said the shortage was to the extent of 350,000 tons and, therefore, this shortage had to be made up by people being fed with wheat. This was the first serious effect on the wheat supplies. Fortunately at that time the difficulties were met. We were able to manage and pull on, hoping for the coming wheat crop to be harvested in 1952. With very great difficulty, by keeping to reduced rations all over Pakistan and economising and putting into force anti-hoarding measures of which the House is aware, which we had taken early in 1952, we were able to pull on during that wheat year which ended in April, 1952. Unfortunately the sowing of Rabi crop 1951-52—harvested in May, 1952—was also affected by the same reason. I have given statistics of rain as well of canal water and river waters in my last speech and I do not want to repeat that. But I can tell you that in that crucial months of September, October and November 1951, when the wheat sowing take place in West Pakistan, there was very little rain. It was about one and a half inch during these months which could be used for creating moisture in the fields so as to help sowing. But, Sir, the farmers stuck to their guns and went on sowing in spite of having no rains. Dry sowing was done in certain areas in the hope that the rains would come at the proper time. The farmers did their best and tried to cultivate as much area as possible, but unfortunately as it was to be, not only was there shortage of rains, there was shortage of canal water. I have said that our rivers had suffered, but when we come to the irrigated areas—and irrigated areas are supplied by Indian-controlled canals—the shortage was more serious.

I do not want to go into the details at the present. I will come to the same subject when I come to the sowings of 1952. This was also one of the causes for short sowings in 1951—October and November. They attempted to have as much area under cultivation as was possible. In the first forecast which issued late in February, 1952, the area of wheat cultivation was short by about 300,000 acres. The second forecast which issued again in April, 1952 stated the short area at about 400,000 acres....

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan :** Quite sure of your figures ?

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** I have got printed bulletins and letters of the Provincial Governments and if my friend would have cared to read these forecasts—which he never does—he would have seen that whatever I am saying is correct. I do not speak like the Honourable Member from air always. I base my remarks always on statistics and he can be satisfied.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan :** I wish you could understand those statistics. If you had understood them, then so many people would not have died of starvation.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman:** I must tell the Honourable Member that he talks of statistics but he himself knows nothing about it.

Any way, the first forecast and the second forecast.....

(Interruptions)

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman:** Will the Honourable Member speak loudly if he wants to say something.

(Voices: Do not waste time).

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman:** I come to the point raised by Sardar Amir Azam Khan that on the 6th of May, 1952, I did not know that the crop was going to be short and that we were going to be deficit, and I made a statement that Pakistan was going to be self-sufficient. I have taken out the statement to which a reference has been made by my Honourable friend. I am sorry to say, Sir, that he has probably not followed the statement as it seems to have been made. He has been supplied with a typed copy of the statement that was made and I have taken out the original. It is not a regular statement. These are answers to questions put by a Press representative. The Honourable Member has missed these words "expressed the hope". This is what has been said in the statement: ".....The Food Minister, Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada in Karachi yesterday *expressed the hope* that Pakistan should be able to meet her requirements of foodgrains during the next year....." Then, Sir, he has also missed the important passage which follows it: ".....According to the Food Minister, the final position regarding wheat was expected to be clear by the middle of July, when he would have detailed and definite information available from all parts of Pakistan....." So expressing a hope that we would be self-sufficient by resorting to total procurement, by stopping smuggling and by taking actions is not wrong. I would express the hope even now that by suitable methods we should be able to be self-sufficient. So at that time, I may tell my Honourable friend, the two forecasts from the Provincial Governments that I had before me were the ones to which I have referred just now—one sent in March, 1952 and the other in April—and both of them showed only shortage of acreage in wheat and did not refer to yield at all. The forecast about yield had been issued, which is the third forecast, in July, 1952, to which obviously I had referred when I had said that definite information would be available in July. According to the first two forecasts, the shortage in area was only 400,000 acres. If you take the normal yield of that year at 8 maunds per acre, the shortage in tonnage comes to about 100 or 125 thousand tons. That means 1½ lakh tons. The total production of Pakistan of wheat has been of the order of 39 or 40 lakh tons. If 1½ lakh tons are expected to be short I have got every reason to express the hope that by tightening procurement and anti-smuggling measures we could meet that shortage of 1½ lakh tons and that Pakistan could be self-sufficient. Therefore, there was nothing wrong in expressing a hope at that time.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan:** What was the actual deficit?

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman:** I am coming to that. Have a little patience.

Then, Sir, the Honourable Member has referred to the very question which Sardar Shaukat Hyat has put,—What was the eventual deficit? The eventual deficit, according to the third forecast, which came in July, 1952, was of the order of about 4,00,000 tons. That was according to the

[The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman.]

third forecast and you would remember that at that time the Honourable Prime Minister had made a statement that our deficit was going to be of the order of about 3 lakh tons and that we were making efforts to secure that and an approach was also made to America mentioning that quantity as our deficit and we were trying to secure a loan from them. So a statement was made at that time that the deficit was that much. Subsequently, the fourth and the final forecasts came in September—one on the 3rd of September, 1952 and the second on 8th or 9th September, 1952, which showed that there was a decrease in area to the extent of 6,13,000 acres as compared to 400,000 acres in the second forecast and the third forecast.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan :** Who has been making the mistake ?

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** Kindly have the patience to listen to me. You will hear everything. You will hear much more than you expect.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta (East Bengal : General) :** Statistics will not satisfy the hunger of the people.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** Have the patience to listen to me. I am coming to that.

**Shri Dhirenadra Nath Dutta :** People are hungry and you are asking us to be patient.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** Honourable Member has no cause to complain at all. He is being properly fed and looked after. I am going to prove that also statistically. Even after your stomach is full, these statistics do not go into your head. In that case I am not to blame. These statistics are meant for going into the head and not in the stomach. Have the patience and you will have replies to the questions raised by you at the proper time.

**Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin :** People would prefer if food goes into their stomachs to your figures going into their heads.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** Sir, I was at present going into the causes and I am coming to what has been done by Government to meet the shortage. When I have come to that portion, I am certain that my Honourable friends would be satisfied by the action taken by the Government. I only request them to have patience.

So, Sir, according to the final forecast which came only in September, as I have said, the area was 600,000 and odd acres short and the yield was very very low, dangerously low. In the unirrigated areas it went from an average of 6.7 maunds per acre to 5.2 maunds per acre and in the irrigated areas it went down from 11.7 maunds per acre to 9.5 per acre, with the result that the total shortage from the statistics, as it came to be known in September, was 945,000 tons.

Now, Sir, this is about the current year and I would now go to the other aspect of the matter—what Government has done in order to meet these shortages. It has been said, Sir, that it was probably not known to us and, therefore, we did not take action in time and that we were hoping for the best. It is not so. Although on the 6th May I had expressed a hope that by taking all these actions, we might be self-sufficient. Government took up this matter as early as March, 1952 and again in April, 1952. This matter was discussed at a conference held in Punjab with the

Government of Punjab and the Governor was also present there. Then, Sir, soon after coming back from there, that statement was issued, we took up the question of imports. In April at the Conference at Lahore it was thought and decided that Punjab may be self-sufficient and they will not require any imports at all, but soon after round about the 10th May, they told us they might be deficit to the extent of about 80,000 tons of wheat and we might take arrangements for importing that. Soon after that, within a few days, it was decided by this Government that 300,000 tons of wheat should be imported. This decision was taken in May, Sir, the first month of the crop year. Honourable members will realise how quickly the action was taken when they knew that the crop was to be harvested in April and May and was to come in the market in June which was to last until May 1953. So, this action by the Central Government was taken in May 1952, the very first month of the crop year, to import 300,000 tons of wheat.

Then, Sir, how this deficit has gone on increasing and why a decision to import 300,000 tons was taken at first and then more had to be imported, I will explain that too. But immediately this is what was done. I will now give the honourable members the figures of imports undertaken by Government from time to time. After that decision, Sir, it was arranged in July 1952 to barter 38,628 tons of wheat from India; August, 1952, 100,000 tons was bought from Turkey; September 1952, 5,341 tons bought from Syria; September 1952, 145,934 tons bought from Russia under barter; October 1952, 106,000 tons under barter with rice obtained from Japan; October to February 1952, United Kingdom 17,844; October to November 156,106 tons obtained from U. S. A. under their Loan Agreement; December 1952, Canada, 95,409 tons; February 1953, 60,000 tons more from Canada; February 1953, 36,000 tons from Australia; February 1953, again 26,500 tons from U. S. A.; March 1953, 19,000 tons from U. S. A.; March 1953, 18,000 tons from Canada. Total imports arranged : 823,778 tons.

So, these are the arrangements that have been made by Government from time to time. Although they had to be arranged at very very short notice they were arranged quite in time so that there was, I am glad to say, no break of supplies at any time.

Now, Sir, again the honourable members will ask: how is it that originally we estimated to import 300,000 tons and ultimately it has been up to 8½ lakh tons? As I have submitted just now, the indication from Punjab originally was that they will not require anything from us. Then, Sir, in May, they told us that they will require 80,000 tons of wheat. Again, Sir, at a Conference held on the 14th June 1952, it was said that they may require 80,000 tons, but it was decided that 40,000 tons of wheat may be imported and 40,000 tons of rice will be available to them and they might be able to meet their requirements. Sir, after that they again revised this on the 2nd August 1952 at a Conference held in Karachi where they went back to the total of 80,000 tons and that they indicated as firm and final demand. Then, Sir, on the 7th August 1952, this was increased to 140,000 tons on the ground that rice will not be used by them. As the Honourable members would remember, the rice was very dear at that time and we were able to get 2 tons of wheat for one ton of rice. So, they let Centre have this 40,000 or 50,000 tons of rice that they had and obtained instead wheat. So, it came to 140,000 tons and then on 22nd September this was increased to 161,000 tons and on the 16th November 1952, to 201,000 and on 19th November to 211,000 and on 16th January 1952 to 249,000 tons.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan :** You bear out my contention that there has been a mess.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** 250,000 tons were demanded ultimately by Punjab.

Similarly, I come to N.-W.F.P. They started originally with a deficit of about 30,000 tons although according to them it will be 20,000 tons a year. I am taking yearly figures in their case. So, it was at my persuasion because I thought, probably, their requirements may be much more that they agreed to give a firm demand of 30,000 tons. Then, they had to increase it to 40,000 tons on the 19th March 1952. By a telegram on 26th May 1952, they have re-affirmed that this 40,000 is their requirement; but, Sir, later on, on the 8th September 1952, they said that their forecasts were high and that their requirement will be much more than that and therefore they increased their demand to 60,000 tons. Then, Sir, on the 3rd December 1952, they said they want 4,000 tons more and it was raised to 64,000 tons and ultimately in December and finally in January, they had raised it to 10,000 a month with the total supplies of 74,000 tons as against original 30,000 tons indicated by them.

Similarly, in the case of Karachi also, we had to increase from ten and a half thousand tons per month we have gone up to 15,000 tons per month on the basis of increase in population and shortage of rice and other supplies of foodgrains being short in Karachi.

So, it was that way, Sir, that we got all these demands coming in from time to time. I think credit should have been given to Government that at this short notice Government was able to arrange with all the difficulties of exchange that had set in in the later half of 1952, and keep supplies going everywhere.

My friend, Mr. Dutta has talked of hunger to him and other people of East Pakistan, but I do not see how he is really hungry over there unless this is a propaganda to malign the Provincial and the Central Governments. I might tell the honourable member—they have raised the question of East Pakistan also and I better dispose it of here—that Mr. Raj Kumar Chakraverty also said that the prices there were beyond the reach of the common man. He has said that we are paying Rs. 21 to Rs. 22 and . . . . .

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta :** You do not know on account of fall in price of jute, people have got no purchasing power.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** Half a minute! Then you shift your ground from availability. It is not the question of availability. The foodgrain is there and it is available at cheap prices.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta :** It is not available.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** That was the charge that I was answering. My friend must know that I have got a forecast from East Bengal available here with me. According to this forecast in the crop which was harvested in autumn of 1952, there was an increase of 65,000 tons of rice.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta :** Mr. Chairman, may I appeal to the Honourable Minister and the Honourable Prime Minister to go to East Bengal and see the condition of the people there with their own eyes. It is the month of March and the people are dying of hunger for want of food.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. M. H. Gazder) :** The Honourable Minister is not yielding. You cannot interfere. He is on his legs.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta :** He is referring to me and I say that I did not make a false statement.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. M. H. Gazder) :** The Honourable Minister is on his legs. He is not yielding to you. You cannot make a speech when he is speaking.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan :** We are not going to believe him.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** That is the whole trouble with you. You are destroyers. You do not believe in any thing. You do not believe in actualities and facts. That is the whole trouble with you. Your whole vision has got blurred. That is the whole trouble with the Honourable Member.

May I submit, Sir, that my friend Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan does not believe in actualities. Similarly the trouble with Mr. Dutta is that he wants to go against the facts and figures which I am producing here. I have got with me official forecast which has not been controverted by him at any time. I am going according to these facts and figures.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta :** This is not correct. You . . . .

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** May I crave your indulgence. I have been very considerate to the Honourable Member.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. M. H. Gazder) :** Please preserve orders and follow rules.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta :** Rules are being followed. The interruptions are necessary in order to get real facts.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. M. H. Gazder) :** You have suggested that the Prime Minister and the Food Minister should go and see the condition there. It is the business of the Provincial Government.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta :** How will the Provincial Government come ?

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. M. H. Gazder) :** How the Central Government Minister is going to collect figures.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** The Honourable Member, Mr. Dutta, does not want any progress in East Bengal and he wants the circumstances to persist. When I am proving by facts and figures that there has been development, that there has been increased production of rice, he does not want to listen to what I say. He only wants to put blame on the Government by his arguments. That sort of argument will not end and there will be no answer to such argument. I am telling the House that fortunately by the grace of God we have got increased production in East Pakistan which is evident by the fact that there has been a fall in the prices. It is not only proved by statistics. It is by actual facts that I am going to prove and still he does not want to hear this. He wants to have this weapon of attack in his hands for all the time and he is now disappointed to see that the position of food in East Pakistan has been good and therefore he will have no cause or weapon to attack the Government. That is why he is perturbed over all these things. I am glad to announce that not only the Aus crop increased

[The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman.]

and improved over there in East Bengal but the winter crop *Aman* which is the biggest crop over there has also yielded an increased production to the extent of 217,000 so that the total increase of production in East Pakistan now is more than 300,000 tons which is more than the deficit that East Pakistan has ever had in these five years of the establishment of Pakistan.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta :** What about the crop which is . . . . .

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** The Honourable Member is so angry, is so busy about his own questions that are coming into his head that he is not listening to what I have said. I have spoken about the *Aus* crop separately. I have spoken about *Aman* crop now.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta :** You have got no idea.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. M. H. Gazder) :** You cannot speak. Orders please.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta :** He has got no idea.

**The Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin (Prime Minister and Minister for Defence) :** \*What the Honourable Minister has said is absolutely correct and the Honourable Member has got no idea of what he is talking about. These gentlemen would not listen to the Honourable Minister. They are deliberately interrupting and not allowing the Honourable Minister to put facts and figures before the House because they are being exposed.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan :** People are dying of hunger and you say that . . . . .

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. M. H. Gazder) :** I appeal to the Honourable Members of the Opposition benches to preserve order. You had your say. Have now patience to hear what the Honourable Minister is saying.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan :** Do not allow him to say anything.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. M. H. Gazder) :** You cannot interrupt like that. You had your say. They never interrupted you. You hear what they have got to say. Let the people decide who is correct.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** Sir, this is a very fine way of accusing that we are telling lie. My friends have no patience at all. The weakness of their case is obvious from the fact that they do not want to hear the figures. Have a little patience.

Sir, I was talking that *Aman* crop has had an increase of 217,000 tons so that the total increase in East Bengal has been over 3 lakh tons which is more than the deficit that they have had ever before. It is proved by not only statistics but it is evident by the fall in rice prices that East Bengal has experienced. My friend should now listen to this that if there had not been any increase in production and the availability of rice had not been increased in East Bengal, how the price of rice had gone down. I have got cuttings of newspapers here where it is said that at Pabna and some other places the rationed rice was not being bought because the price of the local rice available was less than that. That means the price of rice in certain places in East Bengal went lower than the issue price also. What other circumstances can be there ?

I have got the average of price month by month and my friend here Prof. Raj Kumar Chakarvarty also has given the price as between Rs. 21 to 22. The issue price is now in the neighbourhood of that price. In East Bengal the production has really increased to such an extent that the prices have normally to come down to that level so that the statistics as well as the facts as are obtaining in East Bengal at present coincide and there is no doubt that food is available in abundance and there is no trouble at all. My friends have been complaining unnecessarily. This was also stated by the Chief Minister. It will therefore be possible this year to give them less supply than we have been giving them before. So, Sir, I have explained that Government made adequate arrangements to meet the shortage of wheat as was experienced in West Pakistan.

I will now go over to the arrangements not by way of imports but by way of increased acreage that was made in the year 1951-52. Not only was action taken by the Government in May to start with the imports, as I have already said, but realising that there had been no rains, that the shortage of water in the canals was there, Government had started taking action on a short-term method of growing more food. The Provincial Governments were contacted and conferences were held with them as early as March, April and May and a number of decisions reached.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan:** But with what result?

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman:** I am giving you the result also.

As a result of those conferences, certain concessions were given in the *Abyana*, land revenue was reduced, fertilisers were given and other actions were taken by the Provincial Governments to increase the acreage of *Kharif* crop which would have been harvested in October 1952 so as to increase the availability of the foodgrains. As a result of this, the increase in area came to about 5½ lakhs of acres. Had it not been, unfortunately, because of the locusts which came in Sind and Bahawalpur in an area of about 80,000 sq. miles, the yield would have increased substantially of the *Kharif* crop so as to meet the shortage of wheat to a very large extent. In spite of that we had an increase in the yield of *Kharif* crop to the extent of 100,000 than the previous year. This was the net result of the efforts of the Central and Provincial Governments in connection with the "Grow More Food" Campaign. But, again, Sir, as I have submitted, towards the sowing period of 1952 *Rabi* crop, which would be harvested in May 1953, similar trouble arose about lack of rains and about shortage of water available from our canals as well as Indian canals. There is no doubt that the rain water was substantially short again, at the crucial time when the sowings of the *Rabi* crop was being started. But it is abundantly clear that the shortage and diversion of water in the Indian held canals also had a very serious effect on the sowings as well as the yield of our wheat crop. I have got statistics, facts and figures to prove this, but I do not want to go into details, as I have previously said, at this juncture, nor do I want to prolong this controversy as the matter is now in charge of an international body, the World Bank, who are very earnestly engaged in chalking out a line by which there should be no such diversion and diminution in future.

Sardar Amir Azam Khan spoke about tube well irrigation schemes and certain links. These were considered in the pre-partition days as the existing sources of water were not sufficient. These, however, cannot be substitutes for the diminution and diversion of waters in the Indian held canals. Even with the full supply of canal waters it has

[The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman.]

been considered necessary all along to have some water by tube well irrigation and construction of links, etc., in order to make up for the shortage that has been felt all along. That question has been engaging the attention of Government and Government has recently sanctioned a huge scheme of tube well irrigation costing crores of rupees, details of which would be known shortly. In order to ensure proper distribution of the available water supply, some links are in hand. It must be made clear beyond all doubts that all these methods do not meet even our normal ever growing requirements of water, and it is absolutely essential for us to get our due share of water in accordance with the pre-partition practice from India. This is a question of life and death for us. Let us hope that the efforts of the World Bank will succeed and in future nothing will be done by India to interfere with our due share of water.

Sir, I am not going to dilate on this question more. As I have submitted the effect of all this on the sowings of 1952 *Rabi* crop is very serious, and the result has been, as has already been announced by the Honourable Finance Minister, we are going to have a shortage in the area alone to the extent of 20½ per cent in the Punjab over the previous year's figures of cultivation. There is a very heavy shortage in Bahawalpur and a heavy shortage of area under cultivation in N.-W. F. P. But, Sir, the biggest blow has been the shortage of area actually under cultivation. Because of this shortage which I have given as 20½ per cent. on the 1st of September 1952 it was high to the extent of 33½ per cent. as at that time the area under cultivation was only 67½ per cent. But with the efforts which the Provincial Governments and the Central Government made for growing more food by rationing of the water that was available at that time—which means closing one canal at one time and giving available water to another canal—the area in the beginning of January was carried to about 80 per cent. or 79½ per cent. Then also we were short by 20½ per cent. So taking into account this shortage of area under wheat and also the fact that the yield of this extra area carried from 67½ per cent. to 80 per cent. the yield of this area would be considerably less although efforts have been made to use fertilisers to the extent of about 10,000 tons, then also it is anticipated that there will be a shortage of about 12½ lakh tons. To have a working balance of about 2½ lakhs of tons in hand Pakistan requires about 15 lakhs of tons, that is 1.5 million tons to meet our future requirements. That is why I emphasise that it is a question of life and death for Pakistan that all pre-partition supplies of water must be secured and must be given to Pakistan, otherwise it will be disastrous for Pakistan.

This is so far as the current year is concerned. So far as the coming year is concerned, I might tell the honourable members that to meet the shortage again action has been taken. The wheat crop has not yet come in. It is still standing and will be coming in May and will be available in June. Arrangements are being made to have the supplies for the coming year starting from the month of June right up to October. Exchange and other arrangements are in hand and are being made so as to meet the deficit but that will be with very great difficulty. That we will be able to do and as the Honourable the Finance Minister has said, unless we are able to arrange for the loan of which he has talked, it will be very difficult for us to carry through the year. But, Sir, on my part I have again taken up the Grow More Food Campaign which, by the grace of God, should yield sufficiently good results, but you cannot rely on those methods. After all, all depends on nature. The biggest thing that I have got in hand is to increase the production of rice in West Pakistan as well as in East Pakistan. Rice crop will be

coming in October 1953; which will be just the middle of the wheat year; wheat year starts from May and goes up to April next year. So if, by the grace of God, we have increased production of rice coming in October, then we can utilise that for the purpose of getting wheat and we can rely on something and have something available for us. For that purpose we are arranging to get through the T. C. A. the American Point-4 Aid Programme, about one lakh tons of fertilizers which will be distributed in West Pakistan, not on the old basis of subsidy, which was previously 30% paid by the Central Government, 30% paid by the Provincial Government and 40% paid by the cultivator, but now that subsidy has been further increased and the burden on the cultivator has been reduced. Henceforth 33% will be paid by the Central Government, 33 per cent. by the Provincial Government and out of the remaining 33 per cent. only 10% will be recovered in advance from the cultivator and 23% he can pay after he has harvested his crop, so that these fertilizers to the extent of about 1 lakh tons will be available to the cultivator at the reduced price of 10% only to start with; so we expect, Sir, that by the use of these fertilizers enough production will be raised which we might be able to utilise towards reducing our shortage of wheat. For that purpose, Sir, the services of Lord Boyd-Orr have been taken and he is going into the causes of the shortage of food production and after going into this he will advise us how to use the quickest methods of increasing our production. Along with that, Sir, he will be also advising us how to make use of these fertilizers. We have also got American experts on the use of fertilisers, who will be assisting us.

A suggestion had been made by some of the Honourable Members about using the Japanese methods of increased production of rice. The Japanese Government had been approached in this connection and they have agreed to let us have experts who will be coming here before the *Kharif* crop starts and they will be advising us both in East Pakistan and West Pakistan. The concessions of *Abiana*, land revenue and others that had been introduced in *Kharif* 1951 will be continued now also for the coming *Kharif* and any extra area brought under food cultivation, which has not previously been cultivated, will be free from *Abiana* and ladder system, and the areas that had not been under cultivation for the time being but were under cash crops if they are brought now under food crops, a remission of 10% will be given on those areas. Then, Sir, I expect that the area under cash crops will also be less now naturally because of the prices of cotton and jute having gone down but in addition to that steps have been taken by the Central as well as by the Provincial Governments, so far as East Pakistan is concerned to reduce the area under jute to 42 lakh bales as has been said already which will release quite large areas for rice cultivation and I expect that by the use of fertilizers and by the larger area that has been converted from jute on to rice, East Pakistan should at least be self-sufficient and should not ask for any rice from this side. So far as West Pakistan is concerned, the Provincial Governments of the Punjab as well as N. W. F. P. have been advised to consider the desirability of reducing the area under cotton in the case of Punjab and the area under sugar-cane in the case of N. W. F. P. They are thinking of special legislation in this connection on which they will be taking a decision very soon and putting into operation; so that all efforts are being made for the purpose of growing as much food as possible and with the arrangements that have been made already and which are in hand I expect that we should have sufficient during the coming year to feed the people of Pakistan.

Sir, one more point is left only to be touched and that is with regard to the long-term development schemes.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan :** What about procurement ?

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** I thought my friend was aware already about the procurement scheme. The price has been raised and he should be satisfied, being a Zamindar.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan :** I want last year's procurement....

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** That should also help in the procurement in the coming year....

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan :** What about smuggling ?

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** I have already submitted during the many questions that I have been answering that schemes worth about 30 crores of rupees for the development of agriculture have been sanctioned by the Development Board as well as the Economic Council.

Mian Iftikharuddin had been saying that we could have constructed a barrage in Sind within six months as his friends in China have been able to do in 67 days.

**The Honourable Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi (Minister for Refugees, Rehabilitation, Information and Broadcasting) :** 75 days !

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** And should have averted the shortage of food by these methods. I might tell him that there is a barrage in hand in Lower Sind, which is going to be finished by about the middle of next year and it is going to give us an additional area of about 2½ million acres. Another barrage in Upper Sind at Giddu is under survey at present and it will be taken into hand as soon as possible. Another barrage in Punjab—Taunsa Barrage—is also under investigation and a survey of a Rs. 24-lakh scheme for that purpose has been approved by the Development Board. Similarly, there are other big irrigation schemes which are in hand. I do not know how my friend will expedite them and have them completed in 75 days. The best in regard to all these schemes is being done and the development is coming in as soon as it possibly could be done.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan :** At your slow best.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** My friend is very fond of tractors, tractors and tractors for production and I might tell him that in Thal the very first thing that the Central Government did, when the Thal Project was starting, was to sanction Rs. 25 lakhs straight-away from the Central Budget to which Rs. 25 lakhs were to be added by the Provincial Government and tractors were bought and it is with the assistance of those tractors that at present new land is being broken in Thal and being brought under cultivation. Your Government has not been negligent of that aspect of things.....

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan :** What about the water which is being wasted in Thal because the land has not been demarcated and given to the people ? There are hundreds of thousands of acres which are now lying waste.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** My friend can say whatever he likes....

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan :** I know ; that is why I say this.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman :** Everything is being done and more and more area is coming under cultivation every

year. So with schemes like Thal and other big schemes and other projects which are in hand, I can say that by the grace of God in the coming year, with the Lower Sind Barrage . . . .

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan:** Grace of God will not help your misdeeds.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman:** You do not believe in the grace of God! You probably believe in the grace of the Devil.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan:** I do not think by the grace of . . . .

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman:** Those who have pledged their souls to the Devil cannot be convinced of anything. 'Insha Allah' and the 'Grace of God' is going to annoy my friend.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan:** Do not try to be clever. No one will listen to you.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman:** I say again by the grace of God Almighty, by the grace of God, when the Lower Sind . . . .

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan:** You will be destroyed by grace of God.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman:** Non-believers will be destroyed. Non-believers in God will be destroyed and God and Land will remain; godly people will remain; godless people will perish. I have every faith in God.

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan:** You have been destroying your people. You will soon meet your fate.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. M. H. Gazder):** Do not interrupt. I will not allow any disturbances.

**The Honourable Pirzada Abdus Sattar Abdur Rahman:** I was saying that with Lower Sind Barrage and by bringing extra land to the tune of 2½ million acres, which will yield very large quantities of foodgrains, and with the grace of God, after that work is completed, there should be nothing to be afraid of so far as foodgrain requirements of Pakistan were concerned. That is about long-term schemes. While I was talking my friend made a joke of 'Insha Allah' and the 'Grace of God' but he will soon see what faith can achieve when belief is there. I again say that with the immediate steps about imports from outside that the Government has taken and the long-term projects that the Government has in hand, for increased production of foodgrains and by the grace of God Pakistan will have enough quantity during the coming year.

**Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin:** May I suggest the Honourable Minister . . . .

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. M. H. Gazder):** You have already spoken and you cannot speak again . . . .

(*Interruption by Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin.*)

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. M. H. Gazder):** Will you kindly take your seat. Look here I am standing. Mian Sahib when the Chair is on the legs, no Member is supposed to stand up. Will you kindly follow the parliamentary rules? Do understand me.

**Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin :** All chairs are on their legs, surely !

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. M. H. Gazder) :** There are five minutes left, if any Honourable Member wants to speak . . .

**Voices :** Let us adjourn.

**Mr. Chairman (Mr. M. H. Gazder) :** The House stands adjourned till 4-30 p.m. today.

---

The Assembly then adjourned till Half Past Four of the Clock in the Afternoon.

---

The Constituent Assembly (Legislature) re-assembled at Half Past Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, Mr. President (the Honourable Mr. Tamizuddin Khan) in the Chair.

---

#### THE GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION—Concl'd.

**Mr. President :** The general discussion on the budget to continue.

**The Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin (Prime Minister and Minister for Defence) :** Sir, after listening carefully to the speeches from the Congress benches, specially to the speech of my friend Mr. Dhirendra Nath Dutta, an impression has been created on our mind that it was not possible to make out a better case against partition than what has been made out by the Honourable members opposite. At one time I thought that the Leader of the Opposition, the way he began, will refrain from that line. But I was surprised to find that he also started in the same strain after a short while. First of all the hardships that are now being caused to the people owing to the partition have been emphasised.

**Shri Dhirendra Nath Dutta (East Bengal : General) :** Not partition ; your wrong policy.

**The Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin :** Then, we have been told that we should adopt a policy of conciliation, a policy of friendship. Of course, as loyal Pakistanis they are fully aware of the Kashmir dispute, of the canal water dispute, of the difficulties over the evacuee property and other questions. They are also aware that we have always tried our best to have friendly relations with our neighbours. They are yet not satisfied. They feel that if a surcharge on coal is put, there should be no surcharge on our side on jute. If one cheek is struck, offer the other cheek as well. That is the policy which our friends opposite believe in. But, Sir, what surprised me most was the statement of the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition. He came forward with the proposition that it is our policy and our action that has led to the increased cultivation of jute in West Bengal. Sir, anybody who has read the papers, who has listened to the speeches in the Parliament of Bharat, who has listened to the pronouncements of their Ministers, cannot be unaware of the fact that from the very beginning a deliberate policy was pursued to increase the cultivation of jute and to refrain from purchasing jute from East Bengal. May I remind the Honourable Members that even at the time when India applied for loan from the United State, certain Congress members pointed out that they were diverting their paddy land for the cultivation of jute. Was it the policy of the Pakistan Government that forced them to put a surcharge at that time ? How a responsible leader could come out with such a statement is beyond my

comprehension, Sir. It appears that our friends opposite believe that irrespective of whatever may be the attitude on the other side, we should go on pursuing a policy, whether it may be in our interest or not, to placate the other side. May I remind the members opposite that the attitude of the Opposition in the other Parliament is that they are calling upon their Government and their Prime Minister to cut off diplomatic relations with Pakistan. Our friends here think that it does not matter what the other side does, we should keep on trying to have a friendly attitude and they think it will help us. Well! Sir, as I said we do not believe in the policy of offering the other cheek.

Now, Sir, it is unfortunate that the stalwarts of the Azad Pakistan Party are absent. These gentlemen keep on questioning our representative capacity and yet in the elections that are being held in the Provinces, in the District Boards, in the Municipalities, the Azad Pakistan Party candidates are conspicuous by their absence and hardly ever get elected. May I ask who do they represent excepting themselves? What is still more unfortunate is that these gentlemen who happen to be here because they belonged to the Muslim League Party, are now abusing that organisation which enabled them to be present here today. What is more, they are fully aware of the fact that as long as this Constituent Assembly is in existence, they are safe here and, therefore, they believe in the policy: "make hay while the sun shines." Indulge in as irresponsible, baseless statements as you can. At least it gives them publicity in the papers and their photographs appear. But they know that they will not have to face the electorate in the near future and they know they have got no chance. So, they can indulge in these irresponsible, destructive, subversive speeches which they indulge in here. But, Sir, in their vile and irresponsible rumblings sometimes they hit at the truth and for once I agree with both of my Honourable friends when they stated that the troubles in Karachi and the Punjab over this direct action was because of power politics and more political than religious. I felt I ought to give this House, and through this House, to the people at large, certain facts. This movement has been directed by a Committee of Action which is composed—rather, which was backed—by the Ahrari group of so-called *ulema* and the fact that eminent *ulema* belonging to various *ulema* organisations dissociated themselves from this decision of direct action. The *ulema* who have dissociated themselves from direct action movement support the main demand for declaring the Ahmadia community "a minority community", but in spite of that they do not support direct action. This is a very pertinent fact, which, unfortunately, has not been given sufficient publicity and I am convinced that if it were known, some *ulema* and some *imams* of mosques who have taken part in this movement would not have done so. What I have stated here is what has appeared in one of the papers, that eminent *ulema* belonging to *ulema* organisations—a majority of them—refused to associate themselves with this movement, though they were Members of the Committee of Action, on the ground that they felt that it was not in the interest of Pakistan. It would injure the stability of Pakistan. It would injure the prestige of Pakistan and they felt that the methods employed and the policy which had been advocated was wrong from the Islamic point of view. Now, Sir, the people who carried the movement and who were in a majority were mostly the Ahrari group, whose political history is known to the House and to the people, but I would just like to remind the House and the people that it is this group and their representatives who *na'oozo billah* declared Quaid-i-Azam as *kafir-i-azam*, who said that Pakistan was *pleedistan* and who opposed Pakistan and who, even after Pakistan, have

[The Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin.]

got contacts on the other side. These people, who were thoroughly discredited and had no following, devised this method of coming back again into the political field and took up this issue and, Sir, all along I have tried my best to argue and to point out to these people that what they are proposing to do is not in the best interest of Pakistan, that it will injure the prestige of Pakistan, that it will do irreparable harm to Pakistan and that it may even disrupt the stability of Pakistan, but because they were not guided by any irreligious ideas—but political rather than religious they were determined to start this Committee of Action, and they knew that before the new crop came in, before things improved, this was the occasion when they must start this movement. I do not know why representatives of *ulema* of Pakistan sided with them. I will be the last person to impute any motives to any *ulema* until I have definite facts, but there is no doubt that as far as the Ahraris were concerned, it was a political move and there was more than political. It was power politics as well. Now, as I said before, up to the last minute I tried my best to persuade them and dissuade them from their action and here I want to point out to the House and to the people that Government decided to act only after it was declared at the public meeting at Aram Bagh that the direct action was going to start from the next morning at 8 o'clock. I had to call an urgent meeting at one o'clock at night and there were representatives of the Provincial Governments there. The Punjab was represented by one of their Ministers. The I. G. of Police, the Home Secretary, the Governor and Chief Minister of N.-W.F.P. were present and the Governor of Sind was also present. I could not bring the Chief Minister of Bengal, the Chief Minister of Bahawalpur and the Chief Minister of Khairpur, because I had to call these people at a very short notice. When I found that these people were determined to start direct action and only those who could be brought to Karachi by plane were brought here. At this meeting the representatives of the Provincial Government decided that there was no option but to fight the movement and to take every step to maintain the law and order. We were faced with the proposition that either we abdicate or fight the movement, I maintain that under a parliamentary system of Government or in an Islamic State no one has the right to try to overthrow a Government by force or take the reins of government by force. The cardinal principle of a democratic system of government is that governments can be replaced only by the recognised parliamentary method and if as long as elections are held, as long as the public have an opportunity to send representatives according to their own choice, there can be no question of dictating to a government by means of force. Demonstrations and direct actions are not in the scheme of a parliamentary system of government. Parliamentary system of government is based on the will of the people who support a particular Ministry and procedure has been laid down how that Ministry, if it loses the confidence of the people, can be changed.

Now, Sir, if once in a democratic system of Government, you are allowed to overthrow a Ministry by direct action, then it is an end to the parliamentary system of Government and you are asking for dictatorship and Fascism. Therefore, I maintain that this Government who believe in parliamentary system of Government, who believe in Islamic State, felt that the movement was both un-Islamic and undemocratic and had to be met. I know that today there are a large number of people—quite a number of people in Punjab—who are soar and bitter but a day will come when they will recognise that this Government has done the greatest service to Pakistan by standing up and meet-

ing this menace to its stability and integrity. (*Hear, hear.*) Sir, I know that there are people, some of them, who have taken part in it, or have been led by motive, have been inspired by religious ideas, but I want to point out to them that the people who have been behind this movement, who have carried on the propaganda for a long time, have adopted un-Islamic methods and tactics. Islam does not permit deliberate falsehood and false propaganda. Apart from all the false propaganda against the Foreign Minister, these people have not hesitated to state that I have become a Qadiani; that my son has married a Qadiani girl and they knew these facts were not correct.

**The Honourable Dr. A. M. Malik** (Minister for Health, Works and Labour) : Shame !

**The Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin** : I ask : can any movement be an Islamic movement when Islam does not permit deliberate *bohtan*, deliberate falsehood ? And look at the things that have been done during the course of this movement.

Arms and training given for the Civil Defence purposes were used against forces of Law and order ; telephone wires were cut, road blocks uprooted ; communications interfered with ; post offices burnt ; omnibuses destroyed ; railway trains stopped ; engines in the Loco Shed immobilised and railway tracks torn up.

Now, I would particularly draw the attention of the members of the House to the category of actions which I have just now stated. These are not the doings of Muslims who are inspired by religious ideas. It is not one political party, but there are other subversive elements in this country, who always take advantage of the situation like this and who have entered into this movement and who tried to create a state of chaos and, if possible, to overthrow the Central Government. I would only draw your attention to the methods employed in the heinous offences of tearing up of railway tracks in a province where the food position was very serious, where every foodgrain was vitally needed to keep the food supplies going on. Deliberately to try and tear up the railway track and prevent the running of the trains means only one thing : that they were out for chaos ; they were out to overthrow this Government.

Sir, I can assure the House that the action which the Central Government took in Karachi, or the Provincial Governments had to take, was forced upon them. There was no option. The option was either submit to dictation or meet the menace. We only acted to prevent lawlessness ; we only acted to prevent destruction of property, destruction of life ; to prevent citizens from being molested and no more. And, as I said before, we only acted after the challenge had been definitely thrown. In this connection, Sir, I would like to explain to the House the exact responsibility of the Central Government as far as law and order is concerned. Sir, I would like to clear the misconception regarding the Central Government's responsibility in the field of law and order. Under our Constitution, law and order is the sole and exclusive responsibility of the Provincial Governments. The Central Government is ultimately responsible for this subject only in respect of Centrally-administered areas. The civil authorities in the Provinces can requisition military assistance in aid of civil power to quell disturbances. The military called out in disturbances are usually under the direction of the civil authorities though they must exercise their own judgment as to the force to be used. But where the situation has passed beyond the control of the civil authorities, the military are then in charge and are entitled to

[The Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin.]

give directions and impose restrictions on civilians in order to deal with the situation. The test is always whether interference with civil life is necessary in order to discharge the duty of restoring order when the civil authorities are unable to control the situation. The military authorities take over in order to restore order and to repel force by force. They fill in the void created by the inability of the civil authorities to meet the situation. If the military do not do so, the result would be: destruction of life and property and chaos resulting ultimately in the disintegration of the State itself. In brief, Martial Law is a state of affairs in which the military takes control of the situation. It is recognised, not created, by a Proclamation.

Now, Sir, I do hope that people who have so far taken part in this movement by misguided impression that they are doing it as a religious duty will, I hope, refrain from it because this is purely a law and order question. It is purely a question where certain elements were out to exploit the religious sentiment of the people for their own ends and for political purposes. I pray and I do hope that the people will realise that the Government would have failed in their duty if they have not done what they have done in this matter. (Cheers).

Sir, I will now refer to the speech of Mr. Monem Khan. I do not remember promising a Military Academy in East Pakistan nor I am aware if my predecessor ever promised a Military Academy. A Military Academy is a highly specialised institution and an expensive institution and it caters for a limited number of cadets. We have already got one and it is neither advisable nor even possible to have another. What I believe I did promise in the last budget was to have an institution similar to King George's Royal Pakistan Military College, Jhelum and I was all the time pressing the Defence Department to start this institution in East Pakistan. Their plans were ready and when the question arose of a site, I personally asked the Chief Minister that he could spare one of his colleges and let us have it for the purpose of this institution. But unfortunately as he was taking one College already for a public school, he could not spare another one. Now owing to the financial stringency I find that this item has been omitted from the budget. I can assure the Honourable Member that as soon as our financial position improves, this will have the first priority because I had felt the need and a great need of an Institution like the King George's Royal Pakistan Military College in East Pakistan. I would also like to state that during my visits to East Pakistan I have always emphasised the need of East Pakistanis coming forward for appointments as Commissioned officers in the Pakistan Armed forces. Wherever I have gone, I have stressed the desirability of young men coming forward for joining the Armed forces as officers. We have also tried to take special care to increase the recruitment of other ranks. In this connection a Committee was appointed during the time of the late Quaid-i-Millat and, I believe, the report has been submitted but owing to very heavy pressure of work I have not been able to deal with it. I hope if the recommendations of that Committee are accepted, it will be possible to have more recruits from East Pakistan. But I want to impress upon the Honourable Members that as far as the demand for first-class young men for officers in the Armed forces is concerned, so far both East and West Pakistan has not been able to supply all the men that were required by the Armed forces. East Bengal is under the impression that among those who apply there is large percentage of rejection but I have pointed out that the percentage of rejection of candidates from West Pakistan is as great if not greater by

percentage basis as from East Pakistan. The Army wants a very high standard at the present time. The Armed forces I would say and naturally they take very great care in selection and it applies equally to the candidates from both East Pakistan and West Pakistan.

Now, Sir, I will refer to the speech of Mr. Shamsur Rahman—a very able speech in which he drew our attention to the conditions of his District of Jessore and the Ganges-Kobedek scheme. I would like to assure him that that scheme has gone to the stage of blueprint. One of the F. A. O. experts Dr. Blumstein is an enthusiastic believer in that scheme and in the month of April, 15 foreign experts are coming who are going to survey the whole area and every effort is being made to expedite this scheme. If by the grace of God the result of the survey is satisfactory and there is no doubt as far as that is concerned according to Dr. Blumstein, for which we are also trying to place certain orders, by the end of 1954 this scheme will give us food to the extent of 60 thousand tons and within three years minimum and maximum five years about 7 hundred thousand tons of various kinds of food will be available to East Pakistan which will mean that not only East Pakistan will be surplus in food particularly in rice but it will be able to export even rice at the same time. Once East Bengal is self-sufficient in food we will have in hand from two hundred thousand to four hundred thousand of rice available for export to West Pakistan. So, Sir, this is only one of the schemes for increased production of food which will place us Insha Allah in a very favourable position. In the morning H. M. Food told us about other schemes in West Pakistan. There are also other schemes in East Pakistan as well specially one about Left Pump scheme for which pumps have been ordered from Canada under the Colombo Plan and as soon as they arrive that scheme will also be given effect to and as far as Ganges-Kobedek scheme is concerned, the Government of Bengal, the Ministry of Economic Affairs and the Ministry of Finance give this scheme a very high priority and I can assure the Honourable Members that every effort will be made to push forward with this scheme.

Sir, we are passing through a very critical time. In the life of a nation misfortunes had come. It is the test of the people when misfortunes come. From the Islamic point of view in Quran it has been repeatedly said that no nation goes continuously through a state of prosperity, and that from time to time there is *Azmaish* (trials) for you and if you can remain *Sabit Qadam* (steadfast) and have *Sabar* (patience) *Insha Al'ah* you will overcome your difficulties and prosperity will follow.

Sir, our future by the grace of God is bright. These are temporary difficulties and we have got to face hardships. Every nation has to go through that and greater hardships have been faced by some of the countries in Western Europe and in other parts of the World. I see no reason why merely because some gentleman takes delight, rather gowlish delight and gloats over the misfortunes of Pakistan—my two friends sitting there who have come, I find that they take gowlish delight in recounting the misfortunes of Pakistan, because that is the only method by which they can get publicity and have their photos in the papers—but I can assure the House that Insha Allah we will be able to overcome our difficulties and that there is a bright future provided there is unity among ourselves and there is honesty of purpose behind our actions . . . .

**Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin** (Punjab: Muslim): And there is change in the Government!

**Mr. President :** Order, order.

**Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin :** May I ask him one or two questions ?

**Mr. President :** Order, order.

(Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin did not take his seat and continued with his interruptions.)

**Mr. President :** Order, order.

Mian Sahib, your conduct is such that it cannot be tolerated. When the Chair stands up, it is the duty of the member who is on his legs at the time to resume his seat. Not only you did not do that, but you persisted in shouting while the Chair was calling you to order. I condemn your action and I hope it will not be repeated.

**The Honourable Mr. Fazlur Rahman** (Minister for Commerce and Economic Affairs) : \*It has become a fashion for the members to attribute all the economic ills to the commercial policy of the Government or allege mis-management of the economic affairs by the Government.

Sir, the House must realise that the economic recession in Pakistan is a part of the World recession which has been very serious. The food situation was influenced by the food position in the country. Due to fall in prices the growers of exportable commodities were adversely affected and Government had no control over it. But the Government should be judged by the fact whether they have been able to develop an economy in the country which could bear the strain of these world wide recessions.

For this purpose I would like to compare the two budgets : for the current year and for the next year—with the previous years, including the two boom years. Sir, in 1948-49 revenue receipts were 66.77 crores ; in 1949-50 the revenue receipts were 88.58 crores ; in 1950-51, in the 9 months of which year there was boom, the revenue receipts were 127.73 crores ; in 1951-52, when recession had already begun in other countries of the world, in Pakistan full effect of the recession was felt in the year 1951-52, the revenue receipts were 144.97 crores and in 1952-53, which is the year of Government's economic recession, the revenue receipts are 124.80 crores and this is the revised estimates of the current year and the revenue receipts expected for the next year are 98.60 crores, including the 5 crores which are intended to be raised by taxation, otherwise the receipts are expected to be about 92 crores. Now, Sir, in this year which is the year which has become worst of all years, the revenue receipts of 92 or 98 crores compare favourably with the revenue receipts of the year 1949-50, which in some respects can be called a normal year, namely Rs. 88.58 crores. On the expenditure side, Sir, if you take the normal expenditure of every year, I mean the revenue expenditure over the administration and for maintaining social services, if you take the revenue expenditure, this normal expenditure, excepting the extraordinary expenditure, it will be 64.70 crores in the year 1948-49 ; in the year 1949-50 it was 85.32 crores ; in the year 1950-51 it was 96.75 crores and in the year 1951-52 it was 113.09 crores and for 1952-53 the revised estimates is 113.5 crores and in the year 1953-54, the estimated expenditure is 98.46 crores.

Now, Sir, in one of the boom years, 1950-51, as I said 9 months of which were covered by this economic boom, the revised expenditure was

\* Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

96.75 crores and in this year's budget, which as I said was the worst year, we have been able to provide for an expenditure of 98.46 crores. What I am trying to show is that the budget of the current year and the budget of the next year discloses the fact that Pakistan's economy has been able to bear the strain, has been able to maintain the expenditure of 113.5 crores in the year 1952-53 almost equivalent to the figure of expenditure in 1951-52 when the full benefit of the boom was felt in Pakistan, which was also 113.5 crores.

Then this year it is 98.46 crores and I have already compared it with another boom year, namely 1950-51, when it was 96.75 crores. That also shows that we have been able to maintain our administration and social services at a high level.

Now, Sir, coming to the capital expenditure, the capital expenditure on direct Central Government outlay on development loans to provinces and other bodies and Defence Services is shown by the following figures:—

|         |    |    |                                                  |
|---------|----|----|--------------------------------------------------|
| 1948-49 | .. | .. | 22.49 crores.                                    |
| 1949-50 | .. | .. | 30.45 crores.                                    |
| 1950-51 | .. | .. | 20.49 crores.                                    |
| 1951-52 | .. | .. | 37.71 crores.                                    |
| 1952-53 | .. | .. | 69.76 crores (rather of the order of 70 crores). |
| 1953-54 | .. | .. | 84 crores.                                       |

The Central Government outlay on development in the present Budget is 36.86 crores and in the current Budget it is 30.09 crores which is much higher than the figures of 17.17 crores in 1951-52 and 8.26 crores in 1950-51, the two boom years. That again will reveal the strength of the economy of the country.

Now, Sir, may I ask the gentlemen who have been so critical about this whether these figures show any weakness in our economy or whether they indicate the strength of our economy? This strength of our economy has been built by the Government by their various policies in the various fields. Now, Sir, I will try to show how far this building up of the strength of our economy is due to the commercial policy of the Government.

Sir, the Revenue derived from the Customs, that is to say, import duty, export duty and a good portion of the Sales Tax also due to these activities, is shown by the following figures.

In 1948-49, revenue from import duty was 19.67 crores; in 1949-50 it was 36.82 crores; in 1950-51 it was 41 crores; in 1951-52 it was 55.38 crores and in 1952-53 it was 45 crores.

Now exports. In 1948-49 it was 18.81 crores, that is about 19 crores; in 1949-50 it was about 12 crores; in 1950-51 it was about 43 crores; in 1951-52 it was about 37 crores and in 1952-53 it was about 23.40 crores.

Now Sales Tax. In the year 1948-49 it was 4.17 crores; in 1949-50 it was 8.73 crores; in 1950-51 it was 6.68 crores; in 1951-52 it was 14.36 crores and in 1952-53 it was 11.26 crores.

In the year 1950-51 these three heads gave you 91.07 crores and in 1952-53 these three heads have given about 80 crores.

**Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer** (Sind : Muslim) : What about 1949-50 ?

**The Honourable Mr. Fazlur Rahman** : \*I have not added the three for that period.

\* Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

[The Honourable Mr. Fazlur Rahman.]

Now, Sir, of the 124 crores, you have seen in the current year's Budget the receipts—the revised estimates—were about 124 crores and the receipts for these three heads are about 79.66 crores, that is about 80 crores and from the imports the revenue is of the order of 45 crores. Sir, criticism has been levelled as to why such huge imports have been brought into the country. Sir, apart from other things, it should be realised that the contribution made by imports is of the order of 45 crores out of a revenue of 124 crores!

Now we were told by the Members "Well, we started with 148 crores on the 1st of January 1952 and now today we have been depleted to the figure of 61 crores." Now, supposing, Sir, we had maintained this reserve at 148 crores, then what would have been the result? The result would have been that our receipts would have been about 80 crores only, because the difference gives a figure of 88 crores but there will be an invisible expenditure and therefore if you take an expenditure of 80 crores, if you do not curtail other expenditure on Government account then the commercial expenditure will have to be cut down by 80 crores and if you cut down the commercial expenditure by 80 crores then there will be a very big fall in the revenue, which is usually from 25 to 30 per cent—(Interruptions)—and therefore this 80 crores fall in the imports would have given you a revenue fall, including the fall that there would have been in the Sales tax, of the order of 25 to 30 crores of rupees. Now if 25 to 30 crores of rupees had fallen then this year's current Budget would have shown a deficit equivalent to that amount. And that deficit must have been met out of the capital budget for this year or by additional taxation. Now, Members will agree with me that the country could not have borne this additional taxation. Even the taxation of the order of 5 crores has been criticised by the Members. I do not see whether the country could have borne that. If that would not have been a practical proposition, then the amount that has been provided in the capital budget of this year for the development projects and for defence expenditure and for maintenance of social services this would have had to be cut down by that amount. Then what would have been the result. The effect of this recession would have been concentrated in the budget proposals of one year; instead of this, Government has spread over the effects of this recession by liberal import policy over a longer period. Not only that as I have pointed out before it has maintained its expenditure—normal revenue expenditure—at the level of the first year and it has also been able to make provision for more development projects and for more social services.

There has been a fall in the export earnings. Now let us see whether fall in the export earnings could have been stopped or Government could do anything to prevent this fall in the prices of jute and cotton. Sir, you know that this fall in the cotton and jute exports is due to certain world factors. You know, Sir, that the boom was receding, world recession had begun, re-armament had stopped due to which stock-piling was expected. There was a general fall in world demand. Take the case of cotton. The fall in cotton is due to the fact that, as I have said, there is a recession in demand. Then there was over-production in the world and there was more production than there was demand for it. Then there was also the policy or support scheme of the American Government to their growers by way of advancing loans to the various countries of the world who are normally their customers for buying cotton from America. These are the reasons and you know, Sir, there was overproduction of textile goods. Last year

also it was so, and that had its effect, and this year also the cotton was not selling at the prices at which it was selling before. But we have been able, Sir, to maintain the volume of exports both in cotton and jute though we have not been able to fetch the same prices as before. You will see, Sir, the total sales this season from 1st July up to date are 14 lakh 33 thousand bales and actual exports from first July have already been 9 lakh 85 thousand bales. Now this has already been registered—14,33,000 bales overseas as against 13,73,000, the highest figure that we have ever exported before, which was in the year 1951. Now we have been able to sell 14,33,000 bales and the actual exports are 9,85,000 bales. There are still 4 months to go. Therefore, Sir, I feel this year we will be able to maintain the same level as the highest level reached in previous years; probably we may be able to sell even more.

Now, Sir, with regard to jute from 1st July, 1952 to 8th February, 1953, 47.4 lakh bales have been sold. Actual exports are 27.8 lakhs bales. Here also we have been able to maintain the same volume as the average of previous years, rather more than the average exports of the previous years. We hope that we will end the year with the same volume, if not more. Therefore, Sir, if the price factors, economic factors, etc., which have been responsible for the fall in prices, and Government had no control over them are excluded from consideration, the Government has been able to maintain the same level of exports even in the depression year and that has been possible due, Sir, to the vigorous economic policy adopted by the Government. We have made, Sir, all possible efforts by exploring different foreign countries, diversifying trade, entering into bilateral agreements, making barter deals, standardizing the quality of our commodities in order to secure the best possible prices for our exports and everything possible. It would, however, be only lack of realism or ignorance of facts if anybody were to imagine that by internal measures alone we could undo the adverse effect of international factors. This is particularly applicable to cotton and other commodities where our exportable surplus is a fraction of the quantities entering into world trade. Nevertheless both in jute and in cotton the Government has from time to time adopted internal measures to stabilize prices in order to protect both the growers and the traders. In the case of jute for example immediately after our decision not to devalue our rupee the prices came down to Rs. 10 per maund or so but introduction of support scheme helped to raise these appreciably so that during that year the average price was Rs. 25 per maund. The support scheme was provided last year when depression set in the internal jute market. Over rupees 16 crores were invested by the Government in purchasing jute in order to stabilize prices without which both the cultivator and the trader would have been ruined. Similarly a cotton support scheme was introduced in March last year to impart stability to the internal market. However, the introduction and operation of such support schemes depend upon the resources of the Government and they cannot be carried too far and can act as a corrective measure only in conditions of temporary depression. They cannot help where overall recession of demand has occurred for the season and the total quantities available for sale in the world are more than the buyers need. There is also the consideration, particularly in the case of jute that the prices should be reasonable in order to prevent substitutes from supplanting the market.

Now, Sir, naturally a question may be asked: "Well, your support scheme; you could not bring in a support scheme. The prices were low both for cotton and jute and the cultivators had to suffer. Why

[The Honourable Mr. Fazlur Rahman.]

you have not reduced the export duty on cotton or abolish the export duty on jute?" To that the answer is that the revenue considerations could not permit a further reduction in the export duty of cotton or the abolition of export duty on jute because that would have upset the entire budgetary position and it would have made serious economic repercussions in the country. As against that a little rise in the price due to this measure that would have obtained by the cultivator, that would not have been commensurate with the loss of revenue to the Government. Now, Sir, what was better? To hug the foreign exchange reserves and upset the entire economy of the country or to allow imports keeping a necessary level of reserves for currency backing. I maintain that the latter course which was adopted by the Government was better.

Sir, too much has been made in recent months of the fall in reserves. The maintenance of a high level of reserves is not an end in itself and has no intrinsic merit. If we build up our reserves, say five times the present figures, of what practical use will be? For the purposes of currency backing a reserve of only 60 crores or so is needed and our reserves have been always adequate for the purpose. However, the real support for a country's currency is not the reserves in foreign currencies but the soundness of internal financial, fiscal and monetary policies. In any case apart from the requirements of currency's backing only about Rs. 40 crores should be needed as working balance. Until June 1952, the level of our reserves was Rs. 105 crores. Despite the restrictive measures taken by the Government in June 1952, e.g., credit controls and enhanced import duty on cotton textiles and the curtailment of O. G. L. in August 1952 and its suspension altogether in November, 1952, the level of reserves went down to Rs. 61 crores by the end of December, 1952. This was not entirely due to commercial imports but on the one hand to heavy Government imports of wheat and unexpected fall in the prices of our exports. The restrictive measures adopted are beginning to show their full effect and the reserves have already improved by over Rs. 5 crores during January and February, 1953. Their consumption, however, cannot be considered as disadvantageous as the higher level of imports enabled the satisfaction of essential requirements and helped the Central revenues. Where resources are limited and needs are persistent, one cannot afford the luxury of having high reserves, beyond a reasonable figure. Faced with similar difficult situation, other countries have sought the help of I. M. F. by borrowing foreign exchange from it, but we have not found it necessary to do so and I am sure that the need for such a measure will not arise in future.

So far, Sir, I have referred to the negative side. Now I refer to the other side; if imports had not been allowed. Imports have helped greatly in increased industrial development and enhanced internal potential by provision of capital goods and industrial requirements. It has contributed to self-sufficiency in cloth, jute manufactures, woollen goods, soap, vegetable oil, matches, glass and ceramic, which is likely to be achieved shortly. These industries have provided for increased employment.

Then, Sir, I will refer to another thing. There has been levelled criticism against imports. They say: "Even if the volume was justified, why the composition of your imports was such as to include luxury goods?".....

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta :** It cannot be justified.

**The Honourable Mr. Fazlur Rahman :** \*I am replying.

Sir, there is of course the important question of the character of commercial imports and there has been considerable criticism about it. An impression has been created that substantial foreign exchange has been spent on the import of luxury and non-essential goods. The percentages for the trade years July-June 1950-51 and 1951-52 for the various types of goods have been as follows :

Development requirements ; capital goods. Industrial raw materials. That I have termed "Development requirements and agricultural development requirements." Development requirements in 1950-51, it was 48 per cent. and in 1951-52 it was 60 per cent. and in the calendar year 1952 it was 54 per cent. "Essential consumer goods such as cloth, drugs and medicines, jute manufactures, oils, matches, etc." In 1950-51 it was 45 per cent. In 1951-52 it was 35 per cent. and in the calendar year 1952 it was 40 per cent. "Non-essential consumer goods, e.g., tea, manufactured tobacco, silk textile, tinned provision, toilet requisites, etc., which includes tooth brushes, blades, etc. That was 7 per cent. in 1950-51. Five per cent. in 1951-52 and in the calendar year 1952, it was 6 per cent. Of these the percentage for items which might be termed as luxury goods has not been more than 3 per cent. on the average. While I have indicated this composition of imports, I must again point out that while capital goods and industrial raw materials do not yield any revenue on account of import duties as they are generally duty-free, consumer goods help to sustain internal government revenues on account of the substantial import duties levied on them. If the import of such goods were to be cut out altogether, apart from the hardship it would involve and the rise of prices it would entail, there would be marked depletion of Central revenues. I would also like to point out that foreign exchange reserves without adequate internal resources have little value. This is a misunderstanding of position that sterling balances by themselves are national wealth. For the development projects, the Government has to incur rupee expenditure as well as foreign exchange expenditure.

Pakistan at its birth was forced to face two artificially and deliberately created difficulties—(1) the influx of refugees and (2) cessation of economic life. The aim of both was the same, namely, disruption of means to sustain herself. That we were able to successfully overcome these difficulties was the astounding fact of the present decade of the century. The success achieved by the Government of Pakistan was no less astounding than the fact of the birth of Pakistan itself. That we succeeded so quickly and so conclusively was, I claim, due to a good extent, to the commercial policies adopted by the Government. We were no doubt helped to a certain extent by the economic factors present in the world situation which we did not create, but which we exploited fully to our advantage.

The basic principles underlying Government's commercial policies from the very beginning can be briefly but adequately summarised as :—

- (a) strengthening the internal finances of the country,
- (b) sustaining the programme of economic development and the Defence,
- (c) providing employment for persons uprooted from their homes and to facilitate their rehabilitation,

---

\*Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

[The Honourable Mr. Fazlur Rahman.]

(d) enabling capitalisation of industry to be achieved at comparatively low cost, and

(e) bringing articles of daily consumption within reach of masses.

I have shown how greatly has the Government succeeded in their policy, and achieved the results to which their policy was directed.

Our present difficulties are due to the operation of world factors and the recession of demand for our raw materials on account of the abandonment of the stock pile programmes and the lengthening out of rearmament programmes. We are passing through a period of readjustment which naturally calls for certain changes in attitude and outlook. The period affected by conditions generated by the Korean War was not a normal period but many people in the country so got used to it that its termination has given a shock. What we should see is whether we are worse off than prior to the Korean boom. We appear to have passed through the most critical period and to have turned the corner. There seems to be no cause for undue anxiety. But there is no doubt that we should follow realistic domestic policies.

**The Honourable Khwaja Nazimuddin:** With your permission, Sir, I would like to correct, rather explain something which I omitted to say and which would lead to a misunderstanding. The *ulema* who have dissociated themselves from the direct action, support the main demand for declaring the Ahmedia community a 'minority community', but in spite of that they did not support the direct action.

**The Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali (Minister for Finance):** Sir, I am grateful to the House for the reception it has accorded to the Budget and the many kind references that have been made to me personally.

In fact, there has been hardly any serious criticism of the Budget. I greatly appreciate Prof. Chakraverty's characterization of the budget as a realistic budget. To see things as they really are is the first condition of right action. To face facts with courage and with clear vision is half the battle. I have not glossed over the difficulties, nor as Mian Iftikharuddin alleged, hidden the facts. Whatever my defects, juggling with figures is not one of them. The estimates in the Budget are not figures to be changed arbitrarily at will. They reflect the economic realities of our condition. Those economic realities can and must be changed for the better by pursuing the right policies, but until those realities are changed, the figures in the budget have got to reflect our economic situation today. One cannot juggle with these figures and produce a surplus budget or a deficit budget, at one's sweet will.

The suggestion, therefore, that I could have produced economies to the extent of Rs. 20 crores instead of economies to the extent of 15 crores that have been made, is based upon a misunderstanding of the true position. Each one of these economies represents a house-searching, one might say, by the Ministry or Department concerned, a cutting down of this service, a severe pruning here and an austerity measure there to achieve them is a task of great difficulty. Any householder knows what sort of difficulties he encounters when he has got to readjust his budget to straitened circumstances.

Before I deal with the detailed criticism of the Budget, I would like to remove a few general misconceptions. The first one relates to the Revenue Budget and the Capital Budget. It is not generally understood that our budget is in two sections—the Revenue Budget and the Capital Budget. The Revenue Budget has taxation on the receipt side. On

the expenditure side are the ordinary annual recurring activities of Government in the administrative sphere, in the sphere of Defence and so on.

Now in this section of the Budget it is a desirable thing, that the expenditure which has to be incurred year after year on the normal functions of Government, should be covered by taxation. That has been the policy we have followed so far and we shall continue following that policy. It is a sound policy of living within our means. The idea that by having a deficit in the Revenue Budget—we somehow spare the people any sacrifices, is completely mistaken.

In actual fact, in the case of deficit financing as much as in the case of taxation, the money ultimately comes out of the pockets of the people, but it comes out in the case of deficit financing for revenue purposes in a most inequitable fashion. Its burden falls mostly on the poor. It is for that reason doubly wrong that we should try not to balance our revenue budget. So far as the capital budget goes, there are three means by which we can finance it. The capital budget covers expenditure on development, capital expenditure on ordnance factories, capital expenditure on railways, etc., as well as loans to Provincial Governments for development purposes. Mainly it has to be met out of borrowings, but to the extent it can be supplemented by revenue surpluses in good years it is an advantageous thing to do. That is, when the years were good, what we tried to do in the past. When revenue surpluses were easily available, they were utilized in the capital budget for development purposes, but they never covered the whole field. It was essential for the Government to have resort to borrowings; borrowings by the State Bank in the open market through Small Savings Scheme and by other measures. To the extent that borrowings and revenue surplus do not meet our needs, we have in this sector to fall back upon what would be called deficit financing. For example, utilisation of the cash balances is deficit financing and in this sector there is no great harm in having resort to it because by development you increase the productive capacity of the country and, therefore, overcome the inflation which is engendered both by the development programme itself and by deficit financing. While here too the most desirable object would be that we should be able to finance our capital programme, by revenue surpluses and borrowings, but if it becomes necessary, there is no great harm done in having resort to deficit financing in the capital budget. The conditions today are in one sense against us; there are inflationary conditions in the country, because of shortage of food and of consumers' goods and, therefore, deficit financing should be used with discretion. Nevertheless, so urgent, so impelling in my view is the need for developing the country that, as the House has seen, sums much larger than ever before have been earmarked for the purposes of development.

The next misconception of a general character arises from not understanding the division of responsibilities between the Central and Provincial Governments. It is asked, why does not the Central Government spend more on agriculture, on education, on health, on irrigation, on various other activities that fall specifically within the Provincial spheres. The Central responsibilities in this field are confined to centrally-administered areas; otherwise they are the responsibilities of the Provincial Governments. We give the Provincial Government as much assistance as possible by way of grants and by way of loans. The revenue surpluses of the last three years amounting to over 50 crores

[The Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali.]

have been put in fund—social uplift fund, agricultural development funds, various other funds—mainly for the purpose of giving grants to the Provincial Governments to provide a better standard of social services, more agricultural facilities, etc. Again, loans are given by the Centre to the Provincial Governments. For example, this year we are providing something like 19 crores for loans to the Provincial Governments including about 7 crores loan for irrigation purposes. Here the direct responsibility is not that of the Central Government; the direct responsibility is that of the Provincial Governments, but we do give them assistance. The criticism that the amount provided in the central budget earmarked separately for irrigation, for agriculture, for education, health, is not very large, arises from this misunderstanding of the position. On the other hand, in certain sectors of development, e.g., railways, or certain specified industries, the responsibility is directly that of the Central Government. And therefore, you find direct provision by the Central Government of considerable amounts for industrial development. It is this which led to criticism in the House that the Budget is more urban than rural. In actual fact, the development of industries benefits, in my view, the rural population as much as it does the urban population. After all, industries utilise the agricultural produce of the country and to the extent that there is greater demand for them and to the extent that raw produce is processed inside the country, it is of benefit to the cultivator and to the grower. Therefore, the distinction which is sought to be drawn between urban and rural budgets is not a very sensible distinction to draw in the circumstances of our economy. Thirdly, Sir, the talk about rich man's budget and our poor man's budget is a remnant of old days. If certain remissions on taxation are given, people say this is a poor man's budget; if remissions of taxation of that particular type are not given, they say it is a rich man's budget. This type of distinction frankly is meaningless. The development of the country is possible only by raising the national income of the country and it is only thus that we can help everybody in the country. And how can the national income be raised? By investing larger sums and by further investment of capital. Whether it is done by the State or whether it is done through private enterprise, is a separate matter, but on this there is no difference of opinion in the world anywhere that national income can only be raised by investing large sums of capital in the country. This is true as much of capitalistic economy, as of a communist or socialist economy. So the really vital question is: is the country being developed as rapidly as possible? Are the resources of the country being utilised towards this end? It is from that point of view that the Budget or the efforts of the Government should be judged. This year's budget presented difficulties of a very high order. We were faced in the course of one year with a fall in revenue of the magnitude of 50 crores. Leaving aside the normal surplus which the boom years were giving us, there was a real fall of 30 crores which somehow had to be met. It is very easy now to say why Government allowed this expenditure to increase, and was it not extravagant, wasteful expenditure. It is a very easy thing to say. Nevertheless the fact is that there is always pressure on Government performing functions of various kinds and rendering public services. Any Government, any democratic Government in particular has to response to that, has to provide more and more of those services and under that pressure as the revenue position improves commitments for one reason or another expand and increase. All of this is not wasteful expenditure. In fact

a great part of it is useful expenditure. It serves its purpose. But unfortunately we are now confronted with a fall of this serious magnitude. The reasons for the fall I have already explained in the budget speech and I need not go over them again. One has therefore got to readjust and economy has to be transformed into austerity. I say again, as every householder who has got to readjust his expenditure realises, it is a very difficult process. To give one example—Foreign Affairs. Our expenditure in the revised budget of this year is 2 crores 22 lakhs. For the next year after a considerable amount of scrutiny we came to the conclusion that apart from the new commitment on the passport system with India it should be cut down to a crore and 50 lakhs, a cut of over 70 lakhs. Now a cut of 70 lakhs in a budget of two crores 22 lakhs is about 1/3rd. What does it mean when you translate it into terms of Missions? A certain amount can be gained by economies as such—less entertainment, less travelling, less this and that. But there comes a stage when this is not enough. You go a stage further. In certain missions ambassadors may have to be recalled leaving just a skeleton staff. Pakistan is not the only country which has had to face this problem. Other countries have faced similar problems and have met in about the same way. There is thus a real difference between ordinary economy and the austerity which is imposed upon a country when it gets into difficult financial circumstances. The first effort of Government when confronted with this situation was to meet as much as possible of this fall in revenue by economies in expenditure. That was a right thing to do. The tax-payer's burden must not be increased if it can be possibly helped. We set about it and have struggled the whole of this winter with this problem. It is not a matter only for the Finance Ministry—of course in one way the main burden of it falls upon the Finance Ministry. It had to take the initiative, the lead in this matter. But every Ministry had to do a searching of its household affairs and a very thorough searching too. The Cabinet itself devoted a very great deal of time and energy to the consideration of this question. It was in those circumstances that much as I would have liked to spread the cuts over each detailed head, it was not found possible within the time we had at our disposal to do so. There was criticism of this and justifiable criticism too. Personally I agree with this criticism. I would have liked very much that the budget had been presented to the House without any lump sum cuts but with the cuts spread over each detailed head. I can assure the House that I and my staff tried our hardest about it. But the budget has got to be presented within a certain time. Documents have to be printed and all the work has to be done within a strict schedule. How to effect an economy to the extent of 15 crores in a budget of about hundred crores had presented a very serious, a very difficult problem. There are some heads of expenditure that could not be touched, for example Interest on Securities, on Government loans. Such charges have to be paid in full. Then each Ministry is charged with performing certain useful functions, and is very rightly concerned that those functions should not be impaired in any way. It is in the best interest of the whole country that for the proper functioning of each Ministry a certain amount of money be spent. If the amount of money is cut down the function may be impaired. Although economy has to be effected to the maximum extent possible, there is a limit beyond which it must not be pushed because if you push it beyond that point, it would impair the efficiency of the functions. Apart from this work, there was also the problem of finding as much revenue as possible by strengthening the revenue administration, by stopping all leakages, all evasions of revenue. It was under those circumstances that I had

[The Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali.]

as a temporary measure to strengthen my own Ministry. It is only those who are familiar with the work—with the enormous work involved in an operation of this sort who can appreciate how high was the pressure on my staff and why it had to be strengthened. I have explained in my budget speech, what type of economies are being effected. The main principle is that the greatest possible economy should be exercised and if it is at all humanly possible there should be no retrenchment. A Committee is being set up in order to examine each establishment to see to what extent it is surplus. Again there is an impression that if we can now make cuts we must have been extravagant before. It is not necessarily so. Government's work is not static. It remains moving and it moves in different directions. When one thing is expanding and growing another activity is contracting; new burdens are taken on and new expenditure has to be incurred. Again if I may give the example of Foreign Affairs, during the course of this year, a new burden has been taken on with the introduction of passport system.

Now this is going to cost 18 lakhs of rupees in one year. This has been necessitated by a certain set of circumstances and it is to be given effect to. That expenditure has got to be incurred. This is a new liability which has been taken because of certain political consideration. So on it goes on all the time varying. There are new things which arise. There may be certain old extensions, gradually found to be too much at a time like this when there is a fall in the revenue. Consequently a drastic examination of the thing is necessary. It is proper time when the whole machinery of Government, you might say, is to be overhauled and examined. Of course the House had set up an Economic Committee. The recommendations of this Committee had been implemented. Quite frankly they did not go far enough. If we could effect necessary economy by accepting all the recommendations of the Economic Committee of this House, there would be no need for all this thorough survey. But they do not unfortunately go far enough. It is necessary for us to secure much bigger economies.

**Mr. President:** We may now rise for prayers and you may resume your speech after we come back.

The House will rise till 25 minutes to 7.

(The House then rose for prayers.)

The Constituent Assembly (Legislature) re-assembled at 6-35 P.M. after the *Maghrib* prayers, Mr. President (The Honourable Mr. Tamizuddin Khan) in the Chair.

**The Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali:** Sir, the suggestion has been made that there should have been cuts in the pay of the higher paid employees of Government. This matter was also given very serious consideration by the Cabinet but the total amount of savings that one gets by imposing cuts of 10 to 15 per cent on salaries of Rs. 1,000 and above, is of the order of 18 lakhs, so that the sum saved is not a very significant amount. It was felt that on the whole it would be better to introduce a scheme of compulsory savings for Government servants. This scheme of compulsory savings—the exact details are being worked out—would apply to all classes of Government servants and would serve a double purpose: on the one hand it would provide funds to Government for development purposes; on the other hand, it would promote

the habit of thrift among Government employees and would give them at the time of retirement a sizeable sum either to invest or spend as they liked. Looking at it from an overall national point of view, it was felt that a scheme of compulsory savings would be much better than cuts in pay. It would have been very harsh to introduce both at the same time; to have a cut in pay as well as compulsory savings scheme.

Finally, a great deal of sympathy has been expressed for the lower ranges of Government servants: that they should not be subject to retrenchment. In the Budget speech I have already given an assurance that there is no question of retrenching any permanent staff. Regarding temporary employees, it is not possible to give any definite indication until the Committee, which is being appointed to go into the question of the strength of establishments, has submitted its report. Again, temporary employees are of two classes: those who are employed in purely temporary vacancies, with less than a year's service, employed in leave vacancies or in short term vacancies or in short term appointments. When that particular period of service expires the employee goes. This is a normal thing that happens year after year; it is not a question of retrenchment. There is, on the other hand, a certain class of temporary employees who have been going on from year to year, although they are temporary.....

**Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan (Punjab: Muslim):** Like the Constituent Assembly!

**The Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali:** They remain as temporary employees.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta:** For how many years? Will they still be called 'temporary' after putting in 15 years' service?

**The Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali:** There may be some such cases, although it is abnormal. In certain cases the exact strength of establishments has not been worked out, the seniorities of people have not been fixed for various reasons. Orders were issued two years ago making 80 per cent. of the staff permanent and in most Ministries and Departments this has been done. It may not have been done in some cases. Still there is a certain class of people who are temporary year after year. Now, there are two considerations here: one is: is it right for Government to be keeping people in employment even though there is no work for them if as a result of the reorganization of Ministries or of a reduction in work it is found that the number of people is more than the volume of work justifies? Should these people be kept in employment because to the extent of their being kept in employment expenditure is being incurred without any purpose and the tax-payer's money is being wasted? As against that, there is the sympathy felt by everybody for throwing out of employment a certain number of people. Personally I and other members of Government have a great deal of sympathy and that is why every effort is being made to find economies in other directions and it is only after this examination is complete that a decision could be taken one way or the other. I can, however, assure the House that the sentiments expressed in the course of the debate in the House would be taken fully into consideration.

**Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin:** Will there be a reduction in the number of Ministers?

**The Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali:** I could not say. Ministers too are temporary! (Laughter).

**Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin :** That is why I asked the question.

**Moulavi Ebrahim Khan (East Bengal : Muslim) :** Possibly the answer expected on that side of the House was whether there would be any inclusion !

**Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin :** No, we are not Muslim Leagues.

**The Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali :** It was only after economies had been pushed to the farthest limit, that could effect an economy of 15 crores in a budget of about 100 crores. This is a very big effort. Indeed it was only after this had been done and it was found that still there was a deficit of the order of 5 crores and odd that I turned to measures for taxation. Here the effort was that new taxation should fall on items which would cause the least dislocation to the economy and the least burden to the common man. Wines, beer, etc., I do not think anybody in the House feels any particular sympathy for this ?

**Mian Muhammad Iftikharuddin :** Only cigarettes.

**The Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali :** As regards cigarettes, Mian Iftikharuddin would have seen from the list published in the papers that the increases are insignificant.

**Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya (East Bengal : General) :** Then add something more !

**The Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali :** I will bear that in mind. Next, the excise duty on cloth has been raised from Rs. 5 to Rs. 12½ per cent. We would get a crore and 65 lakhs from that. Now this would, according to my calculations, take away only 1/10th of the extra profits that have accrued to the mills by the fall in the price of raw cotton alone, so that if a fair price were to be charged by the manufacturers there should actually be a decrease in the price of cloth.

**Shri Dharendra Nath Dutta :** It will completely fall on the consumers.

**The Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali :** The fact that it might fall upon the consumers is one factor. There is the other factor, that prices in the country, generally speaking are tending to rise for reasons I have already explained. It is for these reasons that I indicated in the budget speech that measures of price control were under active preparation, and would shortly be introduced. I need not give the details of these to the House as I do not think it would be in public interest to disclose them in advance but I can assure the House that measures are actively under preparation and will shortly be introduced. As regards sugar, I have taken advantage of the fall in the price of sugar overseas to increase the rate of import duty. I am confident that this will not lead to any increase in the price of sugar here. One can speak with confidence because the price of sugar is controlled by Government. Mr. Ahmad Jaffer thought that possibly in the course of the year prices overseas might rise ; possibly they might do so but personally I doubt very much whether they would. The trends are in the other direction. On the whole I expect there will be no occasion for a rise in the price of sugar. Finally there is an increase in the duty on motor spirit. A great deal of the motor spirit is used by owners of private cars. I think that class can afford to bear the extra cost. A certain amount is used by buses, lorries, etc., for transport. But I am told that most of the new buses run on diesel on which there is no increase in duty. Nevertheless there has been a certain increase in fares but again I do not think it should be too much. Here I was faced with a problem because of our

difficulties of foreign exchange. The normal thing would have been to introduce rationing. But rationing brings its own difficulties—extra cost, black-marketing, and various things. On the whole I thought it better to introduce a measure of rationing by increasing the duty and thereby getting more revenue. These, Sir, are the various measures of taxation that have been adopted, in order to fill the gap. I think on the whole they are such as to fulfil the conditions that I mentioned in the beginning that is to say they cause no hurt to the country's economy and would be borne by classes that can on the whole afford to bear them. At the same time I have given certain reliefs and concessions mainly to stimulate investment in industry. To my mind as I indicated in the budget the remedy for our ills is production and more production and for that investment in industry is essential. Therefore I have not only provided the largest sums possible for development purposes but have also offered every possible inducement for investment in industry. One of the most important measures in this direction is the exemption of approved industrial investments from estate duty. I am submitting a Bill to the House for strengthening the procedure for collecting Estate Duty in other directions. But at the same time I am proposing to exempt from estate duty approved industrial investments. Mr. Gazder asked whether this covered only public companies or also private companies. My answer is, both. Public and private companies, family concerns or any other concern so long as it falls within approved industrial undertakings would be eligible. A list of these approved industrial undertakings will be published in due course. Any industry which is not in that list could apply for inclusion. If it is thought to be a suitable case it will be included. All investment in these approved industrial undertakings will be exempt from estate duty. This I regard as a very important measure. If people who have landed property or investment in commercial concerns want to escape estate duty, the way is open to them now and they can transfer their capital to industry and save themselves from this duty. Mr. Ahmad Jaffer raised a point about the taxation of refugees. His point was that refugee taxes which are, generally speaking in the shape of surcharge on other taxes, are charged from refugees also. The whole of our tax structure is such that I could not make an exemption in favour of refugees. And, certainly if a refugee is in a position to pay tax, I see no reason why he should be exempted. The purpose of levying refugee tax is to help the poorer refugees. I see no harm, no inequity in refugees who can afford to pay being subject to this tax.

Mr. Gazder said that I had made no reference to the question of paying compensation to Sind for the separation of Karachi. Possibly he overlooked the paragraph in my budget speech dealing with this subject. I have indicated there that I had made another *ad hoc* payment of Rs. one crore in addition to the *ad hoc* payment of Rs. one crore which had been made some years earlier. A committee has been set up consisting of representatives of the Central Government and the Government of Sind and presided over by an impartial and independent Chairman—the Auditor-General of Pakistan. That Committee has not yet submitted its report. About a year ago the Chairman asked both sides, i.e., the representatives of the Central Government and the Sind Government, to submit their final views on this question. The Central Government representatives have done so but the Sind Government representatives have not yet done so. When their views are received, the Committee will meet and consider the matter further. I am distressed to refer to Mr. Wahiduzzaman's speech, giving certain facts and figures about the distribution of foreign ex-

[The Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali.]

change earning, revenue and expenditure, loans, etc., between East Pakistan and West Pakistan. I am distressed for two reasons: first, that the figures are wrong and misleading....

**Mr. Wahiduzzaman** (East Bengal : Muslim) : Not loans.

**The Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali** : Not loans ! All right ! First, Sir, the figures are wrong and misleading. Second, that they raise a controversy which in my view is in every way harmful and inimical to the integrity and unity of the country. I wish to say no more on the subject.

Then, Sir, allegations have been made that the financial policy is somehow detrimental to East Bengal. These allegations are without any foundation. Last year an independent expert, Sir Jeremy Raisman, came out to Pakistan with the consent of the Central and the Provincial Governments, to make recommendations on the allocation of revenue between the Central and the Provincial Governments. His recommendations were accepted by the Central and the Provincial Governments, including the East Bengal Government. I announced those in my budget speech last year. After that, there should have been no question of this sort and this particular controversy should have been set at rest. I would like to give the House some idea of the effect of those recommendations. In the revised budget of the current year, the allocations under the Raisman Award, are to the extent of Rs. twenty crores and twenty-nine lakhs, of which nine crores and eighty lakhs go to East Bengal and ten crores and forty-nine lakhs go to other Units. Practically half and half. In the budget estimates of the current year 1953-54, the allocations are seventeen crores thirty-five lakhs, of which nine crores sixty-eight lakhs go to East Bengal and seven crores and sixty-seven lakhs go to other Units. That should dispose of any allegations regarding financial policy acting to the detriment of East Bengal.

Finally, Sir, I would say that the next year's budget, is a transition budget and in that sense it is a landmark in the financial history of Pakistan. Mr. Shamsur Rahman in his speech this morning got to the heart of the matter when he characterised this budget as a landmark in the history of Pakistan. I am very glad that he saw the significance of the change that had taken place. It marks the transition from a wholly agricultural economy to a partly industrialised economy. I have given details in the budget speech of the steps that have been taken and what progress has been made in the sphere of industrialisation. Nearly six lakh spindles have been set up in the course of the year, or are rather in the course of being set up, so that as against one lakh and seventy-seven thousand spindles, at the time of partition, there would be nearly ten lakh spindles now. This is a measure of the progress that has been made—I am merely giving one illustration. But what is the significance of this to the economy in general ? The significance is two-fold : in the first place it means that we shall be progressively less at the mercy of world forces in the matter of prices of raw materials. By processing our raw materials ourselves and by thus entering the stage of industrialisation we shall be less at the mercy of foreign forces. That is a most significant step forward.

The second matter to which I would draw attention is in the field of Government finance. For our revenues we shall be less dependent in future upon import and export duties and shall be depending more and

more upon duties raised on our own internal production, which again means a move in the forward direction. We shall be less at the mercy of world forces whether from the point of view of our economy or from the point of view of Government revenues. No economy, as I pointed out in the budget speech, is wholly immune from the operation of world forces. Not even the strongest economies are wholly immune and it will take us a long time, the hard work of a whole generation, to become properly and really industrialised. But this budget, I would say makes a significant change. It is the transition from a wholly agricultural economy to a semi-industrialised economy. Now it is for that reason; because of the greater independence it will give us, because of the greater national income it will give us, because it will enable us to raise our standards in every way, in education, in public health and so on, that we must go forward come what may, with our development programmes. That is why, Sir, in this year's budget we have provided, in spite of all our difficulties, in spite of the dangers of inflation, far much larger sums than ever before and, God willing, we shall continue to do so in an ever increasing measure. As the development programme proceeds, larger and larger sums are necessary. In the first year of a project all that we need really spend is on a survey. That may be a matter of some thousands. Next year preliminary work is needed and that might not be much, but a year later when machinery arrives and buildings go up, the expenditure may go up to crores. So as the years proceed, our development expenditure will go on increasing. There is another factor also that as our plans are implemented our own technicians will have been trained, our capacity for getting these works done will have increased. This year, we are providing, in one way or another, that is to say, either directly by the Centre or in loans by the Provincial Governments, about 56 crores, another 20 crores on capital expenditure on Defence, another 8 crores out of other developmental funds—a total of Rs. 84 crores. Now all this is additional to the revenue budget.

I drew attention, in the very beginning of my speech, to the fact that people are inclined to pay attention far more to the Revenue Budget and ignore the Capital Budget. Our Revenue Budget is of the order of about Rs. 100 crores, but, in addition, we are spending something like 84 crores next year on various schemes of development, and as I said before, in future years this expenditure will be of a higher order still. For we must go forward. The most important condition for going forward is greater savings. Mr. Nur Ahmad made some very wise remarks about the necessity of increasing national savings. I emphasised that point last year and, again, this year in the Budget speech. It is a point of the highest importance today. As compared with other nations, we are saving very little. In the United Kingdom, U. S. A., Japan and other countries investments in relation to national income are of the order of 18 per cent or so. In Australia, they are as high as 30 per cent. In Pakistan, the estimates vary, but the lowest estimate is 2.5 per cent and the highest is 4 per cent. Our national income is very low and the percentage of it that we are devoting to capital work is also low, so that both in terms of ratio and in terms of quantity, the amount that the nation as a whole is saving for investment is very, very little. It must be increased. It is only in that way that we can develop rapidly. It is a grave defect, in my view, in our national character, that we are inclined not only to spend, but to overspend. We must get rid of this defect. We must make every effort to save more. It requires the cooperation of the Provincial Governments. It requires the cooperation of the public. It requires the cooperation of every single person, high or low, if we are to develop properly. I have

[The Honourable Mr. Mohamad Ali.]

indicated in the Budget speech various measures which are to be taken for this purpose, but these by themselves will get us nowhere at all if the habits and aptitudes of our people remain the same. We must carry on the most intensive propaganda on this point. I seek the cooperation of the Honourable members, of the Press and of every agency for spreading information. It is only thus that we can hope to go forward and to develop our resources and our national income to the highest degree.

Thank you, Sir.

**Mr. President:** The House stands adjourned till 10 A.M. tomorrow.

---

The Assembly then adjourned till Ten of the Clock, on Friday, the 20th March, 1953.