

which will be taken up first. It will facilitate us if we know every week in advance which Bills we are going to take up. I do not know whether the Business Advisory Committee is functioning or if it exists. If it does, I would suggest that in consultation with the Opposition the programme of the legislative business may be drawn up

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I would very much desire that the ancient practice may be followed, that on every Saturday or the last day of a particular week, the work for the next week is read out to the House by the Leader of the House so that hon. Members may come ready; and even the order should not be changed except in exceptional circumstances. The Business Advisory Committee is certainly there, and I will call a meeting as often as necessary now that the session has started. During the interval, I could not call a meeting, and it is unnecessary. As soon as the programme is chalked out, we will work out as to how long we will take on each Bill.

I would also like to follow the practice adopted in the House of Commons, as far as is possible, that the items put down on the order paper should be finished within the time allotted for them, so that the House may know exactly when the next item would come up. We can sit in the Advisory Committee, and if a Bill requires two days or three days, we can sit together and find out in consultation with all representatives of the Opposition, the Leader of the House and his representatives, whether we can fix up any particular time for finishing any particular work, but once the item is put down on the order paper, it must be finished within that time. We shall try to follow that practice as far as possible, and try to get through as much work as is possible, during the current session. I hope this would be communicated to the hon. Leader of the House, and he will try to make a statement, so as to enable me also to call for a meeting of the Business Advisory Committee.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore):** On a point of information, Sir. The Post Office which is attached to the Parliament Secretariat, is now closing at 5 P.M., and this has caused us great inconvenience. I would request that you may kindly instruct the proper authorities concerned, to see that the post office functions up to 7 P.M.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** All difficulties regarding any amenities or con-

veniences for hon. Members may first be brought to the notice of the Secretary, and if my intervention is necessary, I will certainly do so later.

**Dr. S. P. Mookerjee (Calcutta South-East):** You may request Government also to consider the desirability of having a list of priorities, in respect of the 64 Bills, which are supposed to come during the session.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That is what I also thought. The hon. Member evidently wants, in addition to the programme of work that has to be set out for the coming week, a list of priorities, so that some important Bills may be thought of in advance, and particular hon. Members may read in time. If a list of priorities regarding the Bills for the whole session can be made out, as far as is possible, of course, the hon. Leader of the House and all the sections of the House will consider and submit the list.

MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE  
PRESIDENT (contd.)

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Now, I shall take up those other amendments which I did not place before the House yesterday, for want of time, as they had not been received earlier. Those amendments which I have admitted, I shall now call upon the various hon. Members to move one after the other.

**Shri Gidwani (Thana):** I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added:

“but regret that the Address has ignored the refugee problem, which is one of the major problems that has yet to be solved satisfactorily.”

**Shri Nambiar (Mayuram):** I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the Address does not mention a word about the serious situation created by retrenchment in industries like textiles, jute, tea, plantations, tanneries, shipping, mines etc., and in Government undertakings like ordnance Depots, Military Engineering Services, Central Public Works Department, and in Railways and the growing unemployment resulted thereon, and that it has also failed to mention the ever increasing deterioration of the living condition of the working class and the middle class employees

[Shri Nambiar]

due to high prices, inadequate dearness allowance, lack of housing and medical facilities."

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to guarantee reasonable working and living conditions to the toiling classes and in particular to the industrial and agricultural workers who are hard hit by the deepening of the economic crisis."

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

"but regret that the Address does not promise Cancellation of the 'Safeguarding of National Security Rules 1949' promulgated by the then Governor-General and the reinstatement of all employees discharged or suspended under those Rules."

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

"but regret that the Address has failed to mention the havoc created by recent cyclone in the Districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly of the Madras State and of the death caused to about 600 men, women, and children and of the loss of properties worth about 50 crores of rupees and to state what relief the Central Government intend giving to the affected people who are in the midst of a serious famine situation."

**Shri Chattopadhyaya (Vijayavada):**  
I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added:

"but regret—

(1) that at such an urgent juncture in human history when the whole world, and especially Asia, including India, is threatened with the menace of war and its effects, no positive statement clarifying our own position in terms of Mr. Eishenhower's latest and most dangerous move;

(2) that no definite time-limit has been stated with regard to the formation of the Andhra State;

(3) that while the Address gives us a rosy picture of all-round progress in India, the actual position

is just the contrary, proving the optimism unrealistic."

**Dr. N. B. Khare (Gwalior):** I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added:

"but regret—

(1) that the foreign policy has failed to secure any effective support wherever India's or the Government's vital interest and honour are concerned;

(2) the attitude of complacency in regard to condition of minorities in East Bengal and failure to secure settlement of outstanding disputes with Pakistan e.g. evacuee property, canal water etc.;

(3) the failure on the part of the Government to deal with Jammu and Kashmir situation in a statesman like manner and instead of resolving the deadlock in fair and just manner has resorted to ruthless repression;

(4) the failure to set up an impartial and independent tribunal to consider the question of re-organisation of existing States and realignment of their boundaries on linguistic and other considerations;

(5) the failure to appreciate the fact that the Five Year Plan has not created any enthusiasm in the public mind and there is no indication of the means and methods to implement the plan;

(6) the failure to make adequate provisions for the improvement of social and economic conditions of backward classes and the unrepresentative Commission appointed for the backward classes;

(7) the failure to take note of the deteriorating economic condition of the country specially in the rural areas;

(8) the failure to solve the problem of unemployment and to indicate any definite steps to be taken for the improvement of the present state of education in all stages for which so much concern has been expressed in the Address.

**Shri Kelappan (Ponnani):** I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added:

"but regret—

(a) that the Government instead of implementing the promises held out to the people by the Congress in its numerous resolutions is following an economic policy which helps to tighten the economic hold some of the foreign nations have on this country;

(b) that the Address while referring to the importance of the cottage industries have in providing work to the millions of unemployed or partially employed people in this country does not show sufficient appreciation of the fact that the attitude of the government to the competing mill industries is already proving disastrous to the handloom and other cottage industries which the Government is pledged to foster."

**Shri K. Subrahmanyam (Vizianagaram):** I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added:

"but regret—

(1) that the Address fails to recognise the explosiveness of the Far Eastern situation and does not contain suggestions for developing a Third Camp of neutral and free Nations of Asia to prevent the big Power Rivalry from engulfing this continent;

(2) that it fails to take note of the growing unemployment in the urban and rural areas of the country caused by the closure of mills, cutting down of shifts in factories, eviction of tenants from lands, retrenchment of staff in commercial and business undertakings;

(3) that it fails to lay down concrete procedure for the implementation of the Five Year Plan for the achievement of the various tasks set by it;

(4) that the Address fails to declare the Government's intention to disintegrate States like Hyderabad and merge their constituents with the adjacent linguistic territories; and

(5) that it fails to assess realistically the consequences of de-control policy in respect of food grains and sugar as a result of which there are signs of an impending shortage of sugar in the country."

**Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani (New Delhi):** I beg to move:

That at end of the motion the following be added:

"but regret that there is no adequate appreciation in the Address of the deteriorating economic condition and growing unemployment in the country nor any indication of any effective measures to tackle it."

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore):** I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added:

"but regret that the Address has failed to take into consideration the progressive decline in the purchasing power of the people and no measures have been suggested to counteract this tendency."

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami (Kushtagi):** I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added:

"but regret—

(1) that though the Address lays stress upon the importance of language and culture in the formation of States, it does not indicate any definite steps to reconstitute the States linguistically for which the people of South India have been agitating since so long;

(2) that though the Address has expressed pleasure over the formation of new Andhra State, it does not say anything about united Karnataka which is suffering linguistically and economically from a long time and the people of which have given their consent to the J.V.P. Report;

(3) that the Address does not mention anything regarding the burning problem of disintegration of Hyderabad regarding which all parties have openly resolved and consented to distribute the same among adjoining linguistic areas."

**Shri R. N. S. Deo** (Kalahandi-Bolangir): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added:

“but regret—

(1) that there is no indication of any immediate steps to set up an independent and impartial tribunal to inquire into the question of linguistic states and of the readjustment of boundaries of States, for the purpose of implementing the principle of forming linguistic states recognised in the Address;

(2) that there is no indication of a proper appreciation of the lack of enthusiasm amongst the people for the first Five Year Plan, nor of steps to be taken by Government to remedy (a) the inadequacy of developmental grants under the Plan for under-developed areas and (b) the deterioration of economic condition and discontent of the people in order to create the conditions necessary for the successful implementation of the Plan.”

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Then there is an amendment in the name of Shri Sivamurthi Swami. Is the hon. Member moving it?

**Shri Sivamurthi Swami:** I am not moving it.

**Shri V. G. Deshpande** (Guna): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added:

“but regret—

(1) that the Government has failed to deal with the Jammu and Kashmir situation in a statesman like manner and instead of resolving the deadlock, has resorted to ruthless repression; and

(2) that the Address has failed to take the realistic view of the international situation and has failed to notice that the foreign policy of the Government has failed and has alienated the sympathies of almost all the nations and both the blocs.”

**Dr. N. B. Khare:** I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added:

“but regret—

(1) that the Government has failed to deal with the Jammu and Kashmir situation in a statesman

like manner and instead of resolving the deadlock, have permitted the Jammu and Kashmir Government to resort to ruthless repression;

(2) that there is no reference to the acute famine conditions prevailing in Maharashtra which has affected the lives of about 4 million of people;

(3) that a complacent view has been taken of the condition of the minorities in East Bengal and gives no indication of any real plan for the rehabilitation of the refugees;

(4) that there has been boosting of the Five Year Plan although it has failed to create any real enthusiasm among the people and the Government has given no real indication as to the means and methods whereby the Plan is to be implemented;

(5) that no reference has been made to strengthening of the defences of the country and the utilisation of the manpower of the country in view of the threatened international crisis;

(6) that no reference has been made to legislation for banning the slaughter of cows;

(7) that the Government is still planning to proceed with the Hindu Code in spite of public protests in different shapes and forms;

(8) that the Address has failed to take a realistic view of the international situation and has failed to notice that the foreign policy of the Government has failed and has alienated the sympathies of almost all the nations and both the blocs; and

(9) that the Address has failed to notice the steadily deteriorating economic condition of both the classes and masses as evidenced by the Police strike, the students strikes, the traders strikes, Patwari strikes, the teachers strikes etc.

**Shri Frank Anthony** (Nominated—Anglo Indian): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that while emphasising the value of education to the progress of the people it has failed to underline the urgent need for a planned and integrated educational policy throughout the country.”

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

"but regret the absence of any reference to the prime need for discipline among all sections of the people and measures for making the country more discipline-minded".

**Dr. Jatav-vir** (Bharatpur—Swai-Madhupur-Reserved Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added:

"but regret—

(1) to note that the Government have failed to nominate in the personnel of the Backward Classes Commission any member representing the various important Scheduled Caste Organisations of the country and have totally ignored the desirability of nominating members of Parliament belonging to Scheduled Castes from amongst the Opposition Groups;

(2) to note that Government have not taken any practical steps so far to provide land to the landless agricultural workers specially Harijans; and

(3) to note that the Address makes no reference to any anxiety on the part of the Government to take special steps to ameliorate the economic conditions of the Harijans by way of granting financial assistance to their cottage industries e.g. leather tanning and shoe-making etc."

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Then there is an amendment in the name of **Shri Syamnandan Sahaya**. Is the hon. Member moving it?

**Shri Syamnandan Sahaya** (Muzaffarpur Central): I am not moving it.

**Shri B. S. Murthy** (Eluru): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that no indication is given as to the success achieved so far in the working of the First Five Year Plan for the last two years and the methods to be taken to galvanise peoples' support".

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

"but regret that no mention is made as to the minimum time-limit for ushering in the Andhra State as per Prime Minister's assurances given in the last session"

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

"but regret that no scheme has been adumbrated as to the immediate exploitation of the waters of Krishna and the Godavary rivers so that the rice scarcity could be reduced and the threatening famine be averted in the South with special reference to Rayalaseema".

**Shri Khardekar** (Kolhapur cum Satara): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added;

"but regret that there is no specific assurance for the redress of the grievances and improving the condition of the Backward classes in general and of the Scheduled castes in particular".

**Shri N. R. M. Swamy** (Wandiwash): I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added:

"but regret that the Address discloses no positive and effective proposals for the serious economic and unemployment position of the country".

**Shri Veeraswamy** (Mayuram—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that while much concern has been expressed over the existence of racial domination and discrimination in South Africa the Address has completely failed to mention what the Government of India are going to do to abolish untouchability".

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

"but regret that no mention has been made with regard to any steps for implementing Article 46 of the Constitution aiming at the improvement of the social, economic and educational conditions of the Scheduled Castes".

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

"but regret that though steps are being taken to bring into being a separate Andhra State no indication has been made with regard to the redistribution of the existing States on a definite linguistic basis with adjustment of boundaries and decentralisation of power".

[Shri Veeraswamy]

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

"but regret that the Address makes no mention at all with regard to the gigantic beggar problem and indication of the steps to tackle it and free the suffering humanity from hunger, starvation and unsettled life".

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

"but regret that the Address has not mentioned the policy of the Government for solving the unemployment problem".

Shri S. V. L. Narasimham (Guntur): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the actual conditions of life in the country, slump in the market, increase in unemployment, fall in the purchasing capacity and unrest amongst Government employees have not been taken into account and no indication is given of the steps that the Government proposes to take to meet the situation".

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

"but regret that no measures for the protection of Indians abroad and liberation of Indians in Foreign pockets on Indian soil are suggested".

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj (Sholapur—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address fails to recognise the continuing deterioration in the conditions of the Scheduled Castes and other backward communities and to indicate positive steps to be taken to improve them".

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

"but regret that the Address while referring to the appointment of a backward class commission fails to evaluate whether it includes the real representatives of backward classes and whether the terms of reference have been prepared so as to guarantee them adequate protection".

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

"but regret that the Address fails to recognise the fact that the policy of neutrality in foreign affairs has alienated the sympathies of all countries towards India and has only helped us in isolating ourselves from our real friends".

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the giving of direction to state Governments particularly Bombay State for discontinuing such disastrous experiments like prohibition in view of the serious famine situation in different parts of the country particularly Maharashtra and Gujerat."

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

"but regret that the Address while appreciating the formation of the Andhra State does not indicate precise steps to be taken to form other units on linguistic basis to satisfy the urge of the people in this issue".

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

"but regret that the Address while referring to the Five Year Plan has failed to recognise that small irrigation projects particularly in a famine-stricken province like Maharashtra have not been given priority as against high schemes which will not be useful to the peasantry in the immediate future".

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

"but regret that the Five Year Plan has failed to provide any substantial relief to the Scheduled Classes and other backward communities whose interests should have been looked after by the planners with special consideration".

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

"but regret that the Address fails to indicate the steps the Government intend taking in order that the State Governments introduce free compulsory education in the country".

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

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the fact that

the Railways do not provide adequate amenities to the travelling public particularly those who travel in the lower classes”.

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

“but regret that the Address fails to take note of the growing unemployment in the country and also does not indicate how the Government intend ensuring proper living standard to the wage earners”.

**Shri Nand Lal Sharma (Sikar):** I beg to move:

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

“but regret that the Address fails to appreciate the genuine anxiety of Jammu people to remain in Indian Union and that no mention is made to assure them their constitutional place in India”.

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

“but regret for the lack of interest on the part of Government towards the deterioration of the Sanskrit teaching institutions started purely on Indian lines for propagation of Indian system of thoughts and culture with absolutely national aims and objects”.

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

“but regret to note an utter disregard of Ayurvedic system of medicine which is most suitable to the people of India and deserves a national recognition”.

**Shri H. R. Nathani (Bhilwara):** I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added:

“but regret that the Address fails to mention any active steps to prevent cow slaughter in India in spite of vigorous persistent demand all over the country”.

**Shri Nambiar:** I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion the following be added:

“but regret that the Address does not enunciate any correct policy in guaranteeing workers in private and governmental undertakings the right to form Trade Unions and in the matter of granting recognition to them by revising the present method of granting recognition to officially sponsored Trade Unions only such as Trade Unions on the Railways.”

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** I beg to move:

That at the end of the motion, the following be added:

“but regret that the Address does not correctly estimate our relationship with neighbour countries in Western and South-Eastern Asia and that it does not know any indication of India's stand regarding the Middle-East Defence Organisation and the formation of a five-nation military liaison group for the defence of South-East Asia”.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** All these amendments are now placed before the House.

**Shri Nambiar:** I would like to know why two of my amendments have not been admitted.

One relates to the serious situation that has been created, as a result of the police strikes in Madras, which have spread very serious discontent throughout India amongst the police forces, while the other amendment relates to the fear in the minds of the Government servants that they are being discharged from service for political reasons.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The practice that I adopt is this. Whenever I disallow any amendment or resolution, I advise the office to inform the hon. Member concerned, of the reasons for disallowing. And I understand in this case, the office has informed the hon. Member also.

**Shri Nambiar:** No, Sir. The office informed me that it will be referred to you.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am sorry. So far as the police strike is concerned, that is purely a state subject, for it deals with their emoluments etc. On that ground, I did not allow it.

Now, what is the other amendment about?

**Shri Nambiar:** The other is about Government servants being victimized for political reasons, on the ground that they are communist-sympathisers.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The question raised is that Government servants are being victimised and discharged from service, on the basis of police reports being communist-minded or being related to communists etc. It is purely an assumption.

**Shri Nambiar:** No, Sir.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** What I could only say is this. If there are any particular cases where any person who is a Government servant has been victimised on the ground that he has got a particular ideology, or that he shows sympathy to any particular party, or that he is a communist-minded man, then those cases may be brought to the notice of the House. Am I here to discuss this matter on the floor of the House here. This is a departmental matter, and I do not think the Government will see it fit to refer to us.

**Shri S. S. More (Sholapur):** Is it not a question of policy, Sir? It is a question of policy, not a departmental matter.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Hon. Members are quite aware that no Government servant can belong to any party.

**Shri Nambiar:** It is a case of sympathy, Sir.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Sympathy means party, and much less can he have any sympathy.

**Shri Nambiar:** It means relations also. I give you a concrete case, where a person in the Defence Department has been discharged from service, on the ground that he had Communist relatives.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That may be for other reasons. The amendment reads:

"...but regret that the Address does not promise a sense of security in the minds of Government employees that they will not be victimised from services on the police report of being Communist-minded or being related to Communists or being born in the area popularly supporting Communists".

It is so vague and indefinite. The hon. Member may bring to the notice of the House any particular case or he may put it by way of questions. I am not prepared to allow this. Generally, that is not the policy.

I would say generally one thing with respect to the amendments. Some hon. Members have tabled a number of amendments. It is only for the purpose of focussing attention on the various subjects. I have noted down the various topics that have been raised by these various amendments so that hon. Members may confine themselves to these topics. But these topics refer to a range of subjects from China to Peru.

**Shri K. K. Basu (Diamond Harbour):** It is on the Presidential Address.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I know. In the House of Commons the practice seems to be for organised parties to table one amendment on which they concentrate. Three or four organised parties can table four or five amendments and the unorganised group may also table one amendment. It has been done for the purpose of enabling the House to focus attention on a particular matter. Now, the subjects that have been dealt with, for the benefit of hon. Members, are: foreign policy, food policy and famine conditions, Linguistic States, backward classes, labour welfare, Part C States, Indian Nationals, foreign settlements, Five Year Plan, Welfare State, migration between Pakistan and India, unemployment, taxation reduction, displaced persons, corruption in administration, inefficiency, public morale, defence, condition of working classes, land reform, withdrawal from the Commonwealth, handloom and cottage industries, National Security Rules, the recent cyclone in Madras State, Kashmir, economic policy, Fundamental Rights, cow slaughter, Hindu Code, educational policy, Middle East Defence Organisation, Untouchability, Prohibition, Railways, Discipline, profiteering and black-marketing.

I do not know what else is left. Now, I will call hon. Members. Mr. A. K. Basu.

**Shri A. K. Basu (North Bengal):** We are indebted to the President for his reference to the crisis in the tea industry. I think this is the first time that the subject of the tea industry figures in a Presidential Address. It is an indication that the Government are taking a keen interest in a matter which affects a large body of population in Assam and North Bengal. The Government have already taken prompt and whole-hearted steps in a bold fashion to meet the crisis.

I desire to place my points of view with respect to some aspects of the question. From September 1951 the price of tea started showing a precipitous fall. In August 1951, the average price of tea at the Calcutta tea auction for export was Rs. 2-3 per lb. It came down in April 1951 to 15 annas per lb. which is a fall of Rs. 1-4 per lb. There was a corresponding fall in the average price of tea in the Calcutta tea auction for internal consumption and also in the London tea auction. Now, when the price of tea was witnessing this headlong fall, the

West Bengal Government in December 1951 and the Assam Government in March 1952 fixed the minimum wages under the Minimum Wages Act. The rate of wages of labour was raised in Darjeeling by two annas per day and in the Terai by one anna and a half and in Assam by three annas. This caused a big gap between the cost of production and the price of tea. Gardens lost heavily. The financing of the production of tea is done by the Scheduled banks on the basis of the hypothecation of crop. The overdraft limit or cash credit limit is fixed on the price of tea and not on the cost of production. The consequence was that all the cash credit accounts showed a big outstanding against them at the end of the 1952 season. The banks were not prepared in the 1953 season, for the financing of the production, to advance any more than they felt justified on the security of the crop and the price that it would fetch in 1953. In these circumstances, when the Government came up with the proposal of guaranteeing a certain part of the banks' advances for the purpose of financing of the production of the crop, it was certainly a move in the right direction. It was this which enabled the banks to advance more to the extent covered by the guarantee of the Government. The guarantee of the Government is calculated in this way: deduct from the cash credit limit the outstandings at the end of the season and on that figure 15 per cent. would be the advance in certain areas and 20 per cent. in some other areas. Unfortunately this means that the Government guarantee covers a lesser amount for gardens which have lost more heavily. That is to say, the Government help in this guarantee is in inverse proportion to the requirements of the gardens. To be of real help, I suggest that the Government should give this guarantee in such a way that gardens which have lost more get greater amounts than those which have lost less. Otherwise it means that you are giving guarantee for a party which does not need the guarantee or not possibly to the extent that you are giving, but you are not giving sufficient guarantee for a garden which really needs the guarantee. Even with this guarantee, there would still be a big gap between the cost of production and the price of tea. This gap will have to be bridged by reducing the cost of production. Therefore, the cost of production is the vital question in solving this problem. Forty per cent. of the cost of production is in labour wages. This should certainly not be reduced. There should certainly be no economy on

this head. Sixty per cent. of the cost of production is under other heads where the cost is rigid and inelastic and only a small economy can be effected. In these circumstances it is quite clear that the excise duty of three annas per lb. is a burden which the industry cannot bear. It was imposed at a time when the industry was in a prosperous condition and could bear this burden. It was stated at that time that circumstances may arise when this duty may have to be reduced or even abandoned. Now at the time of this crisis, the Government should give up this duty or, at any rate, reduce it.

On the question of giving up this duty I am not in favour of the Government giving up all the three annas per pound duty on tea because giving up that three annas duty would not mean the industry getting the full three annas. That three annas would be divided between the wholesalers, the retailers and the consumers and the industry. Therefore, the industry will get only a small fraction of this amount. I suggest that the Government should collect that duty in full and give it back to the industry directly or indirectly so that they can get the benefit of the full three annas which is now a burden on them.

Now, on that principle I would suggest that from the area which is affected, namely, Assam and Cachar and North Bengal—these areas have produced tea to the extent of 498 million pounds—the duty should be realised from them at the rate of three annas (that will amount to nine crores thirty three lakhs and seventy five thousand rupees) and that this amount may be given in full or in part to the industry in these ways:

First I am suggesting that there should be a food subsidy to the extent of 34 lakhs of rupees for the year 1953-54. The tea gardens at the moment have to buy at an average price of over Rs. 30 a maund and they have got to sell that to the labour at Rs. 5 a maund. The requirements of rice in West Bengal is 40,000 maunds a month, which means 4,80,000 maunds per year; and the requirement of rice for the rest of the affected area, Assam and Cachar, is to the extent of 8,76,000 maunds, that is to say, the total requirements of rice for this affected area is 13,56,000 maunds, which is equivalent to 50,000 tons. I suggest that the Central Government give this amount of 50,000 tons of rice to the Governments of West Bengal and Assam, ear-marked specially for the

[Shri A. K. Basu]

feeding of the labour in those areas. Now, if these 50,000 tons of rice are given from the Centre's pool, where the pool price I understand is about Rs. 20 a md. to the West Bengal and Assam Governments at a price of Rs. 17/8/- per md. then the Centre would be giving a subsidy of Rs. 2/8/- a maund which would mean that the total amount that the Centre will have to bear on these 50,000 tons of rice would amount to 34 lakhs of rupees. This is very small; as, I have already said, the excise duty that is realised from this affected area at the rate of three annas per pound of tea amounts to 9,33,75,000 rupees.

Secondly, I suggest that this should be given to the State Governments and they should not be asked to contribute anything towards that to the Centre. Income-tax, supertax, export duty, excise duty, railway freight and all that goes to the Centre. Therefore, the State Governments should not be asked to contribute anything. My suggestion further is that this rice to be given to the gardens at the rate of Rs. 17/8/- a md. will have to be given by them to the labour at the present rate of Rs. 5 a maund, that is to say, that the labour's food concession should not be interfered with. Neither their wages nor their food concessions shall be interfered with; they shall remain as before.

My next suggestion is that there should be a refund of the excise duty to the losing gardens for the year 1951-52, a refund of the full excise duty or refund to the extent of the loss suffered by those gardens, whichever is less. On my calculation in 1951-52, the excise duty collected from these losing gardens in West Bengal and Assam amount to about one crore of rupees. Therefore, on the 'whichever is less' formula, the Government will not have to refund more than one crore of excise duty for the year 1951-52. With regard to 1952-53, I am suggesting the same formula, namely that the refund of the excise duty to the losing gardens or the refund of the excise duty to those gardens to the extent of their losses. Here, according to my calculation, the maximum refund that may be required would be about Rs. 7.4 crores. I arrived at this figure in this way. There are 498 million pounds of tea produced in this area. Now, out of these 498 million pounds produced, upper Assam produces about 100 million pounds and they are not losing gardens. Therefore, the losing gardens are producing

398 million pounds of tea. At the rate of three annas per pound that amounts to Rs. 7.4 crores. On the 'whichever is less' formula, the Government may not be required to refund more than Rs. 7.4 crores for the year 1952-53. I am further suggesting that the duty of three annas per pound may still be collected for the year 1953-54 and the refund may be given on the same principle as I have suggested for the years 1951-52 and 1952-53. I do not think that there would be any loss, or, at any rate, the loss would be very small.

Now, on all these four heads the amount that will have to be refunded or spent by the Centre would be less than the figure that I have given, which is realised from the affected area, namely Rs. 9,33,75,000; that will cover all this refund and the food subsidy and everything.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I would remind hon. Members that the time allowed is only fifteen minutes and they should try and adjust accordingly. The hon. Member on his legs has exceeded his time. Anyhow, I shall give him one minute more.

**Shri A. K. Basu:** If these ways and means are adopted, it will be possible for the tea industry to reach an economic level. In this connection, I am reminded of a Bengali expression, which I think the Finance Minister and other Ministers will appreciate. It really sums up the present situation. That Bengali expression is:—

#### MACHER TELE MACH BHAJA

Its meaning is this: To fry fish in fish's own oil. I apprehend that this fish cannot be fried in that way. Government will have to sacrifice part of the revenue in order to solve this problem. Merely trying to adjust the differences between labour and industry cannot achieve any result at all, because if we are determined to keep the labour's wages, food concessions and other amenities intact—as we should—then, as the industry is losing, no amount of jugglery between the labour and the industry can possibly reduce the cost.

With these words I support the motion of thanks.

**Dr. N. B. Khare:** Our country is sound. Our Government is sound. The address which we are discussing today

is also sound. It contains so many pleasing, satisfying sounds which are soothing to the frayed nerves. I thought that perhaps a nursery song was being sung or a sweet lullaby was being sung, and I felt as though I was being rocked in the cradle, with songs like, "Sleep, baby dear! Mummy is near." I actually fell asleep and naturally, in the course of the sleep, I dreamt. I dreamt as if I was raised to a fool's paradise. There were lots of *hurs*, *paries* and nymphs dancing and singing around me. But this pleasant dream was very abruptly broken by the stark realities facing me.

I first wish to take up Jammu and Kashmir. We were told by the mover of the motion of thanks yesterday that Kashmir has been given special status because it is a border State. I ask and I want an answer for it: Is not East Punjab a border State? Is not West Bengal a border State? Is not Rajasthan a border State? Is not Assam a border State? Then, why not give special treatment to them? When we enquired about the reasons for giving this special treatment to Jammu and Kashmir, we were always told that there was a variety of reasons. But no one has taken care yet to disclose any one single variety. I know one reason, and one reason only, and no one can deny it. This is done, because the majority of the people in Kashmir happen to belong to a particular religion or community. That is the only reason. Why do you hide it? Come out with it. I am sorry to see that the policy which has led to disaster to this country and has resulted in partition is still being pursued blindly by this Government. Is there no time yet to call a halt to it? I wish they call a halt to this policy. If they do, we would have no quarrel with them at all, but they are not doing it. When we refer to these things, we are called communal. That is the be-all and end-all of the existence of this Government. They call others as communal and that is all. But that does not solve the problem. I ask you who is communal—a party or a community which demands special treatment and special status even if it be to the detriment of the interests of India, or a party which does not do so? A party which does not demand special treatment can never be called communal. It is all absurd. It is a very easy thing to abuse others. It is like giving a dog a bad name and hanging it. Unfortunately, this policy is going to result in separatism. I may frankly call this policy a policy of appeasement of the Muslim community. It will lead to disintegration of the

country. After all, what is the difference between Pakistan and Sheikh Abdullah's Kashmir? It is not a difference in kind at all. The quality is the same. The difference is only in degree. Pakistan is fully separate, and Kashmir wants to be a half-separate State. No one can deny that. What is the use of blinking at these problems? They are dangerous to the country. But unfortunately there is no end to this.

We are told we are pursuing what is called a policy of secularism. I am not against secularism. I am a Hindu-mahasabhite, but I am not against secularism. I want all communities, parties and peoples who inhabit this country to be treated on the same footing without any distinction, but you make distinctions and place the blame at the door of others. This is very wrong. (*Shri Velayudhan*: What about the castes?) I do not recognise castes. Do not worry. So, this secularism is being very sedulously pursued to the detriment of national interests, and this reminds me of past Indian history. Over three hundred years ago, at the time of Shah-en-Shah Akbar, under the name of *Din Ilahi*, a certain policy was being pursued with a view to synthesising two communities. In his time there was a *Din Ilahi*, which meant a sort of separate religion and something else with a bias in favour of Muslims. Similarly, in the secularism of today there is, like *Din Ilahi*, a bias in favour of Muslims and nothing else. In those historical and famous times, two persons were carrying on this policy. One was Shah-en-Shah Akbar and the other was Raja Man Singh. It appears to me that those two souls have again taken an *avtar* in this country, and are in this House. They can very easily be identified. (*An Hon. Member*: Who are they? You can guess. I think you have sense enough to do that.

**Shri Velayudhan** (*Quilon-cum-Mavelikkara — Reserved — Sch. Castes*): Have you courage enough to say it?

**Dr. N. B. Khare**: I am not afraid at all. Shah-en-Shah Akbar and Raja Man Singh can be said to be Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru respectively.

**Shri Velayudhan**: And the other?

**Dr. N. B. Khare**: That is all, I did not mention any other name. Unfortunately, the Congress is pursuing a policy very sedulously of propagating mental slavery. It has gripped this country, and people have lost their reason. They are doped with the poison of Congress mania. Even

[Dr. N. B. Khare]

our Press is very badly affected, I must say. In the British regime, our Press—the nationalist Press, I mean—had, by and large, glorious traditions. It was a virile Press. It was working for a mission. Now-a-days by and large, our Press is not virile, but servile and puerile, and is working for commission, not for mission. I must tell the truth. That is the reason why you open a newspaper anywhere, and you will find nothing else except the Congress mania. All these problems which affect the country and its future are very lightly dealt with. People who have got certain other kinds of views opposing the Congress are ridiculed. But this will not do. After all, the nemesis is sure to overtake this country if this policy is pursued persistently.

**The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari):** It will overtake you also.

**Dr. N. B. Khare:** Does not matter. We shall go with you. A pamphlet of Kashmir Government was distributed the other day and the title was *Satyagraha without truth*. It was given full publicity by the Press, but when the Praja Parishad fellows pointed out the brutalities and barbarities committed by the Jammu and Kashmir Government police, it was not mentioned at all. What is this? It is most unfair. I have read in one paper that so far as a result of police firings thirty-three people have been killed or murdered; women have been outraged; property looted. Things are going on a galore endlessly in this manner: but nobody cares for it.

After all they say that the agitation is going to bring about results contrary to those for which it is started. It is not a fact. I ask if Jammu and Kashmir is integrated fully into India, is it a bad result? If the Supreme Court is given full power over Jammu and Kashmir, is it a bad result? If Fundamental Rights are applied to Jammu and Kashmir State, is it a bad result? I cannot understand whether dictionary meanings have changed. I am surprised.

Even supposing that the State of Jammu and Kashmir aligns with us only in three subjects—Defence, Communications and Foreign Affairs—and this Parliament enacts laws pertaining only to those three subjects and the Kashmir High Court declares them *ultra vires*? Where is the remedy? It is futile to say that the agitation is against Parliament. The agitation is to strengthen the hands of Parliament for full accession.

A bugbear is made of the United Nations. After all you know what the United Nations Organisation is. It is a 'N O': the 'U' is cut out. The fact remains that the question was referred to the United Nations at the dictation of British Imperial agents. What for?—not for accession, only for aggression. The United Nations Organisation has failed to solve the dispute. It is going on bamboozling the public of India and it will go on doing so till doomsday. After all what is the United Nations? The United Nations is not an organisation at all for world peace. It is an organisation for the selfish interest of certain powers. Why not, therefore, ask the United Nations to give a straight decision on the issue of aggression and if it fails to do it, withdraw the case from the United Nations. What harm is there? Has the United Nations solved any problems till now? Not at all. No problem has been solved by the United Nations. Korea is there; South Africa is there. Endless problems are being created and it is not going to solve any of them.

Therefore apply the Fundamental Rights to Jammu and Kashmir and if they want any modifications let Sheikh Abdullah come out with what modifications he wants and they can be discussed across the table. But why do you shirk the issue? Do it. Nobody wants fight. We all want peace and it is for peace that we make these suggestions. I am not at all disputing your right. Have I taken much time?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am not unreasonable. The hon. Member started at 3.41 and must conclude at 3.56.

**Dr. N. B. Khare:** Then I come to the question of East Bengal. The address mentions that the situation between India and Pakistan has eased a bit. I am surprised. At the same time Nazimuddin mentions that if at all the situation has worsened. Whom are we to believe: we are in a dilemma.

After all the East Bengal question can never be solved unless this Government accepts the policy of reciprocity that we advocate. In this matter of reciprocity I am in good company. Sir, with your permission, I will quote three lines, or even two lines, from the speech of Maulana Azad which he made at the Calcutta session of the Muslim League in 1917 just after the Lucknow Pact was brought forward and agreed by the Congress in 1916. That speech is very suggestive and I am in good company.

"There would now be nine Hindu provinces against five Muslim provinces and whatever treatment Hindus accord to Muslims in nine provinces, Muslims would accord to Hindus in five provinces."

This is reciprocity.

I am in good company. It is very painful to exhume dead bodies. I know it gives a very bad odour. But sometimes it is necessary to exhume dead bodies in the interest of justice. I have done it in the course of my profession when I was in government service. Therefore, this policy must be changed.

Let me say a word or two about the question of linguistic provinces. What is the use of dilly-dallying matters? Be out with it. People living to the north of the Vindhya cannot realise to what extent this question is agitating the minds of people in the south. Either have these provinces—all of them—or do not have any linguistic province at all; but do not dilly-dally. It is dangerous to the country. If you do not want linguistic provinces what harm is there if you simply have five or six administrative zones for the whole of India without any consideration of language? Scrap all the present provinces and their legislatures which are the hot-beds of corruption and nepotism in the Congress regime. I am one with that idea. Have it one way or the other, but do not dilly-dally; do not procrastinate,—it is dangerous. Suppose U.P. which is a very big province is divided into two or three territories and one is attached to the Punjab, one to Bihar and one to Madhya Pradesh? How will U.P. people like it? That is what the Maharashtrians feel. We are in that position. Therefore, I appeal that this issue should not be delayed. There should be some quick disposal of it.

The situation in the world is very dangerous. But no reference has been made to it. There is a lot of talk about MEDO, and the likelihood of Pakistan joining it. But we should not be afraid of it. To defeat Hitler Anglo-Americans (who are still indirectly controlling us) joined hands with Russia and yet they did not become Communists. I am not at all saying that we should join one side or the other, but the policy of neutrality has failed to achieve us any friends. We are not the darling of anybody. Our position is like that of a foot-ball in a field. The two contesting sides kick the ball one side or the other. The ball is always dynamic; it is never static. It is always neutral—that neutrality we have got of being

kicked by either side. It is, therefore, necessary to take some positive decision, whatever it may be, in the interest of the country.

Do not think everything is O.K. It is just like a volcano. The police strike, the teachers' strike, the students' strike, the patwaris' strike, the traders' strike, are all portents which indicate the acute economic distress in the country. Do not ignore it. Do not ignore it; do not be complacent. It may be the beginning of the eruption of a volcano. It reminds me of the British days in 1945-46 when there was a similar situation and nemesis came to the British. I trust that the same nemesis will not come to the Congress. I warn you. I do not want nemesis. I want a peaceful orderly government and progress. And if I warn you, I do so as a friend.

श्री राधा रमण (दिल्ली नगर) :

उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आप का बड़ा कृतज्ञ हूँ कि आप ने मुझे समय दिया कि मैं राष्ट्रपति के उस भाषण सम्बन्धी प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करूँ जो श्रीमन्नारायण जी ने सदस्यों के सामने रखा है।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने उस भाषण में हमारे देश के सभी उन मोटे मोटे मसलों पर संकेतात्मक विचार रखे हैं कि जो आज हमारे देश में फेले हुए हैं। उन सभी समस्याओं को और सभी संकेतों पर अगर हम यहाँ तफ़्तील से विचार करें तो समय थोड़ा होने के कारण हम एक दो से ज्यादा बातों पर विचार नहीं कर पायेंगे। इसलिये मैं राष्ट्रपतिजी के भाषण के दो तीन संकेतों के विषय में अपने विचार रखना चाहता हूँ।

सर्वप्रथम राष्ट्रपतिजी ने हमारी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय नीति की घोषणा की है। वह नीति एक निरपक्ष, स्वतंत्र और स्वच्छन्द नीति है। बहुत से हमारे सदस्य और विशेषकर जो हमारे विरोधी दल के सदस्य हैं वे इस नीति के विषय में आलोचनात्मक बातें कहते हैं और उस की निंदा भी करते

[श्री राधा रमण]

हैं। परन्तु यह नीति कोई हमारे देश की नई नीति नहीं है।

[SHRI PATASKAR in the Chair]

आज से नहीं बल्कि बहुत वर्षों से, जब से हम ने अपने देश में शान्ति का युग प्रारम्भ किया और हम ने शान्ति और अमन रखने के लिये संकल्प लिया, तब से लेकर आज तक बराबर हम इसी नीति को चलाते आये हैं।

4 P.M.

और आजाद होने के पश्चात् इन पिछले वर्षों में और उस से पूर्व जो हम को देखने को मिला है उस से हम यह गर्व से कह सकते हैं कि इस नीति से न सिर्फ हमारे सारे देश-वासी प्रभावित हैं वरन् बाहर भी जितने राष्ट्र हैं उन पर भी इस नीति का बड़ा गहरा प्रभाव पड़ा है। कहने को यह कह सकते हैं कि यह एक निहायत मुर्दा नीति है, यह एक ऐसी नीति है कि जिस से हमें कोई दोस्त प्राप्त नहीं होता और जो दुनिया के अन्दर बड़ी बड़ी ताकतें हैं वह हमारी तरफ नहीं आती बल्कि वह हमें ठुकराती हैं, परन्तु हकीकत यह है कि जब हम इस नीति का इसी रूप में विश्लेषण करते हैं तो हमें यह अच्छी तरह से स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि भारतवर्ष जैसे मुल्क के लिये, जिस का हमेशा से रूहानी सिक्का सारे देशों में रहा है, अगर कोई नीति हो सकती है तो वह यही निष्पक्षता की स्वतंत्र नीति हो सकती है। इस के यह मानी नहीं है कि दुनिया के मुल्कों में जो जो बातें हो रही हैं या जो जो संकट आ रहे हैं उन से हम बिल्कुल अलग थलग रहें और अपने विचार को उन के सामने स्पष्ट न करें। बल्कि ऐसे कठिन समय आये हैं जब दुनिया के देशों ने, जिन की बहरी कतें और फौजी ताकतें ज्यादा थीं,

अपनी आवाज को बुलन्द नहीं किया और हमारे देश ने और हमारे देश की रतार ने और हमारे देश के नेता ने उस आवाज को बुलन्द किया और यह बताया कि कौन सा मार्ग ऐसा है कि जिस मार्ग से न सिर्फ तमाम दुनिया में शान्ति कायम रह सकती है बल्कि मानव जाति का कल्याण हो सकता है। आप को अच्छी तरह स्मरण होगा कि एक बार नहीं कई बार हिन्दुस्तान की यह नीति कसौटी पर रखी गई। कोरिया के सम्बन्ध में, चीन के सम्बन्ध में जब जब भी यह नीति कसौटी पर रखी गयी स्पष्टतया हम ने उस नीति का आह्वान किया, जिसे हम समझते हैं कि सारे राष्ट्रों में शान्ति की स्थापना हो सकती है और जो राष्ट्रों के दो बड़े ब्लॉक्स ( blocs ) हैं और जिन के दरमियान में काफी तनातनी रहती है और जिस तनातनी का फल कभी भी एक बड़ी लड़ाई हो सकता है उन के बीच में भी हम ने अपनी आवाज को बुलन्द किया और इस बात की हमेशा कोशिश की कि हम शान्ति की ओर खुद बढ़ें और उन को भी बढ़ायें। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह नीति हमारे लिये निहायत ही उत्तम नीति है और इस के बल पर ही हम अपने देश में शान्ति कायम रख सकते हैं और दुनिया को भी उस शान्ति का पाठ पढ़ा सकते हैं कि जिस शान्ति के पाठ को हम ने राष्ट्रपिता वापू से स्वयं पढ़ा था। इस शान्ति की स्थापना करने के लिये हम निरन्तर प्रयत्न करते रहे हैं। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में इस बात की पुनः घोषणा की है और हमें यह विश्वास है कि सभी भारतवासी उस घोषणा का स्वागत करेंगे और उस नीति के पीछे सदा चलेगें।

उस के पश्चात् राष्ट्रपतिजी ने अपने भाषण में अफ्रीका के मिलसिले म

कुछ चर्चा की है। यह एक ऐसी समय है कि जो बहुत वर्षों से उस देश के अन्दर चली आ रही है। कुछ वर्ष पहले, समापतिजी, आप को यह ज्ञात होगा कि उस देश में हिन्दुस्तानियों के ऊपर काफ़ी अत्याचार होता था। उन के जो अधिकार थे वह और देशवासियों से बहुत काफ़ी कम थे और उन के साथ निन्दनीय बरताव होता था, लेकिन अब कुछ दिनों से और कई महीनों से यह चर्चा बड़े जोरों पर है कि अफ़्रीका में उन जातियों के साथ, जो उस देश के अंदर हमेशा से बसती चली आई हैं, और उन के साथ हिन्दुस्तानियों के साथ जो कि वहां जा कर बस गये हैं, इस प्रकार का बरताव हो रहा है कि जिस बरताव को आज की दुनिया में कोई भी सम्य देश बरदास्त नहीं कर सकता। हम देखते हैं कि उस के नतीजे पर सारे सम्य देशों में एक आवाज़ है, और उस के कारण हमें इस बात का भय भी लगता है कि जो शान्ति हम अपने मुल्क और दुनिया के दूसरे मुल्कों में देखना चाहते हैं वह किसी न किसी रूप में भंग भी हो सकती है। इसलिये राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में इस बात को स्पष्ट किया है और हम चाहते हैं कि इस को तमाम दुनिया के सम्य देश अच्छी तरह से जान लें कि आज जो रंगभेद की नीति अफ़्रीका के अन्दर चल रही है वह नीति शान्ति की स्थापना के लिये बिल्कुल मुनासिब नहीं है बल्कि वह शान्ति भंग करने का एक रास्ता बन सकती है। इसलिये हमें और उन तमाम सम्य देशों को, संयुक्त राष्ट्र को, सभी को इस बात का प्रयत्न करना होगा कि अफ़्रीका जैसे देश में, कि जहां गोरी जाति और जातियों के ऊपर जो वहां के रहने वाले हैं, अत्याचार करती है, उन के अधिकारों को दबाती है, या उन के अधिकारों को नहीं मानती, वहां वह जाति रंगभेद की नीति को जल्द से जल्द छोड़

दे जिस से संसार में जो इस के प्रति रोष है वह हट जाय और उस मुल्क के लोगों में, जो वहां अफ़्रीकन और हिन्दुस्तानी रहते हैं, सभी में संतोष हो और वहां पुनः शान्ति स्थापित हो जाय।

इस के पश्चात् एक बात जो राष्ट्रपति की ने अपने भाषण में कही है वह जम्मू और काश्मीर के विषय में है। मैं दो शब्द इस सम्बन्ध में भी कहना चाहता हूँ। बात कहने में बड़ी मीठी होती है परन्तु उस के परिणाम बाब ओकात बड़े भयंकर होते हैं। हमारे देश में हम ने पिछले तीस पैंतीस वर्षों में बहुत काफ़ी ऐसे मौके देखे हैं कि जहां ऐसी छोटी छोटी बातों को बढ़ा बढ़ा कर जनता के सामने इस प्रकार रखा जाता है कि वह गुमराह हो जाती है। जम्मू और काश्मीर का सवाल अभी पांच वर्षों से बराबर हमारे देश में चला आ रहा है। वह एक ऐसा पेचीदा सवाल है कि जिस पर संसद् के सदस्यों ने एक बार नहीं कई बार चर्चा कर के कुछ विचार विनियमन किया, पर तब भी हम हर सदस्य को संतोष नहीं दिला सके हैं। यह बात बिल्कुल स्पष्ट है कि जब आज से पहले हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर यह बात हो रही थी कि हिन्दुस्तान में हिन्दू और मुसलमान रहते हैं और यह दोनों अलग अलग क़ौम हैं, इन दोनों के ख़्यालात अलग अलग हैं, उन के विचार अलग अलग हैं, और इसलिये हिन्दुस्तान के टुकड़े होने चाहियें, उस वक़्त हम लोगों ने इस बात की बहुत कोशिश की और चाहा कि हिन्दुस्तान के टुकड़े न हों और हमारे वह भाई जो इस बात को चाहते थे कि हिन्दू और मुसलमानों में हमेशा फिसाद हो, इस बात को हिन्दू और मुसलमानों के सामने बराबर इसी तरीके से दिखाते थे। छोटी छोटी बातें बड़ी बड़ी बनीं और आखिरकार जनता का दिमाग़ इस किस्म का बना कि वह चीज़ जो हम नहीं चाहते थे वह हो कर रही।

[श्री राधा रमण]

इस से हम को सबक सीखना है। आज इस बात को जानते हुए कि काश्मीर का मसला बड़ा पेचीदा है ब इस के विषय में अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय संघ से बात चीत हो रही है, वहां पर हिन्दुस्तान ही नहीं बल्कि हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर के बड़े बड़े मुल्क काफ़ी असर डाल रहे हैं और वहां के लोगों में काफ़ी गलतफ़हमी फैला रहे हैं, ऐसे मौक़े पर भी कोई बात ऐसी छेड़ना कि जिस बात से वहां पर रोष बढ़े, अशान्ति हो, झगड़ा हो, हमारे लिये एक भयंकर चीज बन सकती है।

यह राष्ट्रपति जी ने एक संकेत के जरिये हम लोगों को बताया है कि ऐसे मौक़े पर कि जब हम ऐसी स्थिति में से गुज़र रहे हों यह बहुत आवश्यक है कि हम बहुत सोच विचार कर क़दम बढ़ावें और कोई ऐसी तहरीक हमें नहीं करनी चाहिये कि जिस से वहां के रहने वालों में मतभेद हो, झगड़ा हो, या हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर उस का बुरा असर हो। महल और मौक़ा एक ऐसी चीज होती है कि जो हर राजनीतिज्ञ को सोचना होता है। आज के दिन हम देखते हैं कि हमारे देश में कुछ ऐसे दल हैं कि जिन का यह अभिप्राय रहता है कि वह ऐसी ऐसी बातों को निकाल कर जनता के सामने रखें जिन से जनता गुमराह हो जाय और देश में जो हम आज शान्ति का वातावरण देखते हैं वह बदल कर अशान्ति का वातावरण बन जाय। मैं इस तरफ़ सभी सदस्यों का ध्यान दिलाऊंगा और सभापतिजी आप का भी ध्यान दिलाऊंगा कि यह एक ऐसा मसला है कि जिस पर हर हिन्दुस्तानी को बड़े गहरे ध्यान से विचार करना होगा। अगर वह इस तरह से इस मसले को नहीं देखेंगे तो उस का परिणाम बड़ा भयंकर हो सकता है। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि अगर इस का भयंकर

परिणाम, छोटा या बड़ा, निकला तो उस की सारी जिम्मेदारी हमें उन पर डालनी होगी कि जो आज इस संकेत को जिसे राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में दिया है, नहीं मानते हैं। मैं इस बात की आशा करता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपतिजी के इस भाषण के बाद हमारे उन राजनीतिज्ञों में दूरदर्शिता का स्थाल होगा और वे अपनी उस नीति को बन्द करेंगे जिस को कि वे जम्मू और काश्मीर और हमारे मुल्क के सम्बन्ध में चलाना चाहते हैं, जिस से कि जो आज शान्ति का वातावरण है वह कायम रहे और हमारे दोनों के अन्दर जो एक दोस्ती का रिश्ता है वह रिश्ता कायम रहे।

इस के बाद मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। वह हमारे सामने जो पांच वर्षीय योजना है उस के सम्बन्ध में है। सभापतिजी, इस में कोई सन्देह नहीं कि हमारे देश के बड़े बड़े दिमागों ने इस पांच वर्षीय योजना को हमारे सामने रखा है। इस योजना में एक ऐसा बड़ा प्रयास है, एक ऐसी बड़ी कोशिश है, कि जिस से भारतवर्ष की बहुत बड़ी बड़ी समस्यायें हल हो सकती हैं। हमारा यह विश्वास है और उन नेताओं का भी यह विश्वास है कि इस पांच वर्षीय योजना के द्वारा हिन्दुस्तान की काया पलट होगी। जिन समस्याओं को आज हम अपने सामने देख रहे हैं और जिन से उलझ कर हम आज अपने आप को कमज़ोर पाते हैं वे सारी समस्यायें, अगर हम ने इस पांच वर्षीय योजना को अपनाया और हम ने उस पर पूरी श्रद्धा और विश्वास से काम किया, तो हमें यह भरोसा है, हमें यह यकीन है, कि वे सारी बड़ी बड़ी समस्यायें, जिन की चर्चा हम रात दिन यहां करते हैं, बहुत जल्द तक हल होंगी। इस सम्बन्ध में सब से बड़ी बात जो सदस्यों को सामने रखनी

चाहिये वह है शिक्षा। हमारे देश में शिक्षा का एक ऐसा तरीका है, शिक्षकों की भी एक ऐसी दशा है कि अगर हम यह चाहते हैं कि हमारी पांच वर्षीय योजना बड़ी सफल बने तो हमें इस सारी शिक्षा को नये ढंग से ही चलाना होगा। आज जो हमारी शिक्षा है वह, जैसा राष्ट्रपतिजी ने अपने भाषण में कहा, सिर्फ डिग्रियां प्राप्त करने के लिये या बड़े दफ्तरों के अन्दर नौकरियां तलाश करने के लिये ही समझी जाती है। परन्तु अगर हम देश के हर एक नौजवान को, हर एक देशवासी को देश के कामों में लगाना चाहते हैं तो हमें सब से पहले यह काम करना होगा कि हमारी शिक्षा ऐसी हो, शिक्षकों का चरित्र और शिक्षकों का तरीका ऐसा हो कि जिस से वे अपने बच्चों को और नौजवानों को ऐसी शिक्षा दे सकें कि जिस से वे आगे चल कर सिर्फ नौकरियां ही तलाश न करें, बल्कि उन के दिमाग खुले हों और वे अपने देश के निर्माण कार्य में एक से एक बढ़ कर काम कर सकें। इस तरह से मैं समझता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपतिजी के भाषण ने हमें बहुत सारा ऐसा मसौदा दिया है कि जिस पर विचार कर के हम अपने आप को बहुत कुछ कल्याणकारी कामों में लगा सकते हैं और देश को उन्नति की ओर ले जा सकते हैं।

म इन शब्दों के साथ राष्ट्रपतिजी को ब्यवहार देता हूँ और उस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ कि जो हमारे भाई श्री अग्रवाल ने राष्ट्रपति जी के भाषण के सम्बन्ध में सदस्यों के सामने रखा है। मुझे पूर्ण आशा है कि हम सभी सदस्य मिल कर इस बात की कोशिश करेंगे कि जो संकेत में उन्होंने अपने इस भाषण में दिये हैं उन सब संकेतों को पूरे विश्वास के साथ अमल में लायें जिस से कि हम देश के कल्याणकारी मार्ग पर चलने के काबिल बन सकें

**Shri G. H. Deshpande (Nasik—Central):** I rise to support the motion before the House and to oppose the amendments that are before this hon. House. Yesterday, the hon. Member, Prof. Mukerjee, while opening the debate on the Presidential address remarked in the beginning by saying that the address painted a smug and self-complacent picture unrelated to facts. This criticism of Prof. Mukerjee can hardly be said to be based on truth. If one would read carefully the address of the President, one will find that it was based on facts. At the same time those who listened very carefully to the speech delivered on the address by Prof. Mukerjee will at once realise that that speech was not based on facts but there was a serious attempt in that speech to sidetrack the facts, to misrepresent certain matters and to undermine the progress that is being made in this country. What has been said in the Presidential address is based on facts. My contention is that the address of the President gives the exact picture as it prevails in the country and it does not exaggerate any facts or it does not try to give a rosy picture which is not based on facts.

There is a reference in the Presidential address to the food situation and to the increase in the output of textiles and also sugar, jute and cotton. Can anybody say that these are not correct things? Only a couple of hours before, during the question hour today, in this hon. House, the hon. Food Minister said that the food situation is much better. Of course when it is said, it is said in a comparative sense. We are much better this year, so far as the food situation is concerned, than we were last year and the year before that. That does not mean that all is well. Nobody has said that. Even the Presidential address mentions that the food situation is better. And while saying this reference is made to the distress conditions in certain parts of the country. At the same time, in the Presidential address, we find that very good suggestions for self-sufficiency in food have been made.

There is also in the address a reference to re-organisation of Provinces on linguistic basis. This reference has been welcomed throughout the country and outside. It is said in the Presidential address that there should be no difficulty in re-organising the Provinces on a linguistic basis. In saying this it is mentioned that above all, the unity and national security of India have always to be

[Shri G. H. Deshpande]

given the first priority. Those who stand for the re-organisation of the Provinces on a linguistic basis do not want to undermine these feelings. They do give due weight to this opinion and they want that the re-organisation of Provinces on a linguistic basis should be taken up as early as possible. They are not in an ugly haste. They do not want to undermine the national interests but at the same time, they do urge that it should not be delayed unnecessarily.

Reference is made to the economic progress. The economic progress of certain regions in the Indian Union has been withheld because the States are not re-organised on a linguistic basis. We will find that if the re-organisation of States on a linguistic basis is undertaken, then in certain parts in which we do not find any enthusiasm for the present for the economic progress, circumstances will be changed. Those regions will be in a better position to carry on work for economic progress if they get a State based on linguistic basis. I would like to urge once more that those who stand for a re-organisation of the States on a linguistic basis do not want to undermine the importance of defence, and the importance of Indian unity in the least. They have all the more concern for that. As I have said, they are not in an ugly haste for having this re-organisation; but they would not like to see that the matter is unnecessarily delayed.

Then much was said about our foreign policy. Prof. Mukerjee tried to ridicule the noble attempt that we made a few weeks before in that great international organisation. He wanted to ridicule us for the move that we made for peace. But he forgets that the move that we made then in the interests of peace in the world and of humanity, was appreciated very widely in this country and throughout the world with certain notable exceptions. The foreign policy which we are adopting, the line which we have chosen for ourselves during the last four, or five years has been appreciated in this country and has been appreciated very much in the world also. We have discussed that foreign policy during the last year in this, very hon. House and it has been approved by this House. What were the suggestions made by Prof. Mukerjee during his speech yesterday? He wanted, in effect, that we should give up our present line so far as foreign policy was concerned, that we should have nothing of our own and that we should always follow a camp

followers of Russia. That was the suggestion, in effect, that he made. But, it was made under a different cover, in the name of peace, and he effectively played the Sikhandi while making his suggestion. He forgot that he himself was playing the part of Sikhandi and he wanted others to say that he was playing the part of Sikhandi.

The foreign policy that we have adopted might not have achieved results. It could not achieve results because the issues involved are so great that we cannot expect speedy results. But, the line that we have adopted is the proper line. We are convinced about it. The country is convinced about it. All well-minded people throughout the world are convinced about it. There is no necessity for having any change in that policy. In spite of what the hon. Mr. Mukerjee has said yesterday, there was not a single suggestion wherein he could say what is the proper line that should be adopted. He belongs to the Communist party and the Communist party in India is no doubt very much dissatisfied with the foreign policy that we are adopting. We cannot oblige them by making any change. We want to tell them that after great consideration, we have stuck to certain principles and whatever may come, we will not give up those principles.

An Hon. Member: Please oblige us.

Shri G. H. Deshpande: In hours of need and trial one has to stick to certain principles. Then alone are great things achieved in this world. It is no use taking to a policy which would serve some timely purpose. We have to stick to certain fundamentals and then alone can we achieve certain good results.

There is some reference to Kashmir. It was said that it was not a communal agitation. What else is it if it is not a communal agitation? So far as this question of the agitation in Kashmir and Jammu State is concerned, we cannot forget that the question of relationship between Jammu and Kashmir on the one side and the Indian Union on the other was discussed in this very hon. House a few months before. A detailed statement was presented by the hon. the Leader of the House and there was a detailed discussion on that statement. That policy has been approved of by this hon. House. Immediately after that, some people took it into their head to undermine that understanding, and they have started an agitation. What is the nature of

which aims at sabotage. It is an agitation which is creating disruption. It is an agitation which is creating disunity. It is an agitation.....

Dr. N. B. Khare: Is it like 1942?

Some Hon. Members: Do not talk.

Shri G. H. Deshpande: It is an agitation which has again tried to raise the communal issue in that disturbed country. In that area war stands only suspended. Nobody knows what will happen when. Under such circumstances, to start an agitation of the nature which the Praja Parishad is carrying on, can hardly be said to be wise. They must reconsider their position. They are not doing by that sort of agitation any service to the Hindu cause or to the cause of the people of Kashmir or to the cause of the Indian Union as a whole. If they are serving anybody, whatever their intentions, they are serving East Pakistan. What Pakistan did not achieve may be made possible for Pakistan to achieve through this agitation which is being carried on by the Praja Parishad. They must realise this and the sooner they realise the better. I would like to say this to the Government. We cannot expect that they will realise the results that would follow. But, the Government cannot sit silent till the results follow. Timely action must be taken and I have no doubt that the entire country, the entire Indian Union will be behind the Government in suppressing an agitation of that nature. That sort of an agitation cannot be allowed to go on and cannot be allowed to spread in the Indian Union. It is not an agitation against the Jammu and Kashmir State; it is an agitation against the Indian Union. It is an agitation against the present Government. It cannot be said that it is not an agitation against the present leadership of the country, a leadership which has the backing of the masses in this country. If that sort of an agitation is allowed to go on in any part of India, the results are bound to be very serious, and all the good work that we have done during the last four or five years is likely to be undone. Therefore, I would request the Government to take care of this agitation and see that better sense will prevail with those who are carrying it on. If they are not imbued with that spirit, then Government will have to take measures by which this agitation will be put down.

address:

"The problem, however, has to be tackled in a more basic way so as to avoid recurrence of famine conditions and a complete dependence upon the vagaries of the monsoon."

The Government must take this advice of the President seriously into consideration. I come from the Bombay State wherein scarcity conditions prevail. We have suggested various means by which the problem of scarcity in our region can be tackled in a more basic way so as to avoid recurrence of famine conditions and a complete dependence upon the vagaries of the monsoon. We have made valuable suggestions to this end. I am sure the Government will pay serious attention to our suggestions and take into consideration the advice on this matter given by the President.

With these words, I support the motion on President's address and I oppose the amendments.

Shri G. D. Somani (Nagaur-Pali): I would like to make a few observations on the economic situation, various aspects of which have been dealt with in the President's Address. I quite agree that there has been some improvement in the economic situation and production both in the agricultural as well as the industrial sectors has shown satisfactory progress. Indeed, the production in the industrial field has shown a remarkable rise in the year 1952. If we compare that with 1946, the increase in production in the various industries has been anything about 30 per cent. more than what it was in 1946. As a matter of fact, the various industries have achieved the targets which have been laid down in the Five Year Plan for achievement at the end of the five year period.

But the maintenance and expansion of this improved production depends on so many factors, and unless Government remains vigilant and takes timely measures, I am afraid the ground that we have gained may be lost.

We can take the case of sugar. Already, the estimated production for the current season has been put at 12½ lakh tons against 15 lakh tons which was the figure for the last season. Similarly, the production in textiles has increased to an almost all-time record of 4,600 million yards, and there are definite signs that our production is getting surplus unless

[Shri G. D. Somani]

adequate measures are taken to export quite a substantial quantity of this production to overseas markets. I am glad, in this connection, that the Government have taken certain measures to encourage our textile exports, but the question is that certain measures will have to be taken if the target of 800 to 1,000 million yards has to be realized during the current year, and that alone will ensure that our production can be maintained at the present level. I do not want to go into details of what further measures need be taken, but I hope and trust that the Government will continue to watch the situation of the export markets and will not fail to take such further measures as will lead to the achievement of this target.

Talking about textile production, I find a reference in the Presidential Address to certain measures that have been taken to assist the handloom industry. I yield to none in supporting any measures—any constructive measures—to do whatever is possible to assist our handloom industry. Both the textile industry as well as the handloom industry have existed in this country for long, and there is no reason why they should not continue to serve our economy as all along has been the case. But, I am afraid the measures that the Government have taken in this connection are hardly likely to achieve their purpose on the one hand, and on the other, easily do something to disrupt the smooth functioning of the textile industry. For instance, I may draw the attention of the Government to the restrictions that they have imposed on the production of *dhotis*. Frankly, these restrictions came at a time when the stocks of *dhotis* and *sarees* in the country were very large, and in a way, it has indirectly helped the mill industry to clear the stock; but my point is that even in spite of such heavy stocks that were lying in the mills, the rise in *dhoti* prices was considerable during the few weeks that this restriction has been in operation, that the hon. Minister for Industry and Commerce should realize the serious repercussions which this continued restriction may have on the supply of *dhotis* at reasonable prices to the consumers. It is not from the interests of the industry that I am talking about this restriction on the production of *dhotis*. What I want to point out is this, that already there has been anything between 20 and 25 per cent. rise in the price of *dhotis*, and if the present restrictions are allowed to continue indefinitely, a

serious situation will arise which will hit the consumers very hard; and as one connected with the industry, I should like to warn the Government about the serious repercussions which this restriction on the production of *dhotis* may have on the general public of the country.

Then there is the question of levying a cess on the mill production to help the handloom industry. As I said before, there are various constructive ways by which Government can certainly help the peaceful and smooth functioning of the handloom industry, but it is hardly the way to penalise the textile industry and to create a burden at a time when already the industry is suffering from so many levies and taxes. I found out this morning that the hon. Minister has withdrawn the previous Bill and is introducing a fresh Bill which I have still to see. It is indeed a matter for gratification that at least he has exempted the cloth production meant for export from the cess. That is a move in the right direction which I welcome, and it will certainly not affect the competitive position of our industry in overseas markets, but the fact remains that our bulk production goes for internal consumption. And this levy which is called a small levy is not small in the real sense of the word because it will fetch about Rs. 5 crores to the treasury and the industry will have to find out this money from their own funds, because at a time when the buyers' markets have emerged elsewhere, it does not require any further proof to say that this cannot be passed on to the consumer. I hope, therefore, that before the industry's future is affected very seriously by all sorts of these additional levies, Government will realize the need to scrutinise properly the incidence of burden which the industry is carrying at present.

In this connection, I would further like to stress the general need for doing something for the renovation and modernization of all industries. The hon. Finance Minister at the time of his reply to the debate on the Five Year Plan had hinted that this vital question would be looked into, and I appeal to him at a time when he must now be busy with framing his budget proposals for the next year, that he should give due thought to doing something which will help the industries to modernize and renovate their plant on which alone the future smooth functioning of the various industries so vitally depends.

I had already pointed out that the provision of Rs. 150 crores which was mentioned by the Planning Commission as the figure for replacements is far too inadequate, and in any case, the question has not received the serious attention which it ought to receive from the Government so far. In this connection, the various industries have represented to the Government that the depreciation allowance basis should be changed; instead of it being fixed on the original cost, there should be some linking with the cost of replacement when prices have gone up so heavily.

In the same connection, I may also draw the attention of the Finance Minister to Section 23 (a) of the Income-tax Act which insists on 60 per cent. of the profits being declared as dividends and which bars the companies from ploughing back their profits into profitable channels. All these are questions which are linked with the future development of the country's industrial resources, and I would therefore urge the Government to do something to place industries on a sound footing. It is not a question of asking something for the shareholders or Managing Agents, but it is simply a question of ensuring that our industries continue to maintain their improved production which they have been able to do in 1952; and it is only with that end in view that I claim and submit that proper assistance should be given to the various industries in this connection.

Coming to the next point, I would like to touch on the question of the Finance Commission's Report which was laid on the Table of the House yesterday. I do not want to go into details, but I will only make a specific observation about the federal financial integration agreements which were entered into by the Centre with the Part "B" States like Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan and two other States under which the Centre had taken the responsibility to make systematic enquiries and to give such aid to those States so as to bring them on a par with other progressive States. I find a reference in the Finance Commission's Report that they felt that their terms of reference did not cover this issue, and on a reference from the Saurashtra Government, they have clearly expressed their inability, as their terms of reference did not admit of any such enquiry being undertaken by the Commission. Speaking about Rajasthan, I can say from personal experience that the conditions there are far worse than what they were under the former regime, and there is a

great deal of frustration and discontent prevailing in many parts of the State. The pace of development schemes is very slow, and the only reason that the Rajasthan Government has not advanced is that they are suffering from lack of finance and the assistance coming from the Centre is far too little to meet the requirements.

Now here is some agreement legally undertaken by the Centre, and even from the moral standpoint, nobody would question the propriety of doing everything possible to bring up the backward areas to the status of the other advanced areas. I, therefore, appeal to the Government to set up another inquiry commission, as envisaged in those agreements, to enquire into the backward conditions of those areas, and to take the necessary steps which they should undertake under those agreements.

One thing more and I shall finish. That is not an economic matter but is the question of the agitation that has been going on regarding the imposition of a ban on cow slaughter in this country. I do not want to deal at length with this matter, but I would only point out, that although vast millions of people of this country have strong sentiments on this question, our Government have consistently ignored them. Of course, some State Governments have moved in the matter, but the fact remains that this vital question which is causing so much agitation in the minds of the public, has not been properly handled by the Centre. There is some reference in some of the amendments to the President's address to this question and I would only urge that the Government of India should take a proper note of the very strong sentiments of the people in this connection and, whether it be the Centre or the States that have to move in the matter, do something at an early date to ban cow slaughter completely in this country.

With these few words, I resume my seat.

**Shrimati Khongmen (Autonomous Distts.—Reserved—Sch. Tribes):** I endorse every word that has been said by the mover of the motion of thanks to the President for his address, and I would not have participated in this debate, had it not been for the fact that the President had been kind enough to refer in paragraph 23 of his speech, to the tribal areas in the North-East. He had been good enough to say that his Government had been paying special attention to these particular areas as well

## [Shrimati Khongmen]

as to the other tribal areas of India I do not find words adequate enough to express my feelings of gratitude and joy to think that these so long neglected areas find a place now in the Government's plan for development.

I understand that the President himself is undertaking a tour of these areas shortly. I do hope his own findings of the conditions of the people there will give him better ideas than what some of my hon. friends in this House or my humble self could have described.

The Governor of Assam has made a tour quite often, in these wild and dangerous areas, and in one of his tours, he found two bright-looking boys, and was so much struck with their simplicity and ignorance that he brought them with him to the Raj Bhavan, where he lodged them and gave them education. Surely, that is a noble and praiseworthy deed, but that is not sufficient.

Education on a large scale should at once be launched in these areas. In the past, they were segregated and kept in sweet innocence. I still remember the incident that happened not very long ago, when some boys of these areas were given education by some missionaries, and were taught by them to put on clothes on their bodies, and when they got back to their own home, the then political officer actually whipped them in the presence of many spectators. So, with all the best of intentions in the world, even we of the neighbouring areas could not do anything in the way of helping these people. They are socially, economically and educationally more backward than any other people. I dare say, in the world, and it is a disgrace on our part if we do not make an effort to bring up these people to the level of others in the country.

Probably many of the citizens of Delhi had the pleasure of witnessing some of their dances on the 26th of last month. I wish to tell the House that once in a way these people were brought to exhibit their dances, in the past, when a Viceroy of India or some other Government dignitaries visited the capital of Assam. But apart from that, nothing else is done for their development. I should like to impress upon Government that we should not stop just at bringing them now and again among us for our pleasure and amusement, but we should see that some real constructive

work is immediately started in these areas. Let the areas be thrown open to social workers, and people who could really work for their welfare and development.

The kind of education that would suit these areas best if I may suggest, would be basic education. This kind of education would not only help them to learn their letters and figures, but would also help them to develop their crafts, which are already in existence there.

I welcome the appointment of a Commission to consider the problems of backward classes, and I expect the members will leave no stone unturned, in giving their valuable advice for the development of these backward communities all over the country.

I shall now end by repeating what the President said, and what we should all wholeheartedly work for. The President said "We aim at a welfare state in which all the people of this country are partners sharing alike the benefits and obligations."

**Shri Nambiar (Mayuram):** Now the President's address and the various points raised by the President are under discussion. I have moved amendments to record my opinion that the President's speech did not refer at all to the growing unemployment and the danger of retrenchment in the various industries, as a result of which the economy of this country is very seriously affected. Not only are the industries, the President says, on the increase, but they are having more production. These facts which he has placed before us are disputable facts, and I have got facts to show that his remarks in this connection are incorrect.

I also moved an amendment to the effect that there was no mention at all about the havoc caused by the recent cyclone in the South where about 600 men, women and children perished and properties worth about 50 crores were destroyed. Not a single pie in the form of aid is given by the Central Government and not a word is mentioned of the havoc caused in the two districts of the South. I also raised the issue of the unrest among policemen due to the maltreatment meted out to them. Unfortunately, my amendment was not accepted. But the fact is there. It is not only the question of the policemen of Madras, but it is a question of the morale of policemen all over India. The policemen who asked for better

conditions were arrested lathi charged and detained and there is a prosecution going on in Madras. About 50 policemen were discharged from service. This growing unrest among the police force which is supposed to be the edifice on which the present Government is built is a serious matter for the Home Ministry to consider. If things go on like this, then they must understand that the ground is falling away under their feet and they will know the consequences very soon. (Interruption). I have mentioned about that in my amendment.

I have also dealt with many other points, but unfortunately there is very little time to give details about those facts. Then there is the question of Government servants. Government servants are retrenched, not only retrenched but victimised for various reasons e.g. on the ground of political affinity. The police give a report and on that report they act. They do not even give a chance to these Government servants to explain their position. They are discharged summarily. There are about 300 to 400 railwaymen alone discharged in the name of the National (Safeguarding of Security) Rules and the matter has been placed before the Government for consideration for reinstatement. In every department not only in the Railway—in the postal department and in many other departments this sort of thing is going on.

I want to concentrate attention on the crisis in industry today. Mr. Deshpande questioned us to show facts about the matters referred to by the hon. Mr. Hiren Mukerjee. I will ask him: Is it not a fact that industry today is collapsing? Is it not a fact that thousands are getting retrenched in each department? I can give facts, if he wants them, and if the President does not know the facts. He has deliberately omitted these facts. In the jute industry there is unemployment to the extent of 50,000 workers in Calcutta due to the closure recently of 12½ per cent. looms. Is it not a fact that 2½ per cent. looms are sealed in Calcutta? Why? This has rendered 50,000 workers unemployed. So also in the textiles. In the textile industry in Bombay alone 63,000 workers were retrenched very recently due to curtailment of shifts. So also in Madras State. Under one pretext or other, 30,000 of them have been retrenched. These are facts which they cannot dispute. They say that in the textile industry there is increase in production and the total production has now reached to the tune of 4,600 million yards. But at the same time,

they should not forget that 1,600 million yards of handloom cloth production are curtailed because the industry collapsed. In Madras State alone 4 lakh workers are rendered surplus and there is a crisis. In the total handloom and mill production is put together, there is a gross deficit, there is a fall in the cloth production in the country. No mention of that is there. In other industries also, I can say there is crisis.

So far as shipping is concerned, there is a danger of 50,000 Muslim workers going unemployed on the small technical reason of passport. That is also brought to the notice of the Government. In the tea industry there is a crisis. I know the hon. Minister, Mr. Giri, mentioned about it. In Assam 46,000 workers are rendered unemployed because of the crisis according to him. From the figures available from Assam and Bengal I can say that there are 69,000 unemployed due to the crisis in the tea industry. We have various other figures. In the tannery industry in the south more than 5,000 workers are rendered unemployed. In the footwear industry in Agra City alone, 30,000 families are rendered unemployed. And this story of unemployment goes on in various departments.

I will also give figures which the newspapers give—not only my figures—on this issue. The newspaper *Madras Mail* dated 26th January 1953 gives the figures which were given by the Government: The number of Employment Exchanges rose from 69 in 1946 to 131 at the end of November 1952. The number of applicants seeking employment increased from 47,489 per month in 1946 to 1,22,723 per month in 1952. The rate of registration in the Employment Exchanges goes from 47,000 to 1,22,000. The paper says:

“An investigation of the extent of unemployment amongst Matriculates, Intermediates and Graduates showed that there were 16,055 Graduates, 14,685 Intermediates and 96,358 Matriculates among 4,13,498 unemployed persons registered with the Exchanges in the Union in October 1952”.

This is the story of unemployment and the President's address makes no mention of it. The President's address says that there is “all round progress”. All-round progress economically and otherwise! The miseries of the people are in progress, of course. That is the progress, which the President might not like to think of!

[Shri Nambiar]

In the *Free Press Journal* dated 8th January 1953 there is a news item: "Sholapur Bidi Workers' Strike—Closure of Factories—Nearly 8,000 bidi workers in Sholapur have been thrown out of employment as a result of the indefinite closure of 11 bidi factories in the city by the factory owners". This is not a Communist journal. These are the daily papers which give you information about retrenchment in this country. I can give you another piece of information. This is in connection with the Faridabad area—an area constructed by the Government to rehabilitate the refugees. The situation there is depicted in the *Delhi Express* of 15th January 1953:

"Over 4,000 industrial workers of Faridabad township went on strike on Tuesday demanding full employment to all able-bodied adults....."

"That is the position. The population of this area is 27,000; where 4,000 able-bodied workers went on strike and the situation is so critical.

Then I give another information from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* dated 25th January 1953 where an editorial is written in which it is stated:

"A Desperate Situation"—that is the caption of the editorial—"The disclosure made by an official investigation last week-end about the unemployment situation in the country provides only a partial picture of the alarming state of affairs".

The situation is so alarming. The paper goes on:

"The monster of unemployment cannot be killed without a fundamental reorganisation of the country's economy. The Five Year Plan which is presented to the people by the Government's blueprint of economic regeneration does not hold out any bright prospects for full employment."

5 P.M.

This is what the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* dated 25th Jan., says. Therefore, this is not my own view, not the view of the 'Communists opposite', but it is the view of the common man in the street, that the unemployment situation in India is so critical. But I cannot understand why in the speech of the President of India, for a year to come, not a word about the situation, the appalling conditions, the critical eco-

nomic situation is to be found. Millions of workers are unemployed; it is an economic situation. It adds to the falling of the purchasing power of the people and if the purchasing power falls what is the way out? It leads to fall in produce and it means that it will make more and more people unemployed and the vicious circle will go on. That is the situation and the President takes no chance to speak about that and he does not care to see what is the alternative to this appalling condition. But, on the other hand, he speaks about the fertilisers. He says, we are increasing the production of fertilisers. I can give you the position of fertilisers. The Fertilizer Factory of Sindri has got a stock of 17,000 tons on the first of this month and they are seriously thinking of closing the fertiliser factory. Is it due to the fact that the peasants of this country do not require the fertiliser? No, it is due to the fact that the peasants of this country are unable to purchase these necessities. There is stock and this is an industry which we boast of being the biggest in Asia. It is the factory that we have produced and that factory is collapsing, because there is a big stock. Nobody is in a position to purchase it and there is a danger of retrenchment in the Fertilizer Factory.

There is no question—as Mr. Somani himself was stating just now—that the relief sought to be given to the handloom weavers is not a relief to them but it is a relief to the big business, the textile magnates to clear off their stocks. That is the position. Their stocks or *dhoties* and *saris* are there. The stock is exhausted by the relief granted. Now, they are talking of the ban being lifted so that they can produce and sell at high prices. That demand is from the big business and the Treasury Benches are there to oblige them. We are talking about help to the handloom industry. Rajaji is talking about it and is getting the weavers' support for his political campaign in Madras. This is how they make political campaign out of this. At the same time they do immense injury to the people. They talk about this as a welfare State and that is all from the house-tops. But in practice, it is not so. I can show you in their own words. They are the words of Mr. Somani and not the words of a Communist. (*Interruption*).

The President said sugar production has reached the peak and we do not require any more. They have given 4½ crores of rupees in the name of

subsidy to the sugar industry and the prices temporarily came down but now they have gone up again. There is a fall in the production in recent months which the President ought to know. But the President does not make any mention about the fall in production of sugar. The result is that prices have gone up and there is no chance of any export for our sugar. There is again unemployment in the sugar industry. I know in the South, in the Nellikuppam sugar factory, the factory management has threatened to issue notices to 500 workers to retrench them. The sugar industry is suffering, the fertiliser industry is suffering and there is crisis in the textile industry. Whatever is produced is not being consumed by the people; there is no market outside. This is the position. Economically, we are in a very dangerous situation. There is no meaning in suppressing the fact. Whether it is deliberate or not, I do not know. It may be the policy of the Government to give a rosy picture through the radio to countries abroad that we have all-round progress. It may be for the political campaign that they suppress all these facts. But these are bare facts which nobody can dispute. Therefore, I submit to the Government that we must take stock of the serious situation in the country and we must tell the people what is the reality, and find out ways and means to end the distress. What are the ways and means? Now, you may ask me, "You are only compiling miseries of the people, but you do not suggest ways and means to remove them". We suggest ways and means. You must try to get the co-operation of the people. You have produced the Five Year Plan. What is the Five Year Plan without asking the people to give their own opinion about it? The Five Year Plan wants to take more taxes. You say more taxes must be there; the railway must give 320 crores. All this means that there must be more taxation, high railway fares. This Five Year Plan you have brought out after elaborate discussion and spending lakhs of rupees. You say ways and means have been found out. What are they? To exploit for more and more that is required. Instead of that, revise your policy. See to the realities, find out the sufferings of the people by looking to their day to day needs, by providing their needs.

I will only take a minute. The land reforms which I suggest is a measure by which the purchasing power of the people can improve. If the purchasing power of the people is increased, then the industrial crisis will be

solved. At the same time, with regard to the foreign policy there is no use in following Anglo-American trade policy. For better trade, deal with countries on Governmental levels. There is no use in saying that if Soviet Russia or China requires anything from India, let their merchants come here and negotiate. In those countries they trade at Governmental levels. You must negotiate at Governmental levels and find out what things can be exchanged with them. That will give real relief to the ordinary man. Therefore, improve the internal market, improve the external market. Improving the internal market means improving the purchasing power of the people; external improvement means improvement of trade with foreign countries, not by simply tailing with the capitalist blocs and thereby being a subsidiary power to them and looking to them for aids which is a curse and which brings bad reputation to the whole of our people. For everything we look to foreign countries, even for family planning we must look to them. I want these changes to be made and with all humility I submit these facts to the Government.

**Shri Sadath Ali Khan** (Ibrahimpattanam): I rise to support the motion of thanks so ably moved by my friend Shri Agarwal and seconded with equal ability by my friend, Shri Raghuramaiah. After the past months of hard work, anxiety and strife also, the time has come for us to assess the value of our efforts in promoting the interests of our country and in establishing peace and goodwill among the nations of the world. The President, in his Address, was pleased to refer to the work accomplished by this Government, to mention the problems that face the country today and to outline the measures which this Government propose to take in order to combat those problems.

Sir, in the sphere of foreign policy, we have steadfastly and boldly pursued the path of peace. Yesterday, sitting here, I listened to the harangue of my friend Professor Mukerjee who does not happen to be here now, and I was amazed because the way he was describing things seems to me highly sensational. Now I have a great regard for Prof. Mukerjee. He comes from Oxford where among the cloistered seclusion of ivy-clad colleges he has picked up wisdom. And the unfortunate thing about it is that he cannot see anything except in black and white. He can only see two colours, black and white, and occasionally pe-

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haps red also. But the suggestions put forward by him, I hold, could not have solved the problem, because our policy of non-alignment and neutrality is the only one by which we can make ourselves heard in the counsels of nations. It has yielded good results and I do not see why this policy should not be continued. What are the main objectives of our foreign policy? The most important one, to my mind, is to safeguard our borders from external aggression, so that we can work out various schemes and plans that we have before us in peace and harmony and without molestation. How can we achieve this aim? Not by alignment, not by siding now with this power and tomorrow with another power. That way lies disaster. It may be that many of us may not realise the importance and significance of this policy, but tomorrow or the day after, or perhaps some time in the future when we are no more, those people who come after us will bless the name of the Prime Minister for having followed this policy so boldly and bravely. It is not easy to declare one's independence of views in these days of hard realities. But when the historians of tomorrow sit down to record the achievements of our people, they would certainly pay their tribute to the Prime Minister for having chalked out a policy and showed the way to the people of this country whereby they can peacefully develop their resources and at the same time maintain their self-respect.

Now I would like to point out that this peace and tranquillity after which we strive is sometimes illusory. Recently, there has been a move to create uneasiness in this vast sub-continent by making it a battleground for the power blocs. There is such a move. I suppose that when the necessity arises we shall take this matter up and perhaps if I may make a suggestion, it would be a very good thing if a peace pact or a mutual security pact among the nations of Asia is drawn up. That is the only way in which we can maintain this policy of non-alignment and neutrality. We should intensify our peace efforts and also remain on the most friendly terms with our neighbouring powers. This, I feel, the Government has been doing all the while, and I am sure it will continue to do so under the leadership of the Prime Minister.

Talking about Korea, I must point out that there has been a lot said

about it. The President has referred to it, and has expressed his sorrow with regard to the people of Korea who have been suffering untold miseries owing to this game of power politics. The resolution that we sponsored in the United Nations was aimed at creating some sort of harmony, so that the warring nations could come together, sit at a table and discuss matters amicably. It was not owing to lack of sincerity or goodwill or hard work on our part that this resolution was not passed. On the other hand, we did our best, but it was rather owing to the attitude of fanaticism of the great nations of the world that no agreement could be reached on this question of Korea. In the meantime, the people of Korea can say in the words of the poet—

From too much love of living,

From hope and fear set free,

We thank with brief thanks-giving

Whatever gods may be.

They are dying, whereas the debate continues. That is not what we want. We are going to take this matter up again and I am sure we shall intensify our efforts towards a just and peaceful solution of this most intricate problem.

The President has also referred to South Africa. I do not want to say much about that unfortunate country. The same thing is happening in East Africa also and our distinguished countryman, Diwan Chaman Lal, has gone there to fight for the people of East Africa. The problem there is due to colonial domination and a false sense of superiority which leads the so-called white race to dominate the so-called black race. For us, this matter is of the utmost importance, and we should take it up again in the Commonwealth forum, wherein South Africa is also a member. We should advocate the cause of these people. After all, we are members of the same Commonwealth. Let us sit down and discuss this matter in a peaceful manner.

With regard to home affairs, I should like to say a few words about the Five Year Plan and the food position. We are justly proud of the Five Year Plan, whatever others might say. It is a landmark in the recent history of our country. Upon this foundation, we shall build, brick by brick and stone by stone, a great edifice to commemorate the independence of our country. As you know, the Five Year Plan lays a great emphasis on food and our

reaching food self-sufficiency within a measurable distance of time. There is, however, no use denying the fact that even though the food situation has improved, there is a lot more to be done in this field. Distressing news comes to us almost every day from some parts of the country like Maharashtra the part which my hon. friend Dr. Suresh Chandra has the honour to represent in this House—and from Rajasthan where, according to newspaper reports, people are driven to eating grass seeds. These matters must be taken up. This is very unfortunate. It may be due to various reasons, but we must save as many lives as we can without further delay. Let us rush supply of foodgrains from surplus areas to these famine-stricken places. There are two reasons for this famine. One is the lack of foodgrains and the other is the lack of purchasing power. Where there is food, people have no money to buy it with. So, let us create purchasing power among the people by opening famine works, so that people can earn enough to buy food with. All this, I feel, gives us food for thought. Let us therefore think it over. This matter is of urgent importance.

I am sorry to refer to another rather unsavoury subject, namely, corruption. There is a growing danger of corrupt practices not only in the official world, but also among corrupt politicians, I suppose. Something must be done to stop this spreading disease which threatens completely to nip all our plans for prosperity and abundance in the bud. We may prepare plans, but without the co-operation of the people and the officials, we would not be able to go very far. The other day I was turning over the pages of a very interesting book. I came across a quotation from a great Indian statesman, Chanakya—

“All undertakings depend upon finance. Hence foremost attention shall be paid to the treasury..... There are about forty ways of embezzlement.” (These are described in detail.) “Just as it is impossible not to taste honey or poison when it is on the tip of the tongue, so it is impossible for a government servant not to eat up at least a bit of the king's revenue. Just as fish moving under water cannot possibly be detected either as drinking or as not drinking water, so government servants employed in their government work cannot be found out while taking money.

“It is possible to mark the movement of birds flying high in the sky, but it is not equally possible to ascertain the movement of government servants of hidden purpose.”

I thank you, Sir, for the opportunity given to me.

**Shri Syamnandan Sahaya:** I am glad to be able to associate myself with the motion of thanks which has been so ably moved by Shri Agarwal. In discussing this Address the House has traversed many grounds. But in my opinion the most important that deserves special consideration not only in the larger interests of this country, but also perhaps in the larger interests outside, is the question of international affairs and of Kashmir. I had felt, that for a country like India a discussion on international affairs must be a very serious affair and it should not be discussed in a light-hearted manner. The House knows me for some time now and I have no doubt they will not accuse me of trying to say anything against a Member or a set of Members here. But I have felt that for a country like India, still, if I may say so, in a state of infancy in the matter of international affairs, every word that we say, whether from the Government or from the Opposition, must be very well weighed.

Now, on this occasion as on several occasions in the past, we have discussed the foreign policy of the present Government. Naturally, when opinions are expressed by different persons there is room for different types of opinions to be expressed. But never have we heard in this House what is the alternative to the foreign policy which has been followed. It is quite another matter for some of our friends to rise up and say: “Well, our alliance should be with Russia.” There is nothing against that. That may be one view. Another set of people may say: “No, we should join the Anglo-American bloc.” There is again substance in that and people are entitled to hold that view. But if you refer to the discussions on foreign affairs, you will find that there has been no specific suggestion.

Now, in this question of international affairs and its foreign policy, what is a country to do really? In the conditions obtaining in this world, I suppose no one will deny that the two blocs are both attempting in their own way to secure their predominance in the world. The method of one may be

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persuasion and infiltration, of coercion and even of the use of force. The method of the other may be loosing, trying to be friendly, coming to your assistance at the time when your need is the greatest and then ultimately making you co-operate or surrender. That is the position in which the world is to-day I do not think we will have much difference of opinion on that. The whole question is: what policy should be pursued by a country like ours? Everyone knows the state of our Navy, the state of our Air Force, the state of our Army, the state of our artillery, and on the top of that the finance that we have and the amount that we are spending on them. In the circumstances, can anyone, laying his hand on his heart, get up and say: "No we must ally ourselves as whole-hoggers with one party"? Will it suit our ends?

In discussing the home policy it would be desirable for us to make constructive suggestions to the Government—maybe constructive criticism of the Government action. That, I think, would be a wholly desirable thing. But in international affairs, is there any point in getting up and saying: "We have no policy: we are friendless." Well, I do not know whether in the present circumstances of this country it would be desirable for us to remain friendless for a little while, or create very big enemies, with whom we cannot cope. That is the situation in which the state of international affairs is. My submission, therefore, through you to the House, and particularly to the Members of the Opposition would be this. It does not matter if we have some affiliations. There is no objection to that. We may have some ideologies. We may follow a certain ideology—there is no objection to that. But our paramount consideration must be the good of the country. A surprising thing which at one time we felt was an absolute impossible *i.e.* of securing the approval of Mr. Churchill to the Independence Act of India did happen. And it was done in twenty-four hours. At that time there were different parties in that country—the Labour, the Conservative and the Liberal. But they joined together in agreeing to a thing which they considered at that time was the most desirable for that country. Similarly, in the matter of international affairs there should be one aim,—what is going to turn out for the good of the country. With our ideologies and with our affiliations there is no harm:

we can certainly follow them. But the basic thing must be the good of the country.

I hope the House will bear with me if I narrate a short story. There was a young civilian. When he delivered his first judgment, he found that both the parties—the complainant and the accused—seemed to be very much dissatisfied. Well, he got into his tandem and hurried to his senior official, the District Magistrate and said: "I have done something very wrong." Perhaps, he thought he had made a serious mistake in delivering a judgment by which both the parties were dissatisfied." His superior replied: "You are right, if both the parties are dissatisfied."

I heard my friend who spoke earlier with great attention and respect, as I know the vast knowledge he possesses on international affairs. As soon as he had finished I was reminded of an interview I had with a very famous American who came here a few months ago. I was invited to tea by a friend, where he was invited too—in fact the tea had been arranged in his honour. After a little introduction, the first question he asked me was: "Why is India apathetic to us Americans?" I heard him with attention and gave him whatever reply I had to. The Americans say the Indian Government is apathetic to them. The Communist bloc says that the Indian Government is apathetic to them. Perhaps the Indian Government today is following the right course, in between the two difficulties. They are as between Scylla and Charybdis. They have naturally to follow a path by which they do not wound the susceptibilities of either, even though it may not be possible for the present to secure the friendship of either. That, I think, is an aspect which must be kept in view in this House when we are discussing international affairs.

The second thing on which great emphasis has been laid is about Kashmir. I may tell you that I have myself been the President of the Provincial Hindu Sabha in my province for a long time. And even today my friends—not in the present Parliament but those who have been my colleagues here in the past—know what views I held about the Hindu Code. But there is one thing which I cannot understand. I cannot understand this agitation in Kashmir on behalf of Jammu, purely speaking as from a Hindu point of view. Who does not know that perhaps a day's delay would have

ended this whole affair and we would not have been in a position to sit and discuss this matter today? Let us not forget that. Therefore it is wrong to discuss matters of such delicate nature, here. There is no use holding two views about it. Let us sit down and discuss. It is open to the Opposition to offer its views, and it is desirable for the Government to discuss all important matters with them. In foreign countries where there is a system of democratic Government the Leader of the Opposition is taken into confidence. I think that convention must be developed here also. That, however, is another matter. We must decide upon a policy which is most suitable for us. We have received pamphlets distributed from both sides: one party saying this has been done in Jammu, another party saying the Jammu people have done it. We have received, seen and read quite a lot of them. But I ask one simple question. In the present state of affairs of Kashmir will it be desirable to raise all these questions? Do we not know that after all even at the time when Britain conceded independence to India and passed what they called the Indian Independence Act they were a great nation? And they agreed to our joining the Commonwealth without the King anywhere being in the picture. Similarly the question is whether we agree to one other flag or we want complete accession today and we shall not wait for tomorrow. What has happened that you will not wait for tomorrow? Consider the matter carefully, thoughtfully. Are we in a position to say and dictate to them "either come to us fully or do not come"? Will it be politic, will it be desirable? We know the whole affair. There is no use discussing it here; it is a delicate matter.

But the fact remains and the position there today is such that people have been talking about Jammu coming to India and acceding completely—saying perhaps in the same breath, though they have not the courage to say it, that Kashmir goes to Pakistan. Are they willing for that? Is that a position even worth considering for a moment? The Jammu and Kashmir question is an exceedingly difficult question. One may have made one or two mistakes. But the whole thing came on within a few days of the coming into power of this Government, and they had to shoulder the responsibility. I must congratulate the Army on this occasion who did their work remarkably well and also those who organised local opposition by organising a volunteer corps.

We are raising so many questions and considering that "this should be done today, the other thing should be done tomorrow". After all, there is some point in waiting for time. There are certain conditions which cannot be hustled into being. And this Kashmir question, I wish humbly to submit to this House and its Members, is one of those things which cannot be hustled into being.

There is also one other point. I know sometimes—even though the number of those who are in opposition may be small—but the fact is that sometimes an over-zealous act by a Government makes the number larger. I hope the Kashmir Government will maintain their equilibrium in this state of affairs. I hope they will steer clear through the difficulties and it will not be said later on that the Government were guilty of excesses. And if they keep their heads cool I have no doubt that the situation will be easily and tactfully handled.

I would like to draw the attention of the House to two other matters. One is that I really felt sorry, if I may say so, that there was no mention about the affairs in Ceylon in the President's Address. I know it is exceedingly difficult to say anything in a Presidential Address about affairs in another State. I thought probably that that might have been the reason for the omission. But, as we know, we have done it in other cases: we have talked about South Africa, Pakistan and so on. I, therefore, think a word in the Presidential Address would have been able to give solace to such of the Indians who are in difficult conditions there, and probably it would have created an impression on the Government there that this matter is of such a magnitude as to deserve and to secure the attention of the President of India.

The other thing to which I would like to draw the attention of the House is with regard to a commitment, rather a direction, given to the Government in the Constitution. In the Directives it is laid down that free and compulsory primary education will be introduced within ten years of the Constitution coming into force. And we have already gone through about four. Free and compulsory education is not a thing which can be achieved overnight. You have to make preparations, arrange the money for it, arrange teachers for it. I take this opportunity of drawing the special attention of the Ministry of Education to take up this matter now.

[Shri Syamnandan Sapaya]

Otherwise it may be too late and we may not be able to carry out the directive given to us.

Shri E. N. S. Deo: The President's Address seeks to create an impression that all is well on the home front. But as we have heard the debate in this House we realize that there is a deteriorating economic situation, there is distress, there is suffering and there is strife throughout the country. It is no use for our Government to take up an ostrich-like attitude and hide its head; neither would it solve the problems of the country by taking up a cat-like attitude and shutting one's eyes and pretending that no one sees your follies or failures. That there is distress, strife, agitation and discontent in the country cannot be denied. The symptoms stand out for miles clearly for even the blind to see. But there has been very little said in the Presidential Address to give an indication of how the Government intend to deal with this discontent. I am afraid if we look at the agitations and look at the methods employed by the different Governments in dealing with them we find the same sickening pattern of repression. I was very much surprised to listen to the speech of my hon. friend from the other side when he most vehemently demanded suppression of the Jammu agitation. That is not the way to govern. But unfortunately today the pattern of repression is the same everywhere. It is the same story of oppression, suppression and repression. Whether you look at the methods employed in dealing with the anti-Sales-tax agitation in Saurashtra, whether it was in Chukhadan a former State in Madhya Pradesh, whether it is in Jammu and Kashmir, we hear the same story of lathi charges, tear gas, firing, people being killed, women being molested, caning of satyagrahis—the same old story.

But that reminds me of what a great statesman, late Sardar Patel, said to the Administrators of Orissa after the firings that had taken place in two of the ex-states areas there. He said that it is not the way to govern by repression and firing. He told the Administrators there that the Congress Ministers had no previous experience of administration. Therefore they may have committed mistakes but it was for the ICS officers, the Chief Secretary to have guided the Ministers and told them what they ought to have done. Of course, that was done in order to save the reputation of the

Ministers there. The blame was shifted on to the poor Chief Secretary, but I remember the words of late Sardar when he said that if there is any agitation anywhere, if there is any discontent anywhere, he would go there personally and speak to the people and he had the confidence that if he was right, he would be able to convince the people and prevent them from carrying on agitation any further. That is the way to deal with these agitations and not through relying on the bullet, the bayonet and the lathi alone.

Now I will give you an example of how the Governments deal with this popular discontent. It is not through responsiveness, not through democratic methods but by mere reliance on force. I will give you an example in my own State, Orissa. You know that the former Indian States were merged in Orissa in 1948 and on the 1st of January, 1948, the Orissa Government gave a declaration and in that declaration it gave full rights to the tenants over trees and the produce in their holdings. Soon afterwards, the tenants claimed that under that declaration, they had the right to dispose of kendu leaves. Kendu leaves, I would explain, are the product of the kendu trees from which bidis are made and a few days later they were monopolised. Those who were interested in having their monopolies approached Government and they manipulated, they made promises of big donations to the Congress Election Funds and the monopolies continued. All the rights so solemnly declared were thrown to the winds. Since 1948, the people of Orissa States have been agitating and no one can deny that their demand that this monopoly should be abolished, that their rights over their produce should be restored, is legitimate and yet how is the local Government dealing with the situation? They delayed the matter and ultimately during the last election, this issue became one of the important issues and still the Government is unresponsive. In the last Assembly session also the matter came up. There was prolonged discussion for over three days and Government made a promise that the whole matter would be thrashed out in a conference of all parties. They also gave an assurance that all people who had been arrested for agitating against this iniquitous discriminatory law would be released. But this conference also ended in a fiasco and the people who had been

arrested were not released according to the Government's assurance. They went back on their words just because the interests of the monopolists are involved there. The monopolists have got money and they can pull strings. That is the way this thing is being dealt with. The next season for the kendu leaves is arriving. The season is from April to June when people sell their produce and yet the Government has not made a decision. Now things have come to such a stage that the people can no longer brook any delay. They can no longer wait. Their patience has been exhausted. Therefore, another agitation is brewing in that State. It would become a problem of law and order if this matter is not dealt with sympathetically and if it is not settled justly and fairly.

Now I will tell you now inequitable this law in Orissa is. They classified kendu leaves as an essential article as if bidis are essential to the life of the people and having classified kendu leaves as such an essential article, they have passed a Kendu Leaf Control Order and that again is not enforced throughout Orissa, throughout all the districts equally. There is free trade over kendu leaves in Sambalpur district and in the neighbouring districts, particularly in the new districts formed of the ex-state areas; it is given to monopolists. How cleverly this is being done is another story.

**The Minister of Revenue and Expenditure (Shri Tyagi):** How is the monopoly working?

**Shri R. N. S. Deo:** I am going to explain how cleverly this is being done. Under the law, of course, they cannot say that there will be a monopoly. So, they have provided for the system of licensing and in actual practice, only one person who pays a lump sum and to the Congress Funds gets the licence and all others who apply for licences are refused. That is how this monopoly is working there and the Government is still continuing this inequitable, unfair discrimination against the people.

Now, I will tell you how the governments unsympathetically and undemocratically, deal with the legitimate demands of the people. Ultimately there is an agitation and then there are lathi charges, tear gas, firings and so on. Therefore, I submit that the whole outlook of our Government, the whole approach, both psychological as well as moral,

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economic, administrative and political must change. The approach must be reoriented and then only there would be peace, prosperity and progress in this country.

So much has been said on this Jammu question from both sides. It is really a very delicate problem and it is no good trying simply to shelve the matter or to crush it or brush it aside by repeatedly dubbing it as communal or by saying that there is no popular sanction behind it. A movement which has gone on for more than two and a half months in spite of these firings and repression cannot be brushed aside as having no popular support. The President has very rightly said that the legitimate grievances, where they exist, would be undoubtedly enquired into and every effort would be made to remove them. That is the correct approach. That is a welcome statement. But, at the same time, as the President has remarked, a part of this agreement has been implemented and the remaining part should also come into operation soon. Merely the pious wish that the other part of the agreement arrived at between the Government of India and the Government of Jammu and Kashmir will come into operation soon is not sufficient. The Government of India also has a great responsibility in this matter, especially as it is lending its forces to put down the agitation there. Therefore it is in the interests of this country that this problem should be solved.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member has already finished his time.

**Shri R. N. S. Deo:** Let no false sense of prestige stand in the way of a settlement.

**Shri T. Subrahmanyam (Bellary):** I support the Motion moved by Mr. S. N. Agarwal thanking the President for his Address. It is a brief statement of our internal and external policies, and it indicates the advances made in India on the agricultural and industrial fronts. All that is stated with very great restraint and dignity. It has almost become a national habit to state our things firmly, and with restraint and dignity. Criticism has come from the Opposition, from several quarters that there is not a strong condemnation of the policy of America, particularly President Eisenhower's recent denuclearisation of Formosa. It is also said that it is too weak a statement, that it is a puerile statement, and that it is untrue to facts. All that manner of criticism has

[Shri T. Subrahmanyam]

come. But, as I have stated, under our leadership we have always been couching our statements with the utmost simplicity and dignity and restraint. Recently we have been seeing trends in our country and also in the various international conferences, where, if there are differences of opinion, wild language is used. Sometimes unbalanced and even vulgar abuse is poured over those people who happen to differ from them. Occasion is taken to sharpen the conflicts and to intensify the hatred. Our policy has not been that. Our President's message is a message of hope and cheer for the people of this country and for the people abroad. Here in this country we are carrying on a fight against poverty, against low standard of life and against illiteracy. The Address indicates that there has been an advance on the industrial and agricultural fronts and also calls on the people to give their utmost co-operation in implementing the Five Year Plan. With regard to the people abroad it extends a message of hope and cheer and also an approach of peace, friendliness and a spirit of reconciliation. That is the manner in which the President's Address is couched.

With regard to our foreign policy, yesterday and today, very strong criticism has been made against that. Two basic purposes have been served by our representatives under the leadership of our Prime Minister. One basic purpose has been to serve the cause of human values: liberty, freedom, equality, whether it be Tunisia, South Africa or Kenya or any other colonial country of Africa or Asia. The other policy has been to serve the cause of peace and friendliness. Every time an occasion arose, we used our offices for creating a climate of peace and a spirit of reconciliation. Recently they did so in the case of Korea. They have been doing so in the case of Communist China. Even in regard to Pakistan the same approach has been made. Prof. Mukerjee said that hitherto we have been following the American leadership, that we should give up that and that we should follow the Russian leadership. It was an open invitation to walk into the Russian or the Communist parlour. We refuse to do so. India has refused to align herself with the American bloc; India has refused to align herself with the Russian bloc. The ideology behind the Russian bloc is not acceptable to us. It is opposed to our heritage, to our genius and to our history. It is a

negation of democracy. We have deliberately taken up this democratic process by which any basic change that has to be brought about can be brought about by persuasion, discussion and debate. The ideology behind the Russian bloc is a total negation of this method of persuasion and debate and is a conversion of this process into a process of purges and liquidation of those who happen to differ from them. We refuse to fall a prey to this or to be trapped into this parlour. Then, Prof. Mukerjee compared the policy that has been followed by India at present to that of Sikhandi. I will not go into the details. I say the future historians are there to record the part played by India either in the struggle for freedom or in consolidating this freedom as by implementing the Five Year Plan, or in their efforts to secure peace in the international sphere. The future historians are going to pay a very great tribute and accord a very high place to the India of today. I will not refer to the activities of other parties in the struggle for freedom, in the consolidation of this freedom and the implementation of the Five Year Plan.

I must refer here to the question of linguistic provinces by which I am at present intimately affected. It is a matter for gratification that the President's reference to the question of linguistic provinces gives hope to those people who have been anxious to have linguistic provinces in the South; particularly the people of Karnataka, Tamilnad, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Kerala have got much hope in this. The President's Address says:

"...the unity of India and national security have always to be given the first priority."

Everybody agrees with this. Nobody can take exception to this. Then, we have also to keep in mind the economic progress and administrative conveniences. The Address says:

"Keeping all these factors in view, there is no reason why the question of the reorganisation of States should not be considered fully and dispassionately so as to meet the wishes of the people and help in their economic and cultural progress."

I suggest to the Government that they can straightaway appoint a high-powered Commission to go into this question and prepare a sort of a blue-

print so that other people who feel frustrated and dissatisfied in this matter may get their provinces formed as early as possible, without much delay. The resolution of the Indian National Congress recently passed at Hyderabad says that this question has to wait till conditions in Andhra have stabilised. I hope that when they have used the word 'stabilised' it will be given a liberal and generous interpretation so that it will not involve undue delay.

In this connection, I would also like to say a word about the Andhra State which is to be formed. I wish them the best of luck. As the President has said everybody should accord full co-operation. Only I would like to say on this occasion that other heterogeneous areas should not be included in this and the infant Andhra province should not be burdened with having to face a linguistic minority problem. I feel that the non-Andhra areas as the Kannada district of Bellary and other areas of the Madras State should not be included, but should be excluded from the Andhra State. That is good for both. Otherwise, all sorts of pressures and influences will arise, all sorts of conflicts will arise. It is good for the new Andhra State that they should not be burdened with this linguistic minority problem.

Then, the Address says:

"The great multi-purpose river valley projects have made good progress and in some of them the operational phase will begin soon."

Here, I must say, that the Tungabhadra project is about to be completed. The dam will be completed and will come up to the maximum height next June and water will be let out into the low level canal. I urge that in order to maximise the benefits arising from the Tungabhadra project, the high level canal should also be taken up so that the people there, particularly in the famine stricken areas may get the maximum benefit.

6 P.M.

The food position in our State has improved very much. Since last year, our balance of stock has also increased. The target fixed by the Five Year Plan was for an increase of 7½ million tons. Now, every year we have been importing 3 million tons, and since 1948, we have imported foodgrain worth about Rs. 750 crores, and actually the cost of our production programme of the great river valley projects would be about Rs. 765 crores.

These projects are entering the operational phase. Then, there is a hope expressed in the Address that before the Five Year Plan is over, we will have achieved self-sufficiency. In the matter of cotton and jute also, the targets have almost been achieved. Therefore, on the agricultural front and on the industrial front we have done exceedingly well.

The Address also refers to some of the areas where there has been famine, and famine conditions have also been dealt with. There is no use trying to overdraw the picture and saying that everything is bad, that people are dying of starvation everywhere, that there is utter misery and all that. Let us be realistic. Wherever there is misery, let us face it, let us allay it, and put forth all our energy in dealing with the situation.

The Five Year Plan is a challenge and a great opportunity for removing our food deficit and to achieve industrial expansion. Here, a word about the criticism that has come from the Opposition side with regard to foreign aid is very much necessary. The people who have planned this Five Year Plan have done it with very great wisdom. I would only read here a few sentences from the summary of the Five Year Plan just to indicate the lines and the considerations which they have had in mind when thinking of securing foreign aid for our country. It is this:

"In the earlier stages of development, external assistance can be a significant factor in eliminating bottlenecks and in helping to avoid dislocations which may have far-reaching consequences. In the conditions in which the country is placed today, however, a programme with relatively modest targets cannot be made inflexibly conditional on the availability of external resources. If external assistance is not forthcoming to the extent necessary, there will undoubtedly be some scope for marginal adjustments in the Plan, but a planned outlay of broadly the order of Rs. 2,069 Crores will still have to be kept as target in order to lay the foundation for more rapid development in the future."

Firstly, the targets have been modest, and secondly, the percentage of foreign help that is being received is very modest, and there is nothing wrong, nothing improper, in securing foreign aid to implement the Five Year Plan. Some Members in the Opposition side have stated that the food loan is an infamous thing, that it is wrong,

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that it is improper, and all sorts of epithets have been used with regard to securing foreign aid from America and other places. In this connection, I would like to refer to the assistance that Russia got. Our friends have been frequently referring to foreign aid to India and condemning it as if it is something despicable, derogatory to our self-respect and infamous. Russia, for the first Five Year Plan which ended in 1931-1932 got 1 billion 400 million dollars from foreign countries, and, by way of technical help, they got foreigners to supervise the construction of big projects and to teach technical skill also. The great Dnieper hydro-electric system was built under the supervision of an American engineer. His name was Hugh Cooper. And for this great project, the original basic equipment was received from the General Electric Company's plant in New York. In the period of that forced collectivization the peasants in Russia destroyed half the number of their draught cattle and they were suffering, the Americans sent them tens of thousands of tractors, and they tided over the difficulty. With regard to the results achieved in the Five Year Plan of Russia, the facts are: their food target was 106 million metric tons, but actually they realised 70 million metric tons. There was a deficit of 30 million metric tons. And in regard to steel, their target was 10,400,000 tons, but the actual realization was 6 million tons. I do not mean to belittle the great achievements of Russia. They did excellently well, but they premised on several presumptions and assumptions that foreign loan and foreign help would be forthcoming, and that the crops would always be normal. With the policy of forced collectivization, there was terrible suffering and 5 million people died, and therefore, they had to import grain from abroad. That was the position. But I must here pay my tribute to the social services and to the manner in which Russia helped to spread education. That is a matter which we have to adopt and assimilate.

I was only saying that we need not hesitate to take foreign help. It is necessary, and then, it is a very small percentage of our own capacity. Therefore, we are absolutely justified in taking this foreign help.

Finally, the Presidential address ends with a note of appeal to all the people of this country to join and participate in a spirit of co-operative endeavour. I appeal to the different parties to respond to this earnest appeal of the President, and see that we achieve our welfare State and that

we fully implement the Five Year Plan. It is a great opportunity. It is at once a challenge and an opportunity, and therefore, I request all the Opposition Parties to respond to this appeal.

श्री एम० पी० मिश्र (मुंगेर उत्तर-पश्चिम):

सभापति जी, राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर दो दिन से बहस चल रही है और काफ़ी गरम और नरम बातें कही जा चुकी हैं। राष्ट्रपति का भाषण पार्लियामेंट का एक माध्यम है जिस के जरिये देश की हालत का पता चलता है। देश आगे बढ़ रहा है या पीछे चल रहा है, जिस सरकार ने देश के लिये जवाबदेही ली है वह क्या कर रही है, इस के बारे में राष्ट्रपति का भाषण एक रिपोर्ट है।

हमारे दोस्तों ने, खास कर दाहिनी तरफ़ के दोस्तों ने सब से ज्यादा ध्यान हिन्दुस्तान की और भारत सरकार की विदेश नीति पर दिया है। मैं प्रोफ़ेसर हीरेन मुखर्जी का भाषण बड़े गौर से सुन रहा था। उन्होंने बड़े जोर से बहुत बड़ी बड़ी गालियों का सहारा ले कर हिन्दुस्तान की वैदेशिक नीति की निंदा की। हम इस मौके पर यह साफ़ बता देना चाहते हैं कि हमारे कम्युनिस्ट दोस्त जो चीज चाहते हैं वह हमारी सरकार करने को तैयार नहीं है। वह यह देश भी करने को तैयार नहीं है। यह देश उस खतरे और धोखे को जान चुका है जिस खतरे और धोखे की हिमायत हमारे कम्युनिस्ट दोस्त करते हैं। इस देश ने अपना विधान बना कर यह फैसला कर लिया। दुनिया में दो ही रास्ते हैं। एक रास्ता है फ़ासिज्म का, ताना शाही का जिस में एक दल के हाथ में, एक डिक्टेटर के हाथ में सारी ताकत दे दी जाती है। दूसरा रास्ता है प्रजातन्त्र का, पंचायती राज्य का, जिस में सारी जनता, तमाम लोग अपने हाथ में ताकत रखते

हैं और उन के जरिये हुकूमत होती है। हिन्दुस्तान ने पहले रास्ते को उसी दिन छोड़ दिया जिस दिन उस ने अपना विधान पंचायती राज्य के आधार पर बनाया, उस रास्ते को, जिस रास्ते की हिमायत हमारे कम्यूनिस्ट दोस्त करते हैं। हिन्दुस्तान ने अपना भाग्य पंचायती तंत्र के साथ जोड़ दिया है, इसलिये जो कुछ हमारे कम्यूनिस्ट दोस्त चाहते हैं वह हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार नहीं करेगी, हिन्दुस्तान की जनता नहीं करेगी। हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने फैसला किया है कि वह पंचायती राज्य के तरीके पर, लोक राज्य के तरीके पर चलेगी। हिन्दुस्तान के लिये यह सौभाग्य की बात है कि हिन्दुस्तान की वैदेशिक नीति के आलोचक, जो कुछ दिन पहले बहुत ज्यादा थे, आज बहुत थोड़े रह गये हैं। सिर्फ थोड़े से, मुट्ठी भर, ऐसे वही लोग हैं जिन के सामने एक ही चीज है और वह उसी दिन खुश होंगे जिस दिन यह देश एलान कर दे, सरकार एलान कर दे कि हमारा आका रूस है, रूस जो कहेगा हम वही करेंगे, चीन जो कहेगा हम वही करेंगे। लेकिन यह चीज होने की नहीं है।

यह बात तै है कि हिन्दुस्तान की जो वैदेशिक नीति है वह एक बड़े उसूल पर टिकी हुई है। हिन्दुस्तान की वैदेशिक नीति से एक तरफ रूस और चीन के लोग नाराज रहते हैं और उन के यहां जो बोलने वाले हैं वह उस वैदेशिक नीति को शिखंडी की नीति कहते हैं। दूसरी तरफ भी हम से कुछ वह लोग नाराज होते हैं जो चाहते हैं कि हम और कुछ करें। और यह लोग इंगलैंड और अमरीका में कुछ हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि समूचे देश ऐसे हैं, जो अब भी साम्राज्यवादी विचार रखते हैं। पर कुछ लोग हमारी नीति से सहमत नहीं हैं। हम ने एक अपना रास्ता चुना है और हिन्दुस्तान अपने उस रास्ते पर चला जा रहा है और आज हिन्दु-

स्तान में ही नहीं सारे संसार में उस की नीति अच्छी मानी जा रही है और हिन्दुस्तान की प्रतिष्ठा बढ़ रही है।

लेकिन मुझे इस बात की अपनी सरकार से शिकायत है कि हम अपनी वैदेशिक नीति को बहुत ज्यादा महत्व दे रहे हैं। मैं नहीं समझता कि हम उस को ले कर इतना ज्यादा काम क्यों करें। जब भी राष्ट्रपति का भाषण होता है तो सब से पहले विदेश नीति का जिक्र होता है। जब कोई प्रस्ताव होगा तो विदेश नीति पर होगा। हमारी वैदेशिक नीति सचमुच इतना महत्व नहीं रखती। आज सब से ज्यादा महत्व की बात हमारे लिये अपने देश की नीति है, अपनी घरेलू नीति है, और मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार और हमारी पार्लियामेन्ट सब से ज्यादा ध्यान उसी पर दे। अगर हम अपने कद से बहुत ऊंचे कोट बना लें तो वह चीज दुनिया में बहुत शोभा नहीं दे सकती। हमारी इच्छायें बड़ी हो सकती हैं। राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में लिखा हुआ है कि हमारी इच्छायें बहुत दूर भागती हैं और हमारे साधन बहुत पीछे हैं। ठीक वही बात वैदेशिक नीति की भी है। हमें उसी हद तक कदम आगे उठाना चाहिये जहां तक कि हमारी हैसियत इजाजत दे। हमें सब से पहले अपने घर को बनाना है, एक ऐसे जर्जर घर को जिस को दो सौ वर्षों से और लोगों ने बरबाद किया है। इस को हम एक बहुत अच्छा देश बनाना चाहते हैं।

राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में और बहुत सी बातें रखी गयी हैं। मैं इस बात को मानता हूँ कि सन् ५३ में जरूर कुछ ऐसी हालतें देश में पैदा हुई हैं जो पहले से अच्छी हैं और यह हमारे लिये बड़े सुख की बात है। आज जो आदमी गांवों से और कस्बों से आते हैं वह बतलाते हैं कि लोगों को अनाज

[श्री एम० पी० मिश्र]

की, भोजन की, कपड़े की तकलीफ नहीं और लोगों को राहत मिली है और लोग पहले से काफी सहूलियत में हैं। मैं इस को आराम तो नहीं कहूंगा लेकिन हालत सुधर रही है। और यह बात सिर्फ राष्ट्रपति के भाषण से ही जाहिर नहीं है बल्कि परिस्थिति को देखने से भी यही मालूम होता है। लेकिन अभी हमें बहुत बड़ा काम करना बाकी है। जो लोग यह दलील देते हैं कि हम ने डिमाक्रेसी (democracy) का रास्ता लिखा है, इस में धीरे धीरे चीजें चलती हैं, इसलिये हम जल्दी कुछ नहीं कर सकेंगे, उन का ख्याल खतरनाक है। इंग्लैंड में डिमाक्रेसी को बनने में तीन सौ बरस लगे तो इस का यह अर्थ नहीं हो सकता कि हिन्दुस्तान में भी तीन सौ बरस लगेंगे। [MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair] आप इंग्लैंड के लोहे के कारखानों को लीजिये। वे धीरे धीरे बने और उन में बहुत समय लगा। लेकिन आज हम उन के यहां से सब चीज उठा लाते हैं, उन की टैकनीक को सीख लेते हैं और उस चीज को अपने यहां दो बरस में कर लेते हैं। इसी तरह हम अपने और कामों को भी तेजी से कर सकते हैं। हम को अपना काम तेजी से करने की जरूरत है।

पंच वर्षीय योजना में भी यह बात मानी गयी है कि इस देश का हित खेती की उन्नति में निहित है। इस में हम सब एक हैं कि इस देश का हित खेती से ही होगा, अकेले उद्योगों से नहीं होगा लेकिन इस मुद्दाव को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये हमारे पास मशीनरी (machinery) क्या है? उस मशीनरी को हम कहां बना रहे हैं? इस देश का सब से बड़ा सवाल जमीन का सवाल है। इस बारे में भी पंच वर्षीय योजना में जो फंसला है वह आम तौर से हमें पसन्द है लेकिन एक बात मैं कहूँ कि उस क फंसल

ऐसे हैं कि इन पांच वर्षों में जमीन का सवाल हल नहीं हो सकता। पंच वर्षीय योजना उस के बारे में कुछ नहीं करेगी। एक कमीशन बनेगा जमीन की नाप जोख करने के लिये। जब तक उस की नाप जोख नहीं हो जायेगी तब तक जमीन के सुधार के बारे में कुछ नहीं हो सकेगा। आज यह वक्त नहीं कि हम आराम के साथ, आसानी के साथ और बहुत लम्बे चौड़े तरीकों से अपने देश को आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं। प्लानिंग कमीशन (Planning Commission) ने जमीन के बारे में यह भी कहा है कि हम जमीन की सीलिंग (ceiling) रखेंगे। लेकिन उस के बारे में भी बड़ी पेचीदगी रख दी है कि शायद यह चीज न हो सकेगी। मैं यह बात साफ़ कर देना चाहता हूँ कि आप जमीन के बारे में सीलिंग रख दीजिये कि एक परिवार के पास इतनी जमीन रहेगी। इस के बाद इस चीज को काम में लायें। इसके लिये बहुत बड़े स्टैटिस्टिक्स ब्यूरो (statistics bureau) की जरूरत तहीं है, जो कि यह पता लगाये कि किस के पास कितनी जमीन है और कितनी नहीं है और किस के पास फ़ाजिल जमीन है और किस के पास नहीं है। इसलिये जमीन के बटवारे के लिये किन्हीं बहुत बड़ी चीजों की जरूरत नहीं है। इस को जल्द से जल्द करना होगा। विनोबा जी का भूदान यज्ञ चल रहा है। हम उस के हृदय से साथ हैं। लेकिन हम समझते हैं कि सिर्फ़ उस आन्दोलन से जमीन की समस्या हल नहीं होगी और कानून को, सरकार को इस में हाथ बंटाना होगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस सवाल को जितनी जल्दी हल कर दिया जाय उतना ही अच्छा है।

इस के साथ साथ एक और बात है जो कि मुझे बहुत परेशान कर रही है। वह है पढ़े लिखे लोगों की बेकारी। पंच वर्षीय योजना में भी इस सवाल के बारे में

कहा गया है। अभी मैं अपने यहां कुछ चीजें देख कर आया हूँ और बड़ा परेशान हूँ। हमारे सबे में सड़कों पर चलने वाली बसों को सरकार ने अपने हथ में लिया है। इस काम के लिये जब जगह खाली हुई तो दरखास्तें मांगी गईं। कोई दो चार पांच कर्मचारी, ड्राइवर तथा कन्डक्टरों की जगहें थीं उस के लिये ६० हजार दरखास्तें आयीं। कुछ एम० ए० पास लोगों ने बस कन्डक्टरों (Bus conductors) के लिये दरखास्तें दीं। हमारे यहां एक लैंड रिक्लेमेशन आफिसर (Land Reclamation Officer) की जगह खाली हुई जिस के लिए एक बी० ए० पास आदमी की जरूरत थी। उस के लिए २७०० दरखास्तें आयीं। यहां इन बेकारों की तादाद बढ़ती जा रही है। आठ वर्ष पहले लड़ाई के जमाने में गांवों में कोई पढ़ा लिखा आदमी नौकरी के लिये नहीं मिलता था। लेकिन आज यह हालत है। और हमारी यूनिवर्सिटियां ऐसी हैं कि जो बराबर इन बेकारों को पैदा किये जा

रखे हुए हैं। और लड़कों ने कुछ ज्यादा पढ़ा लिखा भी नहीं। उन को शिक्षा दी जाती है क्राफ्ट (Craft) के जरिये। सरकारी नौकरियां उन लोगों को मिलती हैं जो पब्लिक स्कूलों में शिक्षा पाते हैं और ठाठ बाठ से रहते हैं। और बेसिक स्कूल वाले अपनी गहनत से कुछ मामूली सी चीजें ही बना सकेंगे। ऐसी हालत में जनता को यह बेसिक एजुकेशन कैसे प्रिय हो सकती है? यह शिक्षा हमारे सामाजिक ढांचे में खपती नहीं है। दूसरी तरफ यह भी जरूरी है कि शिक्षा के तरीके को बदला जाय। हमारी यूनिवर्सिटियां सिर्फ बेकारों को बनाती हैं। एम० ए० पास करने के बाद लोग ३२ और ३४ रुपये की नौकरी कर रहे हैं। वह कोई छोटा रोजगार नहीं कर सकते। इस शिक्षा में आमूल परिवर्तन करने की जरूरत है।

हमारे सरकारी कर्मचारी ही, जिन की तादाद हजारों नहीं लाखों में है, सरकार को खला रहे हैं। यह सारी सरकार मंत्रियों के कंधों पर चल रही है। लेकिन उन की मनोवृत्ति यह है कि जनता के प्रति उन के दिल में कोई महबूबत नहीं है। पुराने ढंग पर शासन करना उन का काम है। हमारे देश के नौजवानों का भी आज़ यही सपना है कि वे उन्हीं जगहों पर जा कर बैठें। इसी के लिये वह पढ़ते हैं। यह धीज ऐसी है जिसकी तरफ हमारी सरकार को ध्यान देना होगा और इस मनोवृत्ति को बदलना होगा। समाज आज क आमूल परिवर्तन करने की जरूरत है।

राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषण में शिक्षा का सबाल भी उठाया है। बुनियादी तालीम के बारे में कहा गया है कि वह ठीक नहीं चल रही है। मैं भी मानता हूँ कि बेसिक एजुकेशन को जिस रूप में लगाया गया है वह वैसे नहीं चल सकती। आज दुनिया एक तरफ जा रही है। और दूसरी तरफ हम बेसिक स्कूलों में आश्रमों जैसी शिक्षा दे रहे हैं। एक बेसिक स्कूल में ३३ लड़कों पर एक साल में ३३ हजार रुपये

[श्री एम० पी० मिश्र]

गांवों में कुछ कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट (Community Project) खोले गये हैं। मैं अभी ट्रेन में आ रहा था। मेरे साथ कुछ कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट के अफसर भी बैठे थे, छोटे अफसर और वह बातें कर रहे थे कि यह सरकार की एक वैसे ही स्कीम है जो चलती है और फिर ठप हो जाती है। मेरा ख्याल है कि यह चीज चलेगी नहीं जब कि जो कि सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं वही उस का मजाक उड़ा रहे हैं। मैं आप से पूछता हूँ कि क्या यह चीज चलेगी जब इस मनोवृत्ति वाले अफसर इस काम को करने के लिये भेजे जाते हैं। उन को गांव नहीं सुहाते। उन को इस तरह का काम नहीं सुहा सकता। जो पहले शासन करते थे, जनता पर रोब जमाते थे वे इस काम को पसन्द नहीं कर सकते। वे तो टाई बांधना जानते हैं और मोटरों में घूमना। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि वे लोग टाई पहनना छोड़ दें या मोटरों में बैठना छोड़ दें। हम तो चाहते हैं कि हमारे देश के लोग भी दूसरे देशों के लोगों की तरह रहें, टाई पहनें और मोटरों में चलें। और सरकारी अफसरों को इसी दृष्टिकोण से काम करना चाहिये कि आज जो आराम और सुविधा उन को उपलब्ध है, कल वह सब देश की हो जाये। यही उन के दिमाग को बदलने की ज़रूरत है। वह समझें कि सिर्फ उन्हीं को कोट की ज़रूरत नहीं है, सारे देश को कोट की ज़रूरत है। गांव के लोग भी टाई पहन सकें, उन को भी टाई पहनाई जा सके। लेकिन कौन अफसर है जो गांव में जाता है? अगर कोई जाता है तो रोब के साथ जाता है। और वही अफसर है जो कि सरकार को चलाते हैं, थाने में, जिले में, प्रान्त में और यहां दिल्ली में। जब तक यह सिलसिला रहेगा कोई भी सरकार की स्कीम पूरी नहीं हो सकती।

पंच वर्षीय योजना भी नहीं चल सकती। इसलिये हम आप से कहना चाहते हैं कि कुछ मनोवृत्ति के भी बदलने की ज़रूरत है जो नहीं बदल रही है। हम से यह कहा जाता है कि सरकार आखिर चल तो रही है, लेकिन हम कहना चाहते हैं कि देश नहीं चल रहा है। देश को चलाने के लिये कुछ और चीज की ज़रूरत है। पंच वर्षीय योजना के लिये राष्ट्रपति ने कहा कि देश में उत्साह पैदा हो रहा है। वह उत्साह तो मैं ने कहीं नहीं देखा जिस की ज़रूरत है। मुझ को तो वह कहीं भी देखने में नहीं आया। उत्साह सब से पहले उन लोगों में पैदा होना चाहिये जो कि उस को चलाने वाले हैं। मैं तो देखता हूँ कि कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट को चलाने वाले अफसरों में भी वह उत्साह नहीं है। वे कहते हैं कि यह चीज भी उसी तरह है जैसे और चीजें चल रही हैं। तो पहले सब से अफसरों में उत्साह पैदा करना चाहिये। पहले जैसे पुराने ढंग से ही काम करने से काम नहीं चल सकता।

एक आखिरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस भाषण में राष्ट्रपति ने देश की एक सब से बड़ी बीमारी के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहा। वह बीमारी है भ्रष्टाचार, घूसखोर इस बात के लिये मुझे सरकार के लोग माफ़ करेंगे कि बार बार इस के लिये उन से कहा जाता है। लोग बार बार इस के लिये क्यों कहते हैं? इसलिये कि सरकार का, देश का सब से बड़ा रोग भ्रष्टाचार है। इस के कारण सरकार में जनता का विश्वास भी उठता जा रहा है। एक टिकट काटने वाले अफसर से ले कर ऊपर तक, एक सिपाही से ले कर इन्स्पेक्टर जनरल तक के विषय में जनता का यह विश्वास पैदा हो गया है कि भ्रष्टाचार के बगैर काम नहीं कर सकता। हम ने अपनी आंखों

से देखा है कि स्टेशन पर अगर भीड़ होती है तो कोई आ कर कह सकता है कि चार आने दो तो हम टिकट कटवा देते हैं। इस घूसखोरी के सम्बन्ध में, घूसखोर अफसरों के बारे में ब्रिटेन और अमेरिका की सरकारों ने भी काम किया है। इस को उन्होंने अपने सरकारी प्रोग्राम में शामिल किया। मैं चीन का नाम नहीं लेता हूँ। चीन में घूसखोरी रोकने के जो रास्ते अपनाये गये हैं वे बुरे हैं। लेकिन अमेरिका में, ब्रिटेन में सन् १९३६ में घूसखोरी बढ़ गयी तो कैबिनेट ने तीन महीने में उस को रोकने की कोशिश की और रोक दिया। अगर यहाँ पर घूसखोरी का नजारा देखना चाहें तो कोई भी मिनिस्टर खुद चल कर घूस दे कर अपना काम चला सकते हैं। सब जगह घूसखोरी चल रही है, घूस ली जाती है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि ईमानदार आदमी नहीं हैं। लेकिन दुःख की बात है कि ईमानदार आदमी बहुत थोड़े हैं और उन को तरजीह नहीं मिलती। बेईमान लोग ज्यादा हैं, उन की मैजोरिटी (majority) है इसलिये सरकार का काम हो जाता है कि इस घूसखोरी को, इस भ्रष्टाचार को रोके। आज जरूरत है कि सरकार कुछ दिनों के लिये सब काम रोक कर यह कोशिश करे कि सरकारी दफ्तरों में, सरकारी महकमों में जो घूसखोरी चल रही है वह बन्द हो। हमारी बड़ी बड़ी स्कीमें हैं। कल जिस स्कीम पर ५५ करोड़ रुपये खर्च होने वाले थे आज उस पर १०० करोड़ रुपये खर्च हो रहे हैं। अगर इस भ्रष्टाचार को नहीं रोका गया तो २० करोड़ की स्कीम चार साल में १०० करोड़ की स्कीम हो जायेगी। यह स्कीमें इतनी क्यों बढ़ जाती हैं, सिर्फ भ्रष्टाचार के कारण। आज सरकार के बड़े बड़े फंड बुरी तरह से खर्च किये जाते हैं। ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन (administration) में जब भ्रष्टाचार हो गया तो ब्यांग काई शोक की सरकार

खत्म हो गयी। इसलिये ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेशन को करप्शन (Corruption) के ऊपर करना होगा। हम चाहते हैं कि पंच वर्षीय योजना तीन महीने के लिये स्थगित हो जाय तो हो जाय, लेकिन करप्शन को और घूसखोरी को दूर करने के लिये चाहे जो भी कदम उठाना पड़े सरकार को सब से पहले यह काम करना चाहिये।

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** When I read the Presidential address I thought that it would not inspire the people of India. I find by its reading that it has misrepresented facts and it has perverted or made certain statements which are not true. The Address has painted a rosy picture before us. It says that the overall situation in the country has improved.

I want to ask the Congress regime this question: Since they have taken power, have they improved the standard of living of the masses? Is there any little change in their living conditions? I want a straight answer from the Congress Government. If anybody goes to the country and asks the people, they say that the Congress regime has utterly failed in its duty to serve the masses.

**An Hon. Member:** Who told you?

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** The people have told me and they will tell you also that the Congress regime has failed in its responsibilities. It has failed in its duty to protect the masses against unemployment; it has failed in its duty to protect the people against disease, ill health and squalor; it has failed in its duty to provide food and shelter for the people. It has not solved anything—any problem—and the record of the Congress rule is a very pitiful record of failure. Nobody can say that anybody is happy under this regime. But the Presidential address says that everything is all right; there is all-round improvement, economic, industrial and social. This is an ignoble misrepresentation of truth. Sir, we find there is all-round deterioration. People are not having adequate purchasing power to purchase the essential goods they want. They have been rendered bankrupt. The Finance Minister says that the present economy is deflationary; the inflationary tendency has been counteracted and people are happy under this economy. But I want to ask him whether the

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people have expressed their happiness. It is, I think, his own imagination. He has made a number of speeches saying that this present tendency of deflation has helped the country—has helped the country in this way that the prices are falling and people are getting goods at a cheaper rate. But I may submit that even the present level of prices is beyond the capacity of the people. The people are feeling helpless. The so-called deflationary tendency that is operating today has not been helpful to the common man and everywhere in the country there is scarcity and consequent misery and everywhere people are agitating against the Government. Labourers have struck work in certain factories and there has been retrenchment, on the other hand, everywhere. So the economy of the country today is in a state of confusion. It is not very clear. It is beyond the scope of analysis. I do not know for myself whether there is inflationary tendency today or whether there is deflationary tendency. Some say there is neither inflationary tendency nor deflationary tendency but there is a tendency of recession. This confusion is the direct result of the confused economic policy pursued by the Government. The Finance Minister has been responsible mostly for producing the Five Year Plan. He was a member of the Planning Commission and after two years of labour the Planning Commission has given us a Five Year Plan which will spend nearly 2,000 and odd crores of rupees on industrial and agricultural development. Already they have spent about 900 crores of rupees. I have not seen any change in the economy after spending so much amount. There is not even a little change. There is not even a little progress. If I say one thing, I think the Finance Minister may not mistake me. The big projects that have been undertaken under this Plan have not progressed satisfactorily because much of the money that is spent on these projects goes to the pockets of a few contractors. And, moreover, the money spent on big projects is spent to benefit a few pockets in India. We see a lot of money in circulation in these little pockets. The rest of the areas are left without money. There is inflationary tendency in a few areas and deflationary tendency in other areas and there is great distress prevailing in greater part of the country. In such circumstances the Five Year Plan will not be helpful in any way to bring about the uniform development of the country. It may help a few areas here and there in the

long run but it will not give immediate relief and moreover it will not bring about uniform economic development.

There is another aspect which is equally important. That is about linguistic provinces. Everybody is unanimous about this particular matter. Everybody is agreed that the country, particularly South India, should be reorganised on a linguistic basis. There is no difference of opinion. I particularly draw the attention of the Treasury Benches to the fact that the claim of Karnataka is very old, and Karnataka province should have come first before Andhra because the formation of Karnataka was much easier than the formation of Andhra. Because in Andhra there was agitation, there was some trouble, the Prime Minister conceded the request of the Andhras. The Karnataka people were patient; they thought that the Central Government would concede their demand in the near future. They waited; but because of their patience they were denied their right. But, at least now I want the Government to take a decision in this matter. Karnataka State should be formed immediately along with Andhra; if that is not possible, if there is any difficulty to form Karnataka along with Andhra, at least steps should be taken to form Karnataka after Andhra. Let Karnataka State succeed Andhra but the decision should be made. If they do not make any decision in this matter, then *satyagraha* and other things may follow (*Interruption*.) Such things should not happen. We do not want *satyagraha* or mass agitation for this. In this matter, I want Mr. Nehru, particularly not to wait for popular agitation for granting this demand. That is ridiculous. That does not make any sense; that is not statesmanship. Now, the agitation in Karnataka will grow if the demand is not conceded at least now before it is too late. The Government of India should make a decision and set up a boundary commission to go into this matter.

Another aspect which has troubled the minds of all of us is about foreign policy. The foreign policy of the Government of India is nebulous; it is not very clear. Communist friends on this side want that India should follow the camp of Russia. (*Interruption*.) This is dangerous. India should not follow either the Anglo-American bloc or the Russian bloc. It should stand in between. Both the blocs are reactionary, both of them are inimical to world peace. So we must stand

above these blocs. We must steer clear between them and we must follow the perfect policy of non-alignment. But today, what do we find? The Government are wobbling so to say in their policy. They side this group of nations at one time and another group of nations at some other time. This is dangerous. This is not even good to our self-interest. So long, the Anglo-American policy towards India is not very pleasant. They have acted against us a number of times. In the U.N.O. they did not support our case against the South African Government, though Indians in South Africa have been repressed; and have been subjected to various legal and illegal onslaughts. America and England did not support us in the U.N.O. and also they did not support us on the Hyderabad issue, and they are not supporting us on Kashmir. How can we say they are friendly to us? How can we remain in the 'British' Commonwealth of Nations in those circumstances? The implicit understanding of the Commonwealth of Nations was that all the policies should be decided by mutual consultations and mutual differences should be adjusted by discussion and by exchange of opinions. There is also an understanding that nobody will do anything against one another. If that is the understanding, why is England going against us? Both England and America have been following anti-Indian policy and Russia also nowadays is following an anti-Indian policy, I must say. Only a few days back, a Russian News Agency called Nehru a 'running dog' of Anglo-American imperialists. That is rather very bad. We do not like—though there may be differences among us—that any foreigner should call the head of our State in that manner. It is ignoble. I feel that we have been confronted with two dangers as I said, one danger is Anglo-American imperialism and the other is Russian. But that does not mean that we should not try to bring about an understanding between these two blocs. We should continue a policy of peace and cooperation by which we can bring about compromise through negotiations, and if possible by inviting them to a conference at Delhi. I made this suggestion last time when I was speaking on budget. So, in conclusion I say a re-definition of our foreign policy is necessary. And there should be a new direction in what we will do. We should make an unequivocal statement that we do not follow either this bloc or that bloc. The Government are making such a statement, of course even now but in practice they are wobbling, they are moving like a pendulum this side and that side. But

hereafter they must try honestly and sincerely to follow an independent and positive neutral policy. That is the only way of realising our ends.

**Shri S. S. More:** I have attempted to read the President's address as objectively as possible, but even an objective reading has left me cold and without any enthusiasm. Under the present circumstances, the President's address must infuse enthusiasm in the people. If the Five Year Plan is to be implemented, then popular enthusiasm ought to be roused and harnessed for the reconstruction of the country. But what do we find in the address? Some platitudes, a lot of complacency, skipping off the grim problems which are presented by the realities, a sort of attitude which is hardly connected with the real conditions prevailing in the country—these are what we find. Pandit Nehru, as the President of the Congress, has been, of late, repeatedly saying that the Congressmen have lost all contact with the masses, and I say that the President's address is proof positive of that phenomenon.

I do not wish to refer to all the different topics referred to in the President's address, but I shall concentrate on one of the grimmest tragedies that is being witnessed in some districts of Maharashtra. When the Congress was not in office, the Britishers brought famine with them and in those days, we were in the habit of criticising them and saying that this was proof of their imperial exploitation. Bengal famine was one of the latest instances. Most of us were in jail then, and the Secretaries of the Congress on their release came out with a report relating to the period from 1940 to 1946. I find some of my friends are smiling at me in a jeering manner; I know that previous utterances are not palatable to them. In this report, this is what the hon. Secretaries of the great organisation, the Congress, said:

"If we had an efficient popular government, rooted in the consent and goodwill of the people, a famine of such vast dimensions would have been an impossibility."

Two conditions are mentioned—one an efficient government, and then a government rooted in the goodwill and consent of the people. They say that if these conditions are fulfilled, famine would have been impossible. I concede that. But still, have famines been eliminated? Along with the

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Britishers, have the famines disappeared? Talking, not in a partisan spirit, but as an objective student of conditions in the country, I would say that famines must have gone with the Britishers, but no. All the legacies, all the misfortunes, all the hardships which the Britishers planted in India still remain. Famine is stalking the country. I expected that our revered, President, coming as he does from Bihar which has suffered so many famines, would have more kind words for the famine-stricken people. But how many words has he actually spared for this topic? He says on page 6, para 12, thus:

“The general economic situation in the country shows distinct signs of improvement, although there are still unfortunately areas where owing to lack of rain, near-famine conditions prevail.”

I believe that the Treasury Benches must have advised the President about the improvement in the economic conditions. I do concede that there is prosperity, but that prosperity is not in the country outside, but that prosperity—the improvement of economic conditions—we find only on the Treasury Benches here. Some people have been raised to the Treasury; their economic conditions, I do admit, must have shown an improvement. But what about the common man in the country? Is he getting a square meal a day? No. Fortunately, Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, the Finance Minister is here. His better half is touring the famine-stricken areas and I am reminded of the great famines of Durga Devi. I am not referring to Mrs. Deshmukh, because she is more benevolent to the suffering.

I have very recently come from Sholapur. As a matter of fact the danger signals of famine were many, if we read our own previous history, if we read the several warnings that the Congress when fighting the Britisher has sounded. Many yardsticks have been provided for judging whether a famine is coming or not. The Famine Report of 1880, the Famine Report of 1898, the Famine Commission's Report of 1901 and all the presidential speeches of the Congress supply us with ample material to find out, to foresee, whether famines are coming. I do not know—possibly Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari will be in a position to tell me whether power alcohol intoxicates and dims vision. But the Congress are not in a position

to see objective conditions, the danger signals that nature had given. Not only that but I wrote a letter to the Bombay Government. After the first session when I went back to my constituency, I received very disquieting reports, agonising reports, and I wrote a letter to Mr. Hirey, who happened to be Minister in charge of Revenue and who now happens to be Minister in charge of Famine. With your permission, Sir, I would like to read certain portions from that letter, dated the 7th September.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Has it got any bearing on the Central Government, or it relates only to the State Government?

Shri S. S. More: It has a bearing on the Central Government administration. If famine was not the concern of the Central Government, Shri Punjab Rao Deshmukh would not have gone to see the famine-stricken area; the Ramamurthi Commission would not have been asked to tour the famine-stricken areas. Mrs. Durgabai Deshmukh is part of the Central Government. She is also touring that part.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: They are no doubt supplementing whatever in the fitness of things, or under the Constitution, the State Governments have to do. Therefore, any letter addressed to the State Minister or to the State Government may not be relevant at all.

Shri S. S. More: I would submit that when we are dealing with the grimest tragedy, and the grimmest calamities, technical objections will not have any relevance. I am prepared to submit to your ruling. I wanted to say that on the 7th September I wrote a letter to the Minister concerned that famine was coming. But what did he do? I made some constructive suggestions. Not only that, Sir, I offered my whole-hearted cooperation. Now, the Congress people have been saying that we Opposition Members only criticise for the sake of criticism and that we are not prepared to collaborate with them. It is said that we are not prepared to offer our whole-hearted cooperation. I offered my cooperation. I do not want to weary the House by reading my letter. But what was the great Minister pleased to do? I believe, that as a Member of Parliament, though not in my individual capacity as Mr. More, I should expect some courtesy from him. But he did not personally reply to my letter.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There are also representatives of the people in the

Provincial Assemblies. Whatever a Provincial Minister has done or has not done, cannot certainly be the subject matter of discussion here and no hon. Minister can reply to that effectively. If, on the other hand, the hon. Member had written to any of these Ministers here, as to what exactly the State Governments were unable to do that is a matter which may be legitimately referred to.

**Shri S. S. More:** I bow to your decision. I say that though I warned the Provincial Government about the famine conditions the Minister replied to me through his Personal Secretary that "Government is aware of all the conditions prevailing and is doing the needful." My contention is that under the Famine Code and under our own previous declarations we have been saying that we must have plans prepared in advance. The Deccan Plateau in particular is chronically liable to famine and the Famine Commissions have recommended that as far as this part is concerned Government should have some schemes in their possession ready to be implemented on one minute's notice for giving relief. But our Ministers only say "we are doing all the needful". I am reminded of what Lord Curzon said at the end of the last century when famines were very acute and public opinion and public pressure began to exert greatly. Even Lord Curzon, who had not a grain of sympathy for the Indian people, said that "the Government would not sit idle, until the next famine comes and then bewail the mysteries of Providence". I will be very short. The Provincial Government, acting as far as this particular matter is concerned under the superintendence and guidance of the Central Government, had no schemes ready with them. With what result? Though such warnings were given in September, no works were started. September and October went and then November came, and some works were started. The different Famine Commissions and our own declarations have stated that we must undertake productive work of permanent utility which will assure water supply. But no such thing was done. May I tell you that as far as Maharashtra is concerned only 4 per cent of the area is irrigated and about 98 per cent of the total acreage is subject to the vagaries of the monsoon? Dry farming has become a great gamble. Due to periodical and oft-repeated famines for the last 150 years our economy has become a sort of famine economy. I expected that the Congress Government will have all the machinery ready for giving relief to the people. But, no. Metal-breaking

has been started now at some work-spots. About 3,000 people are working there. But what about their medical aid? We have passed factory legislation. There we talk about welfare, safety and security of the people at these works. As I said, 1,400 people are working at one place and 1,900 at another. But not a bottle of iodine was available. The peasants are not accustomed to metal-breaking. They came to me with their hurt hands and bruises. I shall tell you another grievance. Mrs. Deshmukh has stated in an interview that females are required to walk five miles to their place of work. But I have positive evidence in my possession that these miserable people have to walk more than ten miles to reach their place of work. And there is no medical aid or other arrangements for them. At one site—my heart aches to relate that—one unfortunate woman was in an advanced stage of pregnancy, and she had to deliver in the open while she was at work. There was no hutting arrangement. The other fellow labourers had to improvise some sort of hut with tattered kambals. This is what we are doing by way of relief!

And what are the wages? Starvation wages are paid. If we pay starvation wages just to enable the peasant to keep body and soul together will he be fit for the next agricultural operations? And the cattle are dying like flees. Thousands of them have disappeared. Mr. Somani was saying that cow slaughter should be prohibited. I would ask all such persons to go Sholapur district and then they will see thousands of cows actually dying with the vultures flying over them. At Karmala which is the worst affected area, beef was being sold at two pice per seer. And wagon loads of cattle-bones are transported for being converted into fertilizers. Who is going to use all those fertilizers? The Sindri Factory is producing fertilizers and our Government is producing frustration all over. Who is going to purchase fertilizers, unless we export them or find some other use for them?

My submission is that in the little time that has been allotted to me, I cannot give to the Government or to the Members of this House, the real picture in its ugly seriousness. At the same time I must say that when we raised this matter on the floor of the House by way of half an hour discussion or a short notice question, Government have shown sufficient interest. The Central Government have shown sufficient promptitude. They have deputed Mr. Deshmukh. They have

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deputed the Ramamurthy Commission. But where was the necessity for the Commission? What would a Commission do? The Commission told me that they will recommend some schemes of a permanent or semi-permanent nature. You can have many permanent schemes but all these schemes have been rotting in the pigeon holes for the last 75 years. Right from 1860, the schemes are being prepared to meet famines and then forgotten. Possibly the moment the present famine is over, all the schemes will be again relegated back to the pigeon holes and the moment we have another famine, we shall start talking the same thing, the same tune again.

I do not want to take your time. I know that the time of the House is very precious but I again make a serious request: find out some permanent public works, execute them. By what method? Not by preparing the estimates and having contractual work, but I say fix a time limit that the 4 per cent irrigated percentage of land should be increased to about 50 per cent of the irrigated land by the end of one year or two years and introduce compulsory labour everywhere. I am prepared to go there. Everybody from whatever part, every Maharashtrian must be made to work. Mr. Deshmukh should not say that we have no funds. If you have no funds, if Government are not in a position to liquidate this problem of famine. I would say not in a threatening mood but as a serious warning that this famine in Maharashtra will liquidate this Government. Maharashtrians are poor but proud. They are submissive but on occasions when they flare up, they are worse than dynamite. Please beware, this famine is a grave warning. The Preventive Detention Act passed by Dr. Katju will not be enough because people will be prepared to go to jails I would rather say that people will prefer to go to jails. They will be happier there than in breaking the stones themselves. What I want to submit is that Government should take this matter not in an administrative routine, not in a nonchalant manner but they should apply their heart and soul. These are the worst days for Maharashtrians. Our economy has already crumbled. I do not know what is going to happen, possibly a revolution may come. We are not strong enough to guide a revolution. Then what will happen? Anarchical conditions will develop in the country and if they do so, they will be both dangerous to you and dangerous to us too.

7 P.M.

श्री नन्द लाल गर्मा : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अन्त समय में भी समय प्राप्त करने के लिये आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ। मुझे इस सम्बन्ध में समय नहीं लेना है। मैं जानता हूँ कि जहाँ हमारे कम्युनिस्ट नास्तिक भाई बैठे हैं हो सकता है कि कांग्रेस बेंचेंज में भी कोई हों। सभी को तो मैं ऐसा समझता नहीं। इसलिये मैं इस ओर अधिक ध्यान न देता हुआ भारतीय राष्ट्रपति के उस अभिभाषण की ओर जो अवसरानुसार स्वाभाविक रूप से अमरीका देश के राष्ट्रपति आइजनहावर के भाषण के तत्काल बाद ही हुआ है, ध्यान आकर्षित करूँगा। हम दोनों की भावनाओं में अन्तर पा रहे हैं। एक अमेरिका में, मैं अमेरिका नहीं कह रहा हूँ, अमेरिका, सुमेरू के मुकाबले में अमेरू है, जैसे कि पेरू। अमेरू के नाम से अमेरिका कहता हूँ। वह असुरमेरू है। और असुरमेरू करता क्या है कि नर्क के कुत्तों को युद्ध के लिये चारों ओर भेज कर हर एक देश का नाश करवाता है। चाहे वह फार्मोसा में हो, कोरिया में, चाहे मध्य पूर्व एशिया में हो, ग्य हमारे घर में। मगर मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि जो भेद एक आसुरी सभ्यता में और एक दबी सभ्यता में होना चाहिये वही भेद हमारे भारतीय राष्ट्रपति और दूसरे राष्ट्र के अभिभाषण में है। इस कारण से मैं अपने देश के राष्ट्रपति को हादिक धन्यवाद प्रदान करता हूँ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, साथ में मैं यह भी देखता हूँ कि अमुर में और देव में थोड़ा भेद दौर्बल्य का भी होता है। अमुर में राक्षसी बल है, देवता में कुछ शान्ति का

दीर्बल्य होता है और हम यह समझते हैं कि समय पर कुछ बल का प्रदर्शन भी, कड़वी औषधि भी रोगों का नाश करने के लिये आवश्यक होती है। राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में पाकिस्तान के सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ कमजोरी या दीर्बल्य, कमजोरी का आभास है, मैं समझता हूँ कि भारतवर्ष उतना कमजोर नहीं है और राष्ट्रपति की भाषा कितनी ही शान्तिपूर्ण हो किन्तु यह समझ लेना चाहिये कि अपने भारतवर्ष के अधिकारों का निरन्तर अपहरण और अपमान यह देश सहन नहीं कर सकता। देश की अन्तरात्मा आज भी इस के लिये बिलबिला रही है।

शरणाधियों के प्रश्न के सम्बन्ध में अगर पाकिस्तान किसी प्रकार का समझौता नहीं चाहता, निष्क्रान्त सम्पत्ति के सम्बन्ध में कोई समझौता नहीं चाहता, जल के सम्बन्ध में कोई समझौता नहीं चाहता, काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में कोई समझौता नहीं चाहता और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री के आवाहन के प्रति भी कि हम लोग घोषणा कर दें कि हमारा युद्ध नहीं होगा, उस को भी स्वीकार नहीं करना चाहता, ऐसी परिस्थिति में एक नीच शत्रु के प्रति शान्ति के शब्दों का प्रयोग करना हमारी भारतीय राजनीति के सर्वथा विरुद्ध है। सत्साम नीति का प्रयोग, शान्ति का प्रयोग एक शत्रु के प्रति जो खुल्लमखुल्ला अपने को शत्रु कहता है, और क्यों कहता है यह भी हम को, आप को, सब को मालूम है। इसलिये वहाँ पर कड़वी ही औषधि देना का काम है। यदि हम ने कड़वी औषधि न दी और मीठी वस्तुएं ही खिलाने का उन को प्रलोभन दिया तो निश्चय ही वह एक दिन मिठाइयाँ खिलाने वाले हाथों को भी खा जायेंगे।

साथ ही मेरा संशोधन काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में भी आवश्यक है। मैं ने इस संसद् के

पिछले अधिवेशन में स्पष्ट रूप से कहा था काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में कि जो लोग जम्मू के विभाजन की बात छोड़ते हैं मैं उन का सर्वथा विरोध करता हूँ। किन्तु इस का अर्थ यह नहीं है कि काश्मीर सरकार एक अवैधानिक क्रिया को निरन्तर चलाती चली जाय। उस ने सदरे रियासत और अपने झंडे के सम्बन्ध का ऐग्रीमेंट ( agreement ) तो क्रियान्वित कर डाला और जिस अंश में वह भारतीय विधान को स्वीकार करते हैं उस अंश को वह लागू न करें और फिर कहें कि हमारे पास समय नहीं था, नहीं तो हम ऐसा न करते। यह उन का अवैधानिक कार्य है और उस को भारत सरकार को बलपूर्वक मुलझाना चाहिये। मैं हर प्रकार के पक्षपात को त्याग करके यह शब्द कह रहा हूँ। सरकार का अथवा कांग्रेस का विरोध करना ही मेरा कर्तव्य है, ऐसी भावना से मैं नहीं कहना चाहता। किन्तु मैं यह अवश्य चाहता हूँ कि यह बात स्पष्ट हो जाय। पहले तो आत्मनिर्णय का सिद्धान्त एक शरारती सिद्धान्त था जिस को विदेशियों ने बदमाशी से, दुष्टता से, दुर्नीति से हम लोगों के ऊपर डाला और यदि उस सिद्धान्त को लाजिकल एक्स्ट्रीम (Logical extremes) पर पहुँचा दिया जाय, हर एक शहर को, हर एक जिले को, हर एक गांव को, हर एक प्रान्त को, हर एक प्रदेश को यदि इस प्रकार आत्मनिर्णय का अधिकार दिया जाय तो ऐसा होगा कि एक दिन हर एक परिवार, हर एक व्यक्ति, आत्मनिर्णय के अनुसार अपने परिवार और अपने प्रदेश से अलग होता चला जायेगा और अन्त में यह देश बिल्कुल खंड खंड हो जायेगा। इसलिये भारतवर्ष की अखंडता के लिये यह आवश्यक है कि इस सम्बन्ध में हम लोग स्पष्ट रूप से कह दें कि समस्त भारतीय जनता का इस आत्मनिर्णय के

[श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा]

विषय में एक मत है। काश्मीर को अलग आत्म-निर्णय का कोई अधिकार नहीं। यदि वह अधिकार दिया जायेगा तो बाकी सब के लिये भी वह अधिकार प्राप्त होगा।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस के साथ साथ मैं ने एक भारतीय दृष्टिकोण को भी देखा और संशोधन रक्खा। और वह है संस्कृत भाषा के सम्बन्ध में। आप की विधान निर्मातृ परिषद् ने इसी भारतवर्ष के लिये दस वर्ष के अन्दर हिन्दी भाषा कर देने का निर्णय किया था किन्तु आज मैं यह देखता हूँ कि जिस तरीके से आप लोग चल रहे हैं, उस तरीके से सम्भवतः ११० वर्ष में भी हम हिन्दी को यहाँ नहीं ला सकेंगे। कारण क्या है? आज प्रवृत्ति इस तरह की चल रही है कि हम निरंतर जिन संस्थाओं को खोलते जा रहे हैं उन से हम लाई मकाले और योरोपियन्स के आध्यात्मिक पुत्र पैदा कर रहे हैं। ऐसी परिस्थिति में हम आशा करते हैं कि सरकार इस ओर ध्यान देगी। यहाँ पर जो प्राचीन काल के संस्कृत विद्यालय थे, जो भारतीय संस्कृति के सिद्धान्त से चलाये जा रहे थे, जहाँ विद्यार्थी से कुछ लिया नहीं जाता था, उल्टा जहाँ अपने पास से भोजन दे कर उन को पढ़ाया जाता था, हम देख रहे हैं कि वह निरंतर बन्द होते जा रहे हैं। और हमारे मौलाना साहब का उधर कोई ध्यान नहीं है। अगर हम लोग इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहें तो एक आवाज कान में पड़ती है कि साम्प्रदायिक है, कम्युनिस्ट ( Communist ) है, इस को रो क दो।

एक माननीय सदस्य : ऐसा नहीं है।

श्री नन्द लाल शर्मा : श्री गांधीजी कहते हैं कि ऐसा नहीं है। किन्तु मैं देखता

हूँ, मैं सेंकड़ों विद्यालयों में घूमता हूँ, और मैं ने अपनी आँखों से कितने विद्यालयों को बन्द होते हुए देखा। उन के लिये ऐसी ऐसी शर्तें लगाई जाती हैं कि चार चार, पांच पांच अध्यापक जब तक तुम न रखो, तुम को विद्यालय बन्द कर देना होगा, फलतः वह लोग जो अपनी तरफ से अपना धन लगा कर विद्यालय चलाते थे उन को बन्द कर देना पड़ा। सरकार की ओर से किसी प्रकार की कोई सहायता अभी तक प्राप्त नहीं हो रही है।

इस के साथ साथ आयुर्वेद चिकित्सा पद्धति के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूँ जो कि भारत की स्वाभाविक चिकित्सा पद्धति है और भारतीय दृष्टिकोण एवं वातावरण के अनुकूल है। हमारी राजकुमारी जी निरंतर बी० सी० जी० के इन्जेक्शन बाहर से मंगवाती हैं, मलेरिया के कितने ही केन्द्र खुल रहे हैं, किन्तु आयुर्वेद जिस में हींग फिटकिरी भी नहीं लगती है, थोड़े ही खर्च से काम चल जाता है, और यहाँ की वह चिकित्सा यहाँ की प्रकृति के अनुसार है, उस को आज तक भी हमारी राष्ट्रीय सरकार मान्यता नहीं प्रदान कर रही है।

आप क्षमा करेंगे। मैं राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में उन बातों का उल्लेख न होने के लिये कह रहा हूँ। राष्ट्रपति के व्यक्तिस्व के लिये नहीं कह रहा हूँ। राष्ट्रपति के लिये जो फिजीशियन ( Physician ) दिये जाने को थे उन में एक आयुर्वेद पंडित की मांग की गई और आप की सरकार ने एक बार उनको ना कर दिया था कि एलोपथी रिकगनाइज्ड सिस्टम आफ मैडीसन ( Recognised system of medicine ) है इसलिये हम आप को आयुर्वेदिक पद्धति जानने वाला व्यक्ति नहीं दे सकते। उन्होंने कह

दिया था कि हम इस फिजीशियन मंडल की स्वीकृति नहीं देंगे अगर उस में एक बंध नहीं होगा। अन्त में काशी के श्री पण्डित सत्य नारायण शास्त्री को स्वीकृति दी गई। लेकिन उस में चार डाक्टरों को रख कर उन को अल्प मत में कर दिया गया। मैं बहुत से विद्यालयों को जानता हूँ। आप ने एक झांसी का नाम ले लिया। शायद घुलेकर साहब आप के कृपा पात्र होंगे इसलिये उन को आप का कुछ प्रसाद मिल गया। किन्तु आप ने उस पद्धति को मान्यता प्रदान नहीं की। बात तो यह है कि एक तो वह पाताल देश से आया हुआ असुर जो कि रावण का साथी है और लंका में रहता है और दूसरा अल्कापुरी में, उत्तर प्रदेश में बैठा है वह उस का दूसरा भाई है। एक अमरीका का है और दूसरा रूस का है। इन असुरों से आप उसी समय बच सकते हैं जब कि आप के पास अपनी संस्कृति हो। अगर आप ने अपनी संस्कृति का परित्याग कर दिया तो आप का राष्ट्र केवल ज्याग्राफिकल डाइमेंशन (geographical dimension) वाला प्रदेश मात्र रह जायगा। वह तो एक भूखंड मात्र है उस को राष्ट्र नहीं कहा जा सकता। यदि किसी राष्ट्र के धार्मिक, आध्यात्मिक और सांस्कृतिक विधान को निकाल दिया जाय तो वह एक निर्जीव प्रदेश मात्र रह जाता है, वह एक राष्ट्र नहीं रहता। अगर आप अपने देश को स्वतंत्र और जीवित देश रखना चाहते हैं तो आप को अपना दृष्टिकोण सोलहों आना भारतीय बनाना होगा। जनता की ओर से निरन्तर गोहत्या बन्द करने की मांग हो रही है और यह दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि जनता जिस बात को मांगती है उस को सरकार नहीं चाहती। वह स्पष्ट रूप से कहते हैं कि हम ऐसा नहीं होने देंगे। हिन्दू कोड बिल का जनता ने करोड़ों की संख्या में देश के एक कोने से दूसरे कोने तक विरोध किया किन्तु बन्द आदमी जो

यहां पर थोड़ी बहुत अंग्रेजी पढ़ कर आ जाते हैं वह समझते हैं कि हम ने तो पाश्चात्य सभ्यता को भारतवर्ष में जबरदस्ती लाना है। मैं कहता हूँ कि आप इस तरह जनता के साथ न्याय नहीं कर सकते। यदि जनता उस चीज को चाहती है तो मैं पहला व्यक्ति हूँ जो यदि उस का विरोध करूं तो जिस प्रकार का दंड आप उचित समझें मुझे दें। आप की अन्तरात्मा यह जानती है कि जनता क्या चाहती है फिर भी आप जबरदस्ती उन के ऊपर अपनी भावना लादना चाहते हैं। आप समझते हैं कि यदि हम अपनी बहू बेटियों को तलाक़ का अधिकार नहीं देंगे तो आज भारत रसातल को चला जायगा। क्या प्लानिंग कमीशन (Planning Commission) का यह एक मुख्य आधार है कि यदि हम ने हिन्दू देवियों को तलाक़ का अधिकार न दिया तो हमारे देश में उन्नति नहीं होने वाली है? जनता एक ओर मांग करती है कि गोहत्या बन्द हो लेकिन सरकार कहती है कि गोहत्या बन्द नहीं होगी। जनता कहती है कि हम हिन्दू कोड बिल नहीं चाहते, सरकार कहती है कि हम उस को जरूर लायेंगे। अब हमारी सरकार भी थोड़ी थोड़ी अपने गौरांग मित्रों की नक़ल करने लगी है। अब वह हिन्दू कोड को उस का नाम बदल कर, हिन्दू मैरिज एंड डाइवोर्स बिल और हिन्दू ऐडोप्टान एण्ड गाडियनशिप बिल आदि के नामों से लाना चाहती है। मैं यद्यपि राजनीतिक विषयों पर हिन्दू दृष्टिकोण से कुछ न कहूँ परन्तु हिन्दू धर्म के सम्बन्ध में, हिन्दू संस्कृति के सम्बन्ध में यदि मैं अपनी वाणी को रोक रखूँ तो मुझे दोष होता है :

सभा वा न प्रवेष्टव्या वक्तव्यं वा

समञ्जसम् ।

अबुबन्धुबन्धापि नरो भवति

किल्बिषी ॥

मन्० ॥

[श्री मन्मद लाल शर्मा]

एक द्रोपदी ने भरी सभा में भीष्म और द्रोण को पुकारा था और भीष्म और द्रोण को अपने प्राण दे कर उस का जवाब देना पड़ा था। उस समय भीष्म और द्रोण ने कोई जवाब नहीं दिया था। मनु का वचन है कि सभा में जाय नहीं, यदि जाय तो सत्य बोले यदि सत्य पर चुप रह जाय या उल्टी बात बोल जाय तो उस को पाप लगता है और उस का फल भोगना पड़ता है। भीष्म और द्रोण को इस का फल भोगना पड़ा फिर हम और आप किस गिनती में हैं? इसलिये अभिमान का परित्याग कर के जनता के प्रति न्याय करते हुए डिमान्देरी

( Democracy ) की, लोकमत की, उन्नति करें और जनता जिन वस्तुओं का विरोध करती है उन वस्तुओं का त्याग कर दें और जिन वस्तुओं को जनता चाहती है उन को स्वीकार करें।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं पुनः आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will now stand adjourned till 2 P.M. on Monday, the 16th February, 1953.

*The House then adjourned till Two of the Clock on Monday, the 16th February, 1953.*