

Mr. B. Das (Orissa: General) : Sir, I was very glad to hear my friend Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, speak about provincial revenues and income. He was a party before 1933 to the distribution of taxation under the 1935 Act. It is galling to me that Honourable Members of this House should try to perpetuate the taxation arrangements under the 1935 Act. What is the basis of that Act ? That Act gave all powers and all resources to a foreign Government. That devil of a foreign Government has quit India but the devil's system still continues. The Act of 1935 gave all resources to the Centre so that the Centre could rule and dominate and spend the country's resources as it liked. The Centre had no responsibility to the people of India except to send them to jails when it liked. Since the 15th of this month, we have a people's Government. This report is the fourth report that we are discussing, and I fail to observe that the Union Powers Committee's report is drafted in any democratic spirit. I am very glad that two gentlemen, Sri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and Sri Gaganvihari Lalubhai Mehta, spoke of social welfare and social justice. I was pleasantly surprised to hear these two gentlemen, situated in high places as they are and situated far above the people as they are, speak of social welfare and social justice. I think Sri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar who is a member of the Union Powers Committee has failed to give consideration to the primary duty of the State to render social justice to the people. We are not going to give powers to the Government, to the ministry, only for them to continue the policies of the foreign administration which were expensive and top-heavy. Defence, of course, there should be defence. Will defence suit the national temperament, the national requirement of India, or will it be in the line of the capitalist Western nations like the U.S.A. and England ? I do not think that at any stage the members of the Union Powers Committee of the Union Constitution Committee had it in their minds that India's temperament will require a different orientation in the policy of expenditure at the Centre.

Sir, nobody wants Charity from the Central Government. I do not want that, though I belong to the poorest province, Orissa, which had a *per capita*, expenditure of Rs. 1-8-0 before the war but, there should be an equitable distribution of taxation. The Central Government, including the Governor-General, or the President who will be here in six months' time, and the Ministers, must think of their primary duty of social welfare. Nowhere in the Union Constitution or even in the Union Powers Committee's report have I found any definition of the primary duty of the Central Government. Is it only to assume all powers ? Certainly not. We will have to conceive of a system of administration so that the largest amount of taxation that will come from the people should go back to the people. It, should not be spent in manufacturing armaments or in manufacturing atomic bombs. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar analysed provincial taxation and showed how provinces are kept merely on sustenance allowances. The foreign Government at the Centre wanted only cannon fodder from the provinces. People were driven by hunger and starvation to join the army, not, a voluntary army, to defend the British Empire, not so much the Indian Empire. This is the third time I am appealing for social justice and social security. It is understood from the press reports that the Union Constitution Bill is in the drafting or semi-drafting stage. It is no use Government assuming all powers. We may think we will function as the legislature, but the residuary power is vested in the Government, in the executive. I find from the Union Powers Committee's report that the tendency is that they want further powers, that they want Section 126 (a) should be incorporated in the Union Constitution Bill, so that the President, now the Governor-General, and the Cabinet will have immense

pourers.

Why this hankering, why this hungering in some minds amongst my colleagues here for these intense executive powers to be concentrated in the hands of the President or the Ministry ? The legislature must exercise its democratic functions and the people must control through the legislature the actions of the executive which should conform to democratic principles. I do not find any spirit of democracy there, Sir.

We have received the second report of the Advisory Committee. We have received many reports so far--which is not the subject matter of discussion here. There have been recommended certain concessions to the minority communities. Who wants little concessions ? We want our rights and privileges and we do not wish to hand over all our resources to a group of ministers. We do not want to hand over all our resources for carrying on the Government. What we want is that our resources should be so distributed that it should be spent for the welfare of the people. I am therefore grateful to Sri Alladi. that he mentioned it and I am also grateful to my friend Sri Gaganvihari Lalubhai Mehta, ex-President of Indian Chamber of Commerce, who thinks in terms of welfare and economies through development. He wants big capitalists to develop India. I want fifty per cent. of the taxes of India should filtrate for the common good, to remove hunger, to remove starvation from the door of the people and the standard of living of the people should be better. But if we create classes of capitalists who will be super-capitalists we can never bring up the level of the common masses to that standard. Not that I am opposed to big industries, but I do not want the House should be enamoured of the sympathy of the big capitalists that they think in terms of economic expansion and economic development of India. The Government is our own today and no Government Members has participated in the discussions we are having today. As Members of the Constituent Assembly they ought to tell us what is their attitude, what is their line of thinking. I am not talking as a Member of the legislature, I am talking as a Member of this House. If the attitude of those who are our representatives in the Government is that the common mass, the common welfare of the people of India is their lookout, their main and primary duty, then, Sir, this Union Powers Committee's report, the underlying spirit of the report of this Union Powers Committee, should be scrapped. The Union Constitution should be so framed so that the resources of India, the intelligence of India, of the best economic thought of India, should be developed for the progressive benefit of the masses of India. That spirit I have not seen and I am very sorry that the Committee, however expert they were, however eminent they were as legal luminaries or financial experts, they have never bent their thought to it and I hope after today's discussion either the Union Powers Committee report is thrown back to the Committee again or when the Union Constitution Bill is drafted and placed before us they will develop that sense of duty to the millions.