

Volume I

No. 1 - 21



Wednesday  
21st May, 1952

# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

---

## HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

### OFFICIAL REPORT

---

(Part I - Questions and Answers)

---

### CONTENTS

Members Sworn [Cols. 2—18].

**PARLIAMENT SECRETARIAT**  
**NEW DELHI**

*Price Six Annas (Inland)*  
*Price Two Shillings (Foreign)*

## PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part I—Questions and Answers)

## OFFICIAL REPORT

73

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Wednesday, 21st May, 1952.

*The House met at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock.*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

## ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

## INDIA-PAKISTAN FINANCIAL ISSUES

\*62. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state the outstanding financial issues which were discussed in the recent Karachi talks between the officials of India and Pakistan?

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** The recent talks between the officials of India and Pakistan were only informal and preparatory to the resumption of the discussions on outstanding financial issues between the two Governments which were adjourned last year. As regards the issues themselves, I would refer the hon. Member to the reply given in Parliament on the 26th May 1951 to starred question No. 4541 and to the statement I made in Parliament on the 30th May 1951 on the discussions which I then had with the Finance Minister of Pakistan.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** May I know the issues which were raised this time in this Conference and further whether they differed at all from the issues which had been raised in the previous Conference about which the hon. Minister has stated that he had given the reply in May 1951?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** They were the same issues; not that they were all dealt with comprehensively.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** May I know whether the parties to that talk arriv-  
40PSD.

74

ed at any decision in regard to any issue?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** They were not authorised to arrive at any decisions because the talks were preparatory to conversations at the Ministerial level which were intended to take place at a later date.

**Shri P. T. Chacko:** May I know whether the question of Pakistan's debt to India was discussed there?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** That was one of the issues which was discussed in a preparatory way.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** May I know the issues which were raised by Pakistan in that Conference?

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Minister said that the talks were confidential. Is he in a position to disclose what issues were discussed.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** The issues have been stated. The nature of the talks cannot be disclosed at this moment.

**Shri P. T. Chacko:** May I know whether any agreement was reached regarding the payment of Pakistan's debt to India?

**Mr. Speaker:** I think it is covered by the previous reply. He said that the parties had no authority to come to any decision.

## HINDUSTAN AIRCRAFT LTD.

\*63. **Shri Hukam Singh:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state whether the Hindustan Aircraft Limited has begun to receive a steady load of work from the Air Force and Civil Aviation for the manufacture of Aircraft?

**The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari):** I will answer this question on behalf of the Minister of Defence.

The question presumably refers to the manufacture of the basic trainer aircraft HT-2. It is expected that the test flights of this aircraft will be completed shortly and production will commence immediately thereafter. Orders have been placed for a sufficient number of this aircraft by the Air Force to enable production to be planned in a satisfactory manner. No civilian orders have yet been placed.

**Shri Hukam Singh:** Perhaps my language was not clear. What I meant to ask is this. Is there enough work in respect of aircraft and civil aviation which could keep the factory busy all through the year, or is there any spare time that has to be spent in making coaches or engaging in other subsidiary activities?

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** The question was not clear.

**Mr. Speaker:** Anyway, he has explained what he wants to know.

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** All that I can say is that the Hindustan Aircraft Factory has enough work. Apart from assembling, renovating and servicing aircraft belonging to the Air Force and civil aviation companies and others, it is also taking up other types of work like body building for motor buses and building coaches for the Railway Board.

**Shri Hukam Singh:** May I know what fraction or percentage of the working hours is spent in the manufacture of aircraft or renovation of civil aviation aircraft and what percentage has to be utilised in other subsidiary works?

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** The question of manufacture of aircraft, as I said, is restricted to trainer aircraft HT-2. In regard to the percentages of hours of work, if the hon. Member would not put down a question and if it is deemed expedient to answer it, it will be answered.

**Shri B. Shiva Rao:** Is it a fact that a number of important key posts like the Assistant General Manager, Commercial and Sales Manager, Plant Engineer, Manufacturing Superintendent etc. have not been filled for years, affecting the efficiency of the top administration of this Factory?

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** I do not see how the question arises. If the hon. Member would put down a question, we will attempt to answer it.

**Shri B. Das:** May I enquire whether this particular State industry will be

placed under the Production Minister or whether it will still continue under the Defence Minister?

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** The question may be addressed to the proper quarters. The Proper person to allocate the work between the different Ministers happens to be the Leader of the House and the Prime Minister.

**Shri T. N. Singh:** On a point of order. Is it permissible for an hon. Minister, once you have allowed the supplementary question, to say that if a separate question is put or if it is put in this form or that form, he will answer it.

**Mr. Speaker:** I think that when this paraphrased means that he wants notice of the question and he is not prepared to answer it just now. He is going a little further and clarifying to the hon. Member that, if he is really anxious to have information he may better table another question.

**Shri Gurupadaswamy:** How many aircrafts have been assembled so far in that factory?

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** Notice, Sir.

**Shri Velayudhan:** May I know whether any complaints regarding the American experts who are working in this Factory have come to the notice of the Government, especially in regard to the manufacture of jet aeroplanes, to the effect that the Indian engineers are discouraged by these experts?

**Mr. Speaker:** I think it is more or less a matter of inference.

**Shri Velayudhan:** It is information, Sir.

**Shri M. V. Krishnappa:** Is it a fact that the Government of Mysore have requested that the capital invested by them may be paid back, because it is not paying to them?

**Shri T. T. Krishnamachari:** I am afraid it does not arise.

#### ARID ZONE RESEARCH STATION

\*64. **Shri Hukam Singh:** Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state:

(a) whether a proposal for the establishment of an Arid Zone Research Station in Rajasthan was put up before the advisory committee of Arid Zone Research Council of the UNESCO; and

(b) if so, with what result?

**The Minister of Planning and River Valley Schemes (Shri Nanda):** (a) The proposal for the establishment of an Arid Zone Research Station was not, as such, put up before the Arid Zone Research Committee of the UNESCO. Only a request for providing the services of a geophysical expert and a financial contribution of Rs. 3,60,000 out of a total estimated cost of Rs. 26,70,000 for the project was forwarded to the UNESCO.

(b) The proposal is under the consideration of the United Nations.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** May I know whether Government have considered the possibility of introducing a lea-crop cultivation or protective afforestation for these arid areas?

**Mr. Speaker:** I am afraid it is a suggestion for action. Questions should be put for eliciting information and not for making suggestions for action.

#### CURRENCY

**\*65. Shri Hukam Singh:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether our currency has been contracted during the last six months;

(b) if so, to what extent; and

(c) whether Government propose to effect any credit contraction during the next six months?

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

(c) It is difficult to prophesy what the conditions will be like during the next six months. In any case the matter is one for the Reserve Bank of India to decide.

#### WORLD UNIVERSITY SERVICE

**\*66. Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** Will the Minister of Education be pleased to lay on the Table of the House a copy of the aims and objects of the Delhi Committee of the World University Service, and state:

(a) whether any survey of student community is contemplated;

(b) if so, the purpose thereof; and

(c) whether the Government of India are co-operating with the scheme in any way?

**The Minister of Communications (Shri Jagjivan Ram):** A statement of

aims and objects of the World University Service, with certain additional information, is placed on the Table of the House. [See Appendix I, Annexure No. 23.]

(a) and (b) Yes, Sir. The Service proposes to survey the social and economic conditions of College students in Delhi State.

(c) The Government of India are sympathetic towards the aims and objects of the World University Service but have received no request from the Service in respect of this scheme.

**Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** May I know, Sir, the name of the countries in which this kind of service is in vogue?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** I have not got the names of all the countries; but its headquarters are in Switzerland, I think.

**Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** Has this committee commenced its work; if so, when?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** The Indian Committee has commenced its work and a National Committee has been formed with headquarters at Delhi. This service was formed in 1950 and it has commenced its work.

**Shri M. L. Dwivedi:** May I know, Sir, if Government gave any kind of financial assistance to this committee?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** Not yet.

**Shri S. C. Samanta:** May I know, Sir, how many other local committees have been formed till now, excepting Delhi?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** Committees have been formed at Aligarh, Calcutta, Patna, Agra, Allahabad, Delhi, Madras, Bombay, Hyderabad and Gauhati.

**Shri S. C. Samanta:** May I know, Sir, what is the amount of assistance given annually?

**Shri Jagjivan Ram:** Local committees are expected to raise their own funds from the contribution from members and some help might come from the World Universities' Services; but that has not yet been decided.

#### COLOMBO PLAN

**\*67. Shri Velayudhan:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) what are the various items of the Colombo Plan which are linked with the Five Year Plan of the Government of India; and

(b) whether the Colombo Plan has in any way changed the time schedule of the Five Year Plan?

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** (a) The Colombo Plan is a Six Year Development Plan. Accordingly, the only difference between the plan of the Government of India included in the revised Colombo Plan and the Five Year Plan is that the probable expenditure on development for an additional year not covered by the latter is included in the former. There is no other difference of substance.

(b) No, Sir.

**Shri Velayudhan:** May I know, Sir, how far this change will affect the internal and external loan which was envisaged in the Five Year Plan?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** As I said, Sir, there has been no change.

**Shri Velayudhan:** May I know, Sir, whether there is any change or change in timing regarding the various plans contemplated in the Five Year Plan, because it has been extended to six years, as the Finance Minister himself said in one of his speeches in Bombay?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** No, Sir. Since we have a Five Year Plan which is in draft outline and since for the purpose of the Colombo Plan we wanted a six year plan, all that we had to do is to project as best as we could the Five Year Plan into the sixth year. That makes no difference to all the works that are included in the Five Year Plan.

**Shri Velayudhan:** Does it mean, Sir, that the Six Year Plan will not have anything to do with the Five Year Plan?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** For the first five years, they are identical in substance.

#### LOANS FROM INTERNATIONAL BANK

\*68. **Shri B. R. Bhagat:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to refer to the reply to starred question No. 41 for 8th February, 1952 regarding loan from International Bank and state the nature and the amount of the loan and the time when it will be granted?

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** The International Bank is taking steps to make a technical scrutiny of projects which are considered suitable for grant of loans. The nature and the amounts of loans will be discussed with the Bank after the conclusion of this appraisal.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** May I know, Sir, whether the Government of India had made an application for a loan and if

so for what purpose and what is the amount?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** The time for making an application has not arrived. But certain projects were submitted to the Bank for preliminary consideration and of these the Bank have indicated five which might on examination qualify for a loan.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** The hon. Minister in reply to question No. 41 on the 8th February said that the International Bank Mission which visited India in the early part of the year has submitted a report to the executive of the International Bank and the report is being considered by them. May I know whether the Executive Committee has come to a decision on the report, and if so, what is their decision?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** That report, Sir, was on the general economic conditions in India as a preparation for possible negotiations for a loan. To my knowledge the report has not yet come before the Executive Board for discussion.

**Shri B. Das:** May I enquire if the Government of India have represented to the International Bank about the high rate of interest that they are charging and whether they will limit it to 3½ per cent. to the borrowing countries?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** We have made no such representation, Sir, and the matter of the level of the interest rate charged by the International Bank has been explained in the past. It includes an element for commission as well as an element for building up reserves over and above the actual rate at which the Bank is able to raise loans in the open market in the United States of America.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** May I know what are the projects that have been taken up by the World Bank.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** The projects about which preliminary discussion is going on are these:

Loans to the Industrial Finance Corporation;

Loans for the purchase of railway equipment;

Loans for the Damodar Valley Corporation;

then Mysore Fertiliser Project and a pig iron project.

Of these, we have now decided to omit the project for the purchase of railway equipment, as we find that we shall be able to purchase most of the equipment in the non-dollar area.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha:** May I know, Sir, if during the discussions, Kosi project was taken up at any stage?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** I have given the names of the projects on which discussions centred.

**Mr. Speaker:** Question No. 69.....

For the moment, I will pass over this question. But I am sorry that the hon. Minister is not present in the House. He is expected to be present when the question is called. We will proceed to the next question—but that also relates to the Law Minister.

**The Prime Minister (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** I am exceedingly sorry that my colleague the Law Minister is not here. He is engaged in the other House. May I send for him from the other House, Sir,

**Dr. Katju:** I am in charge of this question, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not insisting on the presence of any particular Minister. The hon. Prime Minister, perhaps, thought that I am insisting on the presence of the Law Minister. Of course it would be better if he were here, because he could answer the supplementaries better. But in case of his absence from this House for unavoidable reasons (such as his presence in the other House) somebody should be in charge of his question.

**Dr. Katju:** I am in charge of it.

**Mr. Speaker:** That I did not know—nor did the hon. the Prime Minister mention it. It is better in such cases that the Secretary is informed in advance so that I may call upon the Minister who represents the absent Minister.

So we will take up Question No. 69.

**Shri Velayudhan:** Does that apply to the Members also?

**Mr. Speaker:** No.

#### RETURNS OF ELECTION EXPENSES

\*69. **Shri S. N. Das:** Will the Minister of Law be pleased to state:

(a) the number of persons who failed to lodge with the returning officers the returns of their election expenses within the stipulated time 40PSD.

and in the manner prescribed by law in the last general election;

(b) the number of such of them as were considered by the Election Commission to have incurred disqualification under Clause (c) of section 7 or under section 143 of the Representation of the People Act;

(c) the number of such of the above persons as submitted representations to the Election Commission for the removal of the disqualification referred to in sub rule (4) of rule 114 of the Representation of the People (Conduct of Election and Election Petitions) Rules 1951; and

(d) the number of cases in which disqualifications incurred by the candidate or the election agent were removed by the Election Commission under sub rule (7) of rule 114 of the above-mentioned rules?

**The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju):** (a) to (d). The information asked for is not readily available and will take some time to compile. In any case, such information as the Election Commission has in its possession is incomplete, because reports as to the lodging of election expenses returns have still to be received from certain Returning Officers. The Election Commission will however compile the statistics asked for as soon as all Returning Officers have submitted their reports under rule 114 (1) of the Representation of the People (Conduct of Elections and Election Petitions) Rules, 1951, and the same will be laid on the Table of the House in due course.

**Shri S. N. Das:** May I know whether the Election Commissioner has laid down any procedure for the enquiry which he is required to make in regard to the removal of disqualifications?

**Dr. Katju:** I think he takes into consideration every single case on its merits.

सेठ गोविन्द बास : क्या यह बात सही नहीं है कि गये चुनाव में भी चुनावों का खर्च दाखिल करने में इसी प्रकार की अड़चनें आई थीं और क्या माननीय मंत्री जी को यह बात मालूम है कि उस समय इस तरह की जितनी अड़चनें आई थीं, उन को दूर कर दिया गया था और

उन लोगों के ऊपर से इस प्रकार की पाबन्दी हटा दी गई थी ?

[Seth Govind Das: Is it not a fact that even in the last general elections similar disqualifications were incurred by candidates in submitting the returns of their election expenses and does the hon. Minister know that all such disqualifications and the restrictions resulting therefrom were removed at that time?]

डा० काटजू : यह सवाल तो आप का ऐसा गोल है कि जिस का कोई जवाब नहीं। मुझे नहीं मालूम क्या अड़चने आई थीं और किस तरीके से उन को दूर कर दिया गया। अब आज कल की कौफियत यज्ञ है कि रिटर्निंग अफसर इत्तला देता है इलेक्शन कमीशन को, कि या तो पन्द्रह दिन के बाद वह इलेक्शन एक्सपेंसेज दाखिल हुए, या उन में कुछ गलतियाँ रह गई हैं, इस वजह से वह कायदों के मुताबिक नहीं और फिर इलेक्शन कमीशन इस की इत्तला देता है और गजट करता है कि आप उस उम्मीदवार को जो चाहे कामयाब हुआ हो या नाकामयाब हुआ हो वह इम देरी और बेकायदगी की वजह बतलाये और वह उम्मीदवार वजह देता है, इलेक्शन कमीशन मेरे या मेरी मिनिस्ट्री का ताबेदार नहीं है, वह बिल्कुल एक इंडिपेंडेंट और खुदमुस्तार अफसर होता है और वह हर केस को देखता है और अगर वह समझता है कि उम्मीदवार ने जो वजहें बयान की हैं, वह मुनासिब हैं तो वह उन की डिस्क्वालिफिकेशन दूर कर देता है।

[Dr. Katju: Your question is so vague that it could hardly be answered. I do not know what were the disqualifications and in what manner they were removed. But the present position is that the Returning Officer informs the Election Commission that such and such candidate has not submitted returns of his election expenses in due time i.e. fifteen days, or that certain discrepancies have arisen which are not in conformity with the existing election

rules. The Election Commission in its turn asks the candidate, whether he may have succeeded or failed, to state reasons for the delay and the irregularities. This is also notified in the Gazette. The candidate submits his reasons. But the Commissioner is not under me or my Ministry. He is altogether an independent officer. He examines every case on its merits and if he thinks that the reasons as given by the candidate are sufficient, he removes those disqualifications.]

सेठ गोविन्ददास : मैं यह पूछ रहा था कि .....

[Seth Govind Das: I was asking.....]

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. We are now entering into an argument. The hon. Minister has not got the information he wants.

Seth Govind Das rose—

Mr. Speaker: No explanations are necessary now.

Shri N. S. Nair: Are Government aware that some of these rules are so technical and unreasonable that they almost border on absurdity?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. He is expressing an opinion and entering into an argument.

#### ELECTIONS

\*70. Shri S. N. Das: Will the Minister of Law be pleased to state:

(a) the number of cases in which inquiries were made and prosecutions instituted under section 137 of the Representation of the People Act arising out of the first general election; and

(b) the number of such cases in which there were convictions?

The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju): (a) Inquiries were made in a number of cases in Punjab and Travancore-Cochin and in one case in the Uttar Pradesh but no prosecution was sanctioned in any of these cases. In two cases, one in Bombay and the other in Rajasthan, inquiries were made and sanction to institute proceedings under section 137 of the Representation of the People Act, 1951 was given. No inquiries were made or prosecutions sanctioned under this section in other States except West Bengal, PEPSU and Manipur, from where details have not so far been received by the Election Commission.

(b) There has been no conviction so far.

**Shri S. N. Das:** May I know what is the number of complaints received by the Chief Electoral Officer in each State and the Election Commission regarding the contravention of the provisions of the Representation of the People Act, 1951 by the officers engaged in the elections?

**Dr. Katju:** I shall require notice.

**Shri Dabhi:** What is the name of the gentlemen in Bombay against whom proceedings were instituted?

**Mr. Speaker:** I do not think the names should be given here as to who were proceeded against.

**Shri Punnoose:** May I know whether complaints have been received by the Government regarding the use of State cars by Ministers in certain States in the elections?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. It will be a matter within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Election Commission.

**Shri Velayudhan:** Can we not ask about them in the Parliament?

**Mr. Speaker:** Not anything and everything. (*Interruption from Shri Velayudhan.*)

He may have recourse according to law.

#### BHAKRA-NANGAL PROJECT

\*71. **Shri B. K. Das:** Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that an American Engineer has been appointed for the Bhakra-Nangal project; and

(b) if so, what are the terms of his appointment?

**The Minister of Planning and River Valley Schemes (Shri Nanda):** (a) and (b). Yes, Sir. Presumably the hon. Member has in mind Mr. M. H. Slocum, who has been appointed as a Consultant for the Bhakra Nangal Project. If so, a copy of the agreement entered into by him with the Government of Punjab is laid on the Table of the House. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 24.]

**Shri B. K. Das:** May I know whether this appointment has been made to remove any special difficulty that has now arisen in the working of the Bhakra Nangal project?

**Shri Nanda:** It has been made in view of the magnitude and complexity of the whole project.

**Shri B. K. Das:** May I know whether any office has been set up for him in U.S.A. after his appointment?

**Shri Nanda:** Mr. Slocum had got it provided in the agreement that in order to recruit certain experts that might be required he would set up a small office.

**Shri B. K. Das:** Has it been set up?

**Shri Nanda:** I would require notice.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** May I know if this particular appointment has the sanction of the Government of India and also how this particular person was selected—what was the machinery?

**Shri Nanda:** The Government of India is not concerned to that extent. There is a Control Board which can initiate such matters and finalize them. This is what happened in this case also. The matter was referred to the Government of India and it agreed.

**Shri Nambiar:** May I know whether the Government of India could not get an Indian engineer for this purpose?

**Shri Nanda:** They could not get an Indian engineer.

**Shri Velayudhan:** Was any advertisement made?

**Mr. Speaker:** There is no use going into these things. I am going to the next question.

**Shri Velayudhan:** He categorically said that they could not get an Indian engineer. Therefore...

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. The hon. Member will not be called upon henceforth, if he persists in this way.

#### KOSI PROJECT

\*72. **Shri B. R. Bhagat:** Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state:

(a) whether and what final decision in regard to the Kosi-River Project has been taken by the Government of India; and

(b) when the work on the above Project is likely to be taken up?

**The Minister of Planning and River Valley Schemes (Shri Nanda):** (a) No, Sir.

(b) Does not arise.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** In view of the assurance given by the Prime Minister to the people of Bihar when he visited that State that Kosi project will be given top priority, may I know whether this consideration has been taken into account by the Planning Commission?

**Shri Nanda:** This will be taken into account by the Planning Commission when the Plan is being finalized in respect of the Second Part.

**Shri B. R. Bhagat:** In putting this Kosi project in the Second Part of the Plan has the fact that the Prime Minister assured the people of Bihar that this project will be given top priority been taken into consideration?

**Shri Nanda:** Apart from the assurance of the Prime Minister, the reports of experts themselves on this scheme assure us of its soundness and therefore it will receive very high priority with the Planning Commission on its own merits.

#### LOAN DUE FROM BURMA

\*73. **Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) the amount of outstanding loan which is due to be repaid to India by Burma;

(b) when the next instalment is payable and what is the amount of the instalment;

(c) whether the Government of Burma has requested the Government of India to defer payment of the next instalment;

(d) whether it is a fact that a similar request was made by Burma to Great Britain, which was rejected; and

(e) whether the Government of India propose to grant further time for payment of the next instalment due from Burma?

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** (a) The amount due from Burma is Rs. 71 crores approximately, comprised of Rs. 65 crores separation debt, inclusive of interest and Rs. 5.75 crores on account of Burma's share of Central pensions.

(b), (c) and (e). The separation debt is repayable by equated half-yearly instalments on 31st March and 30th September each year. No payment has, however, been received since 31st March 1942. No payment has also been received after that date in respect of their share of pension payment.

Our Ambassador in Burma has been asked to request the Burma Govern-

ment to send their representatives to settle the question of these outstanding. No reply has yet been received.

(d) The Government of India are not aware of any request made by Burma to Great Britain and rejected by the U.K. Government.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** Is it a fact that in the beginning of 1951, the Government of Burma requested the Government of India to grant them time for payment of the loan?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** I am not aware of the fact, Sir.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** When was this loan due to be fully paid?

**Mr. Speaker:** Will the hon. Member sit down now?

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** May I request you to tell me what the Minister says in reply because it is very easy to hear you but we find the Ministers very indistinct.

**Mr. Speaker:** He need not make that kind of allegation. Because the hon. Member is standing and the hon. Minister finds himself unable to stand, according to rules. He should sit immediately after putting the question and then the hon. Minister will reply to him now.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** On separation the liability of Burma to India except in respect of Central pensions was consolidated into a debt of Rs. 50.8 crores repayable in 45 years with interest at 3½ per cent. by equated half-yearly instalments.

**Shri R. K. Chaudhury:** Was there any condition to the effect that if three successful instalments fall due and are not paid, the whole amount will at once be payable?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** I want notice of the question.

**Shri B. S. Murthy:** Now that for ten years the Government of Burma has not paid, may I know the methods proposed by the Government of India to realize the amount from the Government of Burma?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** As I said, we have already taken steps and in international relations the steps could only be a request addressed to the Government of Burma. In December 1951, as I said, the Ministry of External Affairs forwarded to our Ambassador in Burma an *Aide-memoire* for transmission to the Burma Government in regard to this debt.

**Shri B. S. Murthy:** Nearly 6 months have elapsed since our Government asked our Ambassador in Burma to request the Government of Burma to attend to this affair and no reply has come. Therefore, I want to know what further steps the Government of India have taken.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** We have given some consideration to the preoccupation of Burma with her internal problems.

**Shri Dabhi:** What are the reasons given by Burma for not paying the loan?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** They have not given any reasons. It is easy to guess the reasons.

#### EXPORTS AND CUSTOMS REVENUE

\*74. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether the final customs revenue for 1951-52 has shown any surplus over the budgeted estimates for the year 1951-52; and

(b) if so, what is the surplus amount?

**The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi):** (a) Yes.

(b) Rs. 74,84,43,000 (Seventy-four crores, eighty-four lakhs and forty-three thousand rupees).

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** May I know the chief items of exports which have increased the customs revenue?

**Shri Tyagi:** The chief items of imports that gave this surplus revenue were wine and liquor which count for Rs. 1 crore, Kerosene oil Rs. 1 crore, motor spirits Rs. 7.5 crores, automobiles Rs. 3 crores, dyes derived from coal tar Rs. 0.85 crore, machinery Rs. 1.5 crore, wood pulp, paper and stationery Rs. 1.6 crore, art silk, yarn and thread Rs. 4.8 crores, cycles and parts Rs. 1.65 crores and all other articles which have got no separate budget head Rs. 20 crores.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** May I know whether India exports machinery and parts of cycles?

**Shri Tyagi:** I have talked about imports.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** I asked about exports.

**Shri Tyagi:** About exports jute gave us additional surplus of Rs. 23.33 crores, raw cotton and cotton waste Rs. 3

crores, cotton cloth Rs. 0.63 crore, manganese ore Rs. 1.07 crore, black pepper Rs. 1.31 crore and wool Rs. 1.5 crore, less Tea Rs. 1.00 crore and the total is Rs. 27.04 crores.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** May I know the reasons for earning more customs duty; whether more orders have increased the export duty?

**Shri Tyagi:** It is very difficult at the time of budgetting to budget with actual accuracy because the markets these days are not so regular and there are so many fluctuations that it is very difficult to anticipate. This year we had to resort to liberalized imports and then the international prices of articles imported varied a lot and the prices were raised with the result that the *ad valorem* duty rate also was raised and we got an additional revenue on that account. The same arguments apply in the case of exports.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** May I know what is the total amount of revenue obtained by the export of pepper?

**Shri Tyagi:** I have not got the figures ready at hand, but I can supply the hon. Member if he wants to have it.

**Shri T. N. Singh:** The hon. Minister stated that the duty from imported cars has gone up by over Rs. 5 crores. May I know whether the ceiling fixed for car imports was in any way relaxed or is it due to some other reason?

**Shri Tyagi:** Imports are regulated by means of licences issued and that always depends upon our foreign exchange position and the capacity to purchase and therefore, it varies according to our means.

**Shri G. P. Sinha:** Is it a fact that our exports have been liberalized just to raise the revenues?

**Shri Tyagi:** Not to raise the revenue, but to get more foreign exchange.

#### HELP TO NEPAL

\*75. **Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government of India have agreed to give financial help to Nepal in the shape of a loan; and

(b) if so, what is the exact amount and the condition of the loan?

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** (a) and (b). The Government of India have agreed, in

principle, to give to Nepal financial help in the shape of a loan for furthering its economic progress. The exact amount and the conditions of the loan will form the subject of negotiations with the Nepal Government when its development plans are ready for discussion.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** May I know whether the Government of India will have a survey of all the development plans of Nepal before granting the loan?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** We should want a clear idea of the development plans before we can determine the amount of the loan and the instalments in which the loan is to be paid.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** Has it been agreed between the Government of India and Nepal that the officials of both the Governments should make a survey of the requirements of Nepal and make recommendations?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** Yes, Sir.

**Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:** May I know whether the Government of India propose to send the experts of the Planning Commission to survey the situation over there?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** That is not necessary at this stage, Sir. We must receive a preliminary report from the officials who have been sent.

**Shri B. S. Murthy:** May I know whether before giving the loan, Government will take care to see that the help would be more in the form of material and technical assistance than money?

**Mr. Speaker:** I am afraid that is a suggestion for action.

**Shri Velayudhan:** May I know whether India is in a position to give a loan to Nepal when we ourselves are getting loans from other countries?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order; it is a matter of argument.

**Shri Nambiar:** May I know whether the hon. Minister can explain the contradiction between getting large loans from America and the Moneatry Fund and giving loans to Nepal?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order; he is trying to argue. Next question.

#### SMUGGLING OF CHINESE SILVER DOLLARS

\*76. **Shri S. C. Samanta:** Will the

Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that Rs. 83,000 worth Chinese silver dollars were seized by Indian Central Excise and Land Customs officers at Kalimpong on the 8th of April, 1952;

(b) if so, from whom;

(c) the amount of such seizures in the area since 1947 (year by year); and

(d) what steps were taken against the smugglers and the act of smuggling?

**The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi):** (a) and (b). Twenty thousand uncurrent Chinese silver dollars weighing 49,500 tolas and worth Rs. 66,000 were seized from Shri Sree Chand Agarwala of Kalimpong on the 8th April, 1952.

(c) 1947—Nil

1948—1,30,853 tolas

1949—58,506 tolas

1950—40,792 tolas

1951—15,957 tolas

1952 (upto 13th May)—1,40,478 tolas.

(d) Information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the House, as soon as it is available.

**Shri S. C. Samanta:** Has the Government any information as to how these Chinese dollars are being utilised by these smugglers in India?

**Shri Tyagi:** They are made use of for the purpose of making silver and making profits from the sale of silver.

**Shri S. C. Samanta:** May I know whether jeeps furnished with wireless sets and armaments have been kept ready for seizing smugglers in that area?

**Shri Tyagi:** Not in this area particularly; but there are jeeps used in other borders.

**Shri C. D. Pande:** May I know if any political motive is involved in this smuggling?

**Shri Tyagi:** I do not think there is any political motive. Smuggling is only non-official.

#### LOANS TO DISPLACED PERSONS

\*77. **Giani G. S. Musafir:** (a) Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state whether the Government of India have decided to adjust the loans given to displaced persons through the State Governments from claims of their properties left in Pakistan?

(b) if so, is there any proposal for allowing this concession to the persons who have been advanced loans by the Rehabilitation Finance Administration?

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** (a) Government of India have recently announced a scheme whereby repayment of small loans advanced to displaced persons by State Governments for trade, business, industry, education, house-building etc., will remain suspended upto one-tenth of their verified claims against properties left in Pakistan until the payment of the first instalment of recompense. The loans will not be extinguished and interest will continue to accrue until repayment. (b) Government do not consider it desirable to extend the scheme to loans granted by the Rehabilitation Finance Administration.

گیانی جی - ایس - مسافر : مائنیہ وزیر خزانہ نے پارت بی کا جواب دیتے ہوئے کہا ہے کہ گورنمنٹ کنسیدر کرنے کے لئے تیار نہیں ۔ اس کا کارن کیا ہے ؟

[Giani G. S. Musafir: While answering part (b) of the question the hon. Minister of Finance stated that the Government was not prepared to consider the question. May I know the reasons?]

श्री सी० डी० देशमुख : वह उद्योग के लिये दिये गये हैं और उम्मीद ऐसी है कि उनको उद्योग घंघो से जो मुनाफा मिलेगा उसमें से वह अपना ऋण अदा कर सकेंगे ।

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Those loans have been given for industries and it is hoped that they would be able to repay them from the profits which would accrue to them from those industries.]

گیانی جی - ایس - مسافر : کیا مائنیہ وزیر خزانہ کو پتہ ہے کہ بہت سی تعداد ایسے لوگوں کی ہے جو بروقت اپنا انسٹالمنٹ نہیں دے سکتے ہیں -

[Giani G. S. Musafir: Does the hon. Minister know that there are many

persons who are not in a position to pay their instalments in time.]

श्री सी० डी० देशमुख : अगर ऐसे कुछ खास मामले हों तो उनको दर्याफ्त किया जा सकता है ।

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh: Such cases can be enquired into.]

گیانی جی - ایس - مسافر : اس سلسلہ میں وضاحت کے لئے میں صرف ایک سوال پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ مائنیہ مفتدی کو کیا اس بات کا پتہ ہے کہ ایسے لوگوں کی کیا کثرت ہے جو سلسپ کی وجہ سے اپنا انسٹالمنٹ نہیں دے سکے ہیں اور ان پر مقدمات دائر کئے جا رہے ہیں -

[Giani G. S. Musafir: I want to ask only one question in this connection i.e., whether the hon. Minister knows the number of such persons who being hard hit by the slump, are not in a position to pay the instalments and thus are being prosecuted in the courts?]

श्री सी० डी० देशमुख : मैं इस वक्त इत्तला नहीं दे सकता हूँ ।

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I cannot give this information at this time.]

डा० राम सुभग सिंह : रियायत देने की जो बात मंत्रीजी ने बतलाई है तो क्या कोई रकम निश्चित की गई है कि इतने तक के कर्ज पर यह रियायत दी जायेगी, जैसे पांच करोड़ या तीन करोड़ ?

[Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: The Minister has made a reference to the grant of concessions. I would like to know whether any limit has been fixed for this purpose, viz., Rs. three crores or five crores?]

श्री सी० डी० देशमुख : जहां तक मुझे याद है कोई रकम मुकर्रर नहीं की गई है ।

[**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** So far as I remember no amount has been fixed.]

**Shri Datar:** May I know the total extent of loan given to displaced persons?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** I want notice of the question.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** May I know whether the principle he has stated in reply to part (a) of the question will apply also to refugees from East Pakistan?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** I think both are governed by the same regulations.

#### MULTI-PURPOSE PROJECTS

\*78. **Kumari Annie Mascarene:** (a) Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state what is the amount invested so far by Government in multi-purpose projects?

(b) What is the amount proposed to be invested under the first Five Year Plan for investigation and execution of multi-purpose projects?

(c) Which are these projects and where have they been executed?

(d) Which are the places where the future projects are proposed to be executed?

(e) Is there any project investigated or proposed to be investigated and executed in South India or in Kerala?

**The Minister of Planning and River Valley Schemes (Shri Nanda):** (a) Excepting the Central Government's contribution to the Damodar Valley Corporation towards the capital expenditure on the Damodar Valley Project, Government have not directly invested any amount in multi-purpose projects. The total amount of contribution paid to the Damodar Valley Corporation upto 31st March, 1952 is Rs. 8.7328 crores. Government have, however, been advancing from time to time loans to the State Governments for the execution of such projects within their respective territories.

(b) to (d). The attention of the hon. Member is invited to the schedule attached to the Draft Five Year Plan published by the Government of India.

(e) Investigations regarding the possibilities of development of the water resources in Coorg are in hand.

**Kumari Annie Mascarene:** May I know whether any amount has been given to Travancore-Cochin State for any project?

**Shri Nanda:** The projects which are included in the Five Year Plan are given at the end of the volume and Travancore-Cochin certainly figures there. On page 292 figures are given both of estimated cost and the expenditure to be incurred during this period. It will be found that during 1951-52, Rs. 1,37,00,000 have been provided.

**Kumari Annie Mascarene:** I could not catch the number.

**Shri Nanda:** There are six projects included in the first part of the Five Year Plan.

**Shri V. P. Nayar:** May I know whether one of the purposes of these multi-purpose projects is to waste money?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay:** May I know whether the basic type and the composite type of projects are to be financed by the Central Government?

**Shri Nanda:** This is a question regarding river valley projects and not about community projects.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is a different subject altogether.

**Shri Bhandari:** May I know whether any projects have been included for Rajasthan?

**Shri Nanda:** There are projects for Rajasthan.

**Shri Nesamony:** So far as these projects are concerned are Government aware that they had been included in the local State Budget for the last three years?

**Shri Nanda:** The question before us relates to what the Central Government proposes to do. Each State has its own projects which are submitted to us for the purpose of such central assistance as can be made available to them.

**Shri Damodara Menon:** The hon. Minister stated that a crore of rupees has been spent in Travancore-Cochin State. May I know whether the whole of this amount has been contributed by the Central Government?

**Shri Nanda:** There is no contribution to State Governments except what I have indicated. Contributions as such were confined to the Damodar Valley Project. There are certain loans provided for States and if the hon. Member wants, I can read out the list.

**Mr. Speaker:** Are they not put in the Five Year Plan?

**Shri Nanda:** These are the actual figures.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Could the hon. Minister give an idea as to the amount spent by the Government of India on minor irrigation projects in comparison with that spent on multi-purpose schemes?

**Shri Nanda:** I require notice.

**Shri Punnoose:** May I know whether all the plans recommended by the Travancore-Cochin Government have been approved and sanctioned by the Centre?

**Shri Nanda:** The list is given there and in addition for the purpose of the second part of the Five Year Plan various proposals are coming and in the course of the next month they will be scrutinised and a final list of priorities will be prepared.

**Mr. Speaker:** Next question.

NATIONAL LABORATORIES FOR RE-FINING OIL FROM SPICES ETC.

\*79. **Kumari Annie Mascarene:** Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state whether there is any national laboratory in South India for refining oil from spices and lemongrass?

**The Minister of Communications (Shri Jagjivan Ram):** Research work on refining oil from spices and lemongrass has been conducted at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore and the University College of Science, Calcutta under the guidance of the Essential Oils Research Committee of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. Some work on this subject has also been done at the University of Travancore, Travancore.

**Kumari Annie Mascarene:** In view of the fact that this industry is a very thriving one in the Travancore-Cochin State, will the Government please consider the question of establishing a refining laboratory in the Travancore-Cochin State?

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. I cannot allow questions which contain suggestions for action. They may be made independently during the course of debates. Next question.

CLOSED BANKS

\*80. **Shri A. C. Guha:** (a) Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to refer to the reply given to starred question No. 3976 asked on the 9th May, 1951 and state which of the closed banks have so far given dividends to the creditors and at what rate?

(b) What were the expenses incurred by each of the closed banks since their closure?

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** (a) and (b). The Reserve Bank of India has no statutory power to call for any information on the subject from the liquidators who work under the control and supervision of the respective High Courts and are, therefore, responsible only to them. The Reserve Bank has been requested to collect the required information from the official liquidators and whatever information is received will be laid on the Table of the House in due course.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** A year ago, in reply to another question the hon. Minister gave me the same reply, namely that whatever information is received will be laid on the Table of the House. I do not know whether that information has been laid on the Table of the House or not.

**Mr. Speaker:** I remember in reply to another question later the hon. Minister stated that it required a change in the law and that they were considering it. Am I correct?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** I do not know which question the hon. Member is referring to.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** Question No. 3976.

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** The information promised in respect of parts (a), (b) and (c) of starred question No. 3976 refers to part (a) of the present question and was supplied to the Department of Parliamentary Affairs on 7th January, 1952 and was laid on the Table of the House during the last session of Parliament.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** May I know whether the Reserve Bank has sent any information as to the amount spent by the liquidators?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** No, Sir.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** Can the Reserve Bank get the information from the liquidators?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** The Reserve Bank can make a request for the information but I do not know whether they can get it.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** May I know when the proposed change in the law will be effected and whether any steps have been taken in that regard?

**Shri C. D. Deshmukh:** We have decided to set up a committee to inquire into the work of the liquidators and to advise the necessary legislative and

procedural changes in the matter of liquidation of banking companies on an All India basis in order to expedite liquidation proceedings. The scope, personnel and terms of reference of the proposed committee are under consideration in consultation with the Reserve Bank and the Ministry of Law. It is expected that the committee will start functioning sometime in July next.

**HIRAKUD PROJECT (ENQUIRY)**

\*81. **Shri A. C. Guha:** (a) Will the Minister of **Natural Resources and Scientific Research** be pleased to state whether there has been any enquiry into the working of the Hirakud Project?

(b) If so, what were the scope and terms of reference?

(c) What are the findings of the enquiry?

(d) Has any action been taken on or in consequence of the enquiry?

**The Minister of Planning and River Valley Schemes (Shri Nanda):** (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) A copy of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research Resolution No. DW.II-12(17), dated the 9th November, 1951 which gives the scope and terms of reference etc., of the Committee is laid on the Table of the House [See Appendix I, annexure No. 25].

(c) The Committee have not yet submitted their report to the Government.

(d) Does not arise.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** According to the statement given to me the committee which is now proposed to be set up has not yet started any enquiries. But the first part of my question is about the enquiry that has been completed about accounting. The present committee is only on the report of that committee.

**Shri Nanda:** The report of the earlier committee was only recently received and has not yet been considered. This is the committee which had been set up and the terms of reference show that various administrative questions were referred to that committee and their report has not yet been received.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** Was there any committee regarding the accounting and audit of the whole expenditure?

**Shri Nanda:** This is the Committee regarding accounting and audit.

**Shri B. Das:** Is it not a fact that the committee on accounting was asked to produce their report in two months' time and is it not a fact that one of the members of the committee that has dispersed has joined as Accountant General, Central Revenues of the Government of India and the report is not yet forthcoming? What steps the hon. Minister is taking to get the report from the three gentlemen that composed that committee?

**Shri Nanda:** This matter has been looked into and steps have been taken to expedite their report. I think very soon an interim report will be made to the Government.

**WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS**

**CHARTER FOR UNIVERSITIES**

\*82. **Dr. P. S. Deshmukh:** (a) Will the Minister of Education be pleased to state whether Government are aware of the recommendations of the University Commission that Universities may be brought into existence by issue of a Charter by the President of India?

(b) Has this suggestion been considered by Government?

(c) If so, with what result?

**The Minister of Communications (Shri Jagjivan Ram):** (a) and (b). Yes, Sir.

(c) The Constitution of India does not empower the President to set up Universities through the issue of Charters.

**DEBT DUE FROM PAKISTAN**

\*83. **Shri P. T. Chacko:** Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state:

(a) whether any agreement has been reached with Pakistan in fixing the exact amount of the debt which Pakistan owes to India;

(b) whether Pakistan has paid any amount; and

(c) whether Pakistan is claiming any amount as outstanding from India?

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** (a) The exact amount of Pakistan's partition debt to India has not yet been determined.

(b) No, Sir. The first instalment of repayment falls due on the 15th August 1952.

(c) Yes, Sir. I would refer the hon. Member to the statement I placed on the Table of the Provisional Parliament on the 26th May 1951 in reply to Starred Question No. 4541 and the Statement I made in the Parliament on the 30th May 1951 on my discussions with the Finance Minister of Pakistan on the outstanding financial issues between India and Pakistan.

#### FINANCE COMMISSION

\*84. **Shri P. T. Chacko**: Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to refer to the reply to starred question No. 230 for 26th February, 1952 and state:

(a) whether the Finance Commission has completed its proposed tour of the States;

(b) what are the recommendations of the Commission regarding the division of Income-tax between the Union and the States; and

(c) what are its recommendations regarding grants-in-aid to the States?

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh)**: (a) No, Sir.

(b) and (c). The recommendations of the Commission to the President are awaited.

#### COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

\*85. **Shri P. T. Chacko**: (a) Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state the amount spent up-to-date from the Indo-American Technical Fund on Community Development Project?

(b) What is the contribution by U.S.A. to this fund?

(c) What is the nature of the expenditure in each project area?

(d) What is the basis on which project areas or development blocks were allotted to each State?

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh)**: (a) No amount has yet been expended as the project is still in the stage of formulation.

(b) During the United States fiscal year 1952 the Government of the United States has agreed to contribute \$50 million to the Indo-American Technical Co-operation Fund.

(c) The expenditure is initially to be incurred mainly in increasing agricultural production; certain basic facilities for education and health are also proposed to be provided for.

(d) Attention is invited to the answer given by the Minister of Planning to Question No. 31 on May 19, 1952.

#### ELECTRICITY TO PAKISTAN

\*86. **Giani G. S. Musafir**: Will the Minister of Natural Resources and Scientific Research be pleased to state:

(a) the quantity of electricity that is still being supplied to Pakistan from the Hydro-Electric Project, Joginder Nagar;

(b) the quantity of electricity that was being supplied to Pakistan at the time of partition from this project;

(c) how much electricity has been diverted to Indian territory since then;

(d) what was the period of supply of this electricity to Pakistan, agreed upon in the first agreement with Pakistan on this question;

(e) what is the time limit agreed upon in the latest agreement with Pakistan on the subject; and

(f) if there has been any time lag, what are the reasons therefor?

**The Minister of Planning and River Valley Schemes (Shri Nanda)**: (a) According to the present arrangement, the Punjab (India) Government is committed to supply power to Punjab (Pakistan) to the extent of 6000 KW, though in actual practice higher supply to the extent available is being given.

(b) About 16000 KW Maximum Demand.

(c) About 7000 KW Maximum Demand.

(d) No formal agreement has so far been entered into between the two Punjab in connection with the supply of electricity from Punjab (India) to Punjab (Pakistan). The supply was, however, continued to Punjab (Pakistan) from 15-8-47 to 31-12-47 under the Punjab Partition (Mandi Hydro-Electric System Operation) Order, 1947 and from 1-1-48 to 31-3-49 in accordance with the Arbitral Tribunal's Award. Thereafter, electricity has been supplied to Punjab (Pakistan) merely by exchange of letters and without any formal agreement.

(e) Two months with effect from 1-4-52.

(f) There has been no time lag.

#### MILITARY ACCOMMODATION

\*87. **Col. Zaidi:** Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is true that, as a result of the partition of India, two-thirds of Military Buildings and accommodation remained in Pakistan;

(b) what is the estimated cost for building proper and adequate accommodation for the normal strength of the post-war army in India; and

(c) what has been the annual provision made for this purpose in the last three financial years?

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Gopalaswami):** (a) Yes, that is roughly correct.

(b) On a very rough estimate, the cost may be placed at well over Rs. 200 crores.

(c) The annual provision for all Army Capital Works is as follows:

1949-50—Rs. 447.00 lakhs.

1950-51—Rs. 180.00 lakhs.

1951-52—Rs. 308.91 lakhs.

#### BRITISH OFFICERS

\*88. **Prof. Agarwal:** (a) Will the Minister of Defence be pleased to state the number of British officers who are still serving in the Military, Naval and Air Forces of the Indian Union?

(b) Is there any scheme for replacing these British officers by senior Indian officers in the near future?

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Gopalaswami):** (a) 82 in the Army, 53 in the Navy, and 10 in the Air Force.

(b) Yes, it is intended to fill the appointments now held by British Officers with Indian Officers as soon as suitable Indian Officers are available to fill such appointments. Indian Officers are being trained and given experience in order to make them fit to hold such appointments.

#### BROADCASTING STATION, BANGALORE

\*91. **Shri Gurupadaswamy:** Will the Minister of Information and Broadcasting be pleased to state:

(a) whether Government propose to open a broadcasting station in Bangalore; and

(b) if so, when?

**The Minister of Information and Broadcasting (Dr. Keskar):** (a) and (b) Yes. In the Five Year Development Plan of All India Radio, a provision is made for a broadcasting station at Bangalore.

#### CONFISCATED JEWELLERY OF NAWAB YAR JUNG OF HYDERABAD

\*92. **Shri Heda:** (a) Will the Minister of Finance be pleased to state what is the estimated value of the confiscated jewellery of Nawab Zaheer Yar Jung of Hyderabad by Customs authorities at Bombay Air Port?

(b) Have Government decided upon any action against the Nawab and for the disposal of the jewellery?

**The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi):** (a) The value of the jewellery seized from Nawab Zaheer Yar Jung of Hyderabad has not yet been assessed.

(b) The matter is still under investigation.

Dated 20/11/2014

THE  
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

237

238

HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Wednesday, 21st May, 1952

The House met at a Quarter to Eleven  
of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11-45 A.M.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

FIRST REPORT OF THE FINANCE  
COMMISSION

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the First Report of the Finance Commission to the President together with an Explanatory Memorandum showing the action taken thereon in accordance with article 281 of the Constitution. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 21.]

REPORT OF THE REHABILITATION  
FINANCE ADMINISTRATION

**The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh):** I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Report of the Rehabilitation Finance Administration for the half year ended the 31st December, 1951, in accordance with sub-section (2) of section 18 of the Rehabilitation Finance Administration Act, 1948. [See Appendix I, annexure No. 22.]

NOTIFICATIONS AMENDING THE U.P.S.C.  
(CONSULTATION) REGULATIONS

**The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju):** I beg to lay on the Table a copy of Notification No. 18/9/52-Ests., dated the 20th March, 1952 making certain further amend-

ment in the Union Public Service Commission (Consultation) Regulations, in accordance with clause (5) of article 320 of the Constitution. [Placed in Library. See No. P-4/52.]

I also beg to lay on the Table a copy of Notification No. 18/34 '50-Ests., dated the 5th May, 1952 making certain further amendment in the Union Public Service Commission (Consultation) Regulations, in accordance with clause (5) of article 320 of the Constitution. [Placed in Library. See No. P-6/52.]

MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE  
PRESIDENT—Contd.

**The Minister of Home Affairs and States (Dr. Katju):** I propose within the very short time at my disposal to deal with one or two important points. First of all, some hon. Members mentioned, rightly mentioned, that our attention and care should be bestowed upon our brethren the Adivasis, the Scheduled Tribes, the Scheduled Castes and also the backward classes, and some enquiry was made as to what had been done. Even some criticism was offered—I was rather surprised to hear it because the House is aware that under the Constitution there is a direction that for the amelioration and promotion of welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes the President should appoint a Commissioner and the Constitution describes the duties of that Commissioner. Now that Commissioner was appointed and he has been touring round the whole of India and I am certain that he has done a lot of good by way of advice and inspection. Furthermore, in the Budget a large sum, a crore and a half, was placed at the disposal of the State Governments by

[Dr. Katju]

the Central Government to enable them, in addition to their own resources, to do whatever was or could be possible to promote the welfare of these people. I may also add here for the information of hon. Members that we now propose to hold a conference on the 7th June to which people including members of the Legislature who have been taking keen interest in the past in the welfare, educational and otherwise, of these classes should come and read papers and give advice, and I am sure the conference would be a success, that it would be largely attended and their advice would be found useful. Furthermore, in some of the amendments that have not been moved and one that was moved some concern was expressed for the backward classes. The House is aware that under article 340 of the Constitution it is provided that the President may appoint a Commission for the examination of the whole of the problem of backward classes. This is a very complex question: Who are the backward classes? What are their numbers? Where are they living? All these are questions requiring detailed examination. The census was completed last year and we have given specific instructions to the Registrar-General, the gentleman who was in charge of this census, to make available this necessary information at the earliest possible date. It is no use appointing a Commission for the consideration of the whole of the problem of the backward classes unless and until we place at the disposal of that Commission the relevant material, the relevant information. I am hopeful that all this data will be available in a very short time, I hope within two months, it may be less, and as soon as that data has been collected we propose to appoint the Commission under the terms of that article 340 so that the whole of the problem of backward classes may be examined from every angle because—I do not want to repeat in this House—we would be grossly failing, each one of us, if we do not exert ourselves utmost to raise our brethren of the backward classes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes. Very fortunately, I am very happy to think, in every State Legislature and in Parliament, in this House as well as in the Council of States, the Scheduled Castes and Tribes are strongly represented. In the various State Legislatures they form a fair proportion of the total number of the Legislature. I am hopeful that these gentlemen will do their best not only to look after the interest of India as a whole but also,

particularly, to look after the interest of their own respective groups. The Constitution provides that these people should be given every opportunity in the service of the State consistent with efficiency and ability. Every effort is being made to promote their education, to provide schools for them, to provide medical facilities. All that can be done by human energy and the resources at our disposal is being done and we really ought to be proud of the effort that has been made.

There is another question and that is the big question with which I am concerned, namely the maintenance of law and order in this vast country of ours. I do hope that people who come to see us here will realise that this House of 500 represents more than 360 millions of people, I believe the second largest group in the world in point of population. Maintenance of law and order is a great thing. I should have expected that the hon. gentlemen opposite who have spoken so eloquently about blunders and thunders would have said something about the maintenance of law and order towards which, I regret to say, some of the parties and groups have not made a very tangible contribution. There was some talk yesterday about lawless laws and about invasions on civic liberties and something of that nature. This is the language which we have inherited from our past history. It may have been quite appropriate when the country was not being self-governed, but today to talk of any law as a lawless law I respectfully submit is a hopeless proposition. We have got our Constitution here, a Constitution framed by the people of India, and the validity of every law is open to contest, open to examination in the highest Court of the land. If it is invalid it is declared to be invalid. If it is lawful then it is in strict accordance with the will of the people. Therefore no law can now be characterised, and I suggest should be characterised, as a lawless law. It is a rather mischievous expression.

**Shri Velayudhan** (Quilon *cum* Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): When the police use that.....

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Dr. Katju:** The second proposition is this. When you talk of preventive detention and laws dealing with preventive detention, that is also permitted by the Constitution, it is not outside the Constitution. The framers of

the Constitution for reasons well-known deliberately inserted such provisions and every law which is passed by Parliament to carry out the intention of the makers of the Constitution, I submit, is a good law, the law entitled to reverence and to be obeyed. Some surprise was expressed as to why the President had particularly mentioned in his Address that the House would be called upon to consider the Preventive Detention Bill. I would have expected that this mention would have been welcomed for the very simple reason that the present Preventive Detention Act expires on the 30th of September 1952. The House would be sitting some time up to the end of July and we thought that it was desirable that this House should have an opportunity of considering this question whether further legislation was necessary or not; if necessary, then in what language; with what provisions; and we thought that that legislation should be enacted before the 30th of September. It was technically very easy after the dispersal of the House to bring in an Ordinance. We thought that that was a very inappropriate thing to do. Instead of an expression of gratitude, we have listened to criticism on this account. (*An Hon. Member:* Oh!) When the Bill comes, then it would be open to hon. Members to express their opinion. (*An Hon. Member:* Drop it.) One hon. Member says 'Drop it'. I will give you the reasons why it should not be dropped—not today, but a little later.

Now, Sir, that was the—I will be forgiven for the use of that expression—usual talk against detention without trial. As a lawyer, I have spent the whole of my life in an atmosphere of trials, but there are various difficulties. I am talking very plainly to you. In so far as subversive activities against the Constitution are concerned this House is very much alive. We talk of civic liberties and trials and everything, but on the opposite side no such concern is expressed about anti-social activities. Please remember that preventive detention deals with many matters—subversive activities; uprooting of the Constitution; (*Shri Velayudhan:* Uprooting of the Constitution? How?) the prevention of anti-social activities like profiteering; blackmarketing; (*Interruption*)—I have got figures here; and then maintenance of law and order. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Speaker:** It would be better not to intervene in that manner. The hon. Member is giving a continuous

running commentary. That is not fair. Let us at least hear him fully.

**Shri Velayudhan:** It is very difficult to tolerate such expressions of opinion.

**Mr. Speaker:** Nobody compels the hon. Member to sit here and listen. He can go to the lobby. What is the meaning of carrying on these running commentaries and passing remarks in that manner? If he intervenes again, perhaps a little more serious notice will have to be taken.

**Dr. Katju:** Preventive detention is used for all purposes. Now, a citizen of India is entitled to say—I mean everyone including a smuggler, a profiteer, anyone indulging in anti-social activities, as well as gentlemen opposite and their followers—everyone is entitled to say that there should not be detention without trial. Nobody says anything about the other side of the case.

So far as the details are concerned, so to say I am really astonished at my figures. I did not know that they were so low.

**An Hon. Member:** So are we.

12 NOON.

**Dr. Katju:** On the 17th May, 487 Communists and other politicals were under detention. Only 487. Out of these, 376 came from Hyderabad—great record; and 60 came from Bengal, number two in the race closely following. Leaving that aside, in other parts of India, the total number of Communists and other politicals was 51 and out of this 51, in Assam you get 20, out of which Communists are two and 18 are other politicals. In Bihar the Communists are four and other politicals are five and in Bombay you have a total of 18. That gives you 47 and in the rest of India there is complete peace and only three or four persons are in detention. Now, how can anybody say that this Act is being misused? I do not want to enter into any controversy about Hyderabad. You have had one speech from the opposite side. The hon. Member said that they were innocent lambs and that they were attacked and in sheer self-defence they had to take up arms. We had the great answer to that from my hon. friend Swami Ramananda Tirtha, behind me. He gave you the correct picture. I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Members who are interested in this affair to a booklet, not any propaganda material, but a booklet well documented containing reports, extracts etc. relating to Communist crimes in Hyderabad.

**Shri Punnoose (Alleppey):** One question, please. Is the hon. Minister prepared to place the whole case of Hyderabad before an impartial enquiry without referring to this propaganda?

**Dr. Katju:** I do not propose to take this case anywhere. The case is here, before this court of Parliament. You have got somebody outside to think of, not I.

**Shri Punnoose:** We have had such trash. We have seen that.

**Shri A. K. Gopalan (Cannanore):** Even yesterday there was a discussion on Telengana. Today also there is a discussion. There had been a proposal from the other side that there must be an enquiry on behalf of the opposite side. Even on the basis of the general debate and the discussion, I want to say that instead of this demand being made on one side and the other side repeating it, we may take some action. The hon. Prime Minister is here; the other Ministers also are here. We agree that an enquiry may be made on behalf of either side. If this is decided, we are ready for that, not only about Hyderabad but about other parts also.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let us not go into an independent and separate question at present. The hon. Members on this side have had their say. The hon. Members on the other side are having their say. The hon. Members on this side will have an opportunity of saying something more, if not today, at least during all the thirty days that the Parliament will be sitting.

**Shri Punnoose:** On a point of order.

**Mr. Speaker:** I must invite the attention of the hon. Member to one aspect. Will he resume his seat? During the course of his heat, he used the expression "lying propaganda". It is very unparliamentary to say that, and I am ordering the deletion of the word "lying". It is one thing to say that it is "propaganda". That is quite all right. We must be at least decent in our expressions. As I said on the first occasion, parliamentary Government is necessarily Government by discussion. Different viewpoints will be coming in. Let us bear with each other patiently. That is exactly what I warned Shri Velayudhan about and asked him not to go on interrupting. We are not here for exchanging hot words. We are here for placing quietly our case before the sovereign Parliament of this entire country.

**Shri Velayudhan cse—**

**Mr. Speaker:** I am not going to hear the hon. Member. (Shri Velayudhan: May I say one word?) Not even a word.

**Shri Raghavaiah (Ongole):** On a point of information. May I know whether the document to which the hon. Minister is referring is an unofficial document or a document that has been brought out by parties interested in this dispute of Telengana?

**Mr. Speaker:** If he had heard the hon. Minister till the end perhaps he would have got the explanation he wants. What I do not want and seriously object to is interruption from time to time which results in the break of the chain of argument of the hon. Member interrupted; consequently he takes unnecessarily longer time. If he is to finish his speech at an appointed time, the best course is to hear him patiently. I do not know why hon. Members should be so much disturbed by arguments.

**Shri A. K. Gopalan:** You have perhaps not understood what I said. It is not that I do not want any arguments from the other side. There have been arguments and counter-arguments. Since the session of this House began we have been hearing patiently what the other side has to say. In order that the whole House as well as the people may understand things, may I request Government to appoint a non-official enquiry so that we may know the actual facts. That is all I have to say.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am afraid the time taken by these interruptions will have to be debited to hon. Members. Let there be no interruptions. I have a desire to give every party an equal chance, as far as possible. But let us, at the same time, make an attempt to save the time of the House. The hon. Minister, I hope, will now be permitted by the House to proceed in an undisturbed manner. By this time, perhaps, he would have finished.

**Shri P. T. Chacko (Meenachil):** May I know whether the unparliamentary word would be deleted from the proceedings?

**Mr. Speaker:** I have said that I am deleting it from the proceedings. In future if such an expression is used, I shall go a little further and ask the hon. Member to withdraw it, on failure of which other consequences will follow.

**Dr. Katju:** I have always found expressions of truth very disturbing to the other side. This pamphlet I am

prepared to distribute and broadcast to the benches opposite. Now this is one of the instructions issued—this was at the time when they were admittedly preaching violence. You gave it up only eight months back. (An Hon. Member: No, no.) Never say so.

**Mr. Speaker:** May I request the Minister to address the Chair?

**Dr. Katju:** Now, Sir, the people who were in charge of the movement in the year 1948-49 issued these gentle instructions: "Kill the village C.I.D.'s silently. When the police visit your villages, go silently (the emphasis is on silence) and throw hand grenades at them."

**Pandit Balkrishna Sharma** (Kanpur Distt.-South cum Etawah Distt.-East): Silently?

**Dr. Katju:** If you can manage it.

"You can kill the enemy by the use of incendiaries. (And now in the light of present-day controversies here is another kind of war-fare.) You can also kill the enemy by mixing poison in the eatables."

I never realised that non-vegetarianism was so common in Telengana because they say:

"We will kill so and so in cold blood at some time or other. We will cut so and so into pieces and eat his flesh. We will massacre so and so and his family. We will kill so and so just as a buffalo is killed before the village goddess. So and so will be killed just as a hen is killed before the village goddess and the party members eat his flesh."

Then the women of Telengana are exhorted to throw chilly powder into eyes and pull them out.

I do not want to rouse passions here. Now there is the demand for an enquiry. I accept it in a way. Why call for a general amnesty? There are under-trials. Under-trials mean people awaiting a trial in a court of law. If you are all innocent people—I am not talking of Members opposite, they are here, but people who are in detention—put forward your case in your defence. You say: we are innocent; we are subjected to atrocities, put this to the magistrate or other court of law, and appeal right up to the High Court. I say that is the best venue—a court of law.

What were we asked? We were asked for an amnesty—as if there were two

Governments in this land, something like what we are seeing in Korea. Do you mean to say that any Government can be carried on if it were subjected to that proposition? (An Hon. Member: Did not the Congress ask for it?) Admittedly the people there are in possession of arms—unlicensed arms—and they offer them as a term of diplomacy. We will surrender our arms—what should you do: release all our convicts. They are convicts punished after trial, punished of grievous offences—arson, loot, murder, about 2,374 cases. They want them to be released as if they have done very gentle things. If you want an enquiry, I make an offer. There are 2,494 under-trials—defend them, put forward your case and prove that they did nothing and they will all be released.

And then come the undergrounds. I am really astonished. I used to call a man one evading arrest underground, before the term became fashionable, an absconder. The first duty of a citizen of India is to obey the law and when a warrant is issued well-based or ill-based his first duty is to go and surrender—surrender before a magistrate, surrender before the police. If it is a baseless warrant show that to the magistrate: come to me; go to the State Government; go to them and say that the warrant was issued under a mistake. But what do these people do? A warrant is issued in 1948. Oh, they say: "Look at us, poor people, we have been driven from post to pillar; we have been hiding ourselves for four years." Why, for what purpose? Why do you not surrender yourself? You would have been put on trial and very likely you would have got off if you were all innocent. This is all self-invited punishment—why invite it?

I have got many dear friends in the Communist party. Sometime back they listened to my advice. Some of them are still living; some of them are new: I offer them disinterested advice. The advice that I used to give formerly was also disinterested. It was sometimes professional but it was disinterested. Today also it is disinterested. Whenever there is a warrant issued against you, submit yourself, surrender yourself and invite a trial. Make a representation to the State Government. The House should remember one thing. While discussing this matter here, we should bear in mind that the primary duty of maintaining law and order throughout India under the Constitution is that of the State Governments. They are responsible for seeing that things remain safe. We

[Dr. Katju]

cannot dictate to them. They have sometimes a very difficult job. I can speak of it from personal knowledge in Bengal. For two or three years we in Bengal passed through very critical times, very difficult times, when it was becoming almost unsafe for people to drive or to ride in tram cars in the streets of Calcutta. It is all very easy to talk here in gentle tones and singing hymns of peace. But the primary duty is that of the State. The moment you go underground, that is an indication of conspiracy. We are very happy you have come. We all welcome having so many Members of different groups after free and fair elections, appealing to the masses, preaching your doctrines, addressing public meetings etc. That is the essence of democracy. But the moment a man goes underground it is a conspiracy. We are accustomed as Congressmen here to conspiracies—but open conspiracies. I remember very well a phrase that was used by the Prime Minister when he was the President of the Lahore Congress. He said we are all engaged in 'open conspiracies'. But when a man goes underground—one or collectively—that is an indication of a criminal conspiracy. Why do you go underground? We want to keep you over-ground. We detain you so that your address may be known! The difficulty is that the moment a man is released he disappears, evaporates. It cannot be known where he is lost. Sir, I do not want to trespass upon the time of others, but I want to assure the House that no one is more anxious than myself for the preservation of civic liberties. Speaking for myself, I have dedicated my life in the law courts to the preservation of civic liberty. But the demand of national interest, the demand of preservation of peace and order in this great big land of ours is first and foremost, and must be met.

We take, and the State Governments take, the utmost care that action taken should not be unjustified. There are Advisory Boards consisting of lawyers and they apply themselves very seriously to this matter. You see the result that today the situation has so much improved that, I think, in about seven-eighth of India so far as politicals are concerned there are no prisoners at all. I do hope that hon. Members opposite—I am not talking to them individually but the groups which they represent—will become (may I say) peaceful citizens of India, advocating peaceful methods, instructing public opinion in a peaceful manner. And then, if the public accepts their

ideologies, well and good. If the public does not accept them, then again well and good.

**Dr. Jaisoorya (Medak):** Sir, I came prepared with a very beautiful speech. But that has all gone to pieces because I am constrained to reply to my hon. friend, Dr. Katju. I did not want to raise controversies here, one accusing the other of one thing and another, such as, the Government accusing the Communists of crimes and, equally, the Communists accusing the Government of crimes. And nobody can judge who is right and who is wrong. Both are prejudiced parties. I am not a Communist, and I am not a Congressman. (An Hon. Member: What are you?) I am just and independent. Through three generations we have owed allegiance to the Congress. I speak for myself, I feel sad to have to say that today I am constrained to part from the old associations with the Congress. It is a heart-rending thing, but there are reasons for it. For many of us it was a very difficult choice whether we should owe allegiance to an institution that is no longer the same that it was, that is no longer true to the very principles which it started to defend and fight for. That very same institution has become today a Frankenstein monster that is devouring its own creators, enemy to those very principles it started to defend and fight for. Where is our place? Our place ought to have been there with you. But other people have replaced us. And who? Those who during the days of our freedom struggle were in the other camp and were the yes-men of the British, you have taken them. Sir, after all, we have to work together and live together and argue things out. So this is the position.

I will limit myself, because the time is short, to certain salient points. Unfortunately, I come from Hyderabad. And Hyderabad being the belly of India, as Sardar Patel said, has taken on great importance. In the matter of having the largest number of Communist prisoners and detainees, Hyderabad takes the first place. I want to say with great regret that the hon. Minister, who is now in charge of States, was not there previously. He has just taken charge. So he is not aware of very many points that I know of. I am sorry I have to come out with certain points. I was instrumental—as the predecessor of Dr. Katju knew, as Sardar Patel knew—I was instrumental in drawing attention to certain facts. I am going to say them openly here. I do not know whether the States Ministry has inform-

ed Dr. Katju that two or three months after the police action in Hyderabad the Communists sent word to me and said: If you will inform the Military Government that we are prepared to withdraw our armed struggle, because our fight with feudalism in Hyderabad, with the Nizam's feudalism, is over and our plane of fight is an ideological one with the Government of India and that has nothing to do with Hyderabad; and if it will give us three weeks' time, because our means of communication are torn, in that three weeks' time we will tell our followers to do constitutional work. Sir, I am swearing—though I do not believe in God, but with all the honour that is in me and with all the sincerity I am capable of I am saying this. I went to General Chaudhuri and I said, "This is the offer. It is non-committal on my part. What is your reply". And he said, "Oh, what can I do? I have got orders to go all out against Communists." (*Interruption*). Please keep quiet. I do not want any interruption. Sir, I am giving you this evidence with all sincerity. He said, "What can I do?" I said, "General, you know as a military man that when there is a resistance movement, as we have seen in Europe, it is very difficult to overcome it if it has the backing of the people. We saw it in France. We have seen it in Europe and everywhere". And he said, "Oh, do not worry, within three months I am going to wipe out the Communists. I said, "All right, that is your own lookout." Sir, not after three months, but after seventeen months, when he was going away, I said to him, "General Chaudhuri, what did I tell you?" And he said, "Yes, yes". Then I said to him "The problem is you cannot civilize barbarians by being more barbaric yourselves". It cost Hyderabad Rs. 40 crores and many officials, when they are more human say: "Oh we made a mistake." I said please inform the Government. I came here and said: here is a problem that has to be met on all fronts. First of all what are the Communists to do? What can the followers of peasants do and when you give them no respite? They had to fight with their backs to the wall? What happened? What happened was it came to a stalemate. You spent 40 crores of Hyderabad money and have left a damaged reputation behind. You have insulted and humiliated Hyderabad. Whether Communism was better or the liberators of Hyderabad that came there, were better, please take a plebiscite and see the result. I speak with pain in my heart because I know my country that bled. You want to civilize Hyderabad? What sort of policemen have you sent?

Have you enquired into the atrocities of what the policemen have done? They are corrupt men from top to bottom. You have left repugnance in the minds of the people. The people of Hyderabad are not going to forgive the inhuman atrocities that your police have committed. That is not the way to civilize the country. You did not teach Gandhism there and certainly not the police. (*Interruption*). My beautiful speech has been destroyed. All these things have happened. The trouble is that the hon. Minister has taken a very legalistic point of view. He says: Why do you not all defend them? Yes. For the Razakars your Government sanctioned lakhs of rupees but to defend the Communists, we had to beg for pice. Did you grant something for us? What has been the result? Have you convicted even one Razakar? You have disgraced yourselves there.

There are so many things that had happened. In this air-conditioned atmosphere of the Parliament, men who have seen the reality in the fields and in the country do not feel happy. You do not see the reality here of what is happening outside. That is why we are feeling so unhappy here. It is not the legalistic view of things that matter. We are facing a crisis. Take for instance, food. It was said that food was going to be put on a war footing. Now when you declare that it is on a war footing, you have got to mobilize the entire country and you have got to choose your generals who know something about war. The Military is very practical because it does not think deeply. When you join the Army you have to stop thinking. If a General does not do his job properly, he is removed overnight unceremoniously, as in the case of General Douglas MacArthur. After declaring that food was on a war footing, we chose a General or a Chief of Staff who was so slow that nothing moved. After that we had the misfortune of appointing a romantic novelist who talked more of the cultural crisis in India than of the agricultural crisis; and when he found that the Grow More Food campaign would not work, he said grow more trees; and when the bulls and goats ate up the trees, he said: grow stouter hearts and when the stouter hearts were not forthcoming, he said: do not produce more children. What a defeatist policy? The food problem cannot be solved without inducing the peasant, without creating a new incentive in the peasant and you are not going to create a new incentive in the peasant by advertising in the Times Illustrated Weekly 'Grow

[Dr. Jaisoorya]

more food'. You have got to go to the peasant and the general question he asks you is: What are you going to do for me? I want cattle; I want seed; I want manure. Your tacavi loans are given to landlords and not to the poor peasant. I have been there. I know the peasant better than anybody sitting here. In meeting our problems there is something lacking, I mean, the capacity which the Congress had at one time. I ask you how is it that only four years ago, you had the backing of the entire people. Even those of us who differed from the Congress said we are going with them. Within four years your following has dwindled to 47 per cent. and at that rate, in five years' time, you will be zero per cent. unless you tackle the main problem, and the problem in India is agriculture. Entrenching the peasant is the thing needed. The needs of the people are very simple. A peasant told Maxim Gorki: Ailyosha, you intellectuals create problems for yourself in order to solve them. I have no problems as long as I have a piece of land that will feed me, a cow that will give me milk and a woman that I can kiss. In India you have not given the peasant that piece of land that can feed him, his cow is starving and cannot give him milk, and now you tell him, brother, do not kiss your wife, because that might result in one more unwanted mouth to feed. This is a defeatist policy. I ask you, Sir, would the *Ramayana* ever have been written if on Rama's coming back to *Ayodhya* the people asked him: Well, did you kill Ravana and he replied: No, but I gave him such a look. Our modern Ramas of the Congress after promising to kill the *Rakshasas* and the *Ravanas* of corruption and nepotism and black market say: No. We have told them very frankly, given them warnings. Somewhere about the scandals we regaled ourselves on at the last session—I was not here—and the question asked was: What have you done to that man? You said you have expressed your official displeasure. Are you going to create enthusiasm in the people? The very people, the very leaders who told the youth of India to live dangerously today are the greatest proponents of the inevitability of gradualness; so gradual, that you creep from point to point, for creeping's sake. These very heroes that told the people to live dangerously today make courageous appeals to caution and very, very cautious appeals to courage. How then do you expect India to follow you, the heroes of old? There are some fortunate men and women who grow old gracefully: become magnificent as they grow old full

of wisdom, magnificent, serene. But unfortunately, there comes in the lives of human beings, as well as institutions, what we call the grand climacteric. And mother Congress, to which I still owe my heart allegiance has entered her grand climacteric and can produce no more healthy children. That is a tragedy. I say that there is no reason for enmity. There is no reason for fighting each other, but there should be regret that we who have been your comrades, many of us still have a lurking sympathy and love but cannot be with you. After all, it is the Congress that taught us the A B C of freedom. I want to close with one prayer to my old comrades, and to the Government. I say:

अय मेरी जान तू ही अपनी बदाबों पर  
गौर कर ।

मं अगर अर्ब करं तो शिकायत होगी ॥

[You should yourself reflect upon your mannerism, lest you complain if someone else points them out.]

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee** (Calcutta South-East): Sir, we have just listened to an impassioned appeal to the Government Benches coming from one who himself knows the woes of sufferers and who has thrown new light on the debate before the House. For the last two days we have discussed the President's Address. Naturally, during the next few weeks we will get more and more opportunity to express ourselves on many matters concerning the administration of this country.

As I was looking at this House for the last two days, I felt, as must have been the feelings of many Members of this House, that here we witness an epitome of free India. We have representatives, men and women, coming from all parts of India, elected on adult franchise, representing diverse view points, varied outlooks, but, I take it, all imbued with one idea and one idea alone: how to make our freedom effective and how to advance the interests of the millions of people of India. It is one of the greatest experiments in history that we are making. Every one of us, no matter to which group or party we may belong, whether we are independents or dependents, must be able to look at the problems from the widest standpoint, and while appreciating the differences among ourselves, we must try to resolve those difficulties and come to conclusions which will be to the good of the country. If we fail to adjust our differences, what is the alternative before the country? If this great experiment fails, if we go on according

to the old fashion with the tyranny of the majority or under a megalomaniac dictatorship, if we do not accept that there are diverse view points honestly expressed and an adjustment of these view points is an essential ingredient of the successful working of democratic Government, the alternative will be chaos. The alternative will be a sense of helplessness, frustration in the minds of the people, and things will go beyond the control of everyone.

Sir, I have the deepest regard for Dr. Katju. As I was hearing him today, I felt that it was not the shades of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that were hovering over the Treasury Benches; but those were the shades of Muddiman, Maxwell and Craig. (*An Hon. Member: Question.*) The hon. Home Minister spoke exactly in that old strain. I am not a Communist. I have come here in spite of Congressmen and Communists; they fought me in the last elections. But, still, we cannot go on always thinking of the past. We have to think of the present; we have to think of the future. How are you going to re-build this country, and re-adjust the different view points expressed? The hon. Minister read out extracts from a pamphlet. I do not know whether it is accurate, and who were the informants who wrote that. But, supposing it is true that at some stage there were some people, whether they represented a group or some individuals who were working so, even supposing for argument's sake that at some stage during the struggle in Hyderabad some such obnoxious things were said, no one supports such ideas that people should be asked to go and commit loot, murder, arson and destroy the very foundations of society. But, today, if people come forward and say that they are prepared to work the Constitution and they are prepared to work in spite of all differences for the good of the country, are you to look backward and look at the past utterances of some unknown people? Reference was made to obnoxious methods. Were you not the manufacturers of those methods in 1942?

**Dr. Katju:** No, no.

**Several Hon. Members:** No, no.

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee:** Dr. Katju may not have been. I know there are many who, in 1942, did go underground.

**Several Hon. Members:** No, no.

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee:** There were many in 1942 who did go underground. I am leaving out Mr. Kidwai who even now goes underground.

In any case, what is the use of our trying to probe into the past? Let us try to look into the future.

**Dr. Katju:** Yes.

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee:** The hon. Minister read out from an extract that there are about 400 and odd people now who are still under preventive detention. Surely, the Government of India is strong enough to control a few hundreds of people in a vast country such as this. If there is any possibility of an upheaval, no one suggests that Government should sit idle. But, how to create the conditions so that we can go along hand in hand, —we may differ on many matters, social, economic or political ideologies —and work for the betterment of the people as a whole?

In the last elections, the Congress won. The hon. Prime Minister said in the course of the last discussion in Parliament that he would be prepared to hold enquiry or go into the matter of the malpractices and irregularities, especially, with regard to the changes which are to be made in the future conduct of elections. The President's Address makes no reference to them. Even leaving that aside, as the hon. speaker who preceded me pointed out, the Congress party should not forget that they have come here not with a mandate from the majority of the people.

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

With all their efforts, with all the backing that they could get, they received the support, so far as the composition of this House is concerned, of 47 per cent. of the voters who actually went to the polls, and 53 per cent. of the people are represented by people who may be occupying 127 seats in a House of 500.

**Pandit K. C. Sharma (Meerut Distt. South):** Where are the defeated gone?

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee:** The defeated are where the defeated always go. At least they represented non-Congress views which we in the Opposition collectively do. (*Interruption.*) In spite of all this, one fact the Congress should remember. I am not saying this for the purpose of causing irritation. But, as Dr. Katju himself rightly pointed out, truth sometimes irritates. The fact which you should remember is that the victory of the Congress has been due mainly to the support which they got from the minorities. (*Several Hon. Members: No, no.*) They should remember one thing: that the very communalism, casteism and provincialism which have been so rightly condemned in the

[Dr. S. P. Mookerjee]

President's Address were taken full advantage of in every suitable place by the Congress party for winning the election. (*Several Hon. Members: No, no.*)

**An Hon. Member:** It is the other way about.

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee:** It is all right; and this is a piece of truth which irritates my hon. friend. Another piece of truth which may also irritate is this. It is only in those areas where repression was the highest, the Congress defeat was most inglorious, and that was in Hyderabad and West Bengal. That is a lesson which the Members belonging to the Congress party must take. Repression carries us nowhere. Who did not try to repress the Indian National Congress? I remember, in those days, Viceroys and Governors and distinguished Members of the Indian Civil Service, some of whom are the trusted advisers of the present Government, openly declared that they are going to crush the Congress by means of repression. Was the Congress repressed? It could not be repressed because the people were with them. That is the real test which the Congress party must remember even after it has come back victorious to this House. The first bye-election to the Legislative Assembly took place three days ago. The result was announced yesterday. In West Bengal, where a number of Waterloos took place, so far as distinguished Ministers were concerned, the Congress has been defeated again in Hooghly district. This is the first bye-election which took place after the general elections and the people have given a verdict in a straight fight between the Congress and the rest. I am not saying this to rub this defeat in. I am saying this to point out to the Government that the attitude of complacency which one can discover throughout the Presidential Address has got to be checked. There are many problems before the country today which we have to face. There is the problem of food which has been repeatedly mentioned by almost every Member. When the time comes during the Budget discussion, we will speak on the various aspects concerning the food policy and administration.

But there is one thing which I would like to say without any fear of contradiction. My distinguished friend Pandit Nehru, when he was not Prime Minister, after his release from prison, delivered a historic address at Lucknow. He expressed surprise how thirty lakhs

of people could have died in Bengal out of famine and not one act of looting took place nor one act of destruction. He was surprised at the peaceful and helpless attitude of the people. But if famine bursts out in the country now—God help us that famine may not come, because it is something with which we cannot play, it is not a plaything of politics—but if famine breaks out in any part of India, the Government of the day will not be forgiven. People will not die in the streets of Calcutta nor in the streets of towns and villages in South India or other provinces. They will take the law into their own hands. No one will be able to prevent them, because now the consciousness of the people has been roused. We have to do everything possible to prevent famine. What distresses me is the same old bureaucratic attitude which prevails in many places inside Government. When some of us shouted from the housetops in 1943 that famine was about to come, we were described as politicians who were exploiting the miseries of the people. We were described as persons who were overdramatising facts. The then Secretary of State for India in London made a statement that people were feeding themselves so much under the British regime that some of them were dying of over-feeding.

Today when any question arises about scarcity conditions or famine coming in, there is so much irresponsibility that Government will not admit that there are famine conditions. Rayalaseema has been referred to and several other areas in India have also been referred to. In West Bengal some of us had gone to the Sunderban area. Our workers went there. The conditions there are just the same as we witnessed in 1943 and in some areas they are even worse. People cannot get food and if food is available, they have not the money to buy it with. Able-bodied men are running away from those places and their piteous cries are heard in the streets of Calcutta and other towns, "Give us something to eat." Their women and children are neglected. It has only just started. I am not saying that it has spread to other parts of the country yet. Is it not the time when we should put our heads together and evolve a plan, so that this famine may not spread? This is not the time for allegations and counter allegations. Where is the offer made by the Prime Minister or the Government for an All-party conference to be called on this grave and emergent issue? We

do not wish to make politics out of the miseries of the people: that would be shameful. There can be none either inside this House or outside who would like to thrive on the miseries of our brethren and sisters.

I do not know what has happened with regard to food. We are treated to a jugglery of facts and figures which sometimes completely drown us. The much advertised Grow More Food has virtually failed. We were told that last year we imported five million tons and this year we may be importing six million tons. We were told that all the stocks had arrived but where have they gone to? We are told that there are stocks lying in the ports of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. We saw some reports in the papers. We should take care that famine does not come due to maladministration. There is no scarcity of food in many places but there is maladministration. Things are not moving quickly. There is not that feeling of an emergency, nor that call to all sections of the people to stand together and prevent even a single person in any part of India dying for want of food. In this matter I would suggest that this House of the People should make a start.

We get now Rs. 40 per day. I do not know what the allowance of the Members of the House of the People will be hereafter. Let us agree to a voluntary cut of Rs. ten per day and let us set apart this sum for the purpose of opening homes where these poor women and children may be housed and fed. After the last famine we have seen how an entire generation was wiped out. Let us open these parliamentary homes in several parts of the country. Let us not depend on the Government alone to do the needful. It is a matter where, I repeat, it will be possible for all of us to sit together and devise a policy which the House of the People must be able to support and implement. We shall say that there shall not be famine in any part of India. If any part of India is in trouble, the rest of India will fly to those parts for the purpose of saving human lives.

I know that there is one rather delicate matter. There is the rice shortage not only in our country but in the whole world. Unfortunately there are many people in many parts of India who due to old habits will not take to anything but rice. We have seen this in our own province. We have seen their resistance to wheat. It is not a question of mere habit; it is a question of rupees, annas and pies. If a poor man gets a bowl of rice with

a little salt and vegetables, it may be sufficient. But if you give him wheat, he cannot take boiled wheat. He must eat something else with it, which he cannot afford to buy. But for heaven's sake do not start only gruel kitchens which kill people by inches. We have to keep our people fed on some standards which we can ourselves accept. All are to make sacrifices; let the call come from the Prime Minister. He had suggested sometime ago miss a meal in a week. After all it is only in some parts and not in the whole of India that famine is stalking about. And where is that call and where is that inspiration? Rather there is attribution of political motives, that people are trying to exploit the miseries or the sufferings of the people.

Sir, there are so many other matters with which I cannot deal today. But I should make two references. One is the omission of East Bengal and Pakistan from the Address of the President and the other is Kashmir. I hope I shall have occasion to speak of East Bengal at some other time. But now the passport system is about to come and I would beg of this House of the People to remember the fate of ten million of their brethren and sisters, through whose sacrifices freedom came to this country and who are now dying by inches. They just want to be saved; they are in an area which was once part of India but today has been separated from India. It will be shameful to forget them. In spite of the agreements made between Pakistan and India they have been broken to pieces and today this passport system is going to be introduced, not for the purpose of regulating traffic into East Pakistan but for the purpose of squeezing out the minorities of East Pakistan.

I was surprised to see the Prime Minister yesterday get up and state that although the papers report that an exodus has started, the figures prove otherwise. It is his failure to realise the gravity and urgency of the situation at critical times that has been responsible for the loss of lives, honour and safety of many people in that area and again let not that mistake be repeated.

**The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** Was my statement wrong?

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee:** It is wrong. Let the Prime Minister instead of depending on the reports of his.....

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** If I place the whole facts and exact figures.....

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee:** The general statement and approach of the Prime

[Dr. S. P. Mookerjee]

Minister were absolutely wrong. It is a matter for verification. I say it is a matter for verification. People are coming from that area and they give a picture entirely different from what the Prime Minister suggested yesterday. What I suggest to him is this. He may get some figures from official sources. I cannot blame him for that. Naturally he will get them. But if any hon. Member gets up and says that they have information that the exodus has started (*Interruption*)..... it is the duty of a responsible Prime Minister to get up and say, we will take that into consideration and see how to prevent it.....

**Dr. S. Sinha** (Saran East): What are your sources?

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee**: Some of the people who are themselves coming away .....

**Dr. S. Sinha**: How many have you seen?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru**: The hon. Member is challenging my statement.....

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee**: I am not.....

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru**: I challenge him to prove his and I will prove mine.....

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee**: This challenge and counter-challenge will be carried on for the whole of the session.....

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru**: Not at all. I will place before the House tomorrow or any day the House likes all the facts.....

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee**: That is accepted. Let us both go to Calcutta and Assam and know the reasons.....

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru**: Tomorrow I shall place all the facts before the House or even today, if the hon. Member is prepared to meet that challenge. I do repudiate the statements he has made irresponsibly as he usually does.

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee**: I know, Sir, that this is exactly the temperament of the Prime Minister which makes it difficult to make any suggestions.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru**: I am asking for facts.

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee**: All that I said, was that he spoke only on the official figures, but already this exodus has started and we want to prevent it and know its reasons. And if the Prime Minister thinks his view is correct and not mine, we agree to differ.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru** rcs—

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee**: I do not wish to give in. . . .

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru**: You wish to give in because you know you are wrong. You cannot face the truth.

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee**: The reverse is the truth. Let me now refer to Kashmir. With regard to Kashmir also there is complete omission in the Address—not one word is mentioned. Here again I would appeal to the Prime Minister if I may, if he will allow me to say so, that he will please consider the forces which are now at work in Kashmir.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru**: I know more about Kashmir than Dr. Mookerjee.

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee**: The whole difficulty is the Prime Minister knows more about anything throughout the world than anybody else and he will not accept any advice from anybody. Now how can any Parliamentary work be carried on if that is the attitude? If I make any suggestion he says, "I know more than you do". Undoubtedly he does, but I will give some suggestion, place some point of view before him which he must consider. The point of view which I am asking him to consider is this: the recent situation arising out of the speeches delivered by Sheikh Abdullah. I would like to know? Are Kashmiris Indians first and Kashmiris next, or they are Kashmiris first and Indians next, or they are Kashmiris first, second and third and not Indians at all? That is a very important point which we have to settle. What do we find from these speeches which the Prime Minister of Kashmir has delivered? He has declared that the Indian Parliament has no jurisdiction over the Kashmir State. We have some very worthy friends here sitting from Kashmir whom we have welcomed most sincerely. How can we expect there are strangers in this House, or persons coming from Kashmir who refuse to recognise even the authority of Parliament to deal with Kashmir? Now that is a very important question. We have spent about Rs. 200 crores in Kashmir. For those community projects about which we will have some time to discuss later on, we have set apart nearly Rs. 36 lakhs for Kashmir. There are proposals for educational development and other things. We do not mind that, we welcome that, we want Kashmir and India to be together. But Kashmir is an integral part of India. If

there are problems to be faced let us face them together. But Kashmir cannot eat the cake and have it too. Sheikh Abdullah cannot have both; he cannot say, "Give me facilities for development and other essential aid, but so far as the Indian Parliament is concerned I do not recognise its authority." I shall not go into the details of that question. I have got ample material here and I shall place it before the House on a suitable occasion.

Sir, I am sorry—I wanted to begin and also end nicely, politely and with a sense of friendliness towards all including the Prime Minister, but unfortunately the situation developed to a point where some heat was generated. (*Interruption*). I am sorry, I do not wish to end my speech with heat at all. I sincerely wish that although we may be sitting here expressing different view points, in this crisis let us not distrust each other. Let different view points be freely and openly expressed. We must try to hammer conclusions which will be to the good of the country. If this effort to settle our differences by negotiation, by discussion fails, then what remedy remains? Dr. Katju said that lawless laws are expressions which were used in the olden days. That is not correct. He knows about history. In South Africa a lawless law has just been passed. Are not the people of South Africa protesting against it? Were not Indians and South Africans combining to launch a struggle against their own Parliament?

**Dr. Katju:** Do you regard the South African Parliament just like this House?

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee:** I am not saying that at all. I am just quoting a precedent. We would like laws to be promulgated by this House which will receive the willing support and co-operation of all the people. It should not be open to any majority to say that they decide whatever they like and we must accept it. Laws must be so formulated that you carry the entire people with you, but if you pass bad laws, resistance will come, is bound to come. I am not for violent resistance, we do not want chaos and disorder in this country but the same non-violent resistance which was taught to the gentlemen occupying the Treasury benches today is not forgotten on the soil of India and that resistance may come if Government persists in passing legislation or doing administrative acts which are really disliked by the majority of the people of this country. But I am hoping that we will be able so to

discharge our duties that while we express ourselves freely and strongly and without fear we will be able to resolve by mutual discussion divergent view points and take only such decisions which will be to the benefit of the people at large and be openly justified before the bar of world opinion.

*The House then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.*

*The House re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock.*

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

**Shri M. A. Ayyangar (Tirupati):** Sir, a number of points have been referred to on this motion of thanks for the President's Address, but I shall confine myself to the major points of famine, food and foreign relations. To that part of the country from which I come, famine is no new guest. It has been coming almost every second year and we have had this experience for the last nearly hundred years, but the misery has been aggravated this time by the failure of rains for five and a half years continuously. It is unfortunate that similar situations should have arisen in other parts of India also recently. I am pained to hear that Sunderbans, some portions of Uttar Pradesh and some portions of Bombay have also been affected. That is what the Food Minister said yesterday. A remedy ought to be found, which is both immediate and has a long-term plan attached to it, so that famine does not recur and it actually becomes a thing of the past.

My sympathies and the sympathies of this whole House go forth to all those persons who are affected. I know personally what their suffering is. In the very town from which I come, we depend upon wells for fresh water, and these wells are dug in the household premises. There is not a single drop of water in any one of those wells today and this has been the case for the last six months. Water is being distributed in lorries. (*An Hon. Member: Good!*) I did not catch that word. In any case, hon. Members ought not to judge me as the representative of that area.

**Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam):** Sir, may I draw your attention to the fact that there is not one Member of the Treasury Bench present now?

**The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister (Shri Satish Chandra):** Sir, I represent the Treasury Bench.

**Mr. Speaker:** The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister is the solitary exception. I think it would be better that the Ministers were present in larger numbers.

**Shri M. A. Ayyangar:** Sir, we have noticed this sufficiently in time. All that I want to say to the hon. Members here with respect to the famine conditions is that this question has to be tackled both by the official and the non-official sections. Each has got its duty to perform. If we exaggerate too much, it may lead to alarm and people's psychology would be disturbed. It is not that I want to give credit to the Government for acts for which they have not been responsible or for occasions when they have not come to the aid. All that I want to say is that in a condition of this kind, where large areas are affected, a certain amount of moderation is necessary, keeping in mind at the same time that we do not withhold from the official and non-official sections the seriousness of the situation. The situation is serious in our part of the country. The Food Minister came immediately to us and went round the area. The Governor of Madras, Shri Sri Prakasa, also toured the area and issued an appeal to all sections of the public to contribute liberally. Clothes are being distributed freely. Food is being distributed freely. Water is being carried in lorries to different villages. The Ramakrishna Mission has started some relief centres. They are distributing food and clothing in various parts of our province. Munificent citizens from Bombay, Lucknow, Kanpur, etc. have sent large contributions and donations to the Governor's Fund of Madras. I wish that similarly other public men would come to the relief of these areas and give them help and support.

So far as the Government is concerned, I am sure that this Government will take care to see that not a single soul perishes out of starvation. Of course, we do not expect this Government, or any other Government for that matter, to guarantee eternal life for even old men and women, but I assure you that so far as Rayalaseema is concerned—and it is the most affected area—not a single person has perished so far. Both this Government and the Government of Madras have taken care to see that succour and relief are brought to the doors of every one of the people there. But I am not still satisfied with the quantity or the measure of relief that is given. It can be never complete. It can be never too much. Many things have still to be supplied and many people lack the

wherewithal and the purchasing power to buy anything. Only gruel is being distributed. I would like solid food to be distributed. From two miles and three miles, women and children come without minding the hot sun for getting the food which is distributed only once a day. Therefore, some more relief has to be given and that relief may be given by both the official and non-official sections.

Some of my hon. friends said that the Bengal Famine ought not to be repeated. Certainly, all the 500 Members in this House and the 250 Members in the other House must emphatically say that it should not be repeated. But let me say that it is quite unnecessary to emphasise it. My own feeling is that the Bengal Famine is a thing of the past. It is a discreditable feature of the past Government. From what this Government has been doing, I am confident and the entire House can be confident that similar situations would be tackled by this Government imaginatively. Let us take an instance. A couple of years ago, there was an unprecedented famine in Bihar. There was another in Gujarat. Men did not die there, but cattle died there like flies. Large quantities of fodder were rushed there. In Bihar, nine districts were afflicted in an unusual degree. And now, we have Rayalaseema. So, there is no reason for panic or alarm. I am sure the hon. Finance Minister with his ability and experience will not withhold money so far as famine relief is concerned, but will sanction any amount that is required. Let me quote my own experience with respect to Rayalaseema. When the Madras Government wanted help, he was prepared to sanction Rs. three crores and every Collector has been advised to spend as much as may be necessary and sometimes if the local people are not vocal and he finds that particular relief measures are necessary, the Collector has been authorised to go beyond the sanctioned amount and spend whatever money he wants. When there is a famine of foodgrains and there is a general famine, there is also the famine of employment. People do not have the wherewithal and the purchasing power to buy things. In such cases, tanks, channels and other public works have been undertaken to give them some money, so that they may purchase their needs. Normally, the P.W.D. wants estimates to be sanctioned, but at the present moment Collectors have been authorised to start these famine relief works without any estimates whatsoever. While

therefore I am glad to say that many of these things are being done, something more remains to be done.

One thing that I want is proper machinery for implementation of relief measures. An unprecedented famine on a large scale requires a lot of personnel—a lot of revenue and other inspectors. But this machinery is wanting now. Overnight, you cannot create officers to come to your rescue. A Famine Commissioner and a Deputy Famine Commissioner have been appointed. The first priority has been given to this. Whatever can be done is being done. Still, I would suggest that some more measures should be adopted. I speak with particular reference to Rayalaseema. Water itself is a scarce commodity there. What shall we do? Drinking water is not available. Wells should be dug. The Army has come to our rescue and they are deepening the wells. They are deepening them now and again, after some time, they will have to deepen them still further. For the last five and a half years there has been no rain. Therefore, this alone is not sufficient. Water has to be brought from an outside place where you have perennial sources of supply. That is what exactly I am urging before this House and I want the help of all Members of this House in supporting this proposal, and forcing the hands of the Finance Minister I refer to the Krishna-Pennar Project. A lot of water is being wasted and if that water can be brought here, it can be used for irrigation and for drinking water purposes. It will enable us to produce one and a half million tons of rice and will provide water for drinking needs. The Revenue Minister of Madras said the other day that like the distribution of electricity which, though generated at a far-off place, is supplied through a grid system to various areas in urban and rural districts, similarly steps should be taken and there should be a well-thought-out plan for the distribution of water to every village. In the first instance, there may be at least one or two big wells in each village for drinking water purposes, according to the population of each place.

Secondly, I would suggest that according to the exigencies of the local conditions and circumstances, there must be a Famine Board or a Development Board with respect to each famine area. Funds must be supplied to this Board both from the Centre and from the provinces. Subsidies should be given year after year. This Board must try to find out what industries

can be set up, so that even if famine conditions prevail, the local people may have the capacity and the wherewithal to purchase food if food happens to be imported from an outside place. Such an agency is wanting now. No doubt an *ad hoc* agency has been created in Madras for Rayalaseema and the other famine affected districts, but that is not a statutory body and subsidies are not being given to it properly from the Centre. So far as the Madras State is concerned, it is a poor State. I would therefore advise the Government to set up similar Boards for all the famine affected areas, or even areas which are likely to be affected by famine and where famine is known to be a recurring feature constantly.

The third suggestion I want to make is that fodder must be supplied in large quantities to the cattle there and also that cattle breeding must be on an organised and rationalised manner. Instead of having a lot of cattle taking away a lot of our fodder, cattle production must be restricted.

I now come to the problem of food. The problem of food is not a recent one. For some decades India has been deficient in food. As the hon. the Finance Minister said we were importing one and a half million tons of rice from Burma and before Partition we were having about one million tons of rice and wheat in the areas which have now gone to Pakistan. We have lost both. We are deficit in the normal course to the extent of two and a half million tons.

But so far as population is concerned, our population has not decreased; it is on the ascendent. In pre-partition India it was 35 crores; today it is 36 crores. Under those circumstances we must meet the deficit. Add to this deficit there is a permanent famine in Southern India. Government has of course realised its responsibility and are taking both long-term and short-term measures. The long-term measures are the river valley projects. Some of our friends have remarked that it is wastage to throw money on river valley projects. I think they have not looked into the facts. For the past four or five years on food imports alone we have spent as much as Rs. 540 crores. As against this if all the river valley projects (135 in all, some of them are multi-purpose and some of them are mere river valley projects) were taken up for execution, they would not cost more than Rs. 590 crores. I ask those hon. Members who suggest the abandonment of these

[Shri M. A. Ayyangar]

river valley projects, whether we should go on perpetually depleting our coffers by importing food from abroad, or go ahead with the river valley projects and make up at least half the deficit.

There may be political issues on which we may differ, on which we may agree to differ. But with respect to schemes which have been taken up *bona fide* and are in the course of execution, I would request hon. Members to study the situation and not stand between the Government and the future execution of these works.

In the matter of minor irrigation as well there is no uniform remedy for the whole of India. There are some places where even if you bore a well right down to the bowels of the earth, you will not get a drop of water. There river valley schemes alone could come to our rescue. There are places where in addition to the river valley schemes you can have wells as well. In Cuddalore (in South Arcot district) 101 artesian wells are proposed to be sunk; 53 of them have already been completed. Each artesian well irrigates 50 acres of land.

It is no good simply criticising the Government—not that I am trying to support the Government through thick and thin, I have my own suggestions to make. Wherever there is a defect let us point it out. I would, therefore, suggest that both river valley projects and minor irrigation works have to go side by side. 43,108 wells have been dug in my part of the country during the last four years. Sir, you are looking at the clock; I am also looking at it. If you will permit me two more minutes.....

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member will appreciate that a large number of Members are desirous to speak. It is, therefore, desirable, not only desirable but necessary, that everybody should try to bring forth only the essential points and not elaborate on them. For a month more, as I have been saying very often, there will be occasion for Members to explain these small details; and the responsibility, on the hon. Member, who is my colleague, is all the greater, as his example will be followed by other Members.

I think the time is up and I will call upon the next speaker.

مولانا مسعودی :

تین دن سے صدر جمہوریہ ہند کے

ایڈریس پر جو بات ہو رہی ہے اس میں اتنی زیادہ باتیں اور اتنے زیادہ نقاط واضح کر دئے گئے ہیں کہ میرا ارادہ یہ تھا کہ اس موقع پر میں اپنے سے زیادہ قابل اور فاضل دستوں کی تقریریں سنانے کو کچھ کہنے پر ترجیح دوں۔ لیکن کل مسٹر چٹرجی نے اور آج ڈاکٹر مکرچی نے کشمیر کا جو ذکر کیا اس نے مجھے بھی مجبور کیا کہ میں چند لفظ عرض کر دوں۔ یہ تذکرہ کچھ اس شان سے آیا کہ مجھے محسوس ہونے لگا کہ آج سے پانچ سال پہلے کشمیر پر جو ریڈ (Raid) ہوئی تھی اور کچھ مدت کے بعد جس کی سبب فائر (cease fire) ہو گئی تھی وہ آج نئے سرے سے شروع ہو گئی ہے۔ اتنے فرق کے ساتھ کہ وہ ریڈ مغرب کی طرف سے ہوئی تھی اور آج کی ریڈ کچھ جنوب اور مشرق کی طرف سے ہونے لگی ہے۔ ورنہ جہاں تک ریڈ کا تعلق ہے دونوں کچھ ایک ہی قسم کی سی تھیں۔

قبل اس کے کہ جناب والا میں ان کی کہی ہوئی باتوں کا جواب دوں آپ کی اجازت سے میں ایک وضاحت کر دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ آج ہندوستان جس قسم کی زندگی میں سامنے ہے رہا ہے یہ پیداوار ہے آزادی کی ایک تحریک کی۔ اور وہ آزادی کی تحریک پیداوار تھی ایک خاص قسم کے فلسفہ کی جس کو ہم آندھی جی

کا فلسفہ - عدم تشدد کا فلسفہ اور  
 مصحبت کا فلسفہ کہہ کر پکارتے ہیں -  
 گاندھی جی کا فلسفہ جس وقت  
 ہندوستان میں پھیلا تو اس کا اولہن  
 ریاکشن (reaction) فرقہ پرستی کی  
 طرف سے جناح ازم (Jinnahism) کی  
 صورت میں ہوا اور جناح ازم کو  
 سب نے برا ملایا - گاندھی وادھیوں نے  
 بھی برا ملایا اور کچھ اور لوگوں نے  
 بھی برا ملایا - فرقہ پرستی یہ رہا کہ  
 جو لوگ کانگریس اور گاندھی جی کے  
 پیرو تھے انہوں نے اس فلسفے کی  
 مخالفت اپنے عمل سے کی اور اپنے  
 صحیح راستے پر زیادہ سے زیادہ مضبوطی  
 کے ساتھ کھڑے ہو کر کی - لیکن کچھ  
 دوسرے جو تھے وہ اس مخالفت میں  
 خود بھی بہک گئے اور جناح نے جو  
 راستہ فرقہ پرستی کا بتایا تھا وہ خود  
 بھی اس فرقہ پرستی کے راستے پر  
 چل نکلے - میں کہوں گا کہ وہی وہ  
 لوگ تھے جن کی مہا سبھا نمائندگی  
 کرتی تھی یا مہا سبھا کی قسم کی  
 دوسری فرقہ پرست جماعتیں نمائندگی  
 کرتی تھیں - یہ کہنے سے میرا مقصد  
 یہ ہے کہ میں آپ کی توجہ اس  
 سچائی کی طرف دلاؤں کہ ہماری  
 آزادی جس تحریک کا نتیجہ ہے وہ  
 تحریک دو تکرارے ہوئے فلسفوں میں  
 سے گزر کر آئی ہے - ایک ہے مصحبت  
 کا فلسفہ اور دوسرا ہے نفرت اور فرقہ  
 پرستی کا فلسفہ - یا آسانی کے لئے  
 ان میں سے ایک کو گاندھی ازم

کہہ لیں اور دوسرے کو جناح ازم کہہ  
 لیں - جناح ازم کے لئے یہ ضروری  
 نہیں ہے کہ اس کی پیروی صرف مسلم  
 لیگی کہلا کر ہی کی جائے - جناح ازم  
 کی پیروی کوئی بھی شخص فرقہ پرستی  
 کے راستے پر چلکر کر سکتا ہے اور وہ  
 چاہے کسی لفاظی میں لہیتی جائے  
 آخر میں وہ وہی چیز ہوگی - جس  
 وقت ہندوستان آزاد ہوا اس وقت  
 یہ دو فلسفے انتہائی شکل و صورت  
 میں ٹکرائے - اور میں اس معزز ہاؤس  
 کو ان تفصیلات میں نہیں لے جانا  
 چاہتا کہ اس تکرارے کا کیا نتیجہ  
 ہوا - خلاصہ کے طور پر یہ کہا جا سکتا  
 ہے کہ آج جو ہم کو مالک تکراروں میں  
 بنتا ہوا نظر آ رہا ہے وہ اس تکرارے  
 کا پہلا نتیجہ ہے - اور شمال مشرق  
 و شمال مغرب میں اس ملک کے دو  
 تکرارے جو الگ ہو گئے یہ ایک حد  
 تک گاندھی ازم کو جناح ازم کے سامنے  
 شکست ہوئی - یہ ہماری ایک بہت  
 بڑی بدقسمتی تھی - اور جہاں تک  
 کشمیر کا تعلق ہے کشمیر اس تکرارے  
 کے قریب تھا اس لکیر کے قریب تھا -  
 اس سرحد کے قریب تھا جو - ان  
 دو فلسفوں کے تکرارے کے نتیجے میں  
 ایک طرف کو ہونے لگی تھی - اور  
 کشمیر پر الگ ہونے والوں کی نظریں  
 بڑی سختی کے ساتھ لگی ہوئی تھیں -  
 لیکن جناب والا - کس حالت  
 میں کشمیر بچا اور ہمارے ہند کے  
 ساتھ جانے میں کامیاب رہا - اس

[ مولانا مسعودی ]

ہارے میں یوں تو تاریخ بہت لمبی ہے۔ لیکن اگر کوئی خاص شخص ایسا ہے جس کے سر اس کامیابی کا سہرا باندھا جا سکتا ہے وہ ایک ہی انسان ہے اور اس کے پیچھے چلنے والی ایک مختصر سی جماعت ہے۔ وہ انسان شیخ عبداللہ ہے اور وہ جماعت نیشنل کانفرنس ہے۔ جنہوں نے اس وقت کے قانع جناح ازم کو شکست دی اور کشمیر میں گاندھی ازم کا جھنڈا بلند کیا۔

گاندھی ازم کی اس فتح نے صرف گاندھی ازم اور شیخ محمد عبداللہ کو ہی لیگ کی آنکھوں میں کنگا نہیں بنا دیا بلکہ اس کے ساتھ ساتھ جتنی فرقہ پرست جماعتیں تھیں انہوں نے بھی اپنی اپنی جگہ ایک بھاری اور سخت شکست محسوس کی۔ اور آج جس وقت میں دیکھتا ہوں کہ سیز فائر لائن کے اس طرف سے شیخ محمد عبداللہ اور کشمیر کی تعظیم پر لیگ اور پاکستانی حملے کر رہے ہیں اور اس طرف سے ہمارے معزز دو۔ دھ اگٹر ممبر جی آر مسٹر چٹرجی ان حملوں کی آواز میں آواز ملاتے ہیں تو مجھے قطعاً تعجب نہیں ہوتا۔ کسی اور کو ہوتا ہو تو ہو۔ لیکن جو انسان اس بات کو دیکھ سکتا ہے کہ جناح ازم اپنی مختلف شکلوں میں مختلف طریقوں سے کام کرتی ہے۔ وہ سمجھ سکتا ہے کہ جناح

ازم کی تائید اس طرف سے ضرور ہونی چاہیے تھی۔ وہی چیز ہم آج دیکھ رہے ہیں کہ یہاں ہو رہی ہے۔ جس چیز کو آج مسٹر چٹرجی نے اور ڈاکٹر مگر جی نے بہانہ بنایا شیخ محمد عبداللہ اور کشمیر پر حملہ کرنے کے لئے وہ ایک بہت انتہائی قسم کی معمولی سی چیز ہے۔ ایک تو انہوں نے کہا کہ شیخ محمد عبداللہ نے کوئی تقریر کی۔ اس کی بنا پر انہیں آج یہ حق پہنچ گیا ہے کہ یہاں کھڑے ہو کر ان کی طرف توپوں کے دھانے پھیر دیں۔ دوسری طرف انہوں نے فرمایا کہ ایک بھولا بھٹکا ہوا کوئی ممبر۔ نام انہوں نے نہیں لیا۔ اس پارلیمنٹ کا جو چلا گیا تھا۔ اس نے واپس آ کر جو کچھ واقعات بتلائے اس کی بنا پر آج وہ یہاں اس قسم کی تقریر کرنے کا حق رکھتے ہیں۔

श्री ऐच० ऐन० शाःश्री : वह भी पैरोकार था जिन्नाइसम का ।

مولانا مسعودی : میں یہ عرض کروں گا کہ جہاں تک تقریر کا تعلق ہے شیخ محمد عبداللہ نے آج ہی کوئی تقریر نہیں کی ہے۔ وہ ۲۲ سال سے تقریریں کرتے چلے آ رہے ہیں۔ ہر روز تقریریں کرتے ہیں۔ میں ہندوستان کے سچے محب وطن دوستوں سے ایک ہی اپیل کروں گا۔ بغیر تقریر کے لفظوں میں جانے کے یا اور کسی چیز میں جانے کے میں یہی کہونگا کہ جس انسان

کی سلیکٹرز تقریروں میں آپ کو کوئی اعتراض پیدا نہیں ہوا اور آج اس کی طرف اکر ایک لفظ منسوب کیا گیا تو کیا وہ اس بات کا حق آپ سے نہیں کہتا کہ قبل اس کے کہ آپ اس کے بارے میں کوئی رائے ظاہر کریں اس سے پوچھ لیں - اور پھر وہ تقریر بھی کہی کہ جسکی دوسرے دن تردید بھی ہو جاتی ہے - کیا اس کی طرف کیا آپ کی توجہ نہیں گئی - باقی رہی بات کسی ممبر صاحب کا وہاں ہو کر آنا اور کوئی رپورٹ دینا - میں مسٹر چٹرجی کی واقفیت کے لئے - بدمذہب والا - عرض کر دینا چاہتا ہوں کہ جموں اور کشمیر کوئی ایسا مقام نہیں ہے کہ جہاں کوئی نولمنس (Columbus) بھیجا جائے - وہاں سینکڑوں ممبر پچھلے پانچ سال سے آئے ہیں اور جاتے ہیں - اس ہاؤس کے سابق ممبر اور کئی موجودہ ممبر ایک دن چھپے چھپائے نہیں بلکہ اعلانیہ گئے ہیں اور کشمیر کے ٹونے ٹونے کو دیکھ کر آئے ہیں - آپ نے ان سے نہیں کوئی رپورٹ پوچھی - آپ نے ان سے کہیں نہ رائے پوچھ لی کہ کشمیر کے بارے میں کیا حالت ہے - وہاں پر اقلیت کا کیا حال ہے - وہاں پر اکثریت کی کیا حالت ہے - عوام کی کیا حالت ہے اور شیخ محمد عبداللہ کیا کر رہا ہے - صرف ایک ممبر جس کا نام آپ نے نہیں ارشاد فرمایا کی رپورٹ پر کہیں اس قدر زیادہ بھروسہ کیا -

पंडित ए० आर० शास्त्री : अध्यक्ष महोदय, क्या जिन मेम्बर के सम्बन्ध में कहा जा रहा है कि उन की रिपोर्ट पर ऐसी तकरीर हुई है, उन मेम्बर महोदय का नाम बताया जा सकता है ?

श्री ऐच० ऐन० शास्त्री : देशपांडे ।

Mr. Speaker: The honourable member should proceed now without minding these interruptions. He has got two minutes more.

مولانا مسعودی : تو جناب والا میں عرض کر رہا تھا کہ سب سے پہلے تو جو بنا اس حماہ کی تھی وہ نہایت فمیزی قسم کی ہے - اس کی کوئی حقیقت نہیں -

اس کے ساتھ ہی میں ہاؤس کی توجہ ایک چیز کی طرف دلانا چاہتا ہوں کہ کشمیر کی موجودہ پوزیشن بین الاقوامی مثال پر ایک خاص قسم کی پوزیشن ہے - کشمیر میں صرف یہی جھگڑا نہیں ہے کہ کشمیری اپنی دلی تمنا اور خواہش کے ساتھ ہندوستانی ہیں اور ہندوستانی وہاں چاہتے ہیں اور ایک مختلف طاقت ان کو اس حق سے محروم رکھنا چاہتی ہے - اتنا ہی جھگڑا نہیں ہے کہ وہاں ایک طرف کشمیریوں کی خواہش کی حمایت کے لئے ہندوستان کی فوجیں کھڑی ہیں - اور دوسری طرف ان پر حماہ کرنے کے لئے پاکستان کی فوجیں کھڑی ہیں - اتنا ہی نہیں ہے - بلکہ یہ مسئلہ اس سے کہیں زیادہ ہے اور بین الاقوامی

[ مولانا مسعودی ]

دائرہ میں اس مسئلہ کی اہمیت اتنی زیادہ بڑھ گئی ہے کہ بغیر نام لئے ہوئے مہوں کہوں گا کہ بہت سے مسالک ایسے ہیں جو اس مہوں خاص طور سے دلچسپی لے رہے ہیں۔ وہ دلچسپی کوئی محدود قسم کی دلچسپی نہیں ہے جو وہ لے رہے ہیں۔ صرف لیک سکسیس (Lake Success) میں بیٹھ کر یا پیوس میں بیٹھ کر اپنی رائے ہمارے خلاف ہلدوستان کے خلاف اور کشمیر کے خلاف دہیں۔ اتنا ہی نہیں ہے۔ وہ اس سے بہت زیادہ ہے۔ جہاں جہاں تک ان کے ہاتھ پہنچتے ہیں اور آپ جانتے ہیں کہ کئیوں کے ہاتھ بہت لمبے ہیں۔ وہ ہر جگہ اس قسم کی حرکتیں کر رہے ہیں سازشیں کر رہے ہیں۔ بہت سی سازشیں کر رہے ہیں جن سے کشمیر کو کسی نہ کسی طرح سے کات پھینکا جائے۔

'بھی چند دنوں کی بات ہے۔ آپ نے سنا ہوگا کہ اخبارات کے پاس شہخ محمد عبداللہ کے پرسنل سیکریٹری (Personal Secretary) کے دستخطوں سے ایک چھڑ چلی آئی ہے۔ ایک بیان چلا آتا ہے جو شہخ محمد عبداللہ کی طرف سے بعد میں منسوخ کیا جاتا ہے۔ خوش قسمتی یہ سمجھئے کہ زنبیر سنگھ پورا کی تقریر سے تھوڑے سے اخبارات متوجہ

ہو گئے تھے کہ بیان پر کچھ نہ کچھ دال مہوں کالا ضرور ہے۔ اس لئے انہوں نے اس کی تحقیقات شروع کر دی۔ چھاپنے سے پہلے انہوں نے معلوم کرنا شروع کر دیا کہ یہ حقیقت سچ ہے یا جھوٹ ہے۔ تو نتیجہ یہ نکلا کہ وہ چیز جو شہخ محمد عبداللہ کی طرف سے نکلا ہوا بیان بتلائی گئی تھی وہ منسوخ ہو گئی۔ اور روک لی گئی۔ سازشیں اس طریقہ کی ہو رہی ہیں۔ خیر۔ وہ چیز تو رکی۔ لیکن اس کے ساتھ ہی کہا ہم پر یہ فرض عاید نہیں ہوتا کہ اس سے کم سے کم اندازہ کریں کہ کشمیر اور ہلدوستان کو ایک دورے سے جدا کرنے کے لئے کتنی بڑی اور گہری سازشیں اس وقت ہو رہی ہیں۔ ایسے وقت میں کیا مسٹر چٹرجی اور ڈاکٹر مکرجی جیسے معزز دوستوں اور بڑی ہستیوں کی زبان سے یہ چیز سجتی ہے کہ ان حقائق کو دیکھتے ہوئے ہم پر حملہ بول دیں اور حملہ کر دیں۔ دنیا کی قومیں جنگ اور امن کے لئے الگ الگ قوانین پر چلا کرتی ہیں۔ امن مہوں ایک ہات بالکل معصومانہ اور بے ضرب ہو سکتی ہے۔ لیکن وہی بات اس

3 P.M.

کا دسواں حصہ بھی اگر جنگ کے وقت کیا جائے تو وہ بہت نقصان رسا ہوتا ہے۔ سیز فائر کے ماتحت یہ حقیقت ہے کہ اس وقت ہلدوستان

اور پاکستان کشمیر کے بارے میں ایف دوسرے کے برخلاف بر سر پیکر ہیں۔ اس لئے کشمیر کے بارے میں جو بات بھی کی جائے وہ یہ سمجھ کر ہی کی جائے کہ یہ ہم اپنی ایک ایسی سرحد کے بارے میں بات کر رہے ہیں جو میدان جنگ ہے اور اس کے بارے میں اس طریقے سے بات نہیں کرنا چاہئے جو عام طریقے سے کی جاتی ہے۔ اس بارے میں میں تو یہ کہوں گا کہ پاکستان کے لوگ اور پاکستان کی حکومتیں شاید بہت زیادہ ہوشیار واقع ہوئی ہیں۔ ابھی دو سال کی بات ہے کہ وہاں کے ایک بہت بڑے اخبار سیول اینڈ ملٹری گزٹ نے ایک بہت معمولی سی خبر شایع کر دی جس کو انہوں نے ذرا سا اپنے مفاد کے خلاف سمجھا۔ نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ سول اینڈ ملٹری گزٹ چار مہینے کے لئے کسی کو اپنا ملکہ نہیں دکھا سکا اور چار مہینے تک اس اخبار کو بند کئے رہے۔ اگر جس قسم کی حرکتیں آج کشمیر نے بارے میں یہاں کے پریس کے ایک حصہ میں ہوئی ہیں یا یہاں کے بعض لوگوں کی زبانوں سے ہوئی ہیں ان کا دسواں حصہ بھی اگر پاکستان کا کوئی شخص کشمیر کے بارے میں کرے جو وہاں کے ملک کے مفاد کو نقصان پہنچانے والا ہو تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ وہ شخص کبھی جہل سے باہر نہیں آ سکتا۔

لیکن یہاں بدقسمتی سے جمہوریت کا ضرورت سے زیادہ ناجائز فائدہ اٹھایا جاتا ہے۔ لیکن وہاں پاکستان میں ایسا کبھی نہیں ہوتا۔ جناب والا۔ وقت میرے پاس بہت تھوڑا ہے۔ اس لئے جناب کی اجازت سے میں ایک در لفظ اور عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔

**Mr. Speaker:** I just now requested Shri Ayyanger not to exceed the time. The hon. Member has spoken for nearly 16 minutes.

مولانا مسعودی - واقعی یہ درست ہے لیکن میرے جو پائلٹس ہیں وہ ایسے ہیں جو ابھی تک کی تقریروں میں نہیں آئے ہیں اور ان کو میں مختصراً عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔

**Mr. Speaker:** I am afraid there will be other occasions for speaking upon. A very large number of Members are anxious to speak and the time at our disposal is short. I must be very strict with time. Hon. Members will arrange their speeches and points to suit their time.

[English translation of the above speech]

**Maulana Masuodi** (Jammu and Kashmir): Sir, the issues mentioned in the President's Address, now under discussion for the last three days, are varied and many. Originally I had, therefore, a mind to hear to what the hon. friends more learned and intellectual than myself had to say rather make any observations myself. Yet the references made to Kashmir—yesterday by Shri Chatterjee and today by Dr. Mookerjee—have made me revise my earlier decision and I now feel it incumbent upon me to say a few words. The references, coming as they do, create a feeling within me as if the raid on Kashmir organised five years before and now

[Maulana Masuodi]

suspended under a cease-fire agreement, has been resumed afresh—with the difference that while the former raid came from the West, the new onslaught is being organised from the South and the East. The nature of both the raids, however, remains almost identical.

Before I reply to the points raised by the hon. friends, I want to make one thing clear. The ideas swaying India today are the direct outcome of the freedom movement that witnessed recently. That freedom movement owed its origin to a particular philosophy styled as Gandhiji's philosophy, the philosophy of non-violence or the philosophy of love. The first reactionary force arrayed against this philosophy of Gandhiji, which was fast spreading in India, was provided by communalism or what is known as Jinnahism. Jinnahism was resented in all quarters. It was resented by the adherents of Gandhism as also by other people. The difference between the two, however, was that, while the followers of Gandhi and the Congress opposed that philosophy by their actions and by keeping steadfast along the right path they had chosen for themselves, others, in doing so, fell a victim to that very evil of communalism advocated by Mr. Jinnah. These were the persons represented by the Hindu Mahasabha or organisations of that type. What I mean to say is that the movement to which we owe our independence, has passed through the continuous clash of two different ideologies or philosophies—one that of love and the other that of hatred and communalism. To be more precise one may be known as Gandhism and the other may be termed as Jinnahism. It is not that Muslim Leaguers alone may be considered as the adherents of Jinnahism. Anyone treading along the path of communalism shall be a true follower of Jinnahism and by whatever name you may call it, in the ultimate analysis of things its complexion remains unaltered. At the time India attained her freedom, the two philosophies came together in an extremely violent clash. I do not want to place before the House the disastrous results of that clash. It is sufficient to state that the partition of the country, we are witnessing today, is the direct result of that very clash. The two parts now forming Pakistan in the North East and North West denote the surrender of Gandhism to Jinnahism. It was one of our biggest misfortunes. So far as Kashmir is concerned, it happened to be situated

very near to the line or the boundary which was to separate the two parts of our country as a result of that clash of two opposing philosophies. Meanwhile Kashmir was being watched intently by the two separating people. But, Sir, somehow or the other, Kashmir succeeded in remaining safe and ultimately in aligning herself on the side of India. All this is a long history. But the credit for this all goes to one and only one man—that is Sheikh Abdullah and the National Conference, a small political party of which he is the leader. It was he and his party who brought Jinnahism to its knees and held aloft the banner of Gandhism in Kashmir. This victory for Gandhism made Sheikh Abdullah an eye-sore not only to the Muslim League, but a sense of defeatism came over other communal parties in the country also. Today, therefore, when I see Kashmir's honour being assailed by the Muslim League and Pakistan from the other side of the border and by persons like Dr. Mookerjee and Shri Chatterjee on this side of the country, I do not feel surprised at all. May be that others feel surprised. But one who is able to see Jinnahism working in so many different forms, can feel no surprise to find it being supported from this side also. We are witnessing the thing actually happening here at present. Shri Chatterjee and Dr. Mookerjee have sought an extremely untenable excuse to assail Sheikh Abdullah and Kashmir. Firstly they have justified their criticism on the basis of a speech attributed to Sheikh Abdullah for which they want to give him exemplary punishment. Again they quote so-called facts alleged to be emanating from an hon. Member of this Parliament whom they have not named and thus, justify their right to make speeches of that kind here.

**Shri H. N. Shastri** (Kanpur Distt.—Central): He was also a follower of Jinnahism.

**Maulana Masuodi**: I submit that it is not the first time that Sheikh Abdullah has delivered a speech. He has been accustomed to public speaking for the last 22 years. It has been the case with him almost daily since so long. Without going into the details of that speech or mentioning the words actually used by him I want to put one question to the hon. friends. You have seen nothing objectionable in the scores of speeches delivered by Sheikh Abdullah. Now that you attribute certain objectionable words to him, is he not entitled to be consulted, before you hasten to express

any opinion about him, particularly when the contradiction of the so-called speech is forthcoming only the next day of its having been delivered? How is it that this fact has evaded your attention? Now take the question of an hon. friend's report after his return from a tour of Kashmir. Sir, for the information of Shri Chatterjee, I may state that no part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is such as to be inaccessible. Hundreds of hon. Members have visited the State during the past five years and have returned with their own impressions of the conditions obtaining there. Many former and present Members of this House have visited that territory openly and have seen every part of it. You have never approached them for a report or to ascertain an opinion as to the conditions in which the minorities as also the majority are actually living. You have never enquired from them the conditions in which the masses in general are living there or of the activities of Sheikh Abdullah. How is it that you have reposed so much confidence on the report of one member only.

**Pandit A. R. Shastri** (Azamgarh Distt.—East cum Ballia Distt.—West): Sir, is it possible to know the name of the hon. Member according to whose report such speeches have been delivered?

**Shri H. N. Shastri**: Deshpande?

**Mr. Speaker**: The hon. Member should proceed now without minding these interruptions. He has got two minutes more.

**Maulana Masuodi**: Sir, I was stating that the ground for this attack was a very flimsy one and had no reality about it.

There is one more point I want to bring to the notice of this House. Kashmir's case occupies a peculiar position in the annals of international dealings. The point at issue in Kashmir is not merely that the Kashmiris have elected to be Indians and want to remain as such out of their own free will while a certain other power wants to deprive them of this right. The dispute is not confined to the fact that the Indian Army is arrayed on one side of the boundary for purposes of defence while standing opposite to them is the Pakistan Army whose aim it is to invade our territory. That is not the only dispute. The issue is a much bigger one. It has assumed so great an importance in the international sphere that many countries have begun evincing a very keen interest in it. I need not mention the names of these countries here. This interest is by no means

superficial or limited in nature. It is not confined to mere voting in favour of or against India and Kashmir sitting in a far off place like Lake Success or Paris. It has much larger implications. You Sir, are aware that some of these countries exercise tremendous influence in spheres other than their own and not infrequently they resort to conspiracies in those regions. This is what is frequently happening these days. So this is how some of the countries are conspiring to bring utter destruction to Kashmir.

Only a few days back the newspapers were asked to publish a statement under the signature of Sheikh Abdullah's Personal Secretary, which was contradicted subsequently by the Sheikh himself. It was fortunate that the report of Sheikh Abdullah's speech at Ranbirsinghpura had put the newspapers on their guard. They smelt something fishy about the statement which led them to verify the truth or otherwise of the facts contained therein. They declined to publish it before completing that investigation. The result was the entire statement attributed to Sheikh Abdullah was repudiated and was held up from publication. That shows how the conspiracies are being hatched against Kashmir. That is one thing. But does it not impose an obligation upon us to understand the trick underlying all these conspiracies which chiefly aim at driving a wedge between India and Kashmir. These are very big and deep-laid conspiracies. For that matter, does it behove the hon. friends of Dr. Mookerjee and Shri Chatterjee's calibre to indulge in such bitter criticism against Kashmir. Different codes of conduct are followed by the nations of the world both in times of war and peace. A thing may appear to be very innocent and harmless in times of peace, but even one-tenth of it in times of war, may bring disaster. There is cease-fire in Kashmir, but the fact remains that India and Pakistan are still at war in Kashmir. We have, therefore, to be cautious in saying anything with regard to Kashmir. We should realize that we are speaking about a frontier which is a war-zone at present and that the usual unguarded manner of saying things cannot be adopted without serious implications. May I say that the people and the Government of Pakistan have given a better proof of wisdom in this respect? Hardly two years ago the Civil and Military Gazette, a prominent paper of Lahore, published a small news-item which was considered to be opposed to the national interest. The paper in question had to suspend publication for

[Maulana Masuodi]

full four months. Should any person in Pakistan indulge in one-tenth of the anti-national activities which one comes across in a section of the press or on the part of some individuals, here, that person, to my mind, would find himself behind the bars for good. Unfortunately, however, the freedom given in a democracy is being misused in this country. In Pakistan this is never the case. Sir, the time at my disposal is short. I, therefore, want to conclude in a minute or two.

**Mr. Speaker:** I just now requested Shri Ayyangar not to exceed the time. The hon. Member has spoken for nearly 16 minutes.

**Maulana Masuodi:** This is correct but I have to state points which have not been covered in the speeches made so far. I want to state them briefly.

**Mr. Speaker:** I am afraid there will be other occasions for speaking upon. A very large number of Members are anxious to speak and the time at our disposal is short. I must be very strict with time. Hon. Members will arrange their speeches and points to suit their time.

**Shri Rishang Keishing** (Outer Manipur—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): I beg to move:

(i) That at the end of the motion the following be added:

“but deeply regret the absence of any mention of the steps that should be taken for the speedy development of the backward scheduled tribes so as to raise them to the level of other communities in the country as guaranteed under the Constitution.”

(ii) That at the end of the motion the following be added:

“but deeply regret the failure to announce the Government's policy towards democratisation of administration in the Part 'C' States of Manipur, Tripura and Kutch.”

Sir, I have been elected from the Outer Manipur constituency which is a reserved seat. I belong to the Naga tribe and this is the first occasion that a Naga representative came and spoke in this Parliament. I want to give you the whole picture of the people there...

**Mr. Speaker:** He will finish strictly within the time limit.

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** What is the time allotted?

**Mr. Speaker:** About 15 minutes and not more than that.

**Shri Rishang Keishing:** Many times our Press has mis-reported about these people. We as representatives of the backward people came here with great hope that the Government would be able to show us some plan and programme for the development of the tribal people. But the Presidential Address has maintained complete silence about this matter and if it is an indication of what the Government is going to do, I am afraid our future is doomed. The Constitution of India and the framers of our Constitution recognized the position of the tribal people and I am glad they have put in something specifically in the Constitution, but it is not enough that the Constitution has mentioned something. Unless it is going to be put into practice, it is of no use. Therefore, I feel that the complete silence of the Address about the development of the tribal people indicates that Government is not at all thinking seriously of this tribal matter. Sometimes we used to feel that as 30 million Scheduled Tribes are inhabiting this great land of India, Government will tackle this problem on a war footing. I even used to entertain the idea of creating a separate Ministerial Department exclusively to tackle this matter, but I am completely frustrated and disappointed and I take this Presidential Address as a very unfortunate Address. There was a time when we used to feel that we were not Indians. That was the result of the divide and rule policy and we should not mind this. Now with great difficulty we the educated men have been able to explain to our people to some extent or rather to a large extent that we are out and out Indian and the people have joined the elections and they have now been able to associate and identify themselves as true and loyal citizens of India. This has certainly brought great responsibility on the Government. It is only when the people are contented and satisfied that they will look on you as their brothers and sisters. If we cannot do that, I am afraid the people will think it otherwise. The Congress Government during the past four years has committed a great blunder so far as this matter is concerned. What the people need are communications, schools and hospitals. They want that they should as soon as possible be linked with good roads, with post offices. They feel that there should be schools and hospitals in the hill areas. You just see what the Government has done so far. There

is hardly any road which goes through the interior part of the tribal areas. Take, for example, the case of Manipur Hills: there is not a single road beyond the plain Manipur. You will find also that only in a portion of Kohima in the Naga Hills there is a good road and besides that you will not find any road. The Indian Press had been publishing reports on a grand scale about the Government Civil Hospital in Kohima. I consider that it is a useless hospital. What are we going to do with that hospital in Kohima where there is no good communication? The area of Naga Hills is big enough but no patient living eight miles away will hardly come over to that hospital. You are spending lakhs and lakhs of rupees on that hospital and it is a waste of money. It would have been much better if you could divide that money and establish ten hospitals in different parts of the area. There is a big sub-division in Manipur Hills which has an area of 8,000 square miles with a population of two and a half lakhs of people and that sub-division has only one high school. That was started only last March. I personally started that school in 1949 and I was the Headmaster of that school up to last September. The Chief Commissioner in Manipur very graciously granted Rs. 50 as grant-in-aid, but for my being a Socialist, he wanted to remove me from that school and he therefore, withdrew the grant-in-aid and thereby threatened the future existence of the very school. I was compelled to resign and the Government took it over last March. Such is the condition that for two and a half lakhs of people and for an area of 8,000 square miles, we have only one High School. The hospital there is not well equipped. There is one lady doctor. She cannot attend the male patients. I will tell you what sort of treatment is given there. The villagers are very fond of injections. But, the doctor has no medicines. So, she has to give water injections. There was a bomb explosion and 13 persons were injured of whom one was a girl. A needle was required to suture the wounds; but there was no needle. A common needle was used. When such things are going, how can we be content?

The tribal areas, especially in Assam, occupy a very strategical position. For the security of India, it is essential that the people there should be contented. If they are not contented, you cannot rely on them for the security. It is only when their problems are solved, it is only when their demands are fulfilled and when they are contented

you can rely on them. If not, the security of India will always be shaky.

Manipur has got a big area. But, that has been placed as a Part C State. If I may say so, it has got a D class democracy. According to the Constitution we are placed in Part C. Some of the Part C States have got a Legislative Assembly; but some Part C States like Manipur, Tripura and Kutch are unlucky to be kept under one-man rule, and so I say that these States may be taken as Part D States. Manipur was the first State in India to have elections. We elected our representatives and the administration was entrusted on them and they carried on efficiently. The people of Manipur, after a long struggle had overthrown the Maharaja's regime and had responsible Government. On 15th November, 1949, the Government of India robbed the people of this democracy, their hard won and cherished democracy, and the Chief Commissioner's regime was installed. I will tell you what is going on there. The Chief Commissioner is doing everything as he likes. He is the Head of the Government; he is the Legislature; he is the Executive; he is the Inspector-General of Police; he is the Director of Public Instruction; he is everything. People have no voice whatsoever in the administration. Last time, when I put a question, I worded it thus: in the absence of democratic Government, the Chief Commissioners in Part C States rule like dictators. That was objected to and I dropped it. I reserved that point for this speech. Unless and until these Part C States, particularly in the border areas are democratised, you will be creating a dangerous situation there. If the Government take a plebiscite in Manipur, cent. per cent. of the people will vote for democratic Government; cent. per cent. will vote against the Chief Commissioner's regime. The Chief Commissioner's regime has been termed as dictatorship. Peaceful procession of students has been ruthlessly suppressed. About 150 students were imprisoned. Several school children were loaded in a military truck and carried away and abandoned at a distance of 30 or 40 miles. In the hill areas you find the so-called special police, who are in the name of collecting arms, taking the help of the local goondas and fanatics, raiding the places. Communal feelings among the tribal people are growing rapidly. Is it not a fact that Mahatma Gandhi sacrificed his life to uphold communalism from India? But, you are rearing another communalism in Manipur. At any time a riot may break out. These border areas should be looked after

[Shri Rishang Keishing]

very carefully; but you are ignoring them completely. Instead of meeting the needs of the people, the Government is increasing the military outposts, CID outposts, and what not. So many out-posts are being formed in the border areas, while the people's discontent is mounting up day by day. I do not know how you are going to balance these two things. That is a matter for the governing party to decide.

Another important issue is the question of compensation. A portion of the Naga Hills was affected during the last war, whereas the whole of Manipur was very severely affected; perhaps it was the worst affected area, in the whole of the last war. The people had been promised ample compensation. The people have been demanding compensation since 1945; but nothing has been done so far about that. When the people approach the Government, they always say, we are trying, we are trying. The Central Government has assured us that the matter is under consideration. I do not know how long the Government is going to consider. Perhaps another generation will go without being compensated. The people are tired of this. One of the most pressing problems of the people is compensation. Their houses have been reduced to ashes. Even my house and my village was completely burnt. The Government was kind enough to give us Rs. 400/- as a measure of relief but it should not be mixed with compensation issue. In other areas where the houses and properties were completely protected by the Armies and aeroplanes, the people have been given even Rs. 30,000. The Kohima subdivision alone was affected. The people there started some sort of agitation and they were given compensation whereas that has been denied to the people of Manipur. How can Government expect the people to be contended when such things are going on, and when there is partiality. It is unfortunate that we should have been treated like that and Government wants also to win our confidence. Government is just standing on the parting of ways and I am afraid, Government is going to bid farewell to the people unless Government take immediate steps to solve the problems of the people. I am afraid, Government will sit here and watch the people's confidence receding fast. Our sitting will be of no use if Government is not going to grant a democratic Government to our people there. Their day to day

administration and life are left entirely in the hands of one man. Let me say once again, democratisation of Manipur is an immediate requirement of the people; compensation is an immediate requirement of the people; good roads, hospitals and schools are the immediate requirements of the people. Of course this need is there throughout the country among the tribal people and Government must consider these problems very seriously.

**Mr. Speaker:** Amendments moved:

(i) That at the end of the motion the following be added :

"but deeply regret the absence of any mention of the steps that should be taken for the speedy development of the backward scheduled tribes so as to raise them to the level of other communities in the country as guaranteed under the Constitution."

(ii) That at the end of the motion the following be added :

"but deeply regret the failure to announce the Government's policy towards democratisation of administration in the Part 'C' States of Manipur, Tripura and Kutch."

**Shri Khardekar** (Kolhapur *ct.m* Satara): Sir, I seek your indulgence and the indulgence of this House on this occasion because I am almost a new Member. Almost, because, I was a Member of the Constituent Assembly for two months, and I attended the last Parliament for about a week. I was given the chance to speak about half a dozen times in the Constituent Assembly. But, in the last Parliament, although I stood up three times, I did not get a chance. I failed to catch your eye. Last week also, I was very anxious to pay my humble tribute to you. I stood up half a dozen times, but I failed to catch your eye. I prayed as one Member did that the Speaker should be Argus-eyed. I do not know, it seems my wishes have been fulfilled and my prayers granted. I do not know whether I have been able to catch one of the two or one of your hundred eyes. Today the atmosphere has been heated and I wish to introduce a little bit of humour for just two minutes, because this side has to reply to one Member on the other side.

Yesterday you said that humour, even if it is slightly of a low type, is welcome, because humour makes life much more palatable. I refer to certain remarks of my hon. friend Dr. Deshmukh. He referred to complexion and the hungry looks of this side and I was very annoyed that some of my friends on my right got annoyed at his remarks. Let me give a reply to his remark.

His first remark was about our complexion, that we are dark on this side...

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh** (Amravati East): I never said that. I must explain. All that I said was that the complexion was not so fair... (*Interruption*). My friend seems to suffer from inferiority complex.

**Shri Khardekar:** That line should be deleted and not considered. I will just quote one line. I will just repeat one line from Drinkwater's play "Abraham Lincoln". The sentence is "We black; you white." Sir, as Mr. More said the Members on the other side are the descendants of Englishmen. I am using the word "descendants" in the sense that they are the successors of the Englishmen, because being the successors of the rulers. We are all Indians; we are proud that we are Indians and we are all black there is no doubt about it. I do not want to introduce for sometime any seriousness in the discussion.

Then he talked about our hungry looks and about his coming from a surplus area. He need not have said that. Looking at him, I am not referring to his corporation, particularly but to his barren head, his bare head. I mean his bald head; you, Sir, as a student of Sanskrit know खल्वतो निर्धनः क्वचित्

[A bald man is seldom poor.]

He talked about one important thing. "Now that the opposition is there, we on this side (that is his side) need not resort to self-examination and introspection." I hope that most of the other Members on that side do not share his view. If I may quote Clive Bell, who has written an excellent book on Civilisation, which says "Self-examination and introspection are the essence of civilisation and culture." I do not know if Dr. Deshmukh wishes to cease from being civilised or cultured.

Then when Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar spoke and referred to Rayalaseema and the famine there, I was reminded of a meeting between two great literary giants; Bernard

Shaw and G. K. Chesterton. You know, Shaw; how very lean, thin and tall he was. Looking at Shaw Chesterton said "Shaw, looking at you, one would think that there is a famine in England for a long time." Then Shaw the quick-witted looked at his friend, the fattest man in the literary world and said "Looking at you, one can understand".

I come now to the Address of the President. My position is very precarious. I am an independent. I am going to admire what deserves admiration and condemn what deserves condemnation, let it come from the right or the left. I have to steer clear between two dangers—the rage of Opposition, as I see it, and the greed of assent as is represented by certain Members on the other side. And talking of the rage of Opposition the very first sentence of my friend on the right, Mr. Gopalan, comes to mind, "the Address of the President declares war on the people of India." I almost rubbed my eyes. I did not know the meaning of it. I was under the impression that for the last so many years or at least many months the Government of India saw red everywhere but now it seems the Reds are seeing red in the Government of India. What a metamorphosis!

About the Address itself; I have now to hurry up. I think it is bad in form and greatly disappointing in content. I do not think the Prime Minister had time even to correct it, because I am a student of his books and he is a writer of excellent, elegant and beautiful English and this particular Address has been very loosely written. That is my humble opinion.

Let me come to one or two important points. Let me talk about the foreign policy. I am not a student of international affairs but one has to make his humble contribution here. The Mover of the motion, the gentleman from Shantiniketan (what a beautiful word!) said "our Government has no policy" and being a man from Shantiniketan, he artistically and dramatically stopped there. And the Opposition was fooled and tickled. The Opposition thought that the Government having no policy, must be a stupid Government. They thought that the dramatic pause was a full stop but it was only a semi-colon. Then the man from Shantiniketan slowly proceeded. "We have no policy but we have a principle." There was a pause, a comma this time, and then he roared "We have a principle of friendliness towards all the nations." The Government side of course cheered

[Shri Khardekar]

and rightly and I was about to clap my hands but somehow I controlled myself, because from the storehouse of my memory a certain incident came to my mind and I will tell you about that.

When I was in school—I was in a good school, where there were good teachers—I was rather fortunate that way; I was still more fortunate, I was Captain of the cricket eleven. And being unanimously elected the Captain I had the responsibility of selecting the team. Putting myself at No. 1 I proceeded in a straight manner up to 10. When I came to 11 I began to have doubts. I was not sure of myself. There were three persons knocking at the door. I began to compare and contrast. Although I knew that X was slightly better than Y and Z somehow I could not fix on the right person. At that stage my teacher who was concerned with games called me and asked "What is the trouble? Have you fixed the team?" I said "No. I have got only ten names." "You cannot play with only 10." "I know" I said. "Then what is the trouble?" I had to be honest, because he trusted me and I had to tell him the truth. I said "There are three persons wanting to get into the team and I can take only one." Then he said "Is not one of them better than the other two?" "Yes" I said. "Then why do you not take him in?" "There are all really not much different but all the nine plus these three are very good friends of mine." "Let me teach you one lesson in life" he said. "If you are going to have every one as your friend, you will end up in having no friend at all." That was the lesson I learnt then.

Then again when I was in England as a student I heard a grandmother advising her grand-daughter who was a glamour girl, like the glamour girl India is as described by Mr. More. She was of course crowded around by young men and was very happy. The grandmother said, "Are you looking to the serious side of life? Are you going to marry at all? Or are you going to remain a lifelong spinster?" The girl replied "Well, there are so many young men most anxious to marry me." The grandmother very seriously told her "Fix upon someone; otherwise you will get no one." Unfortunately, that might be our position. Now, I understand the difficulties of the Government. I am not here merely to criticise. We are between the devil and the deep sea—and the devil is on the right side

of me, I know that. What would happen if we were to align ourselves? You know, Sir, the world is divided into very sharp blocs. If we align ourselves with Russia our nationality or our nation as a separate entity, I am afraid, will come to an end. Even if one believes in One World and so on — I actually believe nations should continue as cultural units rather than as political units, but leaving that aside — what will happen to the individuality of the individual? That will not only be suppressed but that will be completely annihilated. I know also the advantages. We will get food, we will get shelter, we will get clothing. Perhaps they might not be important to a person like me who is fairly well off but to an ordinary man, to ordinary millions they are very important, the primary necessities of life are very important things. But the question arises: Would man be satisfied when only the primary necessities of life are given to him? Man cannot live by bread alone and I for one would rather prefer to be an unhappy Socrates to a happy pig. That is one side of the question. If we align ourselves with the Imperialist bloc, the Capitalist bloc, we will have liberty of some sort, we will have democracy of some sort, but it will be more or less in name and we may have the Imperialists dominating over us. I do not know if we will have really the same trouble over again because the White man may put his burden on the black man again.

We have been told about the progressive appreciation of our foreign policy in the international field. I do not know what this progressive appreciation is. A tiny Island like Ceylon has been insulting us. And about Kashmir, I did not understand my friend who spoke in high-flown Urdu—I do not understand the language unfortunately — but I have a few observations to make. Now, Sheikh Abdulah is the Tiger of Kashmir. We in India have spent men and money for Kashmir. We have sacrificed all this and instead of being grateful to us this tiger has been really being ungrateful and one might say has been almost biting the hand that fed him. And one might, like myself, say:

पयः पानं भृङ्गानो वैवलं विद्वर्धनम्

[To feed vipers with milk is only to make them still more venomous].

But then such advice may not be liked by persons on the other side because the second line is:

उपदेशा हि मूख्यं प्रकोपाय न शान्तये

[To advise the foolish is only to invite their anger and not to make them calm.]

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha** (Patna East): Sir, I thank you for the opportunity afforded to me to participate in the present debate, but just as another hon. Member has told you, I am also a newcomer to this House and in the midst of so many intellectuals here I must say I feel a bit of nervousness. I would therefore crave your indulgence, Sir and the indulgence of this great House.

Before I deal with the Address of the President I congratulate my hon. friends who by their eloquent speeches have thrown light on diverse subjects. They have done it so well that I am afraid that any more light may simply blur the image. Some of the hon. Members have offered constructive and useful suggestions and I hope Government would consider them. But a majority of the Members sitting opposite have offered so unrealistic, unsympathetic and unreasonable criticisms. In this calamity pervading the country at present we would have welcomed their constructive advice and criticism but it is really a pity that they do not seem to appreciate the spirit of co-operation and co-ordination and joint effort of which they all talk. They give the example of Russia and of China and say, "Look here, see how they are progressing". But, mind you, they are progressing through joint endeavour. The people, the opposition groups, everybody is co-operating for the national endeavour. for the national effort and the result is what we see, what we read and what somebody who has gone to China might come and report here in the House. Sir, I would again request my hon. friends to cast a reasonable look at the difficulties of this Government, at the real difficulties of this Government, difficulties which it had to face in the past and is facing now and will have to face in the future. Is it not true that we talk of the well-being of the masses so much but we care very little for their fulfilment? We know that contentment and progress cannot be brought into the midst of a people by a sudden change of attitude, nor can it be thrust upon them if they are not

prepared for it. If all our measures fail sometimes it is because they are not receptive as our Government would like them to be. However, that is a question to which I shall come back again.

The majority of the Members have expressed grave concern, and very rightly, over the food problem and the famine conditions. Let me tell those hon. Members that if their arguments are meant to be a weapon of attack against the Government, then I have nothing to argue about because you cannot argue with a person who is not prepared to listen. But those who have a sense of vision that is 'the Third Eye' which the God Ganesh, our Hindu God has, can see a bit farther. I can appeal to them to have a look at the difficulties we are facing today and think twice before they pass any judgment on any measures taken by Government. Is it not a fact that the Government is trying its utmost to avoid famine and other crises? I cannot recount the various steps taken by Government as the Finance Minister has done so ably. However, I should say that our Government cannot do more simply because it is not a supernatural Government, it has not got a magic wand.

A few words regarding foreign policy, a subject very wide and very interesting indeed. Many Members have expressed their ideas on the subject and I am afraid I may not be able to contribute much to what they have already said. But still the subject was so spicy and I being a student of economics could not check the temptation to utter a few words regarding the foreign policy of our Government. The sentiments expressed by the President are inspiring and realistic. Indeed, in welcoming the growth of friendly relations with other foreign powers; in fighting racialism; in expressing great concern over the fact that the fundamental rights of Indians in Ceylon are being denied; in sympathising with the movement for independence both in Asia and Africa; and in hoping for a greater endeavour on the part of the world powers to take a more sympathetic attitude towards the cause of peace for which the world hungers, the President only gave vent to the peoples' feelings. But those very sentiments throw on the unfortunate fact that we are at present unable to affect decisively the course of world events and are even unable to protect the rights of our nationals abroad. But may I say that while we suffer, we suffer under limitations and under

[Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha]

pressure. We do not want to suffer, but we have to suffer and I do not think even the members of the Opposition would say that helplessness is a crime. I am a bit disheartened in expressing this sentiment, but I feel that we are helpless and cannot otherwise act than what we are doing. China is helpless to take a seat in the United Nations. The Chinese people are not grudging it, because they feel that China is helpless and the Chinese Government is helpless and a great truth like China's admission to the U.N. is being denied by America and yet the Chinese people do not mind. But in India we grudge our helplessness and we do not give thought as to how we can fight that helplessness. We merely grudge and grudge. I now turn to another subject.

I feel, the appointment of the Press Commission has to be welcomed, though its utility will depend upon its terms of reference and the character of its personnel. But one thing is clear. We do not want the Press Commission to be one whose mountainous labours will produce the proverbial mouse, as most of the Commissions turn out to be. For example, in England there was the Royal Commission to enquire into the Press and out of its labours came out only the proverbial mouse. We do not want that to happen here. I am not criticising the Government for appointing this Commission. I only give them a warning that slackness may set in after the appointment of that Commission. The Commission by itself is a very important one, because the Press must be independent. Government must be tolerant towards the Press and the Press for its part must have a dignity to maintain its authority and freedom. Let us hope that the Commission will give an authoritative survey concerning the profession and industry of the Press and that it will show the pitfalls in them and will expose their defects and limitations so that we shall have an expert assessment about the potentialities of the Press. •

There is one more matter to which I want to refer, being a lady Member. I do not know if any other Member of the House has referred to it and if no one has done so, it is very unfortunate indeed. The announcement regarding the Hindu Code Bill has put an end to speculation regarding that important measure of vital social significance. I do not know whom I should congratulate for it, but I feel I

should give my congratulations to our Prime Minister who has been so strong. I wish he would be strong in the future also and help in fighting for the emancipation of women. I know there may be something in that Code, but we shall discuss matters. One thing I know, and that is that it has to be passed. It is needed; indeed, it is very much needed if the House respects the fundamental rights of women and if it accepts that we women know and understand the deficiencies of the matter clearly and we know how to respect the law,—if they do that, then they must at least believe us when we say that we will not make a misuse of that right. This I know from the intimate circle of my family, because we have a chance to know. We belong to that class which is suppressed. There are so many women who, if they are given a channel of law, would take advantage of it and that channel of law might come to them as a saviour, because they are bound, they are chained in shackles and they cannot breathe freely. There are so many torturous facts, so many torturous conditions in our family life, that I do not want to weary the House by repeating them. They are daily happening and there is no sense of reason, no sense of discretion, in them. I congratulate the Government for taking the parts separately, because I know that this will not hold up any longer the passing of those parts on which there is general agreement. It seems that our Government has learnt a lesson from its previous mistakes.

There is only one other thing to which I want to refer and it is a very important point. There is reference in the President's Address to increased production of foodstuffs, but there is no forceful emphasis on the fact that agricultural reforms must be carried out immediately, because this is the most important and urgent problem of our land. As you know, Sir, India is a land of villages and agriculture is the very backbone of our economic life. Agriculture is not a business proposition for the farmers. It is a way of life and the way of life has to be changed. It cannot be changed by half-hearted measures and piecemeal efforts. What it presupposes is a well planned and coordinated effort on the part of the authorities who are concerned with the welfare of the masses. The root cause of low productivity of Indian agriculture lies in the fact that we are unable to take strong and quick measures. I am really pained to see that our Govern-

ment is hesitating between control and de-control and partial de-control and even our provinces have not yet been able to evolve a coordinated policy in the interests of the whole country. Again, I repeat that I am not blaming only the Government for all these defects. It is not only the Government that has to be blamed for all these defects in our system of agricultural economy, but I want to suggest to the Members of the Opposition who have indulged in destructive criticism that they have a duty in the matter. They clapped me once or twice, but I do not care for their clapping. I want to suggest to them that to blame the Government is not always true. Sir, one very important point more. Only one sentence. You rang the bell and I simply forgot my thoughts. I was saying that I desire to give a warning to the Members of the Opposition that instead of abusing and criticising the Government, they must open their eyes and see that the slackness is much more on the part of the masses. That slackness must be eliminated and a new spirit must be infused. That is not only the duty of the Government but the duty of all Members of this House, I mean Members of the Treasury Benches; Members of the Opposition, and even Members of the State Legislatures. What we need is an economic, political and social campaign—an intensive campaign—so that we may reach the spirit of the people. However much the Government may try to do its best, however much the Opposition may abuse the Government, nothing can come out unless and until all of us become one and try to fight that slackness among the masses and raise the spirit of the people.

I thank you, Sir, first and then I thank the Mover of the motion of thanks and I thank the House for its patient hearing. My speech may not have been beautiful and if I have committed any error, I pray that I may be excused.

**श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, दो दिन से दोनों तरफ से इस बात की कोशिश हो रही है कि विरोध केवल विरोध की दृष्टि से किया जाय और ताईद केवल ताईद की दृष्टि से। डिस्कशन (discussion) शुरू करते हुए कुछ भाई ने कहा कि हमारे रिपब्लिक (Republic) के प्रेसीडेंट (President) का ऐड्रेस (Address) राष्ट्रपति का संदेश एक डिक्लरेशन आफ वार

(declaration of war) है अगस्त पीपुल आफ इंडिया (against people of India) लेकिन मैं यह कहने की जुरत करता हूँ कि जो कुछ उन्होंने अपने संदेश में कहा है वह डिक्लरेशन आफ वार अगस्त पीपुल नहीं है, बल्कि आन त्रिहाफ़ आफ दी पीपुल अगस्त दि फोर्सेज बेस्ड आन वायोलेन्स (on behalf of the people against the forces based on violence) है। लिहाजा उन को यह समझ लेना चाहिये कि हिन्दुस्तान में वही ताकतें और वही प्रोग्रेसिव (progressive) कुन्वतें कुछ काम कर सकती हैं जो नानवायलेंस (non-violence) पर अपना क़दम बढ़ा रही हैं और अपना भविष्य बना रही हैं।

दूसरी तरफ़ से मैं यह सुन रहा हूँ कि हम इस आगस्ट हाउस (August House) में केवल कांग्रेस के सौभाग्य से ही शरीक़ हो रहे हैं। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम कांग्रेस के सौभाग्य से इस हाउस में शरीक़ नहीं हैं। लेकिन उन लोगों के कारण जिन्होंने अंग्रेजी मशीनगनों का मुकाबला किया और अपना खून इस मातृभूमि को दिया। उन का सौभाग्य है कि हम तमाम लोग आज इस मीक़े पर हाज़िर हैं और महात्मा का आशीर्वाद था। महात्मा गांधी को कांग्रेस ने नहीं बनाया, लोगों को महात्मा को संकुचित दृष्टि से नहीं नापना चाहिये। महात्मा इज दी एम्बोडीमेंट आफ़ युनिवर्सल ब्रदरहुड आफ़ ह्यूमैनिटी (Embodiment of universal brotherhood of humanity)। वह किसी एक जमात के आदमी नहीं थे। लिहाजा हमें इन बातों को न बढ़ाते हुए, और उन के उद्देश्य और सन्देश को न भूलते हुए, अपनी सरकार की कार्य नीति को बदल देना है।

मैं हैदराबाद से एक इंडीपेन्डेंट (Independent) नुमाइन्दे की हैसियत से आया

### [श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी]

हूँ। मैं ने वहाँ की पिक्चर (picture) के बारे में दोनों तरफ़ के वर्शन्स (versions) को सुना है। लेकिन मैं सही सही बातों की सही सही नुमाइन्दगी इस आगस्ट हाउस में करना जरूरी समझता हूँ क्योंकि अगर कोई स्वतंत्र बात हो सकती है तो वह यह है कि वहाँ की जनता जीवित है। मैं यह कहने की जुरत करता हूँ कि हैदराबाद की जितनी जनता है वह शांतिवादी है। लेकिन शांतिवादी होने पर भी जब वहाँ पुलिस एक्शन हुआ तो वहाँ पर बड़े बड़े अफमर आ गये इस तरह की जितनी घटनायें वहाँ हुईं उन को वह पसन्द नहीं करते थे। उस के बाद वह तेलंगाना में गये। हम लोगों ने देखा कि वहाँ पर लोग मवाजियात में बसते थे। वहाँ पर दो राज्य चलते थे। एक राज्य रात में चलता था, एक दिन में। उन दोनों के काम करने से वहाँ पर जो मिलिटरी थी, और वहाँ क्रौम की जो खिदमत हो रही थी, उस में बाधा पड़ती थी, वहाँ पर पब्लिक के अन्दर कम्युनिस्ट रात में आकर मवाजियात में धमकी दिया करते थे। सुनने में आ रहा है कि मवाजियात में कहीं बलात्कार और कहीं बहुत से जुल्म हुए हैं जिस से वहाँ की पब्लिक बिल्कुल मंजबूर हो गई और रात को कम्युनिस्ट आकर कहते हैं कि तुम ने सरकार को इमदाद दी है। तो दूसरी तरफ़ दिन को पुलिस आकर कहती थी। इस तरह चल रहा है। इस तरह से वहाँ दो सूरतें चल रही हैं। वहाँ पर कांग्रेस का इन्फ्लुएंस (influence) था। मगर कांग्रेस में विकार आ रहा है। कांग्रेस के दो ग्रुप (group) हो गये, दो लीडर थे। दोनों ग्रुप के लीडरों ने अपने इन्डेपेंडेंट तौर पर एक एक ग्रुप स्थापित कर लिये। एक रामानन्द ग्रुप और एक जनादन राव ग्रुप। यह ग्रुपबन्दी शुरू हुई और यही वजह हुई कि एलेक्शन में कांग्रेस की शक्तिस्त हुई। वरना कोई और बात नहीं थी।

अब दूसरी बात मैं अपने ऐमेंडमेंट (amendment) के विषय में कहना चाहता हूँ, हालांकि मैं तफ़्सील में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि वक्त की कमी है, मैं इस आगस्ट हाउस में यह जाहिर कर देना चाहता हूँ कि मैं ऐमेंडमेंट नं० ११० अर्थात् लिग्विस्टिक प्राविन्सेज़ (linguistic provinces) के बारे में बोलना चाहता हूँ। इस के बारे में आप लोगों को गलतफ़हमी हो रही है कि हिंदुस्तान एक सब-नेशन्स (Sub-nations) में तकसीप होने जा रहा है। जनाब सदर, मैं आप के सामने यह वाजेह कर देना चाहता हूँ कि हिंदुस्तान में हम सब जो लोग हैं वह एक ही संस्कृति के पैरो हैं, लेकिन इस देश में मुस्तलिफ़ भाषायें और संस्कृति हैं। अग्रेजों की बदनियती से हमारा देश तकसीम हुआ। लिहाजा हमें प्रांतवाद को खत्म भी करना है और जिन्दा भी करना है। प्रांतवाद को हम खत्म इसलिये कर रहे हैं कि उस के कारण हिंदुस्तान की स्वतंत्रता में और आला-तम्मदन में फ़र्क न आये। और उस को जिन्दा इसलिये करना है कि आम जनता की जबान में हुकूमत के यूनिट्स (Units) क्रायम कर के उस की तहत हम जम्हूरियत का स्वागत करते हैं। हम इसलिये इस को ताईद करना चाहते हैं कि जबान वाले यह भाषा प्रांत क्रायम करने की दो करोड़ कर्नाटक जनता की दिली स्वाहिश है। इसी तरह कर्नाटक है, आन्ध्र है, वह पुकार पुकार कर इस के लिये कह रहे हैं, इसी तरह से महाराष्ट्र को और और प्रांतों में मैंने यह कहा था

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member has exceeded his time limit.

**श्री शिवमूर्ति स्वामी:** “जनता की तरफ़ से कर्नाटक और दीगर प्रांतों के जो प्रतिनिधि यहां आये हैं, उन के दिल की यही स्वाहिश है

कि ये प्रांत शीघ्रता से बनें लेकिन शायद किसी का डीसीप्लिन उन्हें अपनी जमानत आलने से मजबूर करत है।”

[English translation of the above speech]

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami (Kushtagi):** For the last two days I have been noticing that on the one hand opposition is being raised for opposition's sake and, on the other, support is being rendered for support's sake. During the course of the discussion some hon. Members held that the Address of the President of the Indian Republic was a declaration of war against the people of India. I would dare say, that what the President said was declaration of war not against the people but on behalf of the people against the forces based on violence. Let them know, therefore, that in India those progressive elements alone can flourish which follow the principles of non-violence, thereby making their future bright.

From the other side it is claimed that it is due to the Congress alone that we are here in this august House. In this connection, I would like to say that it is not due to the Congress but to those persons who faced the British machine-guns and sacrificed their lives for liberating their motherland that we all are here. We also had the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi. The Mahatma was not a creation of the Congress. Let not people have a narrow outlook when judging that great man; the Mahatma was the embodiment of universal brotherhood of humanity. He did not belong to any single party or group. We have got to be alive to his great ideal and message and have got to effect necessary changes in the Government's policy in the light of Gandhiji's message.

I am elected to this House as an independent candidate from Hyderabad. I have heard of the situation obtaining there from both parties. I deem it necessary to present the true situation before this august House. The fact is that the people of Hyderabad are wedded to the principles of peaceful living. I dare say that they are very peaceful. Peaceful as they are, they did not at all appreciate either the presence of high officials there subsequent to the police action or certain incidents which followed. Then came the affairs of Telangana. Mostly the people live there in villages. There were two parallel Governments, so to say. It would not be wrong to

32 P.S.D.

suggest that while the Government staff were supposed to be on duty in the day, the other party ruled in the night. Such a state of affairs really hampered the activities of the military posted there and of those persons who were rendering service to the people. Communists raided the villages in the night time and threatened the people. Rapes and crimes were rampant with the result that people got terrified. While during the day time the police used to pull them up, during the night Communists harassed them on the pretext that they helped the Government. Such was the sorry state of affairs. A sort of dual rule was going on. Of course, the Congress had its influence there but it was on the down grade. Two groups came to be formed within the Congress, both having their separate leaders. Both leaders formed groups of their own on their own initiative. One group was known as Ramanand group while the other as Janardanrao group. It was due to this party-faction alone that the Congress had to suffer many defeats in the elections at the hands of its rivals.

The next thing I would like to submit is in connection with my amendment. Although I do not propose to go into details on account of there being very little time at my disposal, I would say a word or two with respect to amendment No. 110 which deals with the creation of provinces on a linguistic basis. I find some misunderstanding among the hon. Members in this connection. They are perhaps afraid that this may divide the country into several sub-nations. I want to make it clear Sir, that all people in this country are followers of one single culture. The languages, however, differ in the various parts of this country. We have, therefore, to abolish and maintain provincialism, at the same time; to abolish it because we want the unity and culture of India to be kept alive and maintain it because we want to establish democracy by creating various units of government on the basis of people's languages. We want to support this move because two crores of people in Karnatak earnestly desire the formation of provinces on linguistic basis. In the same way, the people of Maharashtra and Andhra also are desirous of such provinces being formed.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member has exceeded his time limit.

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** Members from Karnatak and other provinces who represent their provinces in this House, have a keen desire to see that

[Shri Sivamurthi Swami]

such provinces on linguistic basis are formed as early as possible, although it may be that party discipline prevents them from openly expressing their sentiments.

**Shri S. V. L. Narasimham (Guntur):** I am thankful to the President for the very noble precepts which he has chosen to express, but I very much regret that in his Address he has not chosen to indicate to us any programme that his Government wants to pursue, so that it would have enabled us to examine it and satisfy ourselves as to how far the Government is prepared to put into practice the noble precepts set by the President.

Well, Sir, I entirely agree with the President when he exhorted us to co-operative endeavour, to the necessity of united effort, to preserve the unity of India. But I very much regret that the tone assumed by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs and States, Dr. Katju, does not conduce to that spirit itself. I expected that when Members of the Communist Party have made an appeal to the Government to forget the past, as a political to a political, it would have been graceful on the part of Government to have accepted their offer and treated the matter as closed. But the speech made by the hon. Minister of Home Affairs and States does not tend to promote such a happy spirit. I entirely agree with the hon. Minister when he says that law and order have to be maintained, but I would expect him to accept an amendment which I would choose to propose to what he has stated, namely, that law and order have to be maintained in accordance with law. Law and order cannot be maintained at any cost; it must be maintained only in accordance with the procedure established by law.

4 P.M.

Further the hon. Minister has stated that the very expression "lawless law" is a mischievous expression, but I would respectfully submit to the House that "lawless law" is a meaningful expression. I have already submitted to the House that law and order have to be maintained in accordance with law. But if the Government seek to establish law and order not by means according to law, not by means permitted and sanctioned by the Constitution of India, but by means which are not at all mentioned in the Constitution and are not written in any Statute, then certainly the people have got every right to resist that. I come from the district of Guntur which is

in the heart of that area in the country which the people call and the Congress recognizes as Andhra but which is styled in the Constitution as a part of the Madras State. I may cite before the House certain instances of lawless acts which in fact have happened and they are within my own knowledge. I agree with the hon. Minister of Home Affairs and States when he said that he being a lawyer and having had the opportunity of appearing in courts of law he can depend on his own experience. Sir, I claim the same privilege, though not as such an eminent lawyer as Dr. Katju but in my own humble capacity as a lawyer of the Guntur district. I may respectfully submit to this House that students have been arrested from hostels. They have not been produced within the stipulated time of twenty-four hours before any Magistrate. A student by name Mohana Rao reading in the Andhra College in my own town has been removed to Kistna district, and his whereabouts will not be known at all. I have had the occasion of defending a number of persons against whom allegations had been made that they were looting villages, etc. But in the course of the cross-examination the prosecution themselves admitted that along with them a number of other Communists had also been arrested and taken to a place called Gorantlavariipalem within the district. The people know, though the people do not admit and the Government of the State is not prepared to admit; there is a concentration camp there which was practically inhabited by the special reserve of the Malabar Police; the witnesses admit that the Communists were taken to the camps along with the others, but the Government denies it. And within a week or ten days after they being moved we see in the papers a news item that there has been an encounter between the police and the Communists and that six persons were dead. Instances of this kind are not few. I am prepared to submit the entire list of the names with the residential address of everyone who died so that as a Congressman who is prepared to do justice and ought to do justice as ordained by the Congress the hon. Minister may institute an enquiry, and if he comes to the conclusion that the statements are false I take the entire responsibility of having uttered a falsehood before this august body and take the consequences. I do not propose to go into the details and give a list of all those various instances here. Enough for me if I state before this House that the instances are not

isolated ones. If you go to the district, even if the hon. Minister alone will go there—not of course advertising that he is a Minister but as Dr. Katju—and directly questions the people—not members of the Communist Party but anybody else—I am sure the only information that he will have from the people of the district will be about the lawlessness of the police and the atrocities committed by them on the villagers indiscriminately. Might be that here and there the Communists one morning or one night have gone to a village and killed a particular individual or two and looted their properties. But what happens when the police go to the villages just in the guise of protecting the villages is this. They begin to beat the first man who is seen by them and conclude after beating the last man in the village indiscriminately, without making any distinction between young and old, man or woman, children or old ones. On the other hand, if any member of the public wants to come forward, he is terrorized and he cannot have any recourse to a court of law. That being the position, no useful purpose will be served by the hon. Minister challenging the persons to defend themselves in courts of law, etc.

Sir, I have myself been a Congressman till the year 1951. In fact, when Dr. Deshmukh was commenting on our complexion I really felt amused. I could have condemned Dr. Malan had he referred to my complexion, but when my own countryman wants to have a joke at my complexion I should not grudge it? In fact my respect for him has really been kindled when he said in a parental tone that he saw the hungry look in our eyes. Sir, as a child to its father may I ask him not to content himself by observing the hungry look in my face but to read the meaning of that hungry look? I have been in the Congress since 1930 when I was a student. I participated in the freedom movement inaugurated by Gandhiji. I have shared the joys and sorrows with every colleague in that organisation when the movement started by Gandhiji was going on in full swing. I was a humble Congressman in 1942 also and participated in the movement which the Congress then demanded and from which they dissociated themselves but utilised successfully in 1946 when the general elections were in full swing. But when once we reached a stage, namely the post-Independence era, I found a different picture of the Congressman. The pre-Independence era Congressman was an emblem of sacrifice and service. But the Congressman who has come

into power during the post-Independence era forgot himself. My friend Mr. More was comparing the promises of the Congressmen with the liabilities on a barred promissory note. But I would choose to correct him and say that the position of the Congressman is just the same as that of a defendant in a suit on a promissory note where the defendant just forgets that he has executed it but very much doubts after all whether he did not execute it and therefore contents himself by saying—because he does not remember but in fact he is not certain that he did not make the promise—"the signature is no doubt mine, but it does not seem to be so". So I would only request the Congressmen and the Leader of the Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to introspect and take upon themselves the responsibility of promoting the principles for which they stood until 1947 so that everyone of us, irrespective of our political differences, may be prepared to join whole-heartedly in the co-operative endeavour in order that people may be made economically free and socially free and the country may enjoy prosperity.

**Mr. Speaker:** May I know from the hon. the Leader of the House the time he will require for his reply? The debate is going on and I am afraid there is a large section in the House who desire to speak.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Sir, I am entirely in your hands and in the hands of the House. Whatever time you are pleased to allot to me I shall finish to the minute.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is quite all right. But my own inclination has been that when an hon. Minister is on his legs to speak, I do not like to put a time limit—not because he is a Minister or because he is a Congressman, but because he has in his possession certain facts which he alone can give to the House. Therefore, I wanted to have the Prime Minister's own estimate about it. I know he will be amenable to what I say.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Sir, a very large number of subjects have been referred to and I should like to have my say about some of them at least. It is very difficult for me and I feel rather embarrassed to ask you to grant me much longer time than is given to others, but, naturally, the more time I have the more I will be able to deal with those subjects.

**Mr. Speaker:** I was thinking whether forty-five minutes to one hour would be all right. So, that would be all right. But if that is to be accepted, it means

[Mr. Speaker]

there is no further chance for any one to speak. So I would rather prefer that this debate continues and that, tomorrow—we have the presentation of the Railway Budget,—after it is done we shall take up this matter and I expect to call upon the Leader of the House to reply at about twelve o'clock—the earlier the better, but at twelve at the latest. This will give us fifty minutes now and some time tomorrow. Well, at present we might go on and then we will see as to how we proceed.

**The Minister of Planning and River Valley Schemes (Shri Nanda):** Sir, may I take up a few minutes of the House at this stage? For my part in the debate, I have a very limited purpose in view. In the course of the debate, observations were made by Members of the House on both sides in respect of our programme of community projects and also some remarks were made which have a bearing on the Five Year Plan. I feel that some of the things that were said might create an erroneous impression and might give rise to some apprehensions in the minds of some people. It is possible to dismiss some of the things that have been said as being not very well informed and not very well conceived. I feel I have a duty here. It is my duty to place before the House the true facts of the situation and I will not take much time in performing that duty. Critical comments were made in connection with community projects and much of what was said proceeds from a political angle, but there was also criticism of the economic set up, the economic merits and of the administrative organization of those projects. I refer to some of the remarks made by an hon. Member on this side, Mr. Chettiar. He would lead us to believe that these projects will not yield any substantial, any real or direct benefits to the villagers, that the administration of these projects is top heavy and costs a great deal of money. I think that he said 20 per cent. was going to be spent on overhead charges, on supervisory personnel. This is possibly a very hurried reading of that small pamphlet, which, I hope, every Member of this House has now in his possession. The figures quoted are that for the supervisory personnel which is supposed to be about 125 the cost of expenditure is Rs. 5,74,000 and on the other personnel it is proposed to spend Rs. three lakhs only, that is in respect of the field workers. When we refer to this pamphlet and when we actually see the figures, we find that this Rs. 5.74 lakhs is the total of the

entire expenditure on personnel. I have made calculations myself and I find that the supervisory personnel is responsible only for 1.02 per cent. and not 20 per cent. of the total expenditure on personnel in the Plan. The difficulty arose because, for one thing, the technical personnel was confused with the administrative personnel and secondly, it was possibly not noticed that Rs. five lakhs and seventy-four thousand is the figure of total expenditure which includes both the administrative and the technical personnel. I may mention that these community projects are attracting a lot of notice and there is a great deal of interest evoked in the entire country with regard to these projects and the House should have some idea of what we are going to expect from them. I have got here an analysis of these figures which shows that out of the Rs. 65 lakhs which is going to be spent on each project, nearly Rs. 26 lakhs is on agriculture work. Roads account for Rs. eleven lakhs, education for Rs. seven lakhs, health for Rs. six lakhs, arts, crafts and industries for four and a half lakhs, housing for two lakhs, so that these things together account for Rs. 40 lakhs out of Rs. 65 lakhs and besides that expenditure on equipment is going to be nearly Rs. two lakhs. I think that considering this break up of the expenditure to be incurred in respect of each community project, it will be realized that much of it goes directly into the hands of the people in the rural areas. It is going to enhance their purchasing power and that part of the expenditure which might be considered in the nature of overhead charges is very very small. I may also inform hon. Members that a rough estimate has been made of the results of this community project experiment, which may be an experiment just now. It is going to make a very substantial addition to our agricultural production in this country. We have not been able to make very accurate estimates at the moment. The estimates vary from 50 per cent. increase in agricultural production to about 15 per cent. in the course of three years, but even if we take 15 per cent. and if the full programme of 600 community projects is carried out, it may lead to an addition of three million tons of food grains in this country per year. It will be seen that this programme has very great potentialities and it might make a very substantial contribution to the solution of the food problem of this country.

The other part of the criticism which has very serious implications relates to

the political aspect. The other day there was an insinuation about the character of American association and the extent of American association in these projects and it was urged that the role of Indians in this association would be of a subservient character. Mr. Chettiar in his speech has said some things which also require very serious consideration. He says that considering the nature of the agreement which we have entered into with the Americans, it might mean that we are impairing our sovereignty, that we are allowing a foreign power to interfere in our affairs and to participate in our administration. If it were true, it would be a terrible thing. But I can say with confidence that it is not true at all. I believe the world knows and everyone knows that India knows how to preserve and protect its dignity, its freedom, its independence and its integrity.

[SHRI ANANTHASAYANAM AYYANGAR  
in the Chair]

They also know, Sir, that any attempt that may be made from any quarter of the globe, aimed at affecting our independence is going to be resisted, whatever the instrument employed, whether it be foreign nationals, or some so-called Indians.

I may now refer to the specific contentions that were urged by Mr. Chettiar. He said that in this agreement we have provided certain clauses which envisage previous endorsement or approval by an Administrator on behalf of the American Government and that the execution of the programme is subject to agreement on both sides, which means that if it is not agreed to by the American Administrator, we cannot carry out the programme at all from day to day. This is a serious misreading of the terms of the Agreement. The word 'execution' of the programme does not mean the execution of the project from day to day. What it means is this: we work out the programme; before an Agreement is signed by both sides.

**An Hon. Member:** I cannot follow the speech: there is a lot of humming noise inside the House and in the lobby also.

**Mr. Chairman:** Inside the House, I find there is not much noise. I shall control the noise outside the House.

**Shri Nanda:** I was mentioning the fact that the apprehension expressed by the hon. Member that in the execution of these projects there was going

to be interference on the part of the Americans who may be associated, is not at all well founded. I do not want to take the time of the House by reading out the clause in the Agreement. The words which were quoted by the hon. Member do not bring out the intention of his remarks.

**Shri Raghobachari (Pehukonda):** That sentence may kindly be read.

**Shri Nanda:** It is a quotation; I shall read it.

"Pursuant to the recommendations of the Committee, specific project Agreements shall be executed by an officer of the designated Ministry on behalf of the Government of India and by the Director on behalf of the Government of the United States of America. Each project Agreement shall define the scope and the specific character of the project to be undertaken, the method by which it is to be carried out, the period within which and the agency or agencies through which it shall be executed and all other matters required for its effective implementation."

What I was trying to make out is this. Under the Technical Co-operation Agreement, if any project comes up for consideration, the Government of India makes some proposals. We have several proposals about fertilisers, about tube wells, about community projects. Regarding each programme, there is to be an Agreement. At the time of the Agreement both sides can have their say. On our side, we may not at all accept or we may not at all enter into any Agreement if we find that the terms of that Agreement, as desired by the other party, are not such as are acceptable to us. It is only when we have agreed to these terms that the Agreement is executed. After that, there is no question of any interference in the working of these projects. This is only for the purpose of release of funds, from what is called the Fund A. If an Agreement is reached, it also indicates the size of the expenditure to be incurred. Then funds will be available for the purpose of the expenses of the Agreement in the manner agreed. After that, there is no question of any interference on the part of anybody. I wanted to make this clear because, if it is left as it is, it may be misunderstood that there was going to be interference on the part of the Americans associated in this project, in the day to day administration. That is not so. On the other hand, even with regard

[Shri Nanda]

to certain matters which concern them, for example, the appointment of the Director on their side, it has been stated in clause 3 that the Director, and other Members of the party of specialists shall be acceptable to the Government of India. That is even those persons whom they may nominate for work here, should be such as the Government of India is in a position to accept. The Agreement has absolutely no such undesirable element as was made out by, or at any rate, might have been interpreted from the remarks of Mr. Chettiar.

I may add, Sir, something which will bring out the true purpose and nature of this Agreement. The whole idea of the community projects was not something which was brought to us by them and which we found to be possibly good and therefore accepted it. The idea of community projects was worked out by the Planning Commission, and if hon. Members will refer to that document, they will find that on page 82 the whole character of the projects, what is intended to be achieved through them, and all that, have been brought out in a whole paragraph. I will not take up the time of the House in reading everything mentioned in the paragraph; I would like hon. Members to read that paragraph so that they may be satisfied that the whole conception of the community projects is not something imported from alien sources, but that is something which has arisen out of an appreciation of our needs and our own view of how our problems could be solved.

It was also suggested by Mr. Chettiar that we might as well have allowed these projects to be administered by some outside agency and that Government might not have taken the responsibility to carry out this programme. The hon. Member possibly forgets that in respect of the administration of these projects, practically three-fourths comprises the functions of the State Governments. I do not think it would be possible for these projects to be carried out except by the agency of the Government. Sir, I have tried to clear up these two misunderstandings regarding the nature of the projects. About the extent of American co-operation also, I must make it clear that there is no question of our being swamped by a large number of American specialists brought in at the discretion of the American Government.

Only such specialists and such experts as we think would be needed

for various specialised tasks that have to be performed in relation to the community projects, will be demanded and their services will be got.

Regarding the Five Year Plan, some of the comments which were urged require attention. It would not be possible for me to deal with those points in detail. But, I will just refer to them very briefly. One thing was urged, I think, by more than one Member, about the fate of the tiller of the land. It is asked: what are you going to do about him; it is on the incentive that we provide for him, it is on his enthusiasm, it is on what he gets in return for his toil that the future prosperity of the country depends. That is agreed totally. I might point out that in the whole of the Plan that objective has been kept fully in view. I may also go further and say that having regard to the various suggestions that were made after the publication of the outline Plan, the Planning Commission has been considering what modifications are possible to further that objective still more. Whatever modifications may be introduced, it will be found that the whole pattern of the organisation of agriculture and the whole conception of the relations of those who are working on the land in the rural areas will be such as will satisfy and will be found capable of satisfying those aspirations that have been put forward here. I may add this much. The whole idea is that the tiller should get the utmost possible benefit and he should not be burdened at all. These two aims are kept in view by the Planning Commission in working out their own proposals in this behalf.

Apart from the question of land, the Plan was criticised on the ground that it leaves too much to the future and does not provide adequately for the present. This criticism was made particularly with reference to the major river valley projects and several Members contended again and again that adequate provision has not been made for minor irrigation works. That is not true. We have done as much as possible, we have made as much provision as possible consistently with the requirements of carrying out the major projects we have taken in hand as fast as possible. This question of minor irrigation projects is constantly before our mind and I believe to the extent it is possible to stretch our resources, more may be done for minor irrigation than already provided in the Plan. The question of minor irrigation is being fully considered and as has

been said again and again we have to consider not only minor irrigation which will help us immediately, but we have also to make our future secure. We need lasting results which we can only get out of the major river valley projects.

As I had indicated at the outset I wanted only to deal with the criticisms made regarding community projects and make a few observations on the Five Year Plan. Sir, I have nothing more to say.

**Shri Namdhari (Fazilka-Sirsa):** Sir, I am from the Punjab and we people always delight in fight. I am sorry I have been given the opportunity to speak at a time when the best players of the opposition are not present. I do not think it is right that I should go on but still I have to obey the Chair.

I want to take hon. Members back to 1947 when the division of India was made. The best granary of the Punjab went to the share of Pakistan, the best part of Bengal which produced rice went to Pakistan. Burma had been separated from India. In those difficult times when all the food store of India went to the other side it was very difficult for the Government to pull on. You will see that the British people who were expert administrators, with an experience of 80 years could not manage the Bengal famine and 18 lakhs of people died due to hunger. Is it not therefore to the credit of the Congress Government that in such difficult circumstances, beg, borrow or steal, they never allowed a single Indian to die of starvation? I feel that there must be some spiritual blessing upon our Congress leaders that they could weather through such heavy storms. Not only the granary of India was taken away but at the same time we had to receive 60 lakhs of refugees from the other side as also send an equal number from this side. Added to that the Kashmir trouble started. In such difficult times there must have been hidden spiritual force at the back of our Prime Minister besides the blessing of Mahatmaji, so that he was able to steer the nation clear out of those troubles. I have heard several people here complaining and crying. If they were honest they would never have said what they did. These are not facts of old history. They must have seen with their own eyes what has happened due to the partition. If they were sincere they would have commended the Government on how well they had steered the ship through heavy storms. We are trying to safeguard our newly won freedom.

It is only a child of a few months, comparatively. But these people on the contrary ask, what has the Government done in five years? I ask them this question. When Congressmen were trying to create an Independent India what were you doing? You were stabbing them in the back, organising strikes, pulling the railway lines out of their tracks and how can we call you as our own nationals. You cannot be treated as our own nationals, not under any circumstances. I feel that you people are the only enemy of the country. I am not afraid of any other party sitting on the Opposition benches. We will all meet at several points and we will be unanimous as far as Indian freedom is concerned. The other parties will always try to help the nation. But you Communists are thinking in an international way. If there is any controversy between Russia and U.K. or the U.S.A. and U.S.A.'s name is mentioned they say in Urdu in the Punjab:

آپ کو مرجیں لگتی ہے۔

[You get attack of red chillies.]

You say you are the nationals of India but you always back Russia and other Communist countries. An Urdu poet once said:

سے بھی ہوٹل میں پھو اور چلندہ  
مسجد میں بھی دو۔  
شیخ بھی رضی رہے اور شیطان بھی  
ناراض نہ ہو۔

[Run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.]

That is your mentality. You are a curious people. Although I am one of the "first year fools" in this Assembly I always enjoy if I can fight. I am not at all afraid of you people. I was afraid of only one gentleman who used to interrupt and the Speaker gave a warning to him. I am glad that he is not here at the moment. I just want to remind my friend Mr. Gopalan that on the day of the Speaker's election when the Prime Minister walked with the Speaker up to the Chair he also walked. There are some things that have to be done. When we ask Government for food, when we ask Government for shelter or for clothing we are called rebels. And Shri Rajagopalachari says that if we only pray to God we are all right. Sir, I do not know how these people can be tolerat-

[Shri Namdhari]

ed in India, in this *Rishi-bhumi*. I warn the Hindus, I warn the Sikhs, I warn the Muslim brethren, that they are here to snatch Bhagwan Ram and Bhagwan Krishna, Guru Nanak and Guru Govind, and Hazrat Mohammad. This will never be tolerated by the millions of India. I say with authority.....Do not think that I am only speaking six-foot four-inch man. I tell you, my friends, I love you only because of your Indian blood. I tell you take your misguided brain away from there. You started trouble and killed 250 Congress workers in Telengana; it will not be tolerated. I belong to the community of Namdharis who are the suicide squads of the Congress. We are not here to get Ministership, not to get any jobs but to give our life and blood. Who has given all his wealth and everything for the sake of the country? What sacrifice have you made compared to what the Congress has done? The Congress started sacrificing from 1872. The first 80 Namdhari volunteers of the Congress were those who stood before the heavy guns at Malerkotla Punjab and were blown up. This was the history which even my friends here do not know of. It was not a tyranny of the old times. In 1872 we jumped before the heavy guns to death and the same movement in 1892 became known as Congress. Our blood and flesh are therefore with the Congress. From that all the sacrifice started and from that came the Kakori prisoners, then the Jallianwalabagh and then the other sacrifices. What sacrifices have you made? You have killed innocent women and children by removing the rails and still you cry you have made sacrifices. I tell you you are quite right. Why? Because you are expert talkers, you talk like a machinegun firing at the rate of 600 shots a minute. You are a professional propagandist. Now what is the difference between Communism and Gandhism? We started finishing the *Rajats*, we started finishing the  *Jagirdars*, now we are finishing the landlords. We are doing the same job as you want to be done. So, Gandhism plus goondalism is communism. The Indian masses understand what you are. I am sorry that you had a very good treatment from Sardar Patel.

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

**Shri Namdhari:** Thank you, Sir. I want to tell my friends that they have got misguided brains. My country, India, is a great country. And Punjab, my province, is always the place for India's soldiers. With this cancer

or whatever disease it is, that is, communism I say with pride that our Punjab has still been free and we have not allowed a single Communist from Punjab to come to this House. So, we understand you people very well. My friends complain that Shri Rajagopalachari was very unjust when he declared them enemy No. 1. You think he has done you great injustice. If I had been in his place I would have added nine to that number one and given you No. 10. You attack our foreign policy and say it is on one side. Have we not voted with Russia in the U.N.O.? Have we not fought for China's seat in the U.N.O.? You say we are friends to Tunisia and France both. It is quite natural that a peace maker must have influence on both sides.

Let me finish my speech by giving you only one example. Before doing so let me tell you that the country should not be afraid of any enemy outside—we should be cautious of enemies inside because they are more dangerous, they are very clever, more intelligent and very good professional propagandists. So we must be careful about internal enemies. Let me give an example of a professional propagandist. There was a fine professional propagandist and he was accompanying a Christian and a Jew. They could not get anything to eat for three days and went to a Serai in search of food. The woman there gave them a plate of rice each and a plate of *halwa*. The propagandist was very clever. He told the other two that if they distributed the *halwa* each would get very little so that the man who acts the best dream in the night should have the entire plate in the morning.

उन्होंने ने कड़ा अच्छा है लटरो हमार  
हिस्से में आ जायगी।

[They said, very well, we shall be having our lot.]

And when the other two slept this man finished all the *halwa*. In the morning one said that he dreamt that he saw Christ and the other said he saw Jehova, but the propagandist said that he dreamt of a ghost and the ghost came and ate away all the *halwa*.

मय भी होटल में पियो और चन्दा मस्जिद

म भी दो

शेख भी राजी रहे और शैतान भी नाच

न हों।

[Run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.]

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज: अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे बड़ा दुःख होता है कि हमारे प्रेसीडेंट साहब ने शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट (Scheduled Castes) के बारे में कुछ लिखा नहीं है, इस का मुझे बड़ा दुःख है। मुझे यह स्थूल नहीं था कि मुझे आज बोलने का मौका मिल जायगा। मैं हिन्दी अच्छी तरह नहीं जानता, और मेरी मातृ भाषा मराठी है, लेकिन मैं टूटी फूटी हिन्दी में जो कुछ अर्ज करूँ, आशा है आप सब लोग कृपा करके मेरी बात सुनेंगे।

दूसरा दुःख मुझे यह होता है कि जिस ने अछूत जाति को उठाने के लिये इतना काम किया और जिस ने इस देश का कांस्टीट्यूशन बनाया और जिस के मुताबिक आज देश का शासन कार्य चल रहा है, उस शस्त्र को गिराने के लिये हमारी विरोधी पार्टी कांग्रेस ने इस बात का भरसक प्रयत्न किया कि किसी न किसी तरह से डाक्टर अम्बेडकर को चुनाव में हराया जाय और उन को गिराया जाय और वह उन को गिराने में कामयाब हो गये। कांग्रेस वाले तो अपने मन में समझते होंगे कि उन्होंने ऐसा करके अच्छा काम किया, लेकिन मुझे तो यह देखकर बहुत दुःख होता है कि जिस ने जीवन पर्यन्त अछूतों के लिये कार्य किया और उन की सेवा की, उस को इस तरह से अलग कर दिया गया। महात्मा गांधी ने हम लोगों की उन्नति के लिये जो काम किया, उस को हम भूल नहीं सकते, लेकिन आज वह उनका काम देखने को नहीं मिलता है और आज अछूतों के लिये जो कुछ किया जा रहा है, वह सिर्फ कागजों में देखने को मिलता है। कांग्रेस में जो हरिजन हैं और अपने को हरिजनों का नेता होने का दावा करते हैं, वह तो अपना मुँह बन्द करके यहां बैठे हुए हैं और कांग्रेस की हाँ में हाँ मिलाना ही उन का काम रह गया है। यह बड़े दुःख और अफसोस की बात है कि डाक्टर अम्बेडकर जिन्होंने जिन्दगी भर अछूतों की सेवा की और यह

कांस्टीट्यूशन बनाया और कांग्रेस वालों से लड़ झगड़ कर उन को रिजर्वेशन आफ़ सीट्स (Reservation of seats) दिलाया, उन को तो गिरा दिया गया और उन की जगह यह कांग्रेसी हरिजन नेता लोग लड़ूँ खाते हैं। मुझे यह देखकर बहुत दुःख होता है। हमारे मिनिस्टर डाक्टर काटजू साहब ने बतलाया कि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शेड्यूल्ड ट्राइब (Scheduled Tribes) के लिये बहुत कुछ हो रहा है, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि असल में हो कुछ नहीं रहा है, सिर्फ वह उन का काम कागजों और फायलों तक ही सीमित है। प्रैक्टिस में आप देखिये कि आज क्या हो रहा है? बड़ी बड़ी नौकरियों और पब्लिक सर्विस कमीशन के जरिये जो नौकरियाँ होती हैं, उन में कितने अछूत जाति के लोग लिये जाते हैं? मैं कहूँगा कि उन की संख्या नहीं के बराबर है, सत्य यह है कि कांस्टीट्यूशन (Constitution) में चाहे कुछ लिखा हो लेकिन उस के मुताबिक अमल नहीं हो रहा है और हमें हर एक वाक आफ़ लाइफ़ (walk of life) में इग्नोर (ignore) और निग्लैक्ट (neglect) किया जा रहा है। आज शायद आप यह समझते होंगे कि हमारे हाथ में शासन की बागडोर है, इसलिये हम जो चाहे कर सकते हैं और उन की आवाज को दबा सकते हैं और उन को उन के न्यायोचित अधिकारों से वंचित रख सकते हैं, लेकिन एक दिन अवश्य आयेगा जब यह नीचे दबी हुई और गिरी हुई अछूत जाति अपना सिर उठायेगी और आप के खिलाफ़ आवाज बुलन्द करेगी और तब मैं आप को बतलाये देता हूँ कि कोई ताकत दुनिया की उन को उन के अधिकारों से वंचित नहीं रख सकेगी।

नौकरी चाकरी के बारे में हमारी यह हीन अवस्था है, समाज में भी हमारे ऊपर जुल्म होता रहता है और हरिजनों को जो

[श्री पी० एन० राजभोज]

देहात में बसते हैं आज के दिन भी अनेक कष्टों का सामना करना पड़ता है। यह ठीक है कि आपने अछूतों के बारे में कांस्टीट्यूशन में यह कानून बना दिया है कि उन के प्रति न्याय होगा और गांवों में उन से बेगार आदि नहीं ली जायगी, लेकिन अफसोस यह है कि उस पर अमल नहीं होता। आज होता यह है कि जिओं में जो आई० सी० एस० वाले कलक्टर और दूसरे अफसरान होते हैं वह पहले उस की बात सुनते हैं जो खदर पहने होता है और जब हम बेचारे शेड्यूलड कास्ट फेडरेशन (Scheduled Caste Federation) वाले पहुंचते हैं, तो हम से कह दिया जाता है, कि भाई हमारे पास तुम्हारे लिये वक्त नहीं है, आज यह हालत है और मुझे यह बताते हुए अफ्रमोस होता है कि पहले ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के जमाने में यह डिप्टी कमिश्नर और कलक्टर आदि हमारी बात को सुनते थे, लेकिन आज के डिप्टी कमिश्नर और कलक्टर हमारी बात को नहीं सुनते, क्योंकि आज वह लोग इन पदों पर तैनात किये गये हैं जो मिनिस्ट्रियों के रिश्तेदार आदि हैं और वह समझते हैं कि उन की नौकरी तो बस सिर्फ कांग्रेसमनों को खुश करने पर निर्भर करती है।

उत्तर प्रदेश में देखिये आज क्या हो रहा है, हमारी तादाद वहां पर पच्चीस फ्री सदी है, लेकिन हमें वहां दस फ्री सदी रिप्रेजेंटेशन (Representation) मिला हुआ है। इसके बरखिलाफ़ मुसलमान जो वहां चौदह फ्री सदी के करीब होंगे, उन को पच्चीस फ्री सदी मिला हुआ है। मैं मुसलमानों को इतना रिप्रेजेंटेशन दिये जाने के खिलाफ़ नहीं बोल रहा हूँ, लेकिन मेरे कहने का मतलब यह है कि हमारे साथ न्याय क्यों नहीं किया जा रहा है, और हमारे जो हक़ हैं उन के लिये हम जरूर प्रयत्न करेंगे और जरूरत पड़ेगी तो झगड़ा भी

करेंगे। वहां की वजारत में सिर्फ़ एक अछूत जाति का वजीर है। यहां सेन्टर (Centre) में भी जब पहले दो हरिजन मिनिस्टर थे, डाक्टर अम्बेडकर और श्री जगजीवन राम, वहां केवल श्री जगजीवन राम ही रह गये हैं। हम सरकार से कोआपरेशन (Co-operation) करने को तैयार हैं, लेकिन अफ़सोस हमारा ख्याल नहीं किया जा रहा है और हमें हमारे अधिकारों से महरूम रखा जा रहा है। हम लोग भी इस देश के वासी हैं और हम ने भी इस के लिये आजादी प्राप्त करने में अनेक कष्ट व मुशकिलें झेली हैं, तो फिर आज क्यों हमें अलग रखा जा रहा है। हमारी पोजीशन (position) आज इस स्वतन्त्र देश में गुलाम की सी है, हम परतंत्र हैं और छुआ छूत का भेदभाव और झगड़ा अभी दूर नहीं हुआ है, जब मैं देहातों में काम के सिलसिले में धूमता हूँ तो पाता हूँ कि हमारी अवस्था में अभी कोई सुधार नहीं हुआ है और हम उसी दबी अवस्था में पड़े हुए हैं जिस में आज तक रहते आये हैं।

एक शेड्यूल कास्ट और शेड्यूल ट्राइब कमीशन बनाया गया, अछूतों की उन्नति करने के हेतु और उन की दशा सुधारने के लिये। उग कमेटी में रखने के लिये आप को सिर्फ़ वास्ट हिन्दू (Caste Hindu) पढ़े लिखे मिले, अछूतों में शिक्षा प्रचार के लिये एक स्कालरशिप बोर्ड (Scholarship Board) बनाया गया, उस बोर्ड में कौन कौन लोग हैं, मैं उन के नाम नहीं लेना चाहता, लेकिन अगर होम मिनिस्टर साहब जानना चाहेंगे तो मैं बतला दूंगा। उस शेड्यूलड कास्ट के स्कालरशिप बोर्ड में दूसरी जाति के लोग हैं लेकिन वह अपने को अछूतों का नेता कहते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे प्रति ऐसा अन्याय नहीं होना चाहिये जो जिस कौम में पैदा होता है, वही उस जाति का दई

जान सकता है, इसलिये जो गैर अछूत जाति के लोग ऐसी कमेटियों और स्कालरशिप बोर्डों में लिये जाते हैं, वह हमारी हालत को ठीक तरह नहीं जान सकते और न वह हमारी सही आवाज को वहां रख सकते हैं। यह ठीक है कि हमारे यहां उतने पढ़े लिखे लोग नहीं मिल पाते जितनी दूसरी जातियों में मिलते हैं, लेकिन हमारे यहां भी पढ़े लिखे लोग हैं और वह एम० ए० और एल० एल० बी० होते हैं, आप उन को ले सकते हैं। इस के अलावा कांग्रेस में भी पढ़े लिखे और योग्य हरिजन मौजूद हैं, आप उन लोगों को क्यों नहीं लेते हैं? मुझे यह कहते हुए बड़ा दुःख होता है कि यह जो पार्शियलिटी (partiality) है और यह जो आप के काम करने का ढंग है, वह बहुत खराब है। हमारी जो इकोनामिक कंडीशनस (Economic Conditions) हैं, वह भी दयनीय हैं और उस की तरफ सरकार का ध्यान जाना चाहिये। इसी तरह जो वह जमीन का बंटवारा और जमींदारी खत्म करने का मसला है, इस में भी संतोषजनक प्रगति नहीं हो रही है। यह ठीक है कि हम जमींदारी खत्म करना चाहते हैं, लेकिन सिर्फ बोल देने से तो यह काम पूरा नहीं होने वाला है। बिनोवा भावे ने भी इस के लिये बोल दिया है। लेकिन यह काफ़ी नहीं है। सरकार जब तक इस के लिये कोई स्पेशल स्कीम नहीं बनायेगी तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकता।

इसी तरह से प्लानिंग कमीशन (Planning Commission) योजना के बारे में जो हमारे नन्दा साहब ने कहा, वह सब ठीक है, उन को अपनी योजना को अमल में लाने के लिये विलायत और बाहर के देशों से आदमी बुलाने पड़ रहे हैं, उन को भी इस काम में सहायता देने के लिये शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट में से कोई आदमी इस योग्य नहीं दिखाई पड़ता।

आप अगर यह समझते हैं कि चूंकि ताकत आप के हाथ में है, इसलिये आप हम लोगों को दबाये रख सकते हैं, तो मैं कहूंगा कि आप सस्त गलती कर रहे हैं। हम आप लोगों के साथ काम करने को तैयार हैं और आप लोगों को हर प्रकार की सहायता देने को तैयार हैं, कम से कम हमें काम करने का मौका तो दीजिये आप यह समझ कर कि यह फेडरेशन वाले तो ओपोजीशन ग्रुप (Opposition Group) में बैठे हुए हैं, इन के दिमाग खराब हो गये हैं और यह तो बस कांग्रेस मिनिस्ट्री और कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट को गाली ही देना चाहते हैं हमारी बात नहीं सुनें और हमारा कोआपरेशन नहीं लेंगे तो वह देश और अछूत जाति के लिये हितकर नहीं सिद्ध होने वाला है। दूसरे हम सरदार साहब की तरह मुंह पर बाहवाही करना और तारीफ़ करना नहीं चाहते, हम तो असलियत आप के सामने रखना चाहते हैं, हम तो सच्चे हृदय से जो ठीक और उचित समझते हैं वह आप के सामने रखेंगे। मैं अन्त में फिर आप को एक बार चेतावनी देना चाहता हूं कि आप यह न समझ बैठें कि हम चूंकि शासक हैं इसलिये सब के ठेकेदार हैं, यह आप की ठेकेदारी ज्यादा दिन तक चलने वाली नहीं है। मैं आप को फिर यह बात बतला देना चाहता हूं कि हम लोग देश की भलाई के लिये हर प्रकार की सहायता और काम करने की तैयार हैं, लेकिन अगर आप हम लोगों को दबाना चाहें और हमें हमारा उचित स्थान न लेने देंगे और हमारी आवाज को दबाने के लिये ब्यूरोक्रेटिक तरीके इस्तेमाल करेंगे तो उस का सामना करने के लिये और अपने हकों को प्राप्त करने के लिये हमें कोई न कोई तरीका जरूर निकालना पड़ेगा। मैं यह चीज कोई आप को घमकी के तौर पर नहीं कह रहा हूं, बल्कि प्रेम से समझाना चाहता हूं।

श्री पी० एन० राजभोज]

मैं आप को प्रेम से बताना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे जो इकानमिक सवाल हैं, जो हमारे नौकरी चाकरी के सवाल हैं और जो रिज़र्वेशन (Reservation) हम को मिले हैं उन के रक्षण के लिये हम लोग कोशिश करेंगे और मुझे उम्मीद है कि जहाँ तक अछूतों का सवाल है हर जगह पर अछूतों का नुमायन्दा रहना चाहिये और उस को बराबर रिज़ेन्टेशन मिलना चाहिये।

मेरे पास शिकायतें तो बहुत करने की हैं पर समय बहुत कम है। कई जगहों पर जहाँ होटल खुले हैं वहाँ अछूतों को पानी नहीं मिलता पोस्ट आफिस डिपार्टमेंट और अन्य डिपार्टमेंट में जहाँ बनिये और ब्राह्मण अफसर बने हुये हैं, जो भगवद्गीता और रामायण पढ़ते हैं और राम और कृष्ण को जपते हैं वह कहते हैं कि अब तो यह चमार और भंगी आ गये हैं और चातुर्वर्ण भ्रष्ट हो गया है।

अभी मैं देहरादून और हिमाचल प्रदेश गया था। वहाँ पर यह हालत है कि मकान तो अछूत लोग बनाते हैं पर बन चुकने के बाद अगर कोई अछूत उस मकान को छू ले तो उतना हिस्सा काट दिया जाता है। वहाँ पर जो हिमाचल प्रदेश के कमिश्नर हैं वह ठेकेदार बन कर बैठे हैं, वह सुनते ही नहीं।

दिल्ली के पोस्टल डिपार्टमेंट में कुछ अछूत लोग नौकर हैं। उन को वहाँ पीने का पानी तक नहीं मिलता। उन के साथ और लोग छूत छ़ात मानते हैं। कहते हैं कि तुम चमार हो, तुम बाल्मीक हो। तो इस तरह वहाँ छूत छ़ात का सवाल है। तो आप इन सब

बातों पर ध्यान दें और जहाँ तक अछूतों का और देश की भलाई का सवाल है उस पर ध्यान दें। और जो मैं ने प्रेसीडेंट साहब के भाषण में अमेंडमेंट दिया है उस को पूरा करें। जो मुझे हाउस ने भाषण देने का मौका दिया उस के लिये धन्यवाद देता हूँ और जिस प्रकार शांति पूर्वक हाउस ने टूटी फूटी हिन्दी का मेरा भाषण सुना है उस से मुझे उम्मीद होती है कि हमारे होम मिनिस्टर साहब और प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब अछूतों के प्रश्नों पर ध्यान देंगे और देश का भला करेंगे।

(English translation of the above speech)

**Shri P. N. Rajabhoj** (Sholapur-Reserved-Sch. Castes): Sir, I am very sorry to note that our President has made no reference to Scheduled Castes in his Address. I had no idea that I would get an opportunity to speak today. I do not know Hindi well. My mother tongue is Marathi, but I hope that you would kindly listen to me attentively when I express my thoughts in my none too well Hindi.

Another thing at which I am pained is that our opposite Party—The Congress—tried its utmost to bring about the defeat of Dr. Ambedkar, a person who has done so much for uplifting the Harijan community, who framed the Constitution of this country according to which the administration of the country is being carried on at present. And the Congress succeeded in doing so. The Congressmen might congratulate themselves over this, but I feel very much pained to see a person, who has rendered life-long service to the Harijans being let down in this manner. We cannot forget the work done by Mahatma Gandhi for our uplift, but today this work is not in evidence and whatever is being done now for the sake of Harijans is being done only on paper. Those Harijans who are in the Congress and who claim to be leaders of the Harijans sit here tight-lipped and consider that doing the Congress is their only duty. It is really deplorable that a person like Dr. Ambedkar who has devoted his life to the cause of Harijans and framed this

Constitution and won reservation of seats for the Harijans after a tussle with Congress, should be let down and the Congress Harijan leaders enjoy the fruits of his labour. All this pains me very much. Dr. Katju has stated that much is being done for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, but I believe that nothing really is being done. Whatever is being done is confined only to papers and files. Let us look around and see what is being done in practice. How many people belonging to the Harijan community are recruited to key posts and to the posts which are filled through the Public Service Commission? I will say that their number is almost nil. The fact is that whatever the Constitution may contain, it is not being implemented and we are being ignored and neglected in every walk of life. You may, perhaps, believe that holding the reins of Government as you do, you can do whatever you like, can suppress our voice and deprive us of our legitimate rights, but a day will come when this depressed and down-trodden Harijan community will rear its head and raise its voice of protest against you. I may tell you that at that time no power on earth would be able to deprive us of our rights. Backward as we are in the matter of recruitment to services, in social life also we are tyrannized and the Harijans who live in the villages have to suffer untold hardships. It is true to say that in the Constitution it has been provided that justice will be done to Harijans and that they will not be forced to do *begar* etc., but the fact is that this is not being given effect to. The I.C.S. Collectors and other officers in the districts first attend to those who are clad in *Khadi*, but when we, the poor people belonging to the Scheduled Castes Federation, approach them they say they have no time. I am sorry to say that during the British regime these D.Cs. and Collectors listened to us but the D.Cs. and Collectors of today do not, because only those people have been appointed to these posts who are related to the Ministers in some how or the other and who believe that their jobs depend upon the pleasure of Congressmen.

Look at what is happening in Uttar Pradesh. We form 25 per cent. of the population there, but we have been given only 10 per cent. representation. On the other hand the Muslims, who are about 14 per cent., enjoy 25 per cent. representation. Not that I am against this representation being given to Muslims. My point is why should justice be denied to us. We will struggle to achieve our rights and if

necessary we will fight for them. In the Uttar Pradesh Ministry there is only one Harijan Minister. At the Centre also, where previously there used to be two Harijan Ministers—Dr. Ambedkar and Shri Jagiivan Ram.—there remains only one now, i.e., Shri Jagiivan Ram. We are prepared to co-operate with the Government, but we are sorry that we are being neglected and are being deprived of our rights. We also are inhabitants of this country and have borne untold hardships and sufferings in the struggle for freedom. Why should we then be treated prejudicially? In this free-country, we are like slaves even today. We are dependent. The blot of untouchability has not yet been removed. When in the course of my business I go to the villages I find that there has been no change for the better in our condition and that we are in the same depressed state as ever.

For the sake of Harijan uplift a Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission was set up. The Government could find none else but educated caste Hindus to serve on that Committee. A Scholarship Board was also set up in order to spread education among the Harijans. Who are the members of that Board? I do not want to name them but if our Minister of Home Affairs wants then I shall do so. There are people belonging to other communities on this Board, but they call themselves leaders of Harijans. I want that we should not be treated in this unjust manner. Only a person born in the community can feel the troubles besetting that community. Therefore, the non-Harijans who are taken on these committees and scholarship boards cannot realise our position properly, nor can they voice our true feeling therein. It is true that there are not as many educated people among us as are in other communities, but still there are many educated people among us who are M.As. and LL.Bs. You can select them for such committees. Besides, there are many educated and competent Harijans in the Congress too. Why do you not choose them? I regret to say that this partiality on your part and your way of doing things are highly improper. Our economic condition is also deplorable and Government ought to pay attention to this matter. Likewise, the work of distribution of land and the abolition of *Zamindaris* is not progressing satisfactorily. We of course want to abolish *Zamindari*, but by merely expressing this desire we will not be able to do it. Shri Vinoba Bhave has also

(Shri P. N. Rajabhoj)

spoken in its favour. But that is not enough. Nothing will be achieved until the Government sanctions a special scheme for this purpose.

In the same way, whatever Shri Nanda has said about the scheme of the Planning Commission is right. In order to implement this Scheme he has to import experts from England and other countries. He also does not find any person belonging to the Scheduled Castes who may be competent enough to help him in this work.

If you believe that simply because you hold the reins of power, you can suppress us, you are seriously mistaken. We are prepared to work in co-operation with you and are prepared to help you in every way. But at least give us the opportunity to work. If you believe that since we of the Federation are sitting on the opposition benches, we are misled and that we only want to abuse the Congress Ministry and the Congress Government, if you won't listen to us and would not seek our co-operation, then this thing will not benefit the country and the Harijan Community. Moreover, we do not want to pay lip-service like Sardar Sahib, we want to place the realities before you. We will place before you whatever we sincerely feel to be right and proper. In the end, I would warn you once more that you should not consider yourself to be solely responsible for everything simply because you happen to be in power. This sole responsibility of yours will not remain for long. I want to tell you again that for the good of the country we are prepared to co-operate in every way and do all kinds of work, but if you want to suppress us and not let us take our proper place and employ bureaucratic methods to stifle our voice, we will have to find a way out to face these threats and achieve our rights. I am not uttering this as a threat. On the contrary, I want to bring you to see reason in a friendly manner.

I want to tell you in all friendliness that we will struggle to solve our economic problem and to safeguard our interest as regards recruitment to services and the reservations that we have got. I want that so far as Harijans are concerned they should be given equal representation everywhere.

I have many complaints to make, but the time at my disposal is very short. In certain hotels, the Harijans are not given drinking water. In the Post Office and other Departments the *Bania* and *Brahmin* officers, who read *Bhagvadgita* and *Ramayana* and recite the names of Rama and Krishna, say that now these *Chamars* (cobblers) and *Bhangis* (sweepers) have come and the four *Varnas* have been desecrated.

Recently I visited Dehradun and Himachal Pradesh. What is being done there is that when the Harijans who construct the houses touch them after they have been completed, the touched portion is considered to be polluted and is cut off from the rest. The Chief Commissioner of Himachal Pradesh is functioning as an autocrat there. He does not care to listen even.

In the Postal Department, Delhi, there are some Harijan employees. They are not given even drinking water. Other people treat them as untouchables and call them *Chamars* and *Balmikis*. Untouchability prevails there. You should pay attention towards the welfare of the Harijans and towards the welfare of the country. The amendment which I have moved to the President's Address should be accepted. I am grateful to the House for having given me an opportunity to speak and for listening patiently to my speech in none too good Hindi. I hope that our Minister of Home Affairs and the hon. Prime Minister would pay attention to the problem of the Harijans and thus benefit the country.

*The House then adjourned till a Quarter Past Eight of the Clock on Thursday, the 22nd May, 1952.*