

**Speech of the Hon'ble Sri Harekrushna
Mahtab, Prime Minister, Orissa, in
introducing the Revised Budget Estimates
of the Province of Orissa for the year
1946-47**

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SIR,

In presenting the Budget for the current financial year 1946-47, I would forewarn the members not to look upon these financial proposals as purely of the present Government, although they take the entire responsibility for them. The unusual circumstances in which a Revised Budget is presented to the Assembly in the middle of the financial year, after more than five months of the year to which these estimates relate have already passed, are well known to the House. A Budget for the year 1946-47 had been prepared and sanctioned by the then Governor in exercise of the powers assumed under the Proclamation under section 93 of the Government of India Act. If that regime had continued the Budget sanctioned by the Governor with supplementary estimates to the extent necessary would have remained in force for the whole year. But since the section 93 administration came to an end on the 22nd April last and elected representatives of the people took charge of Government on the 23rd April, 1946, the Budget sanctioned by the Governor ceased to have force and the balance of the grants which remained unspent on the 22nd April could not be available for further expenditure. The unspent balance lapsed so to speak and fresh grants have to be voted by the Assembly for expenditure from the 23rd April, 1946 to the end of the current financial year. This being the statutory provision regarding the Budget, we had to accept the Governor's Budget as the basis, for almost all the major items of expenditure had already been sanctioned and a start given to them on the 1st April. With such review as was possible under the circumstances the same Budget with the additions of expenditure on post-war schemes is now presented to you on our responsibility.

Although we are concerned with expenditure with effect from the date we assumed office, i.e., on the 23rd April, the entire Revised Budget for the whole of the financial year has been placed before you.

The method which has been adopted here is to make the Revised Estimates of the expenditure for the whole of the current financial year on the basis of the latest available information. Those estimates will be found in column 2 of the Revised Budget. In column 3 has been shown the expenditure incurred up to the 22nd April 1946. Since accounts are compiled for complete months and appropriation audit is conducted only against the sums provided for the whole year, the figures shown as expenditure up to the 22nd April 1946 include expenditure for the whole of April 1946 in the case of pay heads and 22/30 of actual expenditure for the month of

April 1946 in the case of other heads. The Assembly will be requested to discuss (and in the case of votable expenditure, to vote) such sums (which cannot be accurately specified) as, together with the sums spent up to the 22nd April, 1946, would make up the Revised estimated expenditure of the whole year. The result will then be that the total sum provided for the whole year will be equal to the Revised Estimates for the whole year and appropriation audit will be conducted against those total Revised Estimates. I believe, I am now clear why the total Revised Estimate is placed before the House though the House is really concerned only with the portion of the expenditure occurring since the 23rd April, 1946 inclusive.

The Budget and the explanatory memorandum on it is with the members and I do not think it necessary for me to explain again in my speech the items of revenue and expenditure. But I would like to draw the attention of the members to some of the most important features of the Budget for their very earnest consideration. First I would draw their attention to the pace of change which has overtaken our budgetary position in the course of the last 8 or 9 years by comparing the figures of revenue and expenditure as shown in the Budget of 1937-38 with those in the present one. In 1937-38 the total revenue was Rs. 1,84,66,000 while the total expenditure was Rs. 1,75,78,000. It was a nice little square Budget. But now the total provincial receipts are Rs. 2,92,04,000 and the total expenditure is Rs. 3,41,56,000. To both the sides is to be added the sum of Rs. 1,13,83,085 being the contribution of Government of India to Orissa for the current year for post-war development schemes. This year's Budget, therefore, shows an estimate of revenue at Rs. 4,05.87 lakhs and expenditure on revenue account at Rs. 4,55.39 lakhs. This means an expected revenue deficit of Rs. 49.52 lakhs which will be met from the opening balance of the year amounting to Rs. 64.65 lakhs. The balance in the Government account, therefore, will fall down to Rs. 15.13 lakhs at the close of the year.

The budgetary position of the Province can be further explained thus—with an income of Rs. 2,92,04,000 the current financial year began with the first edition expenditure, that is established expenditure of Rs. 2,66,37,000 thus leaving a balance of only Rs. 25,67,000 for any new expenditure for the current year. But new schemes which are not included in the post-war schemes had to be added to the tune of Rs. 75,19,000 and hence the deficit of Rs. 49,52,000.

Then again the post-war development schemes for which provision has been made in the present Budget entails a recurring expenditure of Rs. 34,07,568 which will be met from the provincial account when the contribution from Government of India is terminated at the end of five years, if not earlier. These post-war

schemes, include opening of B.A. and B.Sc. classes in colleges in district headquarters, medical college and a host of other educational, agricultural and other development institutions of various kinds, the details of which the Hon'ble Members will find at the end of this Explanatory Memorandum of the Budget which has been circulated along with the Budget. The recurring expenditure on account of the post-war development schemes will increase from year to year and at the end of five years, the recurring expenditure of the Province will have been increased by about one crore and a half.

The picture which I have drawn up before the House to depict the real budgetary position of the Province is gloomy indeed. But there is absolutely no cause for despair. Let not our thought move in the direction of dropping all the post-war schemes and also some of the non-post-war ones which have been sanctioned this year.

In order to avoid worry and action, let us not reconcile ourselves with the lot that we had in 1945-46 and have the satisfaction of a square budget. It is not the accounts in the budget that should really matter for the growth of a nation, but on the contrary it is the development of a nation that should regulate the accounts of its budget. The way in which many smaller countries than even the Province of Orissa have developed themselves elsewhere and are developing now in spite of the colossal destruction wrought upon them by the last devastating war, entirely depending on loan and help received from other more fortunately situated countries should be the way for this Province too, if it at all desires to live in the country and in the world with pride and glory. Even if this little Province so chooses, it cannot live according to the old standards of even five years back. It cannot live in seclusion in the midst of all other provinces and all other countries frantically busy with developments in all directions. Our youths will not rest satisfied with the old standard of living. Our services will not rest contented with the old scales of pay. Our mind will refuse to keep confined within the four dark corners of the Province. If the old conditions are forced on the Province by avoidable circumstances, the inevitable result will be ever-growing inferiority complex resulting in complete subservience of this once proud race to others which are more virile and more developed. If the Province does not make a move and compete with others, posterity will blame the leadership of the present generation as incompetent. Here to-day we are in a cross road. We can, if we like, steer the wheel to reach the destination of glory and prosperity or if we so choose, we may accelerate our speed towards poverty and ignominy. We, as Government, have chosen the way to development and prosperity; by development I mean, physical, spiritual and economic development of the Province. If our grip on the steering is firm and the whole machinery of

administration does its work properly and if there is no obstruction on the way from our masters, the people of the Province, we believe we will be able to make such a headway in a few years, that the whole character of the Budget as has been presented this year will be completely changed and the prospect of a square budget from even the view point of accounts will be brighter.

A deficit Budget as has been presented this year will naturally raise the most pertinent question as to whether the expenditure cannot be retrenched on any account. I admit we have not found time this year to look into this question. It will be our constant endeavour to reduce expenditure without affecting efficiency and dropping any of the programme of development. It may be that along with the change of political authority of the country, the provinces may have the power to curtail some of the items of expenditure over which they have no effective control now. But there seems to be no great scope for retrenchment in this year's Budget, as far as I have been able to judge during this short period of about four months I am in office. The following figures showing the percentage of expenditure on different heads of the Budget in 1937-38 and in 1946-47 do not encourage me to think of retrenchment at present.

Statement of expenditure and percentage of expenditure to total Revenue in 1937-38

		Trs.	
Total Revenue	1,84,66
Total Expenditure	1,75,78

Head of expenditure	Total expenditure	Percentage of expenditure to total revenue	Percentage of expenditure to total expenditure
	Trs.		
Civil Administration	.. 75,50	40.9	42.9
Police	.. 24,21	13.2	13.8
Education	.. 26,05	14.2	14.8
Medical and Public Health	.. 10,75	5.9	6.1
Agriculture	.. 1,63	.9	.9
Veterinary	.. 1,03	.6	.58
Co-operation	.. 1,08	.7	.61
Industries	.. 2,06	1.2	1.2
Civil Works	.. 20,17	10.9	11.5
Irrigation	.. 13,29	7.2	7.6

Revised Budget Estimate, 1946-47

		Trs.	
Total Revenue	4,05,87
Total Expenditure	4,56,39

Head of expenditure	Total expenditure	Percentage of Expenditure to total revenue	Percentage of expenditure to total expenditure
	Trs.		
Civil Administration	.. 1,50,64	37.1	33.08
Police	.. 45,50	11.2	9.9
Education	.. 65,94	16.2	14.5
Medical and Public Health	.. 38,48	9.4	8.4
Agriculture	.. 24,98	6.1	5.5
Veterinary	.. 8,05	1.9	1.9
Co-operation	.. 4,40	.91	.9
Industries	.. 10,97	2.7	2.4
Civil Works	.. 62,02	15.5	13.8
Irrigation	.. 26,37	6.4	5.8

Along with these figures, the percentage of expenditure on different heads to the total expenditure on post-war development schemes may also be looked at.

Revised Budget Estimate, 1946-47

Total Post-war grant		Trs.	
.. ..	..	..	1,13,83

	Expenditure on post-war development	Percentage of post-war expenditure to total post-war grant
	Trs.	
Civil Administration	.. 12,86	.. 11.2
Police	.. ..	.. ..
Education	.. 23,87	.. 20.0
Medical and Public Health	.. 18,91	.. 16.6
Agriculture	.. 3,24	.. 2.8
Veterinary	.. 4,80	.. 4.2
Co-operation	.. 73	.. .64
Industries	.. 3,41	.. 2.9
Civil Works	.. 35,31	.. 31.02
Irrigation	.. 10,49	.. 9.2

These figures will show that percentage of expenditure on development work such as Education, Agriculture, Public Health, etc., has increased while that on Civil Administration and Police has decreased.

Although retrenchment of all avoidable excessive expenditure should and will be always our endeavour it will be better for the moment if stress is laid on expansion of revenue. When I speak of expansion of revenue, my attention is turned towards Excise, income from which source has considerably expanded in the course of the past several years as the figures below will show :—

Excise Revenue

	T <small>RS.</small>	
1937-38	.. 33,61	
1938-39	.. 32,63	(Opium prohibition begins)
1939-40	.. 29,81	(Opium prohibition peak period)
1940-41	.. 32,84	(Programme slackened)
1941-42	.. 34,67	
1942-43	.. 38,39	
1943-44	.. 44,35	
1944-45	.. 61,71	
1945-46	.. 88,34	
1946-47 (Revised)	.. 80,57	

It will be seen from these figures that income from Excise depends on the attitude of Government towards it. Even without launching upon any regular programme of prohibition, if the ordinary rules are not overlooked and properly enforced, the income from this source will fall considerably. As to whether a regular programme of prohibition will be launched upon this year, it is very difficult for me now to say, for the simple reason that the experience gained in the years, 1937—39 not only in this Province but elsewhere also shows that although consumption of excisable articles decreased considerably in our areas, it increased almost correspondingly in the neighbouring States and the provinces, and the net result simply was the loss of revenue to the provinces. So far as Orissa is concerned, it has got a number of States on its borders and in the north there is the Province of Bengal which will have much to do with success or failure of any scheme of prohibition introduced here. These intricate matters are engaging the attention of Government who would otherwise like it very much to introduce schemes of prohibition. But there is no doubt in saying that in the interest of nation's morality and in the interest of economic welfare of the people of the Province, it is the duty of Government to see that mass consumption of excisable articles is stopped immediately and all the rules relating

to sale of liquor are properly enforced. The programme of opium prohibition which was introduced in Balasore in 1938 still goes on there and the cost on that account is Rs. 48,648. Consumption of opium in Balasore has been considerably reduced, but I cannot congratulate either the people of Balasore or our prohibition staff on it till I satisfy myself as to why the sale of opium in the neighbouring States of Nilgiri and Mayurbhanj has gained about corresponding increase. Assam too has had the same experience as we have with regard to consumption of opium. Closer collaboration with the States has to be sought for and people of our Province also have to be properly educated, otherwise the programme of opium prohibition will turn out to be a farce.

But even pending the introduction of prohibition, as I have said already, if the existing rules relating to sale and consumption of excisable articles are strictly enforced, the revenue from excise will considerably fall. Therefore it cannot be relied upon for the increase of our revenue.

Income from land revenue is almost fixed. The agriculturists do not produce enough to feed themselves and their families and cannot pay the rent out of the income derived from land. Agriculture has not yet been a paying concern in the Province. Although since the first regular Government settlement of the three coastal districts of Orissa, the fact that agriculture does not pay its way has been known and stressed upon by different Settlement Officers, nothing has yet been done to improve agriculture and make it lucrative. The planning for improvement of agriculture which Government have embarked upon is intended to give more food to the Province and the increase of revenue on that account can be thought of only when the target of food planning is reached, that is, about ten years hence. Now it is futile to think of increase of revenue on account of increase of agricultural rent. But the policy of abolition of all intermediaries between the farmers and the State, to which our party is pledged, seems to have got immense possibility of increase of Orissa's revenue on account of land. It has not been possible to examine all the implications of this policy during this short period. Government will take up the examination of the question as early as possible. In the present session, however, Government intends to bring the Agricultural Income-tax Bill which it is expected will bring some more revenue to the State.

Then as the members know I have brought several Taxation Bills in this session, namely, the Motor Spirit Taxation Bill, Orissa Sales Tax Bill and the Entertainment Tax Bill. A few lakhs of rupees are expected out of these measures. But these are the seeds of great expansion of revenue of Orissa, provided planning is made for increasing the purchasing capacity of the people. Fathomless is the poverty of the Province and the best financiers

will very likely fail to devise any new means by which the finances of the Province will be appreciably improved. But if the planning that is on hand is properly carried out, the water power of the Province is duly harnessed, long-scale and small-scale industries including that of fishery development developed as is expected to be in the coming few years, the purchasing capacity of the people will appreciably rise and it is hoped that Orissa then will be one of the richest provinces. The measures which have been brought in this session of the Assembly will then be very fruitful source of considerable increase of Orissa's revenue.

Besides these, there are certain other sources from which the Province may derive considerable revenue in course of time, subject, of course, to the financial adjustments which will be made along with the inauguration of the new constitution for India. Assuming the trend of the present Government of India Act will continue even then, and I am inclined to think it will, our Province will have additional revenues from the following sources as are mentioned in the Government of India Act, 1935 :—

Section 140 of the Government of India Act reads as follows :—

“ 140. (1) Duties on salt, Federal duties of excise and export duties shall be levied and collected by the Federation, but, if an Act of the Federal Legislature so provides, there shall be paid out of the revenues of the Federation to the provinces and to the Federated States, if any, to which the Act imposing the duty extends, sums equivalent to the whole or any part of the net proceeds of that duty, and those sums shall be distributed among the provinces and those States in accordance with such principles of distribution as may be formulated by the Act.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in the preceding sub-section, one-half, or such greater proportion as His Majesty in Council may determine, of the net proceeds in each year of any export duty on jute or jute products shall not form part of the revenues of the Federation, but shall be assigned to the provinces or Federated States in which jute is grown in proportion to the respective amounts of jute grown therein.”

It will be noticed that a part or the whole of the net duty on salt, Federal duties on excise and export duties may be distributed to the provinces by Federal Legislation just as under sub-section (2) of that section 62½ per cent jute duty is at present distributed to jute-growing provinces of Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa.

Again section 137 of the Government of India Act reads as follows :—

“ 137. Duties in respect of succession to property other than agricultural land, such stamp duties as are mentioned in the Federal Legislative List, terminal taxes on goods or passengers carried by railway, or air, and taxes on railway fares and freights

shall be levied and collected by the Federation, but the net proceeds in any financial year of any such duty or tax, except in so far as those proceeds represent proceeds attributable to Chief Commissioner's provinces, shall not form part of the revenues of the Federation, but shall be assigned to the provinces and to the Federated States, if any, within which that duty or tax is leviable in that year, and shall be distributed among the provinces and those States in accordance with such principles of distribution as may be formulated by Act of the Federal Legislature :

Provided that the Federal Legislature may at any time increase any of the said duties or taxes by a surcharge for Federal purposes and the whole proceeds of any such surcharge shall form part of the revenues of the Federation."

In January 1938, the Government of United Provinces suggested to the Government of India that a terminal tax on passengers may be imposed in the United Provinces and the proceeds may be allotted to that province. The Government of India consulted the other provinces and in that connection they intimated that a tax on passengers on the basis of 1936-37 traffic would come to 60½ lakhs and on the population basis the share of the United Provinces would be Rs. 9 lakhs. Orissa's population is 8.9 millions while the population of the United Provinces is 56.4 millions. Therefore our share would have been Rs. 1 1/7 lakhs. The Government of India did not consider the question of terminal tax on goods. This Government replied in May 1939 supporting the United Provinces' proposal for a terminal tax on passengers and suggested that the proceeds of the tax should be distributed among the provinces on the population basis. It does not appear that any further action was taken on that. As war broke out it was not probably pursued.

But these are the sources to which Orissa may look up to with certain amount of confidence. In this connection I cannot but refer to our case for larger subvention from the Central authority whatever may be its character in the new constitution. When this Province was created all efforts were made to see that it ran as economically as possible. Orissa did not receive the same consideration as Sind in the hands of those in Government of India who were then in charge of financial arrangement of the newly-created provinces. The standard of Orissa was taken to be considerably lower and the cost of administration was calculated accordingly. The subvention granted to Orissa was fixed at Rs. 40 lakhs while that granted to Sind was one crore, although conditions in both the provinces were more or less the same. The facts that the newly-created Province of Orissa was long attached in parts to the tail ends of bigger provinces and in that condition remained neglected for about a century and that the percentage of aboriginal population for which the British Government themselves

have held themselves responsible from the beginning but for which practically nothing has been done so far should have weighed with the authorities to grant more subvention to Orissa. If Orissa is backward, to-day, her people are not responsible in any way for it. Now that the new constitution will soon be on the anvil, the case of Orissa because of her history in the last two centuries should receive special consideration and in the financial adjustment which will be made under the new constitution the legitimate demand of Orissa will certainly be more subvention and I believe this demand will be irresistible for others to refuse.

Having said this much about the budgetary position of the Province I proceed to explain the policy of Government with regard to certain matters which usually forms a part of the Finance Member's speech at the time of the presentation of the Budget.

Political adjustment—First I deal with readjustment of Government policy in accordance with the changing political situation of the country. I am glad to say that owing to some fortuitous combination of circumstances, our Province has been able to give effect to necessary adjustment much sooner than many other provinces. All the political prisoners irrespective of their alleged crimes were released in two or three days of our assumption of office. In the first week of May last I announced in a press conference that collective fines realised in 1942-43 would be refunded and orders have already gone on to Collectors of districts to refund these fines to persons from whom they were collected. With regard to the damage caused to the building and the properties of various institutions which were taken possession of in 1942, the matter was thoroughly examined by us from all aspects. The legal position is that Government is not bound to make good the losses incurred on account of seizure buildings under the Criminal Laws Amendment Act. The question of awarding compensation for damages is therefore a matter of policy. We have this question under our consideration and I hope it will be possible to reach at a decision before long. We have allowed full civil liberty to all irrespective of their political opinions, provided of course no law of Government is broken and no breach of peace does take place or is apprehended. All these, I know, will not give full satisfaction in all quarters and it is needless to say that there exists a popular demand for an enquiry into the excesses committed by the Police and other Governmental and semi-Governmental authorities of the time. As you all know in the very first utterance on assumption of office I made in reply to His Excellency's welcome address at the oath taking ceremony, I made it clear to the Services that they should not apprehend any vindictive action on our part. As a matter of fact,

there are so many problems facing us to-day that we have hardly any time to engage ourselves in any work of revenge. But the popular demand for an enquiry may not have been based on a spirit of revenge. There may be another object behind the demand, that is, to purge the services of all unscrupulous officers who have been so proved in 1942-43. But after close examination of the question from this point of view, we have found that there are practical difficulties on the way of instituting a general enquiry into the affairs of 1942-43. We have, therefore, abandoned it. But we are prepared to make sifting enquiry into specific cases of gross illegalities and corruptions wherever they may have been committed and to take suitable action against any officers proved guilty of the charges.

Minorities—As regards our attitude towards the minorities, I have once before casually declared on the floor of the Assembly and I do it here again, that though our party has been returned in thumping majority to this House, we will not do anything simply by force of majority. We shall make all reasonable efforts to obtain the consent of the minority to the action we as the majority party take. Our first appeal is directed to reason rather than to the numbers of different parties. According to this principle, the smaller the party, the greater its importance. I would, therefore, expect all the parties to rely upon reasoning rather than mere slogans and platitudes.

Revision of scales of pay—Then I come to the grievances of the services. In my first utterance at the oath-taking ceremony I declared that it would always be my endeavour to keep the services contented and I explained in a subsequent statement that the needs of the services should be subject to the general economic conditions of the Province. Inequalities there are already in the society and in no country, even in Russia not only inequalities exist but being forced under circumstances Soviet Government have been compelled to create fresh inequalities specially in the Army for the sake of discipline. The logical absurdity of the argument in favour of equal pay to all or even equal increment to all will be easily shown from the fact that those who clamour for equality or more pay do not pay the same amount they receive to their own servants nor do they allow the same increment which they demand from others. I know so far as the services are concerned, specially in the lower rank they have been very badly hit and attempt has been and is made to make political capital out of the sufferings of the ministerial staff and the orderlies by raising slogans of equality and comparing different scales of pay in different posts. I can say it here that the day we assumed office, we undertook examination of scales of pay and I have made myself approachable to the representatives of the services for discussing the subject freely and frankly with them. Probably the members do not know that there are no unified scales

of pay in Orissa as in other provinces. Ours is a new Province and on account of abnormal circumstances no attempt was made to unify the scales of pay in comparable services. I have taken it up along with revision of pay. Unification of as many as seven scales of pay which are prevalent in Orissa and at the same time their revision take time and I have assured the representatives of the services that the increment that will be decided upon will be given with retrospective effect from the 1st April 1946 in which case the ministerial officers do not suffer materially although I realise their inconvenience is great. I am whipping up the Secretariat to expedite the examination of both these questions of unification and revision of scales of pay in the course of this session of the Assembly so that I may make a detailed announcement in time as promised before. But so far as the Budget is concerned it will be worthwhile for the members to know that the average extra cost of the revision of scales of pay will be Rs. 46.92 lakhs a year. The war allowance included in the Governor's Budget for 1946-47 was Rs. 36.20 lakhs. So the net average extra expenditure on account of revision of scales of pay will be Rs. 10.72 lakhs or say Rs. 11 lakhs which has been provided in the Budget. In view of our budgetary position, I think, we have gone a great length in giving relief to our services.

Industrial policy—Now I come to matters relating to our planning. First I take up our policy towards industries. Since introduction of large-scale industries will be a completely new thing to Orissa, we had to examine many alternative policies to be followed with regard to these industries. First we had to decide as to whether we should allow any large-scale industry in this Province or not. The controversy between large-scale industries and village industries specially with regard to necessaries of life, such as cloth, is too old to be recapitulated here. We face the problem in this way that if we communicate our decision to Government of India who are allocating quotas for different industries to provinces that we do not want them, we will not have the industries but at the same time the quotas are transferred to other provinces, such, as Bihar, Bengal and the Central Province. We could not see how the interests of the Province or even of the rural people could have been served if we had decided not to have the industries here knowing fully well that they would be set up in the neighbouring provinces. The controversy between village industries and mills can be solved only on an all-India basis by Government of India alone and not on any provincial basis by any Provincial Government. We have to take into consideration the lakhs of able-bodied men of the Province who for their livelihood are compelled to go to Calcutta and Assam tea gardens and Burma to work under miserable conditions. We do not know how the future politics will stand. In case our men do not get sufficient protection then they may come back home

and create complications here. The problem of Burma evacuees is still acute in the Province. As Government we think it to be our duty to provide employment for all our able-bodied men here in the Province.

Our position became clear when we come to know that our sister provinces, such as Bihar, the Central Province and Bombay were vying with one another in having as many quotas as possible for themselves. We had to put up a fight for our Province and I am glad to say that up till now we have got the following quotas :—

(1) Textile Mills	..	..	5 units
(2) Sugar Mill	..	..	1 unit
(3) Rayon	..	..	1 unit
(4) Vegetable Ghee	..	..	1 unit
(5) Paper Board	..	..	1 unit
(6) Hosiery	..	..	Number of machinery will depend on the yarn quota that will be available to the Province.
(7) Paints and Varnishes	..	..	1 unit

Now we are fighting for the following industries and I think we will have them soon :—

- (1) A second Vegetable Ghee Plant
- (2) Cement Factory
- (3) Iron and Steel Works
- (4) Jute Mill
- (5) Paper Mill
- (6) Salt and Alkali Plant
- (7) Pottery Works
- (8) Glass Works
- (9) Tannery and Leather Goods Factory
- (10) Fine Chemical and Drugs
- (11) Rolling Mills and Foundry

Then with regard to these industries, we had to decide as to what should be our policy towards them. We examined these policies in this connection, i.e., (1) State-ownership, (2) State-management, and (3) State-control. State-ownership means that the State will supply the capital and appoint managing agencies for management of industries. Under this policy our Province will have to borrow huge sums either from the public or from Government of India to invest them in different industries and to take the alternative chance of either making huge profits or running into tremendous loss. In view of our slender financial resources, we found it entirely difficult for us to obtain loans and also it would be dangerous for us to take any chance in such a huge financial affair. So we had to abandon it.

State-management means that State will run the industries itself. For this purpose we got the advice of an expert who is the Economic Adviser of Assam Government. According to the advice of this expert, a Management Board is to be set up under a special law enacted for the purpose in order to keep the management of industries out of party politics and consequential changes in Government and the Board is to consist of well-reputed industrialists and financiers with high salaries ranging from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 7,000 a month. This Board of Management is to appoint for different industries managers who must be experts in their lines. In the case of this policy also, Government are to find out capital by purchasing shares themselves and also selling them in the market but always keeping the majority of shares to themselves. Here the difficulty was about securing the services of well-reputed industrialists and financiers for the Board and also of expert technical men for the posts of managers. Apart from the difficulty of finding out finance for the industries, the problem of finding out technical personnel for the management of the industries also was found extremely difficult. So the policy had to be abandoned.

Next remains the policy of State-control. This is the minimum that this Province can strive for. The 19th century doctrine of laissez-faire is obsolete now. The State must exercise control with regard to location of industries and production and distribution of their goods. So far as the present law stands, except the Defence of India Rules, there is no other law to exercise any control over the industries on the aforesaid lines. In order to exercise control a separate law has to be enacted and Government will move in the matter as early as possible. As to what extent control is to be exercised over industries, the question will be examined in details, when the Bill will be prepared.

Government are painfully aware of the fact that people of this Province are not industrially-minded and do not easily come forward to undertake industrial enterprises. It may be a fact also that a few who have come forward do not win in competition in free market. It is for this reason, it has been the decided policy of our Government to show special consideration to the permanent residents of this Province whenever they come forward for any industry. We have decided to provide Rs. 50,00,000 in the supplementary Budget to give aid to local enterprisers to encourage the local people to take to industries.

Large-scale industries apart, our Government will soon take up the development of small-scale and cottage industries in right earnest. Only a few weeks ago Sri J. Kumarappa of the All-India Village Industries Association paid a visit to this town and in consultation with him a tentative scheme for development of village industries has been drawn up. A Special Officer is being appointed to be in charge of this particular work. We believe that if the small-scale and cottage industries and large-scale industries are made to work in co-ordination, the poverty of the Province can be removed to a great extent.

In order that industries may develop with the help of cheap electricity we have provided for setting up two thermal stations, one at Cuttack and another at Berhampur and these two will be full State-owned and State-managed concern.

We are examining the question of bringing the transport services under State-management by setting a provincial transport company in which our Government will have 51 per cent of the shares. When the scheme materialise we may have to go in for loans from Government of India and invest the sum in the business.

We have provided Rs. 50,000 for grants of subsidies to small scale industries.

Agriculture—Although Orissa is said to be an agricultural Province, and although Orissa is said to be a surplus province so far as rice is concerned, the painful fact is that our Province is perhaps the most underfed. The Province does not produce what it requires to feed its people properly. The following figures regarding the food materials will show how miserable we are with regard to necessary foodstuffs:—

	India	Orissa
(1) Cereals ..	—10 (6 m. tons)	+9 (3 m. mds.)
(2) Pulses ..	—20 (1½ m. tons)	—43 (2 m. mds.)
(3) Fats, oils ..	—25 (5 m. tons)	—84 (3 m. mds.)
(4) Fruits ..	—50 (3 m. tons)	..
(5) Vegetables ..	—100 (9 m. tons)	—54 (5·8 mds.)
(6) Milk ..	—300 (70 m. tons)	—50/32 (4·9/2·2 m. mds.)
(7) Meat, fish and egg.	—300 (4½ m. tons)	—70 (3·5 m. mds.)

It will be seen from these figures that the Province is badly in deficit with regard to pulses, fats and oils in proportion to the deficit for the whole of India. As regards cereals, though the Province is favourably situated, in actual practice, it does not get the benefit of a full meal because of the fact that rice is not only the food-crop in Orissa but also the main money-crop. In order to purchase other necessaries and other amenities of life, the foodstuff is sold. In order to meet this situation, more production of cereals is also necessary. Accordingly a five-year plan has been drawn up to achieve increased production of food materials to the tune of the following targets which have been fixed in consideration of the capacity of the administrative machinery, of the people themselves and also of the circumstances prevailing:—

	Increase (per cent)
(1) Cereals ..	4·2
(2) Pulses ..	12·6
(3) Fats and oils ..	10·9
(4) Vegetables ..	6·0

These targets will show that even at the end of our five-year plan, if it is successfully carried out, the Province will be still in deficit in necessary foodstuffs. Evidently, therefore, a more elaborate second five-year plan has to be drawn up. According to the first five-year plan, money has been provided in the Budget.

In this connection, I may say that Government favour collective farming on co-operative basis and to enable and

encourage this kind of institution to come into being it may be necessary to enact a law for the purpose. This is now under examination.

Education—Next point in importance is education. We have accepted the basic system of education which is popularly known as Sargent Scheme. It is almost the same as the popularly known Wardha system of education. In order to metamorphose the entire educational system into the new one, beginning has to be made at the bottom. There is no other way out. Now teachers for training schools are being trained. These teachers will train other teachers who will be put in charge of the basic schools. Any new school now opened has to be of the new type. As regards higher education, our policy is to convert the existing high schools into polytechnic institutions as far and as early as possible. In our opinion a technician has more social utility than a purely so-called educated man or woman has. In pursuance of this policy, in the college section, science is given preferential treatment. Accordingly schemes have been drawn up and provided for in the Budget.

The opening of post-graduate classes in several subjects in the college and the development of the Medical College are some of the work which have been provided for in the Budget.

As regards the primary schools, apart from accepting the basic system of education as an immediate objective, we have given attention to the fate of the poor teachers also. Since 1924 when I was Chairman of the District Board, Balasore, I have all along been fighting for betterment of the conditions of teachers of primary schools. To-day I am glad to say that I have been able to provide Rs. 11 lakhs for increasing the pay of primary teachers from Rs. 7 to Rs. 20 per month. As regards the grievances of the teachers of the secondary schools and also of the teachers of colleges, they are under our close examination and we shall see that their legitimate grievances are redressed as early as possible.

Medical and Public Health—Then coming to public health, provision has been made to provincialise hospitals in five subdivisional headquarters and to improve and extend the scope of hospitals at the district headquarters. The question of equipping the Medical College with proper staff and develop it to the fullest extent has engaged the earnest attention of Government and suitable provision has been made for the purpose in the Budget. Besides rural sanitation has received its due place in the Budget. Provision has been made for training of more nurses and midwives and the problem of maternity is going to be tackled from the current year. We have provided funds for improvement of towns having a population of more than 10,000 and the problem of improving the town of Cuttack has obtained the first priority in our scheme.

Besides improving and extending the scope of allopathic treatment, Government also have taken steps to recognise Ayurvedic and homoeopathic systems which serve the rural population better than the other one and a committee has been set up to find ways and means to standardise the systems and establish them on sound and firm basis, so that there may not be any administrative difficulty in controlling the practitioners of these two comparatively popular and cheap systems.

The question of establishing an Ayurvedic College in Orissa is also under examination and it is hoped the proposal will take some definite shape some time this year. When it is done I will come to you again with the proposal for a supplementary grant.

Civil Supplies—All of you are probably eager to know what Government have done or propose to do with regard to the Civil Supply Department which has earned a sort of notoriety in the past several years. In defence of the previous Governments I may say that the whole structure of administration which has been built in India in the course of the last one hundred years and a half was never meant to bear the burden of the situation which arose during the last war. Our officers were never trained to do the work of merchants. When they were called upon to undertake that particular work on account of the abnormal circumstances which arose in 1943, the whole edifice of administration sagged under the pressure. But gradually the officers and Government are learning the art of trading and they are making satisfactory progress in that direction. A special anti-corruption branch has been opened in this particular department and without boasting I can say removal of corruption from this department is responsible for the satisfactory position of the Province with regard to food, cloth and kerosene. With regard to other articles I am not yet so sure. But I believe the whole problem will be under our control before long. The word 'corruption' is often used along with the mention of Supply Department. But has anybody ever analysed the problem in its proper perspective? For corruption, not only the officers but also the unsocial elements of the population are responsible. It is almost impossible to correct the unsocial conduct of a large section of the public by enforcement of laws. It can be corrected only by rousing the public conscience on the problem. This again can be achieved only by making the public directly interested in the matter of procurement and distribution of controlled articles. We have proceeded on this line and put in operation the scheme of Town Rationing Committees and Union Committees. These Committees will gradually be given scope to deal with all problems of procurement and distribution of controlled articles. This, we believe, will minimise corruption by putting the unsocial elements to the direct ridicule of their immediate neighbours. These Committees, if they carry on their work

properly, will virtually be the masters of the situation so far as their areas are concerned and that will perhaps be the beginning of a revival of the old Panchayat system.

Village Welfare—In all that I have said I have not specifically mentioned what we have provided for in the Budget for the rural population. It is the villagers who feed the town and they are the backbone of the country. Their interest is therefore the primary consideration of our Government. It is very difficult to specify the items of expenditure which are meant only for the benefit of the villagers exclusively. It is needless to say that wherever and whenever I have spoken anything about the interest of the province, the villagers who form the bulk of the population have all along been before my eyes. But I think I ought to try to specify at least some of the items which will very directly benefit the villagers exclusively. The following are some of the items which you will find in the Budget.

Expenditure on Village Welfare Schemes

Budget head	ABSTRACT			Expenditure on village welfare for 1946-47
				Rs.
7—Land Revenue	1,07,135
8—Excise	48,648
10—Forest	30,780
Irrigation	18,64,986
25—General Administration	4,50,920
29—Police	2,43,922
37—Education	38,26,229
38—Medical	18,97,104
39—Public Health	9,57,554
40—Agriculture	15,83,152
41—Veterinary	1,22,890
42—Co-operation	58,109
43—Industries	1,63,468
50—Civil Works	20,36,255
57—Miscellaneous	20,940
				<hr/>
		Total	..	1,32,12,152

DETAILS

Budget head	Expenditure on village welfare, for 1946-47
	Rs.
7—Land Revenue—	
Outlay on improvements	1,07,195
8—Excise—Opium prohibition scheme	48,648
10—Forests—Conservancy and Works—Miscellaneous —Other charges—Government shops at Jerango and Gaiba.	30,780
Irrigation—Orissa canals	8,99,528
Rushiknlya system	1,03,468
Navigation, Embankment and Drainage	8,61,990
Total ..	<u>18,64,986</u>
25—General Administration—	
Rural Reconstruction grant	50,000
Grants-in-aid—Reformation work among Panas	2,500
Raiyatwari village service	1,91,620
Proprietary Estate village services	2,06,800
Total ..	<u>4,50,920</u>
29—Police—	
Village Police	2,43,922
37—Education—	
Direct grant to Indian Secondary Schools ..	3,24,831
Grants to local bodies for Secondary Education ..	1,49,792
Direct grant to Indian Primary Schools ..	1,52,762
Grants to local bodies for Primary Schools ..	13,81,552
Grant to non-Government Special Schools ..	51,076
Direct grant for Harijan Education ..	1,100
Grants to Harijan Savak Sangha ..	1,600
Grants for Zenana Education ..	1,416
Grants to local bodies for Public Libraries ..	1,000
Adult Education ..	500
<i>Post-War</i>	
Direct grants to non-Government Secondary Schools.	2,40,000
Direct grant to non-Government Primary Schools	1,82,840
Grants to local bodies for Primary Education	12,56,960
Direct grant to non-Government special schools	20,000
Direct grant for Harijan Education ..	4,400
Direct grant to Harijan Savak Sangha ..	56,400
Total ..	<u>38,26,229</u>

Budget head	Expenditure on village welfare for 1940-47 Rs.
38—Medical—	
Muffasal Hospitals and Dispensaries ..	7,48,918
Grants to Hospitals and Dispensaries ..	1,76,215
Grants for the maternity and child welfare centres	3,740
Post-war—Muffasal Hospitals and Dispensaries ..	7,40,231
Grants to Hospitals and Dispensaries ..	28,000
Total ..	<u>16,97,104</u>
39—Public Health—	
Muffasal Health Establishment	56,410
Grants for Public Health purposes	94,461
Vaccination Establishment	20,321
Expenditure for epidemic diseases	1,10,198
Post-war—	
Muffasal Health Establishment	20,259
Grants for Public Health purposes including sinking wells.	5,68,176
Expenditure for epidemic diseases	87,729
Total ..	<u>9,57,554</u>
40—Agriculture—	
Agricultural Demonstration and Propaganda including grants to cultivators.	15,75,583
Rural uplift scheme	569
Subsidised farms	7,000
Total ..	<u>15,83,152</u>
41—Veterinary—	
Grants and subsidies	262
Grants to Private Associations	18,650
<i>Post-War</i>	
Grants and subsidies and grants to private associa- tions.	1,04,240
Total ..	<u>1,22,890</u>
42—Co-operation—	
Grants-in-aid—Grants and subsidies	26,560
Do. Post-War	2,000
Schemes for co-operative marketing of jute, sugar- cane, salt, ground-nut, tobacco, potato and turmeric.	29,549
Total ..	<u>58,109</u>

Budget head	Expenditure on village welfare for 1946-47
	Rs.
43—Industries—	
Grants-in-aid to technical institute	9,098
Grants to Salvation Army for reclamation of Panas ..	1,109
Grant of subsidies for small-scale industries ..	50,000
Wool-weaving demonstration	5,981
Weaving demon stration	25,806
Dying demonstration	1,280
Hand-loom marketing organisation—	
Weavers' Co-operative societies	12,664
Grow More Fish	57,531
Total ..	<u>1,63,468</u>
50—Civil Works—	
Grants-in-aid	2,92,787
Original work	8,55,568
Repairs	8,87,900
Total ..	<u>20,36,255</u>
57—Miscellaneous—	
Fire distress and cyclone	18,010
Rewards for destruction of wild animals	2,930
Total ..	<u>20,940</u>

Labour—I think I shall avail myself of this opportunity to enunciate our policy regarding the problems of the labour. I have said it often here in this Hall and also outside that our Government generally follow the policy adopted by the Bombay Government. Our policy is precisely this that while we undertake to explore all possible ways of checking arbitrary dealings on the part of employers and removing the legitimate grievances of the workers, we are anxious to ensure that the course of efficient working of industries which are mostly very small in this Province is not hampered by thoughtless and needless stoppage of work. To secure this twin objects we are examining the question of creating some simple type of machinery for prompt and final disposal by judicial or semi-judicial methods of the routine and minor differences between employers and employees which so often creates acute bitterness and not only leads to loss of both sides but also cause great deal of inconvenience to the general public as is now

experienced on account of the strike of the Press workers. Peaceful settlement of disputes can be effected only by arbitration and adjudication. We will finalise our policy by bringing some legislative measures on the aforesaid lines.

Studies in foreign countries—I think you will be interested to know that this year we have sent at our cost for study in foreign countries 29 students from our Province. The numbers and subjects of students are given here both for the last and the current years.

FOREIGN STUDY

1945-46

Number selected	..	..	..	..	..	30
To U. S. A	..	..	..	..	..	10
To U. K.	..	..	..	..	..	20
						—
			Total	..	..	30
						—
Sailed	..	..	..	..	..	25
Have got passage	..	..	..	..	..	3
Awaiting passage	..	..	..	..	..	2
						—
			Total	..	..	30
						—
1. Industries	..	..	..	..	..	5
Pharmacy	..	..	1	..	..
Ceramics	..	..	1	..	..
Sugar	..	..	1	..	..
Technical Education	..	..	2	..	..
						—
			5	..	..
						—
2. Engineering	..	..	..	..	..	10
Electrical	..	..	4	..	..
Civil	..	..	4	..	..
Mechanical	..	..	1	..	..
Fuel	..	..	1	..	..
						—
			10	..	..
						—
3. Agriculture	..	..	..	..	..	5
4. Veterinary	..	..	..	..	..	2
5. Forestry	..	..	..	..	..	2
6. Science	..	..	..	..	..	3
7. Education	..	..	..	..	..	3
						—
			Total	..	..	30
						—

		1946-47		
Number selected	..	..	..	29
To U. S. A.	..	..	13	
To U. K.	..	..	16	
		Total	..	29
<hr/>				
Sailed	..	..	..	8
Have got passage	..	..	..	3
Awaiting passage	..	..	..	19
		Total	..	29
<hr/>				
1. Industries	..	..	..	4
Geology	..	..	1	
Textiles	..	..	1	
Industrial Chemistry	..	..	1	
Technical Education	..	..	1	
			4	
<hr/>				
2. Engineering	..	..	..	6
Electrical	..	..	3	
Mechanical	..	..	1	
Civil	..	..	2	
Agricultural Engineering	..	..	1	
			6	
<hr/>				
3. Agriculture	..	..	..	4
4. Veterinary	..	..	..	3
5. Forestry	..	..	..	1
6. Fishery	..	..	..	1
7. Science	..	..	..	1
8. Education	6
Education	2	
Economics	2	
Psychology	2	
			6	
<hr/>				
9. Medicine	3
		Total	..	29
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Besides these, we have sent a number of our students to be educated in various technical subjects in other universities in India.

Floods—I have not yet referred to the most important problem of the Province, i.e., floods.

Gradual deterioration of the purchasing capacity of the people of Orissa is due to almost perpetual floods in the coastal districts which cost the people annually Rs. 13,00,000 on the average, apart from the expenditure on relief incurred by Government from time to time. Prevention of floods in Orissa has always been desired and some action taken upon it by all Governments in the past even when Orissa was not a separate Province. Thanks to the development of the engineering skill which has succeeded all the world over in bringing under control terrific rivers which used to cause only destruction and in taming them to serve the population in more than one way and thanks to the interest the Government of India have of late taken in doing something for Orissa to undo the wrong which has all along been committed on her owing to their apathy and negligence, there is now a serious proposal, intended to be put in operation if found feasible and beneficial to harness the great river Mahanadi by means of three multipurpose dams. This scheme, if finally approved, will cost about 50 crores of rupees and at the first instance Government of India will bear it subject to such financial adjustment as will be agreed upon by both the Orissa Government and the Government of India. In case the scheme is found to be feasible and beneficial after the preliminary survey is over, I would urge upon the Government of India to make a grant of the whole cost of the Mahanadi Valley Project to the Province of Orissa in view of the fact that expenditure from the Central treasury on any welfare work in Orissa has so far been very rare. In this connection I may say that just at present as many as 8 schemes of multipurpose dams are under survey in the provinces of the Punjab, United Provinces, Bihar, Bengal, Madras and Orissa and in the States of Nepal, Hyderabad, Sikkim and the Orissa States. All these provinces and States are vying with one another to secure help from the Government of India. It is needless for me to insist that Orissa should occupy the first place in consideration when the stage of distribution of help comes.

As soon as the Mahanadi is harnessed and tamed to serve the purposes of irrigation, navigation, generation of electricity and flood control, the other rivers Brahmani, Baitarani and Subarnarekha will have to be tackled and I have no doubt that with the fall of the general, the rank and file of the soldiers will automatically surrender.

Local Self-Government—With the introduction of entirely popular elements in the Provincial Governments under the 1935 Act, the local bodies paled into insignificance and even the Government occasionally forgot to treat these institutions as their

own acting under the law of the land. But we recognise that they are the institutions of local representatives and through them the policies and programme of a representative Government can best be carried out. We want them to be free from all small party factions. We want them to be helped in all possible ways. In our opinion the work entrusted to the local bodies require whole time executives for the successful prosecution of the work. At present there is no such provision in law, but we are examining the question from all points of view and we hope we will be able to make the local bodies the best agencies of a representative Government to carry out all their rural programmes in collaboration with the District Officers.

We have already distributed Rs. 1,20,000 for sinking tube-wells in rural areas to the local bodies and we have provided in this Budget to make a grant of Rs. 5,00,000 to local bodies for definite work of improvement. Besides these, money provided for water-supply, primary and middle education and sanitation in rural areas is intended to be spent through the local bodies. If the local bodies are to be treated as part and parcel of the Government, it is reasonable on the part of the latter to exercise more control over the former than heretofore.

Communication—The members will please notice that we have provided Rs. 13½ lakhs on communication either for the improvement of old ones or for new construction. I believe the members realise the difficulties of the rural people who find it extremely difficult to market their goods in the absence of suitable communication. The first preliminary step to improve the villages is to improve communication with them. That is why we have given so much attention to it.

Fishery—Orissa being a coastal Province, there is much scope for increasing her wealth by developing fishery on a large scale. Japan increased her wealth tremendously by developing fishery and Russia too has taken to it seriously of late. Control over fishery area in seas are often the issues of quarrel among nations and it was one of the main issues of difference between Japan and Russia in the last war. Situated as Orissa is on a coast very favourable for fishing, the industry can not only bring wealth to the Province but it can feed the Province on occasions when even the main crops fail. It is for this reason we have given special attention to this industry and in accordance with the plan that we have made, we have provided Rs. 1,11,098 in the Budget for development of fishery. A portion of this sum has been borne by the Government of India.

Duduma Agreement—You will find provision in the budget in connection with the development of Machkund waterfall according

to the terms of the agreement arrived at by the Madras and Orissa Governments some months back. When we assumed office in the last week of April last, we were faced with the agreement which was entered into a few weeks earlier. We know the popular sentiment against the agreement. I cannot say that popular feeling against it has no reason behind it. So far as I have analysed the position, I am inclined to think that the sentiment which is expressed over the Duduma affair from the beginning to the end is really the cumulative effect of a long series of historical facts relating to the treatment the Oriyas have all along received in the hands of their neighbours whose territories were occupied by the British much earlier and who thus accidentally got the chance of taking advantage of modern education much ahead of the Oriyas whose territory came into British possession much later. Now that Orissa is in a position to look straight to the neighbouring provinces and desires to walk shoulder to shoulder with them in all matters, she feels hurt, when she cannot for any reason do so. Here arises a psychological complex which stands in the way of free and fair discussion of any matter of common concern. In my humble opinion the Duduma agreement has been the victim of such a complex and according to me the solution is to face facts as they are and act accordingly.

We found that the agreement was an accomplished fact. We took great care to ascertain if the agreement could either be altered or totally abrogated if we so chose. The best legal opinion we could secure was against any such choice. Then we proceeded to examine the agreement as such without bringing in the question of boundary of the Province, which, though it was raised in connection with the Duduma, was disposed of separately and should, therefore, be treated as a separate question. The agreement, as such, hurts our feeling in this way that while Madras has been given 70 per cent of electricity, Orissa is given only 30 per cent, although we claim full proprietary right over the property and actually we have got 50 per cent of the property by the award of an arbitrator. Then again the feeling is hurt when it is said that this Province has no means to consume even 30 per cent of the electricity which is given to us by the agreement. Here cool and dispassionate calculation is necessary. We very much wish we could consume the entire produce of electricity. We would be grateful to anybody who will successfully prove it. If it is proved to-day, I shall start fresh negotiation with Madras direct or through Government of India to revise the agreement arrived at. The agreement can be revised only by fresh negotiation and not by any other means, I am sure. We calculate the time by which we can possibly consume the 30 per cent of electricity which has been assigned to us, and at the same time we calculate the other resources we have for

development of electricity to the fullest satisfaction of our needs in the present and in the coming fifty years at least. We have not yet been able to work ourselves up to be satisfied that in the coming fifty years at least we will require more than 30 per cent of electricity which will be generated at the Machkund waterfall. This being our position, we cannot take the initiative in starting fresh negotiation for revision of agreement on this ground. If and when there will be any prospect of more consumption of electricity in this Province from that source and if the necessity arises to find out other sources to supply the additional power required for the needs of the area of the Province covered by the Duduma, negotiation should be started for revision of the agreement on that ground.

Then as regards control over the 50 per cent of the produce, which we have got, this is a matter of details and this question can be raised for further negotiation at any convenient time and I think there is no time bar for that purpose. If our agreement can be either altered or abrogated now, it can be so done at any time to come. At the present moment it should be the intention of all concerned to see that work is pushed on according to agreement and electricity produced at the earliest possible opportunity. An agreement of this kind is valid so long as the circumstances of the parties concerned require it. It is subject to revision whenever the case of either party overwhelms that of the other. Therefore I think the agreement itself should not be the target of protest in the existing circumstances.

Then with regard to boundary, not only on the southern front but also in the north, very likely the question will be taken up along with redistribution of provinces on the eve of the introduction of the new constitution. At that time the field will be open to all parties to fight out their battle. Assuming the river Machkund will then come very much inside Orissa, and her boundary is pushed several miles further southward, fresh financial adjustments will have to be made between the future Andhra Province and Orissa and the present Agreement will *ipso facto* be void. Considering the Duduma agreement from all points of view dispassionately without any mental complex, it appears that there is no reason for feeling hurt at the present moment.

Before I conclude I must record my thanks to the Finance Department specially the Deputy Secretary and the Assistant Secretary for the labour they have bestowed on the preparation of the Budget according to the direction given. They have borne the brunt of preparing two budgets in the course of a few months according to two kinds of direction. Their efficiency and sincerity deserve commendation of Government.

Conclusion—Now I think I have touched upon all main points. In the end I would urge upon you all to discuss all matters quietly and dispassionately and help Government with constructive criticism of every measure which we bring before you. This is the time for demonstrating our constructive talent. Most of us have shown in the past that we are good soldiers and the best portion of our life has been spent on agitating for getting something. Now is the time to switch on that remarkable capacity to real nation building work and prove that we are as good soldiers as builders of a nation. All our ideals now must take concrete shape and we will be worthy of our profession if we can do it when we have got some opportunity.

