

Saturday, 18th March, 1950



PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

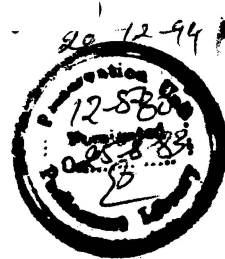
VOLUME I, 1950

First Session

of the

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1950



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PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(PART II—PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

Saturday, 18th March, 1950.

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

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(No Questions: Part I not published)

POINT OF ORDER.

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh): Before we proceed.....

Shri Sidhya (Madhya Pradesh): On a point of order, Sir,.....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Mr. Kamath.

Shri Kamath: Before we proceed to the business of the day, may I ask.....

Shri Sidhya: Sir, a point of order takes precedence.

Mr. Speaker: Whatever it may be, I want to hear him first.

Shri Kamath: May I ask you, Sir, whether it is parliamentary for an hon. Member of this House while referring to the speech or a part of the speech of another hon. Member of this House, to use the terms 'nonsense' or 'utter nonsense'?

Mr. Speaker: Strictly speaking, the expression is not unparliamentary. But, I would certainly appeal to all Members not to use strong expressions in that manner, because, after all, if one uses it, another uses it in reply and all the time the level of the debate goes down. In the interest of the dignity of the House and the level of the debate, it is not desirable that strong expressions condemning others should be used. That is the only thing which I can say. I cannot say that it has been ruled as unparliamentary anywhere.

GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS.—contd.

SECOND STAGE—contd.

DEMAND NO. 17—MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

DEMAND NO. 87—TRIBAL AREAS.

DEMAND NO. 88—EXTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Mr. Speaker: We will now proceed further with the discussion of the Demands for the Ministry of External Affairs. I understand that the Question Hour which we have been able to utilise today.....

Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh): There is no question hour today, Sir.

(1749)

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members are in a hurry; they do not hear what I have to say. I said, the question hour which had been spared today will be devoted for this purpose. We should not exceed that time limit. Therefore, I will request the speakers to confine themselves strictly to the limit of ten minutes so that the hon. Minister may have sufficient time.

An Hon. Member: There are no more speakers.

Mr. Speaker: I am told that there are some Members anxious to speak and I have got a list of those Members as given to me by the Chief Whip. The list contains four names. I hope there will be no addition to that though I do hope that there may be absences. They will take forty minutes and 25 minutes will be reserved for the hon. Minister.

Shri Joachim Alva (Bombay): Last Sunday the hon. Prime Minister graced an occasion with his presence, the occasion of the anniversary of the coronation of the head of a State, the tiniest State in the World, a State merely one mile in length—the Vatican. The Prime Minister was present there and I being the only Catholic layman Member of the House happened to remark to the gathering about what appeared in the American Press on behalf of the Catholics, and I want to quote this deliberately, as it has a bearing on our foreign policy. I have this magazine before me *The Sign* an organ of the Catholic Youth of America, and hon. friends will bear with me when I make this quotation:

“Prime Minister Nehru of India on recent visit to U.S. He refused to join anti-Red bloc and may recognise the new Red China. Have we showered praise on an enemy?”

This question is put by a.....

Hon. Members: It is too loud.

Mr. Speaker: I am having the loud-speaker removed.

Shri Joachim Alva: This question is put by a magazine representing about 50 per cent. of the U.S.A. population, yes, roughly fifty per cent., and it is a very crucial question put to us, and put perhaps to the world. “Do you recognise in the Prime Minister of India a friend or an enemy of humanity?” Somehow or other the world seems to be divided into two camps. One is the dollar camp and the other the Soviet camp. The dollar camp attracts the richest countries and the richest individuals, the Soviet camp attracts the poorest countries and the poorest individuals; and thereby there seems to be a kind of race between the two. And the world asks, especially America on the one side and Russia on the other, they want to know whether we are on this side or on the other.

Shri Hossain Imam (Bihar): Are we rich or are we poor?

Shri Joachim Alva: We are a new State with a newly won freedom and we have got to think on which side we have to put our feet. Somehow or other our foreign policy has got to find its feet. We have not put it in this camp or in the other camp. If we firmly implant it on one side, then we would be raising the wrath of the other camp, and perhaps get entangled. But it shall not behove the West to put such a question. It is not the duty of Christian Europe to say that we are doing this or that, when a Catholic cannot become the President of the U.S.A., the Prime Minister or the Chancellor in England. But we as a new State have set a good example. Even small minorities occupy the highest offices. Two members of my own minority are Members of the Treasury Bench and we have given ample scope for everyone. So from the world point of view we can point our finger to others and say that we follow a policy that is in consonance with the highest principles of a secular State, that we shall throw open our door to everybody, that we have nothing to fear from any one, and on this point we have followed the glorious example set by the Father of our Nation.

The situation in the world, as I described it, is this: There are two camps and there is a race for world supremacy. This race for world supremacy was started by Spain. She wanted mastery of the world but her Armada was defeated. Then started the French with their idea of world hegemony, and this was put an end to at Waterloo. Then started the German race for world domination and it was put an end to by the treaty of Versailles, and later the VE day. Now perhaps we are on the brink of another war, and people want to know whether we are on this side or on that.

As I said, we are a new State. We do not cast our eyes on any other part of the world. We have no intentions of conquests and we search for no colonies. We want to live in peace with the rest of the world and we want that all our people, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis and all of them shall live here in perfect peace and security with all their rights, and with our borders safe.

We have also to consider what shall be our position in the Middle East. The Middle East might be a veritable volcano. We have to cultivate vital trade interests there. The Persian Gulf was a kind of extended sphere of Indian interests. In the Persian Gulf the Indian rupee was the paramount monetary factor. But now in the Persian Gulf the Indian rupee is being threatened to be replaced by the Pakistani rupee. Unless we have strong political and commercial representation in the Persian Gulf, the position that India enjoyed in the Persian Gulf might be wiped off.

Further from Aden to Ankara stretches the might of the Arab world. Pakistan might claim that it enjoys Muslim fellowship there, that we have not much in common with them. But it is the bounden duty of India to cultivate as many contacts with the Arab world as possible, with the Arab world that stretches from Aden to Ankara and thereby create strong ties.

Then with regard to the U.N.O. Fifty-three countries have agreed and signed the U.N. Charter for Peace and Security and it is well for us to remember that we have bound ourselves to this Charter, along with these fifty-three countries, to refrain from threats or acts directed to impair the independence or territorial integrity of any State or from fomenting civil strife or subverting neighbouring States. These are principles for which India amongst fifty-three countries has appended its signatures.

Then again, on the point of Bengal we, as we know, are touchy. We do pay great tribute to our brethren in Bengal who have fought for our freedom, and who have produced the best poets and politicians of the past and who have suffered for our freedom. But today Bengal is partitioned. About 1910 also Bengal was partitioned, but Bengal undid that act of history brought about by British rule, and Bengal may still live to undo many things. But what shall be our duty now? I would like to quote what Mr. Churchill has put in his book, *The Crisis of War*. We have a very aggressive neighbour and this is what he has written in the preface to the book:

"How the English speaking peoples through their unwisdom, carelessness and good nature allowed the wicked to rearm."

We have to take a warning out of the life of a man who conducted a war on behalf of his country and led it to victory, that we do not out of unwisdom, carelessness and good nature get on the brink of a volcano and be engulfed.

I will not take long. I feel that the name of the External Affairs Ministry should be changed into the Foreign Department, because that will be in consonance with the new status of our republic. Australia, Canada, South Africa continue the name of External Affairs Department. We, as a republic should have the name changed into the Foreign Department of the Government of India.

[Shri Joachim Alva]

Treaties of Friendship have been signed by our country with Afghanistan, Bhutan and Switzerland and Trade Agreements have been signed by us with Japan and Argentina and we hope that during the next year we shall be able to go ahead in many other matters. We are on terms of friendship with Indonesia, Burma and, in spite of the difficulties thrown on our way by our aggressive neighbour, we are on terms of friendship with our sister nation Egypt which has the oldest civilization.

I have many other things to refer to, but I have no time. Republican India should see to it that the Indian rupee in the Persian Gulf is not supplanted by any other rupee. Unless we are up and doing in time, we will be at a disadvantage in certain matters. I shall refer to my other points on another occasion.

Dr. R. S. Singh (Bihar): The observations which I wish to make in regard to Ministry of External Affairs are: firstly, in connection with the inefficacy of our foreign policy and inefficiency of some our Embassies; secondly, concerning the utility of India's remaining in the Commonwealth; thirdly, relating to the utility of our diplomatic relation with the Vatican Authority; and fourthly, about the unsatisfactory work of our foreign publicity division.

It is heartening and delightful indeed that we are having at the helm of our foreign affairs a leader of Pandit Nehru's calibre. Undoubtedly, it is largely due to him that India's name shines abroad. And it is because of his dynamic personality and universal respectability that India succeeded in entering into diplomatic relations with all the significant powers of the world in so short a time. But this does not mean that we are having a wise, consistent, and straightforward foreign policy, competent enough to deal effectively with the Powers we are related to. Nor does it indicate that our Missions abroad are functioning properly and efficiently. Yet, very liberal provisions have been made for them in the Budget Demands. Demands have been put forward in regard to External Affairs Ministry, and the two together amount to Rs. 3,91,27,000. This sum is about three times as much as the amount budgeted by Dr. Matthai for educational expenditure which is only Rs. 1,37,24,000.

Anyway, I would not much mind this neglect of our education provided we are making the foreigners India-minded and are inculcating in them our own way of life. If not, I would regard much of this expenditure as a huge waste and would feel compelled in agreeing to its acceptance.

In this connection, I should like to discuss very briefly the policy of our External Affairs Ministry as well as the working of one of our leading Embassies, so that we may know the real position and express our views on the Demands for Grants intelligently, honestly, frankly and fearlessly.

But, before doing so, I should like to touch very briefly the foreign policy of the United States of America which was referred to by our hon. Foreign Minister the other day. If I am not wrong, our Foreign Minister wanted to emphasise the neutral character of America after it became independent in 1789, and by implication, he stressed that America became great due to that fact too. I do not entirely agree with that proposition. I believe that America became great because it pursued a very definite foreign policy which went on adding new territories and bringing more prosperity to the original thirteen States of the United States of America until very recently.

The expansionist policy of Thomas Jefferson, the Monroe doctrine of James Monroe, the policy of Manifest Destiny of James Polk, the policy of Dollar Diplomacy of successive American Presidents of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and more recently, the Good-Neighbour Policy of President Roosevelt, the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the Four-Point Programme

of President Truman will all amount to that. By the way, I may say that America never tolerates any soothsaying to any of its opponents. We all remember how President Truman sacked Henry Wallace for his single slightly pro-Russian speech. I do not want that India should follow the trail of the track trodden by America, but I do not desire that we should be confused either by reference to America.

So far as the framing of our foreign policy is concerned, we lack vision, ideology, courage and steadfastness. We lack vision because whatever the guiding light of our foreign policy, visualised for the last ten years or so, they have all gone totally wrong. Our Prime Minister made us almost adore Chiang Kai Shek once. Where is Chiang now? He made us believe that Pakistan would not be economically feasible. How does India's economy compare with Pakistan today? He led us to hope that the United Nations Organisation will do justice to our Kashmir case, but got entangled there. He asked us to realise that transfer of population is no solution to the minority problem, and now what happened to our kith and kin in West Pakistan and what is happening to those who are still left in East Pakistan? Just imagine these for a moment and then see the lack of vision in framing our foreign policy. This has created ruinous effect on our whole economy. But, strangely enough, our brilliant Finance Minister could not see this while working on his Budget.

We lack ideology because the standard bearer of our foreign policy is wavering in this regard. To questions, are we capitalists? He will say, 'No.' Are we socialists? He will say, 'No.' Are we communists then? He will say 'No.' Are we then Gandhists? We will say, what, I myself do not know. In this confusion of his ideological melee he is leading India's foreign policy in a chaotic direction. We should just coolly see whether we are lacking in ideology or not. How much we suffered economically because of this is apparent from the fact that now our whole dip'omacy is bent on persuading the U.S.A. to invest capital in India after we had first annoyed her due to our confused ideological stand. I should like to ask the hon. Dr. Matthai to note it down even now and amend the Budget accordingly.

We lack courage because despite his sentimental strength the measuring rod of our foreign policy is by heart too noble and magnanimous. And it is just hard for him to hit hard even his deadliest enemy. And, therefore, he has almost failed in courageously dealing with Pakistan. This has affected our economy tremendously, but not the Budget of Dr. Matthai.

We lack steadfastness in our foreign dealings because the zero of our foreign front is not strong enough to make India stand on her own legs. He compromised our freedom by remaining in the Commonwealth. He did a damage to our dollar trade by devaluating our currency overnight. He damaged his own stand by asking Pakistan that India is willing to order "cease fire" and negotiate peace with her on the Kashmir issue. All these were done when India was about to win. And this is the lack of steadfastness of our foreign policy. Undoubtedly, our economy has been very badly influenced by all these. The hon. Dr. Matthai should have assessed their incidence before preparing his Budget plans.

We all know that our foreign missions are just the creation of our External Affairs Ministry. And our lackings here reflect on them. Hence confusion and inefficiency among the officials of our foreign missions! I had a very close eye on the working of our Embassy at Washington. I had had opportunity to converse with some of our diplomats over there, but I did not find any enthusiasm in them in their own work. Only God knows how they will carry it out effectively! But then they are running the show in palatial buildings, with huge staff, and lavish expenditure lazily and hazily. The big bosses of

[Dr. R. S. Singh]

our Embassy at Washington are just like grand Moghuls, each having two or at least one Canadian girl secretary. They work at ease, come late, and go early. The net result is that our diplomatic influence is almost nil even in the choicest land despite the tall talks of our foreign policy bosses as well as our star ambassador. I wonder whether the hon. Dr. Matthai did care to know these while preparing his budget demands.

Our relationship with the Commonwealth is a strange political phenomenon. I do not wish that we should bark at Britain unnecessarily. It would not be dignified for us to do so. And, therefore, I stress the maintenance of our friendly diplomatic relations with Britain and her Dominions as well. But I do not like the idea of forming a principleless bloc of countries of contradictory political views under the aegis of a hereditary monarch. But this bloc exists and our country has become a partner to it under the inspiration of Pandit Nehru.

On his return from England Pandit Nehru broadcast to the Nation on May 10, 1949,

“Our foreign policy has often been declared by me to be one of working for peace and friendship with all countries and avoiding all alignments with power blocs. That remains the keystone of our policy still. We stand for freedom of oppressed nationalities and for putting an end to racial discrimination. I am convinced that our Sovereign Independent Republic freely associating with the other countries of the Commonwealth will be completely free to follow this policy.”

Though Pandit Nehru is convinced that by remaining in the Commonwealth India would be free to follow any policy it likes, I am not. I think that the declaration of Pandit Nehru is full of contradictions.

Our relationship with the Vatican Papal Authority is yet another wonder of our foreign policy. It was quite understandable and in keeping with the pace of time to hear from Pandit Nehru's mouth that we are a secular state and that as a Government we are not going to help or encourage any particular religion. But when I found in Rome a representative of our secular state bowing before the head of a particular religion I just failed to follow our foreign policy. I can imagine why Chiang had sent his ambassador to the Pope, and why Bao Dai is sending his emissary over there. But I am not at all convinced of the justification of Pandit Nehru's policy in sending our Minister to the Pope. Does it amount to encouraging a particular religion? I believe, it does. I therefore demand “Pandit Nehru, if you have sent an ambassador to the Pope, please send one to Kashi, another to Mecca, a third to Bodh Gaya, a fourth to Amritsar and so on and so forth.” If not, I would humbly urge Dr. Matthai to justify his Budget demands.

My acquaintance with the Publicity Division of the External Affairs Ministry is just limited to the publicity divisions of our Embassies in America and Canada. And the two are just worst in Washington and Ottawa. The news releases and the pamphlets they distribute are generally very lute and full of grammatical and spelling mistakes. At times they lack facts too.

Our Publicity Division in Washington do not always know as to what is published against India, where and when, whereas Publicity Divisions of other Embassies do take note of all such things. Besides, they do not even care to send such necessary things as our flag and pictures of our leaders when organisers of public meetings in America demand them. The utmost they

do is to write letters to the effect that the organisers could buy those materials from them. The funny thing is that the proceeds from the sales of those pictures could hardly exceed a few dollars because the number of meetings organised in America for propagating India's viewpoints are not very large. I wonder whether our publicity divisions could ever succeed in propagating our views by indulging in such unthoughtful actions. Dr. Matthai should have known all these before preparing his Budget demands.

These are my few submissions, Sir, and I fervently hope that effective steps would be taken by our Foreign and Finance Ministries to meet these shortcomings.

Shri B. Velayudhan (Travancore-Cochin): Frankly speaking, I was not prepared to speak today, because I thought the debate had ended yesterday itself and I have come here leaving my notes at home. But when they mentioned that the House was continuing the debate today I thought that I should not fail when the opportunity came.

Perhaps I may not be able to introduce any new points in today's discussion. Though I will not be able to paint a picture of foreign policy as my predecessor did, I agree with him that there are a lot of loopholes in foreign policy, in our foreign establishments and the External Affairs Ministry. The same is the case with all Ministries in India. In almost all Ministries there is utter confusion and utter inefficiency. Therefore it is not peculiar to Pandit Nehru's Ministry alone. This is a period of reorganisation and replanning for the entire machinery of the Government. I think, therefore, there is nothing particularly intolerable in Pandit Nehru's Ministry or that his Ministries are going wrong or going this way or that.

Foreign policy is a strategy which cannot be developed or moulded in a day or two. It is a very delicate and difficult task. When India was ruled by foreigners for years together our foreign policy was moulded by the British Government and it is not easy to change the attitude of foreigners towards India. If the British and other delegates at the U. N. O. and other international organisations do not recognise our strength, it is quite natural. It will take some years for proper appreciation of our strength. But there is a redeeming feature in our foreign policy. Though the Government of India was not recognised abroad, the people of India were recognised one way or the other. There was Swami Vivekananda, a great cultural propagandist which India had produced, who greatly attracted the Americans, though he stayed in America only for a few days. The mission of the Father of our Nation has gone abroad and he is considered like Jesus Christ in other countries. I must also mention that our Prime Minister's reputation in foreign countries has also been helpful in moulding our foreign policy.

India is not behind any other power, if you compare her with other international powers of the day. Pandit Nehru has been following the right policy—a policy which is akin to the cultural heritage of India—when she resorted to the U.N.O. as a platform for resolving international disputes. We have laid down a standard of international morality which other countries could follow. Our Prime Minister took the Kashmir question—which was a dispute between India and Pakistan—immediately to the U.N.O. People may say that it was wrong or that it was a diplomatic or strategic blunder. I submit that Pakistan and India having become two independent States it was quite proper on our Foreign Minister's part to put the disputed point before the U.N.O. Other powers make the U.N.O. a platform for power politics or power blocs. India which has a civilisation of ages past, in the name of Mahatma Gandhi accepted the U.N.O. as a body which is evolving a new standard in the international field.

[Shri R. Velayudhan]

In connection with the Kashmir question I should say something about Indo-Pakistan relations. With regard to the transfer of population India should plainly say whether we stand for the minorities or Hindus in Pakistan or not. Because of the announcements in the Parliament and the press reactions and public utterances our brethren in Pakistan feel that India will go there and save them either by force or by negotiation. We must say whether we want negotiation with Pakistan or we want war with Pakistan. If we can save those souls by negotiation we must see that negotiation starts immediately so that no soul will be lost there. In spite of a crisis in the international field we have followed a firm and deliberate policy in the Indo-Pakistan relationship. This Indo-Pakistan problem is a great obstacle in the role which India is to play in the Asiatic bloc. It is an obstacle in the way of India becoming a great world power. Therefore it is high time that we solve the Indo-Pakistan question immediately, otherwise we will have to go on quarrelling. India should take her proper place in the Asiatic world. India has been responsible for the freedom of Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and other countries also. Asia is in a resurgent state today. If Asia is to range herself against all colonialism and imperialism it is high time that India became a stable power. Looking from all these points of view India should solve this Pakistan problem one way or the other. People may say that we must immediately go to war against Pakistan. It is not easy at this time, when we have an international organisation. We must pursue the path of negotiation. It is my humble submission that it is better not to befriend Middle East countries like Afghanistan or Indonesia in preference to Pakistan. It is better to befriend Pakistan in order to save India from a great catastrophe.

Mr. Speaker: Mr. Pillai.

I might inform hon. Members that the practice has been that, when an hon. Member is called and he is not ready to address the House, he loses his chance. In this particular case, I was told that when I called upon Mr. Pillai, on account of subdued conversations carried on, comparatively loudly by hon. Members, he was not able to hear that he was called. So, I am practically making an exception in this case, and this should not be a precedent. An hon. Member who is either inattentive or could not hear his being called loses his chance.

Shri Nadimuthu Pillai (Madras): I am sorry that I could not hear the Speaker when my name was called and I regret it very much.

I shall not take much of the time of the House. But I cannot within so short a time adequately express the feelings and sufferings of the Indian nationals in the Far East. I should like to confine my remarks to Indo-China and Burma. It is very disappointing to note that the Foreign Minister has failed to tackle the question of assets of Indian nationals in foreign countries where they have to face acute difficulties and hardship. It is distressing to note that this immense issue has not been dealt with by the Government of India with full appreciation of the magnitude of the issue involved and the seriousness of the loss to the nation that is being threatened. I pray that this House should give the problem the careful attention it deserves. As leader of the Goodwill Mission which toured Indo-China in the year 1948—we have studied the situation in Indo-China and we have submitted our Report to the Foreign Ministry long ago—I deplore to note that no action has so far been taken in this regard and that the sufferings of our people are increasing.

In the course of our tour of Indo-China I came to know that during the Japanese occupation the late Subhas Bose collected nearly two crores of rupees, but after occupation by the U.S.A. Commander there was only a sum of sixty-five lakhs of rupees in the Yokohama Bank which is hardly available for distribution among the Indian nationals in Indo-China. I have reported these facts

to the Foreign Ministry as well as to the Indian Representative in Indo-China two years ago, but nothing happened and the amount is going to lapse—the hard-earned money of Indian nationals in Indo-China amounting to two crores of rupees which was collected. And what is left out of that can be redeemed if timely action is taken there. On my representation to the Government of India they were pleased to allow a family remittance, and I must be grateful to the hon. Prime Minister who was pleased to grant two hundred rupees to those who are coming from Indo-China for their expenses to reach their destinations. But all of a sudden it was stopped from January 1950. I can tell you that they are not permitted to take a single pie when they leave Indo-China, with the result that as soon as they reach Calcutta they have to borrow or pledge their jewels for reaching their destinations. As I said, this fact had been brought to the notice of the hon. Prime Minister and after my representation they were pleased to give Rs. 200 to each Indian national, by getting the equivalent *piastres* there. Though even this was inadequate it was of some help. The Government should consider the special circumstances in which these people are placed. After all, they are giving this two hundred rupees after getting the equivalent *piastres* there. After reaching Calcutta these people could not proceed further without the help of this money. On account of the peculiar condition in which these people are placed I would impress upon the hon. Finance Minister and the hon. Prime Minister to consider this matter again and continue this arrangement for some time at least.

With regard to the Debt Settlement Agreement recently entered into by the Government of India, a very meagre amount of fifty thousand rupees was allowed. I am sorry that the French Government is not in a position to increase the amount, but under the difficult circumstances they were able to agree to fifty thousand rupees. If there is a monthly remittance of fifty thousand rupees for the ten thousand Indians, I leave it to you to imagine how this fifty thousand rupees can be distributed among ten thousand people: it means that once in six months each person will get two hundred rupees. Their families are in distress, they have pledged all their jewels and exhausted their borrowing capacity. I just leave it to the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister to consider their position very sympathetically. In the past ten years they could not send even one hundred rupees to their families. I am sure if timely and proper action is taken they can be helped. Now the French Government has given full, and extraordinary, powers to the Bao Dai Government. Whatever the political aspect of the matter may be, if the Government of India will take up this matter in right earnest and approach the Bao Dai Government for the free remittance of money, certainly under the changed conditions they will appreciate the difficulty of Indians and they will allow the free-remittance, at any rate in the future. I should like to impress upon the Finance Minister this fact that on account of devaluation of the *piastres* our assets have been liquidated and reduced to one-third in value. And then even deliberately they want to devalue it. This was estimated at nearly two hundred crores of *piastres*. Before the matter gets worse I would appeal to the Finance Minister to tackle this problem, especially when devaluation is going on and when they are also bent upon devaluing further. After all, the matter should not be left to the discretion of individual officers or the *Charge-d'affaires* there. It should be considered as our national wealth.

Not only this. I was told that in the Far East including Burma there are nearly thirty lakhs of acres and hundreds of rice and saw mills owned by Indians and our Indians number seven lakhs. They were assessed at 300 crores of rupees. I am sure the Burma Government is anxious to receive our deputation and Goodwill Mission. It is high time that the External Affairs Department took special care to expedite the sending of the Goodwill Mission to Burma.

[Shri Nadimuthu Pillai]

There are the assets of seven lakhs of our people there and, as I said, the Government of Burma is also anxious to receive our delegation and discuss with them all the outstanding problems.

I cannot but be sorry that in the past two years, though I have written a number of letters in regard to this matter nothing has been done. Especially in regard to Indo-China where our people have lost all their assets, I am surprised to see the attitude of our petty Income-tax officials. In spite of the instructions of the Government of India they are persecuting these people. When these people are in a miserable condition and have lost all their assets, they are demanding Income-tax without giving any details or returns but proceeding on the assumption of the estimated basis and are persecuting them. The position in respect of Indo-China is peculiar. At least in regard to Burma it is all right because the rupee value there is equivalent to that here. That is not so in respect of *piastres*. You can just imagine the position when it is converted into rupees. But they are going on assessing on an approximate basis for the past ten years, taking into consideration the pre-war level of exchange and thus harassing the assesses. I have written a dozen letters to the Central Board of Revenue explaining this position. When there had been a ban by the Government of India as well as the Indo-China Government and no remittance had been allowed during the war and even thereafter—the ban was removed only in 1949 by the Debt Settlement Agreement entered into by the Government of India and the French Indo-China Government—strictly speaking, the present exchange rate should be taken into consideration when computing the assessment of Income-tax. I have impressed this upon the Member of the Board of Revenue and the Secretary, and I have taken every possible step I could. But I am sorry that nothing has been done, and when these people are in a miserable condition and have lost their entire assets you are going to assess Income-tax based on an approximate basis. It is high time this matter was looked into and I would appeal to the Finance Minister to call for this file and give justice to the Indians who are in a miserable condition.

With these few words, I would request the hon. Finance Minister and the hon. Foreign Minister to pay their special attention to these matters and redress the grievances of thousands of these Indian nationals.

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Kekar): During the long debate that took place the whole of yesterday, hon. Members have raised so many points with regard to the foreign policy of India and with regard to the working of the External Affairs Ministry, that if I were to go into detail in replying to all of them it might take too much time of the House. Therefore, I will try to reply as briefly as possible to the most important points raised by my hon. friends.

At the very outset let me congratulate the hon. Members who spoke, on the very high tone of the debate and the very great matters of principle that they raised and placed before the House which, in their light, the Government should follow if it wanted to have a successful foreign policy.

I will, firstly, take up the point raised by my friend, Mr. Anthony. It is a point about which the Prime Minister, at the very beginning of his speech, very clearly stated the stand of India—I mean the question of India's neutrality. I hope, Sir, that you remember that during the debate on last year's Budget also the Government of India stated very clearly the reasons why it considered safe and wise for India to follow a policy, I would not say of neutrality, but of constructive non-alignment with both the Power blocs which I do not at all consider to be a policy of passive neutrality. What I really want to draw your attention to is the implication in Mr. Anthony's suggestion that India is keeping neutral because there is a national sentiment in India against India's joining

what is called the Anglo-Saxon or the democratic bloc and that therefore the Government of India is afraid of hurting the feelings of its people—that otherwise, the Government of India would probably be very glad to join that bloc. I entirely repudiate the suggestion. If the Government of India is following a policy of neutrality, it is because it considers that it is in the best interests of the country and not simply because it is afraid of hurting the sentiments of some people. I think, after the very lucid exposition of the stand of the Government of India yesterday as to the reasons why we are following a policy of non-alignment with any of the Power blocs, I need not expatiate upon the matter. There is no doubt that during the course of the last year events that have happened have only confirmed our belief that the policy that we are following is the right policy for our country. I would only say one thing to hon. Members of this House. For a country which is just free, which is not yet able to find its own feet and which is not yet able to gather its own strength and reconstruct itself, I think it would be the height of folly to try to embark upon an outright alignment with either of these Power blocs. Some Members might think that our alignment with one or the other bloc might probably bring about a greater restraint in the other bloc. My feeling is otherwise. I think if a country like India, which will be followed by many other countries, does align itself with one of the Power blocs, it is bound to increase the tension between both the blocs and the whole world will be divided into two Power blocs and it will bring the spectre of war nearer. I, therefore, consider that our policy of neutrality is the right one and every event that is happening in international affairs today is proving our policy to be completely right.

Shri Frank Anthony (Madhya Pradesh): I did not object at all to India's policy of neutrality. But may I ask him whether in his opinion Government feels that communism will respect it?

Dr. Keskar: I am coming to the second point. Mr. Anthony was making a great point with regard to this great fight of democracy and communism. His thesis is that democracy and communism are in a sort of a death-struggle and unless we take our stand clearly today we will not be able to stop the onrush of communism. He meant to imply also that India cannot remain neutral, that it is not possible for India to remain neutral. I said, and I think the Prime Minister has clarified it in this House many times, that the policy of any Government is not an eternal policy, it is not a permanent policy. The policies of nations are changed and adapted to circumstances. If we follow a certain policy today, we follow it because we consider it is in the best interests of our nation. But we give no guarantee that tomorrow, with changed circumstances, we will follow exactly the same policy. This has been made very clear, and many times, on the floor of this House. Therefore, when I said, and when the Prime Minister told this House, that we follow a policy of neutrality, we believe that in the circumstances of today that is the best policy for our country. There is no question of our following that policy up to a particular time or for a particular period. Whatever policy we consider is in the best interests of the country we will follow, and naturally we will ask the House to give us a vote of confidence on that policy whenever necessary.

In this connection, I might refer at the same time to an analogous matter which was raised by two of the hon. Members of the House with regard to the Commonwealth foreign policy. Two or three hon. Members—my friend, Mr. Tirumala Rao was one of them—raised the question of our following a Commonwealth foreign policy. I think it has been made clear many times on the floor of the House—and if my hon. friends read carefully the reports of the meetings of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers, they will find it—that there is no such thing as a Commonwealth foreign policy and there never has been one. In fact, one of the reasons which prompted us to be and to continue to be with the

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Commonwealth is that it is the only group which allows us complete latitude and freedom to have and to follow a policy as we liked; any alignment with any other group meant following a certain definite policy. If my hon. friends will read the declaration made after the last two conferences of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers, they will find that the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers exchanged views. That did not mean that they agreed with each other—they came certainly to know each other's views, but that is all. I do not think there has been ever any effort made on behalf of any Commonwealth country to ask another country to change its opinions. In fact, hon. Members know that members of the Commonwealth countries differ very vitally on matters of foreign policy; that is well-known to the House. So, there being no such thing as a "Commonwealth foreign policy", I think it is an unjust accusation to level against the Government that the Government is following the foreign policy of the Commonwealth.

My friend, Mr. Hanumanthaiya, made a reference to the question of our calling an Inter-Asian conference. His idea is that as we succeeded in calling a Conference of Asiatic countries on Indonesia and that Conference proved very successful, we should call another Conference for abolition of colonialism. If I may say so, my hon. friend has misunderstood the purport and scope of the Conference on Indonesia. It was a Governmental Conference to decide whether the countries which attended it could come to an understanding with regard to any policy that they might follow in reference to the struggle that was going on in Indonesia. A Conference of the type that my hon. friend suggests for abolishing colonialism is something quite different—something on a quite different basis. May I ask my hon. friend whether he has studied the question of how many Asiatic countries which are free would like actively to participate in the formation of an Asiatic bloc for abolition of colonialism or of any other *ism*? May I ask my hon. friend to consider the military and other positions of the various independent Asiatic countries and their inclinations? Does he think it is possible for us to be able to get together the independent Asiatic nations to follow a positive policy, a united policy, for abolishing colonialism? If he goes into the details of the question, he will find that if you call such a Conference, that Conference will agree to disagree and will bring to light the fundamental differences with regard to various interests that are involved within the various nations.

Shri Hanumanthaiya (Mysore): May I say one word? So far as I am concerned, I am an individual. I cannot speak for the Government. But may I ask whether the Foreign Office has made any attempt in this direction?

Dr. Keskar: In view of the well-known attitudes of the various countries involved, I do not think that the time is yet ripe for calling such a Conference. That is our opinion. My hon. friend is entitled to his own opinion. I do feel, however, that any effort at Governmental level to call such a Conference is not bound to succeed.

Many hon. Members raised the question which has been dealt with on the floor of the House many times. I mean the question of the French and Portuguese possessions in India. Hon. Members know very well the policy of Government with regard to these possessions. Naturally, some hon. Members have asked why Government does not expedite the matter. They have to keep in view the fact that we have to deal with independent countries in this matter. It is not possible for us to carry on this work except through negotiations with them and by putting pressure on them. I hope hon. Members do not expect that India should take up a crusade for liberating all territories. It is something beyond the bounds of possibility. We have to do this work, but we have

to do it by negotiation and pressure and it is bound to take some time. The solution of such a question cannot be achieved within a day or within a year. It might take a longer time. I would therefore request hon. Members to have patience. I might assure hon. Members that Government is as much interested in these questions as they are, and it will see that they are solved satisfactorily.

Shri Joachim Alva: May I ask one question? Has the Portuguese Government replied to the communication sent by our Minister in Lisbon with regard to the Portuguese possessions in India?

Dr. Keskar: Not yet, Sir.

Then, my hon. friend Mr. Borooh outlined the problem of the tribal area very well. This area which was practically forgotten—a hinterland of India—has suddenly become very important—and is a very strategic area. I might say that since the attainment of independence on 15th August 1947, the work that we have done in this area has been of benefit to the people there. It has strengthened our administrative structure there. My hon. friend himself quoted the number of schools that we have opened. We are making efforts to give more facilities. I might assure my hon. friend that the problems of the tribal area are engaging the urgent attention of the Government and every endeavour will be made to see that this area does not suffer for want of funds.

My hon. friend Mr. Borooh put me a question about the Assam Rifles. He wanted to know why the Assam Rifles which cost us more than Rupees one crore are not put under the Defence Ministry. The obvious reason is that the Assam Rifles serve a double purpose: (i) the internal police security, and (ii) the security of Assam itself internally apart from the external tribal area. He is himself aware of the valuable work done by the Assam Rifles for the Province of Assam. On that account, it has not been possible to ask the Defence Ministry to take over this item of expenditure, as the Defence Ministry tackle only items of purely Army expenditure. So it is to allow the Assam Rifles to be utilised also as a Police Force for a region which is somewhat semi-settled that we have kept them under the External Affairs Ministry.

My hon. friend Mr. Karmarkar referred to the question of our Delegations to the United Nations. This was also reiterated by my hon. friend Mr. Shiva Rao. I do agree with the points made. Government will make its best efforts to see that our Delegations to the United Nations are strengthened in such a way that we shall have a kind of a permanent under-structure—especially an economic under-structure, to which my hon. friend referred,—which will serve us permanently, so that our work at the United Nations will be more useful and will give some return to India.

My hon. friend Seth Govind Das referred to the question of Indians overseas. This is an important question. It is one which we have dealt with both on the floor of this House and outside for a number of years. In spite of its importance if I may say so, it stands on a different footing after 15th August 1947. Take the question of South Africa. There, inspite of our greatest desire, it is not possible for us at the moment to do more than what we are doing. It is beyond our capacity to go further. I know that the position of Indians in certain territories which were formerly British colonies is not at all very happy. At the same time, we should take into consideration the position of countries like Burma and Ceylon, which are now independent. If we want to improve the position of Indians in these countries, we should remember that we can do so only by negotiation and friendly exchange of views and not by fighting with the Governments there. They are independent Governments and we have to keep up our intercourse with them even in spite of the interests of our countrymen there. I do agree that the question of Indians who are in certain colonies controlled by the British Government can be and should be negotiated with the British Government at a

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different level. I might assure the House that the Government of India will do its very best in this matter.

Seth Govind Das (Madhya Pradesh): Does the hon. Minister remember that when there was a dispute over the clove trade in Zanzibar it was settled on account of the British Government? Has the Government approached the British Government as far as the countries of the Commonwealth are concerned to move in the matter?

Shri Joachim Alva: May I take that point further—about New Zealand?

Mr. Speaker: Whatever that may be hon. Members need not take any more time by putting questions.

Dr. Keskar: I hope my hon. friends know that Commonwealth countries are completely independent and we have to deal with them separately. It is only in the case of territories which are colonies of the United Kingdom that we have to deal with the British Government and certainly that question will be taken up.

Certain hon. Members referred to a very important matter—I mean the question of our publicity in foreign countries. I do agree that due to various reasons we have not been able to put forth our point of view in foreign countries as we should have been able to. But, at the same time, we have to remember the difficulties in the way. First of all, I hope hon. Members will take into consideration that at the very moment when we wanted to expand this service and put forth our point of view in all parts of the world, we had this financial crisis and we had to reduce drastically our expenditure and I think the axe fell most unmercifully on this particular section.

Shri Tyagi (Uttar Pradesh): Because it was inefficient to handle the job.

Dr. Keskar: Probably that might be my hon. friend's opinion. Many of the posts that were sanctioned were cancelled and the section did not begin functioning. But at the same time we have to remember also that publicity, or external publicity, is not something which can be separated from internal publicity, because in India we have both of them which go together for the preparation of the material.

Shri Goswami (Madras): Why did you separate them then?

Dr. Keskar: That is a different question: I will come to that shortly.

We have at the same time to remember that doing propaganda in certain sections of the world is not a question of simply disseminating facts as they are. If simple dissemination of facts will bring about a change, that would have been the method employed. For example, I might draw the attention of my hon. friends to what many Members referred, namely, that we are not doing anything to counter the propaganda of Pakistan in the Middle-East. We have to remember that there we have to counter a propaganda which is based on religious fanaticism. It is not something which can be countered by simply disseminating the truth. There are certain human prejudices which cannot be countered only in this way. We have to think for that purpose of something more effective and that is a very difficult thing to do.

Some of my hon. friends referred to the hostility that we find exhibited in the Anglo-Saxon Press. I perfectly agree—especially with regard to the hostilities in a large number of British papers. Well, it cannot be helped. 12 Noon Probably amongst the British papers there is that deep-rooted prejudice with regard to India. I myself am doubtful whether it can be removed by propaganda.

In this connection I think it desirable to draw the attention of my hon. friends and the House to the point raised by, I think, Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man. In regard to Kashmir he asked why our propaganda did not cut any ice. I will just refer to one single fact which might serve as an illustration. The B.B.C. of London is not a Government Corporation; it is an autonomous Corporation. Though it cannot be called completely non-governmental, it is semi-governmental. Now the B.B.C. has been continuously broadcasting bulletins of what is called the Azad Kashmir Government, as if they emanate from the official Azad Kashmir Government.

An. Hon. Member: Was any protest made about it?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let him proceed.

Dr. Keskar: The so-called leader of the Azad Kashmir movement, Sardar Ibrahim and Mr. Gurmani, the Minister in Charge of Kashmir Affairs in Pakistan, were allowed to broadcast from the B.B.C., while at the same time the Indian broadcasts with regard to Kashmir were completely blacked out. When this is the case with regard to a body which has the sole monopoly of broadcasting news to the whole of the British Empire I need not speak of the many other papers.

Shri Tyagi: Is it not failure of your diplomacy?

Dr. Keskar: Diplomacy cannot order the B.B.C. to change its attitude. If my hon. friend feels that he can he may try and he will find that he will not be able to do anything.

I will now refer to certain points raised by my hon. friend Mr. Kamath. It is always a pleasure to study the points raised by my hon. friend and in this particular case I am still more glad, because I am able to furnish him information which might please him. He raised the point as to why in the Washington Embassy the revised budget is double that of the estimated Budget. My hon. friend and many other hon. Members have time and again asked on the floor of this House as to why we are not trying to Indianise our Embassies, especially those in Washington and London. Now, I might inform him that more than 50 per cent. of the expenditure is due to Indianisation, because as I said on the floor of the House twice before, one Indian employee costs three times as much as a European employee who is locally recruited, because the Indian employee and his family has to be given to and fro passage and other amenities. Naturally, 40 per cent. of the expenditure is due to devaluation. So when the expenditure is due to our efforts to Indianise the staff, I hope he will support that, and to that extent he will be pleased.

Shri Kamath: The point I raised was that though the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. are hard currency areas, the revised estimate for the U.S.S.R. is less than the budgeted estimate, the revised estimate for U.S.A. is double the budgeted estimate.

Dr. Keskar: It is, as I said, due to Indianisation. We are posting a number of Indian officers in place of the local officers.

Shri Kamath: That is no explanation at all.

Dr. Keskar: I am sorry if my hon. friend is not satisfied. Mr. Raj Bahadur referred to the question of goodwill missions to countries like China.

Pandit Maitra (West Bengal): He has not said anything about the U.S.S.R.

Dr. Keskar: I am not making a review of all the countries.

Mr. Speaker: If hon. Members are so eager to put him questions, the difficulty would be that we shall have no time for the other Demands. He is putting his viewpoint and difficulties before the House. If hon. Members reserve their opinion, of course they will have further occasions to criticise him, when the Appropriation Bill comes in. Many other occasions also will come.

Dr. Keekar: My hon. friend, Mr. Ram Subhag Singh read out a long charge-sheet against the Prime Minister of India. It deserves the highest consideration, and I do hope that when he himself takes up this responsibility, he will be able to do much better than the Prime Minister of India and will be able to show greater results in the foreign policy of India. I will say only one thing. He raised a question which showed that he has not looked at the rules and regulations of international law. He raised the question of our recognition of the Vatican and said that we should have recognised Kashi and also Mecca. He should know that the Vatican is an international State recognised by all other countries.

Dr. R. S. Singh: Has U.S.A. recognised the Vatican?

Dr. Keekar: Yes. Every country except Soviet Russia has recognised the Vatican as an international State. It is for that reason that we have recognised the Vatican, not because the Vatican is a religious institution but because it is an international State. Otherwise the question would not have arisen.

I am sorry I have already overstepped the time limit and I will not be able to take up the many other points which my hon. friends have raised. I do the progress that we have made in this Department is much greater and has the progress that we have made in this Department is much greater and has been at a much greater pace than they care to admit.

Shri Hanumanthaiya: Sir, he has not replied about the question of recognition to be accorded to the State of Israel.

Mr. Speaker: Whatever it may be, he has dealt with whatever points he wanted to deal with. Even if he had wanted, he could not have dealt with all the points within the time at his disposal.

I shall now put the demands to the vote. The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 51,68,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'Ministry of External Affairs'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,20,41,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'Tribal Areas'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,39,99,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'External Affairs'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Speaker: We shall now proceed with the Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Rehabilitation and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. We will first take up the Ministry of Rehabilitation. Up to what time do we go?

The Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): We will go up to 4-30 p.m. and then take up the other Ministry. There are many Members who are anxious to participate in the discussion and I would therefore request you to allow the House to sit till 6-30 p.m. today.

Mr. Speaker: With regard to this arrangement whereby we are sitting everyday beyond five o'clock, personally I should try my best to revolt against this. The only alternative seems to be that there should be fewer speakers and they should only just make their points. I would not like the idea of sitting beyond six to-day.

Shri Kamath: Can't we sit for more days?

Mr. Speaker: That is a different matter. This year it is not possible unfortunately. We are following the old practice and every Demand will have to be put through before the 31st March.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: We will sit for longer hours only for two days.

Mr. Speaker: In that hope, I am extending the time to-day by one hour. I am afraid that, if, day after day this practice of extending the time is followed, later on, it might be urged that since we have been sitting till six and it had been found necessary too, the permanent time should therefore be up to six o'clock.

Shri Sidhva (Madhya Pradesh): If the House accepts sitting till six o'clock?

Mr. Speaker: If the House accepts, it is a different matter. I think it is the few people who are very desirous of speaking who are urging this and very probably—this is my opinion and I am giving it—a very large number of Members who do not evince so much interest or enthusiasm to sit till late in the evening just submit to what the others who are anxious to speak are urging. I am here to see that things are done in the best interests of all concerned collectively. Whatever that may be, we need not go into it now. We will sit up to six o'clock to-day. We will discuss Rehabilitation till 4 o'clock.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: Up to 4-30, Sir, since we have decided to sit till 6-30 today.

Mr. Speaker: No. I have decided to sit only till six o'clock. The House may go up to four o'clock with the Ministry of Rehabilitation.

Shri J. E. Kapoor (Uttar Pradesh): Last year we had only one hour for the Department of Information and Broadcasting.

Mr. Speaker: We will take up Rehabilitation Ministry till four so that the House has more than two hours for Information Ministry. The hon. Ministers will take about half an hour each?

The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri Mohan Lal Saxena): I will take about 45 minutes.

Mr. Speaker: That will give about 1½ hours to the other Members. Anyhow, we will try to adjust matters.

DEMAND NO. 28—MINISTRY OF REHABILITATION

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,88,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'Ministry of Rehabilitation'."

DEMAND NO. 74—EXPENDITURE ON DISPLACED PERSONS

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,00,00,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'Expenditure on Displaced Persons'."

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani (Uttar Pradesh): As I have just returned from Bengal, I have missed most of the Budget debate. I have tried to study the Budget with the little time at my disposal, and I am surprised to see that this

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year only Rupees six crores have been provided for relief to displaced persons and only about 14 crores of rupees under the head "Loans". The Finance Minister is a very clever and able man, and he has presented a surplus budget this year. We have to congratulate him on that, but how has the surplus been made, I would like to ask. This surplus has been effected at the cost of refugees. I would rather that the country suffered a deficit than have such a surplus budget. The refugees have been hit very hard, having lost all their possessions and all their property. During the last two years or more than two years we have not succeeded in doing anything about their property. I feel that the Government's policy in regard to evacuee property has been a total failure. If we have introduced a cut on any item, it is on this item of refugee rehabilitation. A cut can be justified if there is no need, but as it is, a great amount of money is needed for affording relief to these people. We have been doing this work in our own small way during the last two or three years and we know what is required to be done in this direction. On what ground has the Government thought fit to bring about a cut on this item? I know as the Adviser to the U.P. Government that many of our good and necessary schemes have had to suffer, not because there was no need for them, but because there was no money to spend. Perhaps, this Government does not realise that the resettlement and refugee problem is a problem not for the Rehabilitation Ministry alone, but a vital problem for all the departments and for the welfare of the county. If the sixty or seventy lakhs of people are not going to be rehabilitated, if they are going to move about the country as beggars, it will be a potential source of danger and lawlessness. If we cannot resettle them, we will be only creating robbers, dacoits and brigands. We do not seem to realise that. But, the question is how to proceed in the matter, how to resettle them?

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

I know we have spent a vast amount of money in feeding the people in the camps, in the earlier stages. If two years ago we were in a position to give them even a lesser amount of money for rehabilitation, we could have resettled a much larger number of them, because, at that time, some of the people had come with some capital, although very little. As we did not give them rehabilitation facilities at that time, they have exhausted that capital. To-day, I know they are living on their distress gold. They have exhausted all their resources and if we go on prolonging further aid, they would exhaust what little they have and they would not be in a position to rehabilitate themselves. Therefore, if you are short of money, I would say give more money for rehabilitation this year, and give less next year; let us do as much as we can this year, because the whole success of our rehabilitation depends on its timeliness. It must be done now; it cannot be delayed. If you could help them now, they would also bring forth their own resources, however small they may be, and they would be able to resettle themselves. I see no justification for a cut under this head.

The second point that I wish to bring before the House is this. You know, in the last few weeks, our entire attention has been drawn to East Bengal. I am just coming from Bengal. Thousands of people are pouring in. Whatever may be the Prime Minister's figures about this, I have seen with my own eyes thousands of people are coming on foot and by trains. Some of us wishfully think that mass exodus would not continue. I want to tell you that exodus is going to continue and will be heavy. I said it is going to be heavy, because I had seen letters from the people of East Bengal. I know what is their feeling. People from East Bengal have written, "we know even in India we would

not be resettled, we know we will die in India; but we would rather come to India and die in peace and honour than be humiliated in Pakistan." That is the attitude of the people in Pakistan. Thousands are going to come. I was surprised at the way in which the whole problem is being tinkered with in Bengal. At some other time, I shall speak about it in detail. You must realise that you have got to provide extra money for the Bengal problem. You have to take steps and measures similar to the measures that you took in the case of Western Pakistan, to resettle and rehabilitate and give relief to the people of East Bengal. I do not understand why the East Bengal problem is put on a different footing from the West Pakistan problem. It has been going on like this for some time now. I do not know the reason for that. I therefore hope that Government would reconsider the matter, and give a larger amount. If at all a cut has to be applied, it should be on the demands of other departments, not on this. We must provide for extra money for the new problem that has arisen in West Bengal.

We have been hearing during the last two years from the Prime Minister and from all people that this department should be put on a war footing, that it should have emergency powers and that unless this department has emergency powers, it cannot tackle this tremendous problem. Very few countries in the world have had to face this kind of problem. There have been public demands, and as far as I remember, the Standing Advisory Committee has again and again said that the powers of this department should be increased. The Prime Minister also has vaguely referred to this many times and a Cabinet Committee was appointed some time back specially to deal with this question. But, nothing has come out of all this; things are as they were before. We do not find that this department has been given priority over others. Let us see how this department is functioning. This department has not got any financial powers of an emergency character. I shall just give only one illustration. I was interested in one U.P. Government scheme. That scheme came to the Secretariat in January 1948. A persistent person like myself was at it and I badgered all the officers concerned with that, and I could get the scheme sanctioned only in October 1948. If it takes so much time to sanction a scheme, how do you expect the Rehabilitation Ministry to function? Why does it take time? Because, it is not an independent Ministry. This Ministry has to function along with Finance, P.W.D., Industries and Commerce departments and I do not know what other departments are concerned. Is there any machinery for co-ordinating the various departments? We were told that when the Cabinet Committee is formed, the work would go on on an emergency basis. But, we do not see that result. This Department is not working on a war footing. It has no emergency powers. Rather, we have a feeling that the status of this Ministry is less than that of the other Ministries. This Ministry is not able to function independently; it has to co-ordinate with other Ministries. If this Minister does not sit in the Cabinet along with the others, how can he carry on his work? Therefore, it is very necessary that this Ministry should be given a better status and it must have greater powers in financial matters. Even in the matter of officers, I know that when efficient officers were asked for, they were not made available. How long are we going to tinker with this problem? When are we going to realise that the relief and rehabilitation problem is not a small problem? As I told you, very few countries in the world have had to face a problem of this nature, and of this dimension. If we have to solve it, we could solve it only on the basis of an emergency; otherwise, it cannot be solved. The patience of the refugees has been exhausted. They have exhausted all their resources. They are now living on their little ornaments. Most of them are starving half the time. I know. How long do you expect things to go on like this? If the Government means business, if Government

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realises as it professes that this problem is one of the most important problems, then, this budget has to be increased, and the Ministry must have sufficient powers to carry on the work.

Then, there is another very important point. The relations between the Central Government and the provincial Governments with regards this department have to be defined. Most of the schemes have to be worked out in the different provinces; but the money is supplied by the Centre. I know many provinces do not take to this work very seriously; they are not anxious to proceed rapidly; things are moving as slowly as possible. For instance, recently during the Budget debate in Bengal, I learnt that the money allotted for this purpose, was not spent; not even half of that amount. How did it happen? The money was lying there; people were starving in the streets. But, the money could not be utilised because, nobody was working for it. Two years ago, I had an occasion to talk with the then Relief Ministry of Bengal. After talking with them for two hours, my impression was that the Ministry was not anxious to know how to rehabilitate the refugees; the burden of his song was how to send back these people to East Bengal. That is how that Ministry started functioning. Now, that attitude has slightly changed; yet, I do not see sufficient sympathy and desire on their part to resettle the refugees. There are other provinces also who have similar attitude. I do not want to mention their names. Therefore, I say if the Central Government gives money for rehabilitation work, the Central Government should also see that the work proceeds according to its plans and with the desired speed. The Central Government must have its own agencies in the provinces, particularly in those provinces where the work is not proceeding. Otherwise, I say we will only be tinkering with the problem. After all, Delhi is not going to settle all the refugees. Refugees will have to be settled in the provinces. We must see that some method is devised by which the provinces may carry on the work with expedition.

There is another point to which I would like to draw the attention of the House. This problem is not one for the Government alone; it is a problem for the whole country. It is a national crisis and in the case of a national crisis the entire nation is required to stand up and help. I remember about war time in London when London was being bombed and the children had to be sent out to the villages. Government did not set up all the homes. But homes were set up by the people. Government harnessed the enthusiasm of the people, the public came forward and they laid out their resources before Government and they all together tackled this tremendous national problem. But here, the Government for some reason or other, has failed to enthuse the people, to harness the existing enthusiasm and utilise it for this big work. Not that the people are unwilling. They are willing. In this very town of Delhi for two months I was running refugee camps entirely from public support. Money, food, cloth and other things poured in, they simply came pouring in. But I do not know why to-day the Government cannot draw out the resources of the nation, and enthuse the nation. But unfortunately there is an attitude that outside social workers are interlopers. Very few of them are privileged like myself. I know I get all the co-operation and aid from all the Ministries. But on the whole, there is the feeling that these social workers should not be there, that they are a source of hindrance and interference and should be kept off as far as possible. But I say Government's resources are limited, and if they want to get greater resources, they should appeal to the good spirit of the people and utilise their help to the best of their ability. I do not wish to go into details about different schemes, because there are other speakers to speak after me. But I would touch upon one or two points. In the report that we have received

I see that the total number of people who have come so far is 63 lakhs and in the camps even during the peak time there were about nine lakhs. Therefore Government do not cater to a big number. Government really is able to reach only a very small fraction of the total. Even this small number, how are we dealing with them? How do we tackle this problem? If these people are to be resettled, they are to be resettled either on land, or with loans for commercial purposes, or on small jobs. Lastly big fraction would remain who cannot be absorbed in either of the ways mentioned. They would have to be trained for productive purposes and then settled on some Productive work. Here in this we are given a list of the people who are being trained. The work done is very good. I admit that. But what is the size of the work done? On page 16 you find that 15,000 people are under training. 63 lakhs have come and there are only 15,000 people under training. If we are really serious, we have to do much more. This is just like our collecting a hundred women and starting a needle work class. This will not solve the problem. You have to work on a gigantic scale. What is the organisational set-up of the Ministry to deal with this problem? Have we approached the industrialists and asked them to start polytechnics attached to their factories? We should explore all resources and evolve a suitable plan. This is one of the biggest problems which we have to tackle. I would particularly draw the attention of the Ministry to this and ask them to evolve a plan which will absorb these people, Productive work only will increase the wealth of the country and this really resettle the refugees.

I have many things to speak of, but as there has already been a ring, I shall call off. I would only say a few words about what I have seen in Bengal. I hope the hon. Speaker will give me a little indulgence. The hon. Prime Minister yesterday gave us some figures. I am very reluctant to touch upon these figures, because the Prime Minister has resources at his disposal with which he can assess the figures. I am just an ordinary citizen. I can move about and see only with my own eyes and commonsense and make my estimates. But I do not know on what basis these figures were arrived at, and what machinery the Government has to estimate the figures. I saw people pouring in by trains. I went only to one side of the border, to the Ranaghat and Bongaon area. There I went even up to the end of our territory. The report I received on the night before last was that 5,000 people came on foot only on Bongaon route. There are also other people coming by other routes, on Sunderbans side, Haanabad and Shantipur and Agartala. I did not have the time to go to these places. But I know that people are coming in large numbers at all these points. The Government have no machinery either to count the people or to render them any assistance at these points. At Ranaghat and Bongaon Railway Stations there was one officer to take down the records of the incoming people. But how can one officer take down the records or make any assessment of the people coming in? I may be told that from the railway warrants issued, the figures were assessed. I had three days' experience at Sealdah. There were only two officers posted there to issue railway warrants while thousands of people were pouring in. The volunteers there told me that quite a number had to go without warrants as the officers could not cope with the task. I myself rang up the Relief Commissioner and asked him to increase the number of officers for issue of railway warrants. I do not therefore think that figures based on the issue of the railway warrants is correct assessment of the number of people coming in. The ration cards may be another basis. But there also there is no arrangement to register all the refugees. We have to devise some method to get the correct figures. We have no effective method now. I do not therefore think there is any machinery by which Government is in a position to give correct figures, as to the number coming in or the number going out. On eye estimate, I feel the Hindus coming

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would be about four or five times the number of Muslims going out. But I do not want to dispute the figures already given. I only want to know the basis on which these figures were computed. I think at least the figures are very approximate and nowhere near the actual figures.

As far as the arrangements in Bengal are concerned, the Government are trying to do their best, but the arrangements are very inadequate. Some camps have been set up where refugees are being sent. But there are no arrangements at the points, at the gateways where people are entering to give them any sort of assistance. People come on foot travelling for seven or eight days and when they reach the border, there is no water, no food, no medicine or relief of any kind. Social workers have started going to these places and are giving some assistance. But now-a-days you cannot function unless you have complete government co-operation in the matter of petrol, ration etc. I will just give you one experience of mine which cut me to the quick, and I want to take this House into my confidence. At Sealdah Station thousands are coming in. Two Marwari and one Bengali Associations are feeding the people there. They are buying rice from the black market. We tried to bring in some co-ordination among them so they told me they would not be able to continue unless they got rice at control rates or were allowed to import it from outside. So in my foolishness I rang up the Civil Supplies Minister and asked him whether he could help in the matter, prompt came this reply, "You are doing wrong in feeding the people at Sealdah. You are only encouraging them to come to Sealdah." I argued with him that whether we encourage or not, they come, some of whom have had to come on foot walking for seven or eight days without food. When they reach the border most of them are faint with hunger, many children are starving. One has to see their faces to realise in what mental and physical agony they arrive. Then, when they arrive, they cannot be removed immediately as there are only two trucks which are supposed to take them to the city. There are others going by local trains which go at odd hours, therefore willy-nilly, these people have to stay at Sealdah for twelve, fourteen, and sometimes twenty-four hours. These people could not be left at Sealdah starving. But he said, "We are short of rice. And if you give them more, more people will come." He then asked, "How were you feeding them till now?" I said, "From the blackmarkets and that cannot continue". "Let them carry on" he said, and there the matter ended. He failed to realize this simple fact that it is necessary to give the people who are feeding the refugees, rice at controlled rates. If the attitude of the local people in authority is such, how can we expect them to rehabilitate the refugees? Therefore I have raised the point that where the Provincial Government is not sympathetic, where it is not handling the problem properly, and where the Centre is giving the finance, the Centre must set up an agency to see that the work is properly carried out. Otherwise there is no point in giving them any money. Though I have more to say, as my time is up, I conclude here.

Dr. M. M. Das (West Bengal): This problem of rehabilitation that has been thrust upon this country, is an aftermath of our Independence. In a war of Independence, the destructions, the devastations, the terrible loss of life and property and the untold miseries and sufferings of the people, precede Independence. But, in our case, these are following the Independence that we achieved by peaceful means. There is another point of difference. In our case the sufferings and miseries of the people have been a continuous process and they are continuing even to this day, two and a half years after we achieved our independence. Every day Pakistan rises up and gives a kick to the Indian Union and we only try to explain away the kick philosophically. A nation of

philosophers that we are. The policy of communal hatred and mistrust, that has been the guiding principle of the Muslim League for so many years and which ultimately succeeded in carving out the theocratic State of Pakistan, has been aggravating the complexity of our problem of rehabilitation a thousandfold.

If we look at the map of Eastern Pakistan we will find a small State surrounded on three sides by the Indian Union. Had it been in any other part of the world, this tiny State of Eastern Pakistan would have lived in perpetual fear of its giant neighbour, the Indian Union. But here the case is just the opposite. Here the giant neighbour, the Indian Union, lives in perpetual fear of the dwarf State of Eastern Pakistan. Our borders are violated; our relations are butchered: our womenfolk, our mothers and sisters are raped and ravished and our merchandise goods are held in transit. We send protest after protest and receive no reply. The results of all these have been our mounting expenditure on rehabilitation. Robbed, Raped, butchered, panic-stricken people cross the borders in thousands and millions and put an additional burden upon the meagre food and financial resources of our country. How long can a State bear this strain? How long can a people tolerate this loot, arson, murder and the rape committed upon their fellow brethren and blood-relations? Our Government must act and act quickly and decisively. The financial resources of our country do not permit us to take upon our shoulders the great responsibility of rehabilitating 12 million more refugees. We must not allow these 12 million non-Muslims in Eastern Pakistan to become refugees. We must not forget the golden maxim that "prevention is better than cure."

Only the other day our Rehabilitation Minister told this House in reply to a question that two or three lakhs of Scheduled Caste Hindus are still living in Western Pakistan. Last year, in reply to a similar question put to him by me he gave this House to understand that the Scheduled Caste people of Western Pakistan were not willing to leave their cattle behind and come to India. That meant that they are living there in Western Pakistan for the sake of their cattle. Yesterday the hon. the Prime Minister told us that these Scheduled Caste Hindus have been prevented by the Pakistan Government—he not mention the name—from coming over to India or kept there by force. The reply given by our Rehabilitation Minister last year was a bitter pill for me to swallow. But I had to swallow it, although I did not relish it. Now I ask the hon. Minister of State for Rehabilitation whether these Scheduled Caste people are still living in Western Pakistan or they have been butchered. Are these people, if alive, living there as Scheduled Caste Hindus or they have been converted into Scheduled Caste Muslims? They are a dumb ignorant mass. It is not at all likely that they will be able to hold their own and live in Pakistan when the stronger, the wealthier, and more educated sections of the Hindu community have been compelled to leave that country. The only inevitable fate that awaits these people is conversion to Islam. The Scheduled Caste people of India have swelled the number of Muslims in this country in the past. It is an irony of fate that they are these Scheduled Caste people again who are going to swell the number of Muslims in Eastern Pakistan as well as in Western Pakistan. History repeats itself.

The hands of our Rehabilitation Ministry are already full with displaced persons from Western Pakistan. Subject to correction, I believe that some 50 crores have already been spent on refugees. In spite of this huge expenditure, thousands of them are still living in tents. The influx of refugees from Eastern Pakistan has just begun. If the total number of displaced persons from Western Pakistan was about six millions, the figure from Eastern

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Pakistan is likely to be 12 millions. Do our Government possess the capacity to rehabilitate these 12 million people? The density of population in Western Bengal has already reached 950 per sq. mile.

Many things have been said against the Bengal Government. Unfortunately I do not know anything about them. I had no occasion to go there this time. But I know that this year the Government have earmarked five crores of rupees for the refugees. Our Prime Minister called for a Conference in Calcutta the other day of all the Chief Ministers of the States bordering West Bengal and asked them to make necessary arrangements for receiving the refugees from Eastern Pakistan. But, if this national Government of ours, in spite of its best efforts and in spite of the expenditure of huge sums of money have failed to rehabilitate six million displaced persons from Western Pakistan during the last two and a half years, will they succeed in rehabilitating 12 million refugees from Eastern Pakistan? The only solution therefore lies in creating conditions in Eastern Pakistan so that the Hindus, the non-Muslims there will be able to live in safety of their lives, honour and property. There is no other alternative. We the people of the Indian Union seldom realise how much we owe to these non-Muslims of Eastern Pakistan. When the question of the division of Bengal came before the Provincial Legislative Assembly, if the Hindu Members coming from Eastern Bengal did not vote in favour of partition, today the whole of Bengal would have gone to Pakistan. In spite of the bitter experience of Muslim League rule for ten years in Bengal, those Hindus from Eastern Bengal voted in favour of the partition of the Province, so that at least one third of Bengal with Calcutta and its industrial belt might come over to the Indian Union. They knew full well the consequences which would follow. They were fully conscious of their political death as a community, which was bound to come. The Indian Union owes a great debt to those non-Muslims of Eastern Pakistan. The Union of India is indebted to the Hindus of Eastern Pakistan for the state of Western Bengal, for the great city of Calcutta and its industrial belt and for the huge amount of revenue from jute. Today the non-Muslims or Hindus of Eastern Pakistan ask their brethren in the Indian Union: "Is the Indian Union going to desert us at this hour of great peril when our very existence is at stake?" The answer to this question has been very admirably and magnificently given yesterday in the speech of the hon. Prime Minister. He said: "The minorities of Eastern Pakistan are certainly our concern to the extent that they have security and if they do not have security measures will have to be devised to give them security". The question of the minorities of Eastern Pakistan is today our national question and we the people of the Indian Union stand pledged to it.

Shrimati Renuka Ray (West Bengal): On a non-official resolution that was brought before the House on rehabilitation during this session I spoke on the activities of the Rehabilitation Ministry and made some concrete suggestions. I dwelt more particularly on the work that is done in West Bengal. In the short time at my disposal I do not want to recapitulate all that I have already said.

I only want to point out that 16 lakhs of refugees had arrived in the small Province of West Bengal before the grim tragedy that is now being enacted in Eastern Pakistan started. If we are to rehabilitate or absorb as citizens all these 16 lakhs, I do not think that more can be rehabilitated in that small area, and absorbed as normal citizens.

When this new influx of refugees started the Central Government after consultation with the West Bengal Government decided that it was to be a Central responsibility, not a responsibility in which they were responsible

merely for direction and finance but that the Central Government would undertake the execution of plans and schemes of rehabilitation in co-operation with the Provincial Governments.

There were many factors which led to this decision. One of them was that the small Province of West Bengal could not hold or rehabilitate any more, that there were neighbouring Provinces where such work had to be done and that the new influx though it may be small now was likely to assume proportions which cannot be shelved as a provincial responsibility. I am making this point, all the more, because I think that my hon. friend Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani, when she was speaking, perhaps did not have the whole picture or did not know the whole picture in detail. The reason why at Sealdah there are not arrangements to receive a large influx of refugees is because there are centres set up at Ranaghat, and Bongaon as well as in Assam and Bihar where refugees are to be taken in.

Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani: What arrangement do Government have at Ranaghat to detain the people? I saw with my own eyes that there was just one officer on the platform taking down the records of the incoming people.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I will reply to that. (*Interruption*) Sir, I am not giving way. There is a certain amount of political exploitation involved of which my hon. friend Sucheta Kripalani is probably unaware. I am sorry I have to say it on the floor of this House. People who would have got down where the holding-centres are set up are being deliberately directed to go to Sealdah where conditions naturally get out of hand as there is no room.

Acharya Kripalani (Uttar Pradesh): For which party is the hon. lady speaking? Is it the party in power?

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I am only trying to be just to the Government of Bengal and to the Chief Minister of Bengal who has won the heart of every Bengalee today by the way in which he has handled the crisis that is taking place today. (*Interruption*) I just want to say, if you will allow me to proceed, that these camps at Ranaghat and other places that were to have come into being earlier were delayed, because talks were going on regarding the responsibility of the Centre. I was in Calcutta when the influx started when 8,000 people a day came. I was also in Ranaghat and saw what was happening. I may say that the new camps were to be undertaken by the Central Government. I do not blame the Central Government for the delay, because in such things a few days delay does take place. The Provincial Government had to step in and undertake the starting of that new camp and their entire resources are being used. The Central machinery was not yet ready, and even when it is, the Bengal Government will be giving all the aid that is at its command. I do not say that things are being done as they should be but I do say that it is wrong to bring in the name of the Civil Supplies Minister and say that he is not interested in nor has cared for the new refugees coming over in such dire distress.

Shri Chattopadhyay (West Bengal): That is her experience and she has spoken about it.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I saw people at Sealdah station and am also aware of conditions. (*Interruption*) I want to finish and then you may ask questions. I say that the Civil Supplies Minister made arrangements at an early date for ration cards to be given on arrival to those who have been coming in. I also say that this machinery did not work always as well as it should have done from the beginning, but it worked far more efficiently and promptly than is usually the case. We are all aware in this House of the delays involved in the working of both Central or Provincial Departments. I do not think it is fair to

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say that the Civil Supplies Minister did not care for the refugees. It was his own personal interest and work which has quickened the working of that machinery and made it possible for almost all refugees to obtain ration cards on arrival. The Minister was informed by both the Government of West Bengal and the Central Government that the refugees were not to go up to Sealdah, except those who had relatives and that explains his telephone conversation with my hon. friend.

Shri J. R. Kapoor: The Civil Supplies Minister of West Bengal is not on trial here.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: His name was brought in and so I am trying to explain as it is only fair that the House should not have a wrong impression.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is a matter relating to a provincial Minister. The hon. Member may proceed further.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I am glad that the Centre has decided to take on the responsibility, because I am sure the experience of the past two and a half years, during which many acts of commission and omission have taken place, will be before them and the Central machinery that is going to be set up will be more able to cope with the problem. Though the problem is of much greater magnitude I hope that we will be successful in dealing with it, more satisfactorily than has been done hitherto.

When I spoke some time ago in this House then the Khulna occurrence had started. This was before East Bengal was in flames. I also told the House at that time about those agriculturist families who had come over to Bongaon area at that time and were being settled there. I mentioned that great tension was prevailing in Dacca. The day after that I went back to Calcutta and the tension turned into the tragedy that is now being enacted. I want to point out that at the outset, when it was being enacted in district after district, and village after village the Premier of East Bengal denied everything at first when the Chief Minister of West Bengal asked him to take measures and only at a later date partially acknowledged the truth. At first he refused even to allow the air facilities which the Chief Minister arranged. Every individual that came over from Dacca in those first few darkest days was able to come only due to the tremendous endeavour of the Chief Minister of West Bengal; all those women who were brought over from the hostels and came with protection at a later stage after the aerodrome murders had taken place came due to the individual effort of our Chief Minister of West Bengal. It was by his individual effort in prevailing upon the Minister in Dacca by which he was able to accomplish these things (*Interruption*) and prevent many a murder by asking after the whereabouts of large number of people whose names were given to him by their relatives and which he passed on to the Premier of Dacca insisting upon their safety.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: May I suggest to hon. Members that they should rather address themselves to what our Ministers ought to do.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I would now address myself to what they should do, but since these Ministers were brought in I had to make a reply. It was not I who raised the subject.

I want also to raise a point about the refugees coming over, to which the hon. the Prime Minister referred yesterday, namely the behaviour that fleeing terror stricken people get at the hands of the Customs people, at the Pakistan border before they come over. I want to add one thing which he did not mention yesterday, and that is the tremendous indignity and insult to which our women

are subjected. I myself have seen these women who have come over and almost every one of them who has come through these Customs barriers has been insulted by men Customs inspectors, although there are women officials at the Pakistan barrier.

I want to point out that I also have no particular knowledge of the actual figures of the number of people who have come over. The official estimates say that 1,50,000 have come over, and perhaps in the last day or two this number has increased. Large numbers have come by foot whose records are probably not kept. And although the official estimates are that one lakh of Muslims have gone over from India to Pakistan, I want to show what a tremendous difference there is between the two happenings. On the one side, in spite of the fact that they were attacked on trains and many killed, that there was no safe conduct and no protection was given, that at the Customs barriers everything was taken away from people, that women were subjected to indignities, that women who were trying to escape were on the way taken away by evildoers—in spite of all this,—at least 1,50,000 people have come over up to now. I have heard that recently, since I left Calcutta, the restriction in regard to permits and Income-tax certificates has been removed. Before I left Calcutta on Sunday last I analysed the figures of those who were coming over, district by district, and I found that it is mostly from the North Bengal districts of Eastern Pakistan that most people have come. From across the Padma river very few had been able to come by train. By air only from Dacca and Chittagong they have been able to come, as the Pakistan authorities refused to allow planes to fly from Feni and Comilla. I do not know if in the last two or three days there has been any increase in that number. I want to make one point. The Muslims who have gone over may have gone in terror of what might happen. There might have been tension, but they went with full protection, their women were not insulted, they were not bereft of their belongings. There can be no comparison between the happenings in Eastern Pakistan and those in India. The situation in Calcutta has been held well in hand in spite of the greatest provocation. I have said before, and I say again, that we are not beasts in this country. I want to give one illustration of a woman who suffered greatly, whose husband was killed in the aerodrome murder at Dacca and who was badly mutilated in trying to save him. I saw her on her arrival at Calcutta; after narrating everything that happened, she told me at the end "Tell the people that whatever happens, I do not want that any woman, even the wives of those very miscreants, should suffer in such a manner". That, I think, is the attitude of our people to a large extent. I have heard it asked, not by Members of this House but by some people, "Why are our people not retaliating?", meaning that we are cowards. Let me tell the people of this country that in Bengal Gandhiji's influence was considerable and that even during the Calcutta riots in 1946, muslim women were not molested though Hindu women became the prey of the evildoers.

Shri J. B. Kapoor: No hon. Member of this House suggested retaliation.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: I said "not by Members of this House". I want to say that we do not retaliate not because we are cowards but because we do not want to be dragged down to the level of Pakistan. I want to say that Pakistan is not only a theocratic State, it is a barbaric State. I say it is even an insult to Islam to call Pakistan an Islamic State.

The iron curtain still prevai's to a large extent. Though the House is now aware of things that have been happening we do not yet know what is still happening in isolated pockets. I only want to say that we demand that every Hindu, every member of the minority, in Eastern Pakistan must be given protection to come over. I am glad that in his reply yesterday the

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Prime Minister has said that this will be the paramount concern of the Government of India. Because, whatever be the Government's policies in regard to larger issues, the problem which must be faced immediately is that every member of the minority community must be able to come over from Eastern Pakistan with full protection. And if protection is not afforded by that barbaric State then we must see that that protection is afforded.

Finally, I want to say this. Regarding these people who are coming over, even if one crore of them come over, let us not forget that the population of this country goes up by five millions every year. Surely, in the face of all this disorder, it is possible for the Indian Union to take in this one crore. Let me assure the States and Provinces of this country that the loyalty of all these people who come in the face of disaster will be to those who give them succour, relief and shelter. In whatever part of India it may be, their first loyalty will be to them.

It has been said that some of the leaders of the Congress in Eastern Pakistan have come away. I want to say that very few of these came away before. Many of those who represent Eastern Pakistan were inhabitants of Calcutta and a few came away. I want to give you the example of the great Congress leader of Barisal, Shri Satin Sen who today is in "safe custody" in Pakistan because he refused to sign a declaration that "everything was peaceful" in that State.

An Hon. Member: In safe custody?

Shrimati Renuka Ray: The answer was given that he is "in safe custody", but he is no doubt actually in jail.

Before I conclude I hope that it will be possible for the people of this country to come forward and help the Government in its endeavour to rehabilitate the people. I do believe that it is not possible for any governmental machinery to deal with a problem of such magnitude: it can only be dealt with if all the citizens co-operate in that effort. As I have no more time I am unable to indicate to this House the details of how rehabilitation must be undertaken so that we may avoid the mistakes of the past.

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

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

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

लाला अचित राम : आज रिहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्टरी (Ministry of Rehabilitation) की प्रांट के सम्बन्ध में नुक्ताचीनी करने को कुछ समय दिया गया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि शायद नुक्ताचीनी करने की बहुत जरूरत नहीं है, क्योंकि इस महकमे पर जितनी अभी तक समालोचना हो चुकी है, वह इतनी काफी है कि उस पर ज्यादा समालोचना करने की जरूरत नहीं है। और अगर किसी बात पर सब लोगों में इत्फाक है, तो इस बात में है कि इस महकमे ने अभी तक कुछ नहीं किया। पबलिक (Public) की भी यही राय है, प्रेस (Press) की तरफ देखिये, उनकी भी यही राय है, शर्नाधियों का भी यही ख्याल है, और मिनिस्टर साहब की खुद की भी किसी हद तक अपनी राय यही है। और चूँकि इस बात पर इतनी एक राय है और इत्फाक है और यूनिमिटी (unanimity) है कि उस मजमून पर कोई

बहुत समय समालोचना करने के लिये ठीक नहीं होगा। मैंने पिछले साल भी एक तजवीज़ की थी, लेकिन वह हालात ऐसे नहीं बने कि इस महकमे में कुछ तबदीली की जा सके। लेकिन मैं एक बात जरूर समझता हूँ कि जहां इस महकमे के मुताल्लिक इतनी यूनिमीट्री है, दत्तफ़ाक़ है, वहां मैं कहे बगैर नहीं रह सकता कि आन-रेबुल मिनिस्टर (hon. the Minister) साहब ने जरूर अपने रवैये से इस बात को लोगों के दिलों पर यह अंकित कर दिया है कि वह नेकनीयती से सच्चे दिल से वह चाहते हैं कि यह महकमा अपने काम में सफल हो, इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। एक ही सिल्वर लाईनिंग (silver lining) बस इनकी ज्ञात वहां है। कम से कम यह सच्चे दिल से उसके लिये स्वाहिशमन्द तो है कि जितनी ताक़त उनके पास है, वे लगा देंगे, अब रहा कामयाब होने की बात कि सफल होते हैं कि नहीं, तो वह उनके बस की बात नहीं है

मैंने लास्ट इयर (last year) यह सज़ेशन (suggestion) दिया था कि सरदार पटेल इस महकमे को अपने हाथ में ले लें, लेकिन वह उसे नहीं ले सके। मैं समझता हूँ कि शायद दस वर्ष पहले अगर हिन्दुस्तान की तक्रसीम हुई होती, तो सरदार साहिब उसको ले सकते, तब वह इतना काम करने के काबिल होते, लेकिन अब वह उसे नहीं ले सकते। मैंने यह भी कहा था कि न हो तो मिनिस्टर साहिब कुछ कदम पीछे हट जायें, लेकिन वह भी नहीं हुआ। सारी बात यह है कि यह सब लोगों की राय है कि उस महकमे में कुछ न कुछ तबदीली करना लाज़िमी है। या तो प्राइम मिनिस्टर (the hon. the Prime Minister) साहब इस महकमे को सम्भालें या और कोई आदमी मुकर्रर करें जिसकी पावर्स (powers) प्राइम मिनिस्टर की सी हों। जब तक यह कुछ नहीं किया जाता तब तक महकमे को कुछ सफलता नहीं मिल सकती और जनता की मांग पूरी नहीं हो सकती। लेकिन पेश्तर इसके कि आप कोई तबदीली कर सकें, दो तीन बातें जरूरी हैं। पहली बात तो यह है कि मैं समझता हूँ कि इस महकमे का सारा ढंग बदलने की जरूरत है और एक सिरे से दूसरे सिरे तक जब तक सारा कायाकल्प नहीं होता है, तब तक इस महकमे से कुछ बनने वाला नहीं है, कितने ही अच्छे मिनिस्टर हों, उससे कुछ बनने वाला नहीं है। आज के दिन पबलिक (Public) के अन्दर मिनिस्ट्री (Ministry) के लिये स्टाफ (staff) के अन्दर और न गवर्नमेन्ट की दूसरी मिनिस्ट्रियों के अन्दर इस मिनिस्ट्री के लिये कोई क़द्रोक्कीमत नहीं है, और कोई वृक़्त नहीं है। हमारी स्वाहिश है कि यह मिनिस्टर आफ स्टेट (Minister of State) जो आज कैबिनेट रैंक (Cabinet rank) नहीं है, गवर्नमेन्ट उनकी उतनी वृक़्त नहीं करती है और दूसरे मिनिस्ट्रियों के मुकाबिले इसको इन्डिफ़ेन्टली ट्रीट (indifferently treat) करती है। मैं इस घाम के लिये गवर्नमेन्ट को पांच

[लाला अब्बिनत राम]

संज्ञा (suggestions) देना चाहता हूँ और अगर प्राइम मिनिस्टर और गवर्न-मेन्ट चाहती हैं कि इस महकमे के अन्दर तबदीली लायी जाये, तो पहली चीज तो यह है कि इस मिनिस्टरी का जो भी इनचार्ज हो, ए (A) बी (B) सी (C) कोई भी हो, वह कैबिनेट रैंक का होना चाहिये, जब तक इस महकमे का मिनिस्टर कैबिनेट रैंक का नहीं होता, और अपने दूसरे वज्जियों के बराबर नहीं होता, तब तक दूसरे उसकी बुकत और सम्मान नहीं कर सकते, और जब तक वह इक्वल रैंक (equal rank) का नहीं होगा, यह काम नहीं चलेगा और उस वक़्त तक वह मिनिस्टरी इफ़ेक्टिवली (effectively) काम नहीं कर सकती।

दूसरी यह बड़ी जरूरी बात है कि जहां दूसरी मिनिस्टरियों से इस मिनिस्टरी का कन्फ़्लिक्ट (conflict) हो एड्यूकेशन मिनिस्टरी (The Ministry of Education), वर्क्स, माईन्स एन्ड पावर या हेल्थ मिनिस्टरी (The Ministry of Works, Mines and Power or the Ministry of Health) इनसे किसी बात में अगर इस मिनिस्टरी का कोई झगड़ा हो, कोई राय में मतभेद हो, तो यह बात बिल्कुल साफ़ होनी चाहिये कि इस मिनिस्टरी की चलेगी, इसकी बात प्रीवेल (prevail) करेगी और दूसरे की नहीं चलेगी वग़ैर रेफ़रेन्स (reference) के। होता यह है कि राय में झगड़ा होने पर रेफ़रेन्स के लिये मामला प्राइम मिनिस्टर के पास जाता है और दो, चार, पांच, दस दिन में जब उन्हें फ़ुरसत मिलती है, तब इसकी तरफ़ ख़्याल करते हैं और इस बीच में बेचारे रिफ़्यूजीज़ (refugees) सड़ते रहते हैं। इस वास्ते इस मिनिस्टरी को इतनी शक्ति होनी चाहिये, पावर होनी चाहिये कि मतभेद पर इसकी बात आटोमेटिकली (automatically) चले विदआउट रेफ़रेन्स टू दी (without-reference to the प्राइम मिनिस्टर। जब तक आप इस मिनिस्टरी को इस तरीके पर नहीं लायेंगे, यह प्राबलम (problem) हल नहीं होगी और जैसा कि मेरी एक बहिन ने कहा कि यह मामला वार लेवल (War level) पर हल होना चाहिये। अगर देश के एक्सटरनल डिफ़ेन्स (External Defence) के लिये एक अरब और साठ करोड़ रुपया रक्खा जा सकता है, तो इसको भी डिफ़ेन्स (Defence) का एक हिस्सा समझना चाहिये। अगर इन्टरनल सिक्योरिटी (internal security) नहीं रहती है, तो आपका अक्सटरनल डिफ़ेन्स ठीक नहीं रह सकता है, अक्सटरनल सिक्योरिटी के लिये यह बहुत जरूरी है कि देश के अन्दर पूरी शान्ति हो, इन्टरनल सिक्योरिटी रहे। मुल्क का डिफ़ेन्स ठीक तरह से आप नहीं कर सकते अगर अन्दर देश में अशान्ति रहती है, और पंजाब और बंगाल के रिफ़्यूजीज़ इसी तरह से बराबर तड़पते रहे और अगर उनको वज्जियों

पर, और गवर्नमेंट पर विश्वास न हो, तो मुन्क का डिफेन्स का इन्तजाम ठीक नहीं रह सकता है। कल देश में कोई स्थिति पैदा होती है और वह बोरडर (border) से भागते हैं तो देश की हानी होगी।

तीसरी बात में यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि इस महकमे के अन्दर दो बड़े अफसर (officer) काम करते हैं। एक अफसर तो मिनिस्टर साहब हैं और दूसरे भी दो बार मिनिस्टर रह चुके हैं और बड़े काबिल हैं और दोनों एक रैंक के हैं, लेकिन मैं यह समझता हूँ कि मिनिस्ट्री का काम जब तक ठीक तरह से नहीं चल सकता, जब तक उनमें से एक मिनिस्टर कैबिनेट रैंक का न हो, महकमे पर बजौर तो एक ही होना चाहिये, यह आम फ़हम बात है कि दो बादशाहन की सलतनत कभी नहीं चला करती है। उनमें आज एक एडवाइजर (Adviser) है और एक मिनिस्टर है, उनको एक होना चाहिये, और जब तक एक आदमी नहीं होगा, तब तक यह महकमे का काम कामयाबी के साथ नहीं चलेगा।

चौथी बात यह कि रिहैबिलिटेशन मिनिस्टर साहब इस हालत में हों कि वह किसी स्टेट मिनिस्टर के बारे में यह तजवीज कर सकें कि उस से (Rehabilitation) का पोर्टफोलियो (Portfolio) ट्रान्सफर (transfer) कर दिया जावे यदि किसी स्टेट से पूरी (cooperation) नहीं मिलती।

पांचवी बात जो मुझे कहनी है वह यह है कि इस मिनिस्ट्री में अच्छे और होशियार स्टाफ (staff) की जरूरत है। इस मिनिस्ट्री को यह हक होना चाहिये कि गवर्नमेंट आफ इन्डिया (Government of India) में जो अच्छा स्टाफ काम करने वाला है वह अपने यहां ले सकें। इस तरह के काबिल आदमी इस मिनिस्ट्री में होने से उसका काम बहुत अच्छा हो जायेगा। मैं पांच बातें बतलाई हूँ। अगर यह की जायेगी तो यह मिनिस्ट्री बहुत अच्छी तरह से चल सकेगी और अगर इन को अमल में नहीं लाया गया तो यह मिनिस्ट्री और इस का काम अच्छी तरह से नहीं चल सकता है। मुझे उम्मीद है कि इस तरफ हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब जरूर ध्यान देंगे। इस वक़्त हमारे देश के लिये जो खतरा पैदा हो गया है उस के लिये भी यह जरूरी है कि हम इस मिनिस्ट्री और उस के काम को अच्छी तरह से चलावें।

दूसरी बात जो मुझे कहनी है वह बजट के मुतल्लिक है। हमारी मिनिस्ट्री ने करीब २० करोड़ रुपया इस काम के लिए रखा है जो मैं समझता हूँ पिछले बजट का आवा है। आज हमारी गवर्नमेंट इस मिनिस्ट्री के बजट में जो कमी कर रही है मैं समझता हूँ कि वह ऐसा कर के देश की डिफेन्स (Defence) को कमजोर कर रही

[लाला अचिन्त राम]

है। गवर्नमेंट को तो इस समय यह करना चाहिये कि जो पंजाब, सिन्ध और बंगाल से लोग आये हैं उन को बसाने का जल्द से जल्द प्रबन्ध करे और उन पर काफ़ी रूपया खर्च करे। इस तरह का काम करके वह देश के डिफेंस के लिए एक बहुत बड़ा काम करेगी और इन लोगों का मोराल (morale) भी नहीं गिरेगा। अगर सरकार यह चाहती है कि हमारे देश का डिफेंस मजबूत हो तो उसको इस बजट को दुगना कर देना चाहिये।

इस मिनिस्ट्री की ओर से जो रिपोर्ट निकली है उस से पता चलता है कि इस ने ६० लाख आदमियों में से ३० लाख आदमियों को गाओं में बसाया है। इन तीन वर्षों में गवर्नमेंट ने ३० हजार मकान बनाये हैं। ६० लाख आदमियों में से १-१/२ लाख आदमियों को मकानों में बसाया गया है। इन फ़िगरों (figures) को अगर हम बाहर वालों को बतलायें कि हम ने इतना काम किया है तो वह लोग हमारी हंसी करेंगे। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारी गवर्नमेंट इस ओर ज्यादा ध्यान दे और इस काम को तेज़ी से करे और इस पर काफ़ी धन लगाये ताकि हमारे जो भाई बाँर मकान के अभी तक पड़े हुए हैं उन को मकान जल्द से जल्द मिल जायें।

हमारी सरकार ने लोन्स (Loans) देने के लिए कहा था और उस का बहुत बड़ा प्रचार भी किया गया। खुद मैंने भी इस चीज़ का प्रचार किया। इस चीज़ के लिए गवर्नमेंट के पास १३ हजार के करीब एप्लीकेशन (applications) आईं और कुल ३ हजार आदमियों को लोन दिया गया। इस मिनिस्ट्री का ३ वर्ष के अन्दर यह आउटपुट (output) है। कुल जो लोन दिया गया है वह ५ करोड़ रुपया है। ६० लाख आदमियों के बसाने के लिए इस सरकार ने ५ करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया। इन सब बातों से मालूम होता है कि किस तरह से इस मिनिस्ट्री में लोगों को बसाने का काम हो रहा है।

सरकार ने ५-१/२ लाख आदमियों का राशन (Ration) बन्द कर दिया है और उस के बदले में यह कहा गया है कि उन को काम सिखलाया जायेगा। यह काम उन को वोकेशनल सैन्ट्रों (Vocational Centres) में सिखलाया जा रहा है। आप को मालूम होगा कि इन वोकेशनल सैन्ट्रों में सिर्फ ८, १० हजार आदमियों को ट्रेनिंग दी गई

है। सारे हिन्दुस्तान में कुल १९ वोकेशनल सेंटर खोले गये हैं। इस तरीके से क्या आप ५-१/२ लाख आदमियों की रोटी का मसला हल कर सकेंगे? यह बात ठीक है कि लोगों को बगैर किसी काम के रोटी नहीं देना चाहिये मगर यह भी सरकार का फ़र्ज हो जाता है कि वह उन को काम दे।

इस के अलावा मैं आप को मेन्टेनेंस अलाउन्स (maintenance allowance) के बारे में बतलाना चाहता हूँ। इस के बारे में बहुत प्रचार किया गया। यह उन आदमियों को दिया जाने को तय हुआ था जिन का गुज़ारा चलाने के लिए यहां पर कुछ नहीं है और न जिन का कोई आश्रित है। इस तरह के अलाउन्स के लिए दिल्ली में १३ हजार एप्लीकेशन आईं और अभी ५ महीने हो गये हैं गवर्नमेंट ने सिर्फ ३०० आदमियों को अलाउन्स दिया है। इस रफ़्तार से इस मिनिस्ट्री का यह काम हो रहा है। ऐसी हालत में हम किस तरह से इतने आदमियों को बसा सकते हैं? मैं समझता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट को अपनी मशीनरी (machinery) को ओवरहाल (overhaul) करना चाहिये ताकि काम बहुत अच्छी तरह और जल्दी से हो। मैं मिनिस्ट्री की बात पर अब ज्यादा नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ। अब मैं दिल्ली के रिफ्यूजी (refugee) दुकानदारों के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ।

कुछ रिफ्यूजी दुकानदार खारीबावली में अपना काम कर रहे थे। इन्होंने सरकार से किसी प्रकार की भी मदद नहीं मांगी और अपनी ही मेहनत से उन्होंने ने दुकानें तैयार कीं और अपना काम करने लगे। दो वर्ष से ज्यादा समय तक यह लोग यहां पर अपना काम करते रहे और अब दिल्ली एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन (Delhi Administration) की ओर से कहा गया कि उन को वह जगह खाली करनी पड़ेगी और उन के लिए दूसरी जगह तैयार करदी जायगी। इन दुकानदारों ने रात के समय हम लोगों के कहने पर अपने खर्च से ट्रकों (trucks) में सामान को वहां से हटा दिया और उस के हटाने में काफी उनका सामान बरबाद हो गया और उन को काफी नुक़मान उठाना पड़ा। चीफ़ कमिश्नर (Chief Commissioner) साहब ने पुलिस के अद्विये से रात को उन का इकट्ठा किया हुआ लकड़ी का सामान हटवाया जिस की वजह से भी उनको जल्दी में काफी हानि उठानी पड़ी और बगैर किसी इन्तज़ाम के उन को अजमेरी गेट के बाहर हटा दिया गया।

मैं इस बारे में सरकार से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब तक कोई प्लान (Plan) आप के पास उन को बसाने का नहीं था और जब तक उन के लिए

[लाला अचिन्त राम]

कोई दूसरा स्थान तैयार नहीं हो गया था तो उन को वहाँ पर क्यों नहीं काम करने दिया गया ? इस बारे में जब चोफ़ कमिश्नर साहब से कहा गया तो उन्होंने कहा कि मेरे पास इस तरह की कोई बसाने की इतला नहीं है। इस बारे में पार्लियामेंट (Parliament) के मेम्बर (Members) तो मिल नहीं सकते। मगर हमारे देशबन्धु जी, जो कि एडवाइज़री बोर्ड (Advisory Board) के मेम्बर हैं वह कमिश्नर साहब से मिले। उनसे यह कहा गया कि Rehabilitation मिनिस्टर साहब कहते हैं कि अजमेरी गेट के बाहर उनके लिये दुकानें बनेंगी। Rehabilitation adviser साहब कहते हैं कि इनके लिए वहाँ दुकानें बनेगी। मिनिस्टर वर्क्स, माइन्स एंड पावर (Minister of Works Mines and Power) भी यही कहते हैं। आज खारी बाबली वालों का डैपूटेशन (Deputation) प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब को मिला है वह भी यही कहते हैं कि अजमेरी गेट के बाहर उनके लिये दुकानें बनेंगी। रिफ्यूजियों को इस प्रकार बसाया जाता है। क्या शरणार्थियों की रीहैबिलिटेशन (Rehabilitation) इसी तरह हो सकती है और यही तरीका इनकी सहायता का है ? तो मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि देहली के एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में और गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया के एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन में ताल मेल होना चाहिये ताकि इस तरह की परेशानी हमारे रिफ्यूजी भाइयों को न हो।

मैं अन्त में फिर दो बात कह देना चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस मिनिस्ट्री से अच्छा काम लेना है तो इस को ओवरहाल किया जाय और दूसरा यह है कि शरणार्थियों की मदद करने में बजट को दुगना किया जाय।

(English translation of the above speech)

Lala Achint Ram (Punjab): The time given to-day to speak for a short while is meant to be utilized on a review and criticism of the Demands for Grants in respect of the Ministry of Rehabilitation. I feel there is, perhaps, no need for any further criticism. It is so because the Ministry in question has been subjected to so much criticism in the past as to leave no more necessity for any further criticism. The only point on which all sections of people agree is that there is an utter lack of achievements to the credit of this Ministry. The refugees, the public in general and the press of this country are all unanimous in this matter. Even the hon. Minister himself is, to some extent, of the same view. In view of this unanimity of opinion, I think, it will not be proper to debate this subject for any appreciable length of time. Last year, I had made a few suggestions but the circumstances have not turned out to be favourable for effecting any changes in the working of this Ministry. And though there is so much adverse unanimity of opinion on the working of this Ministry, I certainly have a feeling which I must express. It is that the hon. Minister, by his general attitude, has left a deep impression on the minds of all concerned that his is a most honest and sincere intention to see this Ministry achieving all success in the task before it. This is undoubtedly true. His personality, therefore, is the only silver lining in the otherwise all dark clouds there. He is, at least, most

sincerely desirous to harness all available energies to this end. Whether or not he becomes successful in doing so, is a matter entirely beyond his control.

Last year, I had suggested that the hon. Sardar Patel should take over this Ministry himself. But, for some reason or the other, he has not been able to do so. Assuming the country had been partitioned ten years before, he would have been physically fit enough to shoulder this heavy task and, then he would have been willing to take over this Ministry himself. But now he is too old to take it over. Failing that, I had suggested the hon. Minister should recede in the background in certain respects. That too has not happened. The essence of the whole thing is that all agree on the vital need of introduction of some sort of changes in this Ministry. Either the hon. the Prime Minister himself should take charge of this Ministry or he may appoint any other person with equal and similar powers as exercised by himself. Till all this happens, no success can be expected in the work before this Ministry and nor can we satisfy the general demand of the public to any measure. There are, however, two or three necessary things which should be done before the introduction of these changes is contemplated. The first requisite in this direction is that the whole working method of this Ministry be changed. Till a complete change to this effect is made no results could be expected from this Ministry. However capable the Ministers we may appoint to take charge of it, it will simply fail to achieve any success. To-day this Ministry enjoys no esteem, whatsoever, in the eyes of the public or even in those of its own staff. Nor any importance or respect is shown to it by the other Ministries of the Government of India. The Minister of State who is at present in charge of this Ministry does not enjoy an equal esteem and the general attitude of the other Ministries of the Government towards it is an indifferent one. I have five suggestions to offer in this connection. If both the Government and the hon. the Prime Minister really feel the need of introduction of some changes in this Ministry, the first necessary step in this direction will be to raise the Minister-in-Charge irrespective of the fact whosoever he may be, to a cabinet rank. Till an equal cabinet rank is conferred on the Minister-in-Charge, the respect and esteem for this Ministry will continue to be undermined nor will the Ministry be able to handle its work effectively any way.

There is yet another important aspect of the problem. It should be made clear beyond the shadow of a doubt that in event of any conflicting view or difference of opinion the decisions of this Ministry will prevail and no other Ministry, may it be any of the Ministries of Education, Health or that of the Works, Mines and Power, will be competent to enforce its own decisions in such cases or take recourse to any reference whatsoever. At present there is a practice that all such matters in regard to which there is a difference of opinion, are referred to the hon. the Prime Minister. He can take up these matters for his consideration only after some days when he is free from his other pre-occupations, with the result that the poor refugees go on rotting during that interval. I, therefore, want sufficient powers for this Ministry so as its decisions prevail automatically and without reference to the hon. the Prime Minister. Till this Ministry is brought on such a footing, this problem will continue to clamour for a solution. In fact, as suggested by an hon. member, we should tackle this issue on a war-level. When as much as one crore and sixty lacs of rupees are reserved for the country's Defence against all external aggression, there is every justification to treat this problem as a part of our main Defence. In the absence of internal security, you cannot make proper safeguards in respect of External Defence. Internal security or the preservation of law and order within a country is imperative for its External Defence. You are bound to fail in defending the country properly when such a vast number of refugees from the Punjab

[Lala Achint Rasin]

and Bengal continue to undergo sufferings of an acute type and when especially they have lost all confidence in their Ministers and the Government. Should an emergency arise and these people flee from the border regions, the country will stand to suffer.

Thirdly, I want to submit that there are, at present, two top ranking officers working in this Ministry. First of these is the hon. Minister himself and the second officer has been a Minister twice before, and is, no doubt, a very capable person. Both of them enjoy an equal rank. I am, however, of the view that the Ministry will not have a smooth sailing till one of them is raised to the cabinet-rank. There should be, of course, only one Minister for the whole Ministry. This is a matter of commonsense that a kingdom ruled by two emperors will be liable to be doomed ultimately. Till the same person is both the Minister and the Adviser, the Ministry will not be able to conduct its activities in a successful manner.

Fourthly, I would like to submit that failing full co-operation from any state, the hon. Minister of Rehabilitation should transfer his portfolio of Rehabilitation to some other suitable Minister of State. The fifth thing that I have to submit is that able and efficient staff is necessary for this Ministry. This Ministry should have authority to obtain on deputation the services of the most efficient staff of the Government of India. By obtaining the services of an able and efficient staff the standard of work in this Ministry will highly improve.

I have submitted five things. If these suggestions would be followed the Ministry would work efficiently and if these suggestions are not acted upon the Ministry will not work properly and the standard of work done by it will not improve. I hope that our Prime Minister will surely pay attention towards this. For the danger also that is threatening our country, it is essential for us to run this Ministry efficiently.

The second thing that I have to submit relates to the budget proposals. The Ministry has set apart 20 crores of rupees for this purpose which I think is half of what it was last year. By making a reduction in the budget of this Ministry the Government, I think, is weakening the defence of the country. What the Government should do at the present moment is to make speediest possible arrangements to rehabilitate the displaced persons from Punjab, Sind and Bengal and to spend sufficient money over them. By doing so the Government would do a yeoman service for the defence of the country and the morale of these people also would not go down. If the Government wish that the defence of our country be strong then she ought to double this budget grant.

From the report issued by this Ministry it appears that out of 60 lacs of these displaced persons 80 lacs have been rehabilitated in the various villages. In the last three years the Government have constructed 80 thousand houses. Out of the 60 lacs of these displaced persons only one and a half lacs have been rehabilitated in houses. If we were to place these figures before the foreigners and tell them the amount of work that we have done, they would laugh at us. Therefore I wish our Government to pay more attention to this problem and carry on the work speedily and spend sufficient funds over it, so that those displaced persons, who have not yet been rehabilitated in houses, may get houses at the earliest.

The Government had proposed to give loans and this proposal was given the widest possible publicity. I myself took part in this propaganda. But what happened that the Government received some 13 thousand applications for these loans, but only three thousand persons were granted loans. This is the

total output of this Ministry for a period of three years. The total amount of the loans granted is five crores of rupees. For the rehabilitation of 60 lacs of displaced persons the Government have spend five crores of rupees. These things clearly show how this Ministry is carrying on the work of rehabilitation of the displaced persons.

The Government have stopped giving rations to five and a half lacs of people on the plea that they would be given training in the various crafts. They are being given training in these crafts in the various vocational centres. Perhaps you might be knowing that only eight to ten thousand persons have been given training in these vocational centres. Only 19 vocational centres have been started in the whole of India. In this way would you be able to solve the food problem of five and a half lacs of people? It is quite true that people must not be given food unless they work, but it is also the duty of the Government to provide them with work.

Besides this I wish to submit a few things about the maintenance allowance that was to be given to the displaced persons. A lot of publicity was given of this proposal. It was decided to give this allowance to those persons who have no means of subsistence and, moreover, have none to support them. Some 13 thousand applications were received from Delhi alone for the granting of this allowance and though five months have elapsed yet the Government have granted allowance to 300 persons only. At this pace this scheme of the Ministry is being carried out. In these circumstances how can we rehabilitate such a large number of persons? I think the Government should overhaul her entire machinery so that the work may be done speedily and more efficiently. I do not want to say any more about the Ministry. Now I like to submit a few things about the refugee shopkeepers of Delhi.

Some refugee shopkeepers were plying their trade in the *Khari Baoli* area. They did not demand any help from the Government, erected the stalls by the sweat of their own labour and began to earn their livelihood. For more than two years they carried on their business there and now the Delhi Administration has ordered them to vacate these places with the promise that they would be given some other places instead. Acting on our advice these stall holders at their own expense removed their goods by trucks in the night time, and as a result of this removal of goods from one place to another a lot of their goods were destroyed and they had to sustain heavy losses. In the night time the Chief Commissioner got their wooden structures and other articles removed with the help of police force with the result that they had to bear heavy losses, and without making any arrangements for them they were removed to the outskirts of the Ajmeri Gate.

In this connection I wish to ask of the Government that when the Government had no plan for rehabilitating them and when no alternate places were chosen and made ready to receive them then why were they not allowed to carry on their trade and business there? When this matter was referred to the Chief Commissioner he gave out that he had received no instructions for the rehabilitation of these persons. The hon. Members of this Parliament cannot see the Chief Commissioner in this matter. But our hon. friend Shri Deshbandhu Gupta, who is a member of the Advisory Board, saw the Chief Commissioner in this connection. The Chief Commissioner informed him that the hon. Minister of Rehabilitation has given out that stalls for these persons would be constructed outside the Ajmeri Gate. The Rehabilitation Adviser says that for them shops would be constructed there. The hon. Minister of Works, Mines Power also says the same thing. Today a deputation of these stall holders of *Khari Baoli* waited upon the hon. the Prime Minister and he has also said the same thing, that for these persons stalls would be constructed outside the Ajmeri Gate. In

[Lala Achint Ram]

this way the refugees are being rehabilitated. Can the refugees be rehabilitated in this way? Is this the proper method of giving them help? Therefore I wish to submit that there should be fullest possible co-ordination between the Delhi Administration and the Government of India so that our refugee brethren may not have to face such harassment.

In the end I again wish to submit two things. Firstly if it is intended to put this Ministry to the fullest possible use then it should be overhauled, and secondly in order to give more help to the refugees the budget grant may be doubled.

Sardar Hukam Singh (Punjab): The scope of my discussion this afternoon is very limited and I would confine myself to the Rajpura Township alone. The total number of evacuees brought from Bahawalpur State was 2,30,000, and out of this number, 60,000 were such as could be taken out by about March or April 1948. It was thought that, because there was a large number waiting for rehabilitation, some townships should be constructed. One of these townships was the Rajpura Township, which is about eleven miles from Ambala Cantonment. In September 1948, a scheme for that township was drawn up. It was proposed, according to the report of the Rehabilitation Ministry, that the new township would make provision for another 60,000 people; that 3,000 acres of land had already been acquired for the township and a special Board called "Rajpura Development Board" had been constituted. It was given out that the township would consist of 12,000 houses and a number of small and big industries would be put up there. There was also a proposal to construct an E.P. Railway Workshop there, so that there might be sufficient gainful employment for the persons who settled down there. It was gratifying to note that about Rs. two crores were made available, so that the land might be developed and plots laid out. On the 19th November 1948 an official of the Government of India went to Kurukshetra camp and asked these unhappy refugees from Bahawalpur to move to this township where they would be provided with tents and subsequently plots would be made available to them. These poor people insisted that they would not find that place suitable, as they would not be able to find any employment. They said that they depended on agriculture and there were no potentialities near about the new township where they could find employment. But the authorities insisted that they must move or they would be derationed. It is interesting to note that a group of 28,000 people who were asked to move and refused to do so were actually derationed. In a camp of 65,000 people, only 37,000 people got rations and for some days the whole camp lived on those rations. But in spite of all these hardships they refused to move, as they were sure that this scheme would not materialise.

On the 11th February the Government of India issued a communique wherein they assured these refugees that "2,000 acres of land had been acquired and set apart for development, that small scale industries would be put up very soon and that efforts were being made to persuade the railway authorities that the workshop must be located there". It was assured that all of them would get gainful employment and they should not be apprehensive of anything. The refugees were also promised that Government was certain that this place would flourish into a very big town. It was said that those who refused to move would have to provide for themselves and that Government would not be responsible for them. Even this communique could not satisfy or convince these refugees. Ultimately the matter was brought to the personal notice of the hon. the Prime Minister. He called a few of their representatives and assured them that economic resources would be developed there, that industries would be set up and every displaced person would be provided with work, or fed till put on his feet—this is very important. The Prime Minister

pointed out that this township would be made a unique success. Another important development took place. A development board had been reconstituted and Dr. Rajendra Prasad was requested to accept its presidency and he was kind enough to do so. The assurance of the Prime Minister combined with the acceptance by Dr. Rajendra Prasad of its Presidency infused some confidence in those displaced persons and they agreed to move to the new township.

In the beginning about 5,000 refugees were brought. As the Government was carrying on a good deal of propaganda in the Press and even on the radio that perhaps they were going to build a heaven on earth and that all amenities would be provided there, even persons living in far off camps in the Bombay Presidency and other places felt attracted and some 3,000 came from other places. So in all there were 8,000 people. Government could not bring any more persons because they had not the tents to accommodate them.

There is a significant saying in our part of the country:

Lak Badha Arorian, Munan Koh Lahore.

which means that *Aroras* and *Khatri*s when they get on their legs say that Lahore is only three-quarters a mile away, though actually it may be hundreds of miles.

These refugees were highly industrious. In the course of a couple of months the new township was humming with activity and everything looked highly promising. But unfortunately there came the rains and the first showers brought in heavy floods. Everything was dislocated. A new problem was created and the refugees had to be removed to safe zones. Some of them had to remain in the godowns of factories in the midst of rats and other vermin. And then when we read this review of the rehabilitation from May to August we find indication of some doubt of Rajpura township being developed for displaced persons. "The suitability of Rajpura for a township of 60,000 population as was originally planned depends on the availability of sufficient quantity of sub-soil water there. Investigations are now in progress to find out if the water-supply is adequate." If Government was in doubt about the adequacy of water-supply they should have held the scheme up and made themselves sure of the supply of water. But what happened actually? After the floods had subsided and the conditions had returned to normal in October 1949 about 80,000 people were made to move again to Rajpura and the strength of the camp grew to 40,000. But there was no land available; there was no work and there were no industries developed there.

On the 1st of November 1949 Government stopped all rations because that was the target date. It did not matter to them whether they had provided them work. As was assured by the hon. the Prime Minister the refugees had to be provided work, or fed till they were put on their feet. But nobody bothered about it. The target date had come and rations were stopped. People began to starve. There was a hue and a cry—a population of 40,000 without any gainful employment and without any food. And what was the result? In stead of giving them any opportunities to work or providing them with rations Government thought that this population should be liquidated because they were becoming a source of trouble. We have been trained in civil disobedience and fasts and the authorities were afraid that these people would create trouble.

The refugees were starved and demoralised. They had no power of resistance. They begged that they may be moved to the surrounding towns so that they may beg and live on alms. But there was a solitary soul that had all along been sympathising with them. Hon. Members must have known and heard the name of Miss Amtus Salam. When she

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found that all the assurances given to the refugees had not been honoured and that their misery and distress could not be tolerated any further she went on hunger strike on the 14th of December 1949. At that stage the Prime Minister had to intervene and he directed the Rehabilitation Ministry to implement the assurances that had been given. The result was that on the 19th December 1949 the hon. Minister of State for Rehabilitation wrote to Miss Amtus Salam reaffirming that a township for 20,000 people would be built there, because it could not take 60,000, as there was no gainful employment 3 P. M. for so many. An assurance was given that about 10,000 acres of land would be made available for 5,000 people by January.

Sir, I would request your indulgence because this is a very important matter. If I can be given five minutes more, I will try to finish.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member has already taken twelve minutes. He may shorten his remarks. I would try to accommodate him.

Sardar Hukam Singh: By January, the entire scheme was completed. Roads were laid out, drains were laid out, and plots for 1200 houses were laid out. Actual construction on 900 houses was taken up. Huge quantities of building material and timber worth several lakhs of rupees were dumped in there. All this reassured the displaced persons and they spent a huge amount of money, built shops and even advanced goods on credit to outside villages. But what was the result? On the 9th February here, when provoked by Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand when he said that the Rehabilitation Ministry was proceeding without a plan, the hon. Minister thundered that Rajpura which had been beautifully conceived and carefully planned, had to be abandoned because there was no water in that part of the country. If this is the manner we go about the question of rehabilitation, I am sure the refugees will have to wait for a century before they can be rehabilitated. I think the Minister has been misled or misguided because I know water is available; there was one pump sunk there which even now gives about 20,000 gallons of water per hour. There are three other tube-wells and they are feeding the Dalmia factory and also the railway junction. There are also numerous other wells which have fed about 15,000 of the population far so many years. The water position was satisfactory and about 40,000 displaced persons had been quite comfortable so far as water was concerned. In the February report it had been stated that the building at Rajpura had been abandoned because sufficient water supply was not available and gainful employment could not be found for all of them there. So far as water is concerned, I have already said that water was available. If it was not available, then why did they allow these 30,000 displaced persons to move there in October when they had already known that water supply was inadequate? And may I also ask who is to give them gainful employment? Whether they were at Kurukshetra or at Rajpura, it is the Government who should give them gainful employment. If they do not provide them with gainful employment, where is the excuse in saying that gainful employment was not there? It is entirely the Government's responsibility to give them gainful employment. If there was no prospect of gainful employment there, why were these people derationed and asked to move to that place? I must say, none so blind as will not see and none so deaf as will not hear. This is the record of the Rehabilitation Ministry. Fifteen months of valuable time have been lost. The number was reduced from 65,000 to 40,000 and then from 40,000 to 20,000 and now this whole township scheme is dropped for ever. I must say that the Government does not care or are not anxious about how they spend public money. Wherever I see, there is bungling. I sympathise with the hon. the Minister of State for Rehabilitation because he is helpless as the other Ministries are not

co-operating with him. The Health Minister comes in and says that if the refugees are in a particular place, health is bound to suffer and so they must be removed. Then there is the Education Minister, and he insists that all historical buildings must be vacated; whether any shelter is given to them or not, he wants that all these refugees must be evicted from those buildings, because he had already shown great patience towards them. Then comes the Minister for Works, Mines and Power. He says that all Government residential buildings must be vacated and the refugees must get out. Then lastly comes the Home Minister who is in charge of law and order. He says that if so many people should gather in a place without any gainful employment, law and order would be in danger. Sandwiched as he is between all these Ministers, the Minister of State for Rehabilitation cannot be expected to produce any better results than he has done in the township at Rajpura.

Dr. Tek Chand (Punjab): Rehabilitation work, so far as West Pakistan people are concerned, is now in its third year and, as has been pointed out by the previous speaker, we have not yet touched even the fringe of the problem. It was more than 18 months ago that the hon. the Prime Minister and the other Ministers of the Government of India stated that they would undertake to provide every man with a house and to see that every able-bodied person got some gainful occupation. This was the objective which the Government of India put before themselves more than 18 months ago, and after consultation with the Ministry, they said that in order to do this, some Rs. 500 per man would be required. Calculations were made and it was thought that for about 60 lakhs of persons, about 250 to 300 crores of rupees at least would be required, and that most of this money would be advanced as loans. It was suggested that the Ministry should make its proposals for financial aid, and they asked for 100 crores of rupees in the year 1949-50, 100 crores of rupees for the year 1950-51 and 50 crores of rupees for the following year. That was the demand of the Ministry and of the Committee. Ultimately, for the year 1949-50, Government sanctioned Rs. 40 crores for this work instead of Rs. 100 crores which was demanded, and said that for this year more would be provided. But, what do we find now? Instead of 40 crores, only 20 crores have been provided: six crores as a grant and fourteen crores as a loan. I would ask you, if that is the position, even at the rate of Rs. 500 per man, how long will this problem of settling the refugees from West Pakistan, that is Punjab, Baluchistan, Sind, North West Frontier Province, take. Today, you have added to this the problem of vast mass of people coming from East Bengal. How is this problem going to be solved?

It is all very nice and very sweet of the Ministers and others to give lip, sympathy for the people who have come over. The people of West Pakistan, and the Hindus of East Bengal have sacrificed their lives. The Government of India and people of other provinces must realise that it is upon the ashes of the Hindus and Sikhs of Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan, and now of East Bengal that the freedom of India has been built. It was on the promises which were given to these people at that time that they would be able to stay on safely and quietly in their respective homes that partition was agreed to. But, what is the result? The entire minority communities in West Pakistan have been almost liquidated. You would not find a single man in the Punjab, not a single family worth the name in the Frontier Province, and in Sind we know what is happening today. Now, it is the turn of East Bengal. I ask, is it not your duty, is it not the duty of the Government, is it not the duty of the people of the other provinces to take this matter up very seriously and try to solve this problem at the earliest possible opportunity? My hon. friend the hon. Finance Minister is helpless in this matter. He says, the revenues of the country are becoming depleted and we must take some measures

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There may be truth in this; but, I submit that this is not the proper way in which this House, the Government of India and the people of this country should approach this problem. For nearly two and a half years, sixty lakhs of people from West Pakistan have been practically homeless. They are now wandering from place to place. Most of them have spent whatever slender resources they had and now, most of them are at the end of the tether. I would ask, Sir, that some more practical steps should be taken in this matter. The interest that is being taken in this rehabilitation matter is clear from the fact that until about ten minutes ago, not a single member of the Cabinet was here, when this Budget is being discussed. I ask you, is that proper? Not even the Finance Minister was here; he came about ten minutes ago. When a matter of this vital importance is being discussed, the Prime Minister is not here; the Deputy Prime Minister is not here; nor the hon. Mr. Gopala-swami Ayyangar.

An Hon. Member: He is there.

Dr. Tek Chand: I am glad he has come. It is satisfactory that he has now come. I have one or two questions to ask him and I hope that I will get a reply from him.

An Hon. Member: He is hiding himself.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Dr. Tek Chand: That is the interest that is being taken in the Rehabilitation Ministry. Now that the Ministers are coming in, let us hope that they will listen to the speeches which our Bengal sisters Mrs. Kripalani and Mrs. Renuka Ray have delivered, the message of pathetic tales that they have delivered, and let us hope that their voices will have a better response than the voice of the unfortunate people of Western Pakistan.

As I said, we have been dealing with this rehabilitation question for the last two and a half years and we have not even touched the fringe of the problem. I do not know how long this is going to take. You have appointed the Planning Commission. That is a very welcome thing. I would suggest that the first problem that the Planning Commission should tackle is the rehabilitation of people from Western Pakistan, and immediately after that of such persons as come from Eastern Pakistan. This is the immediate and urgent problem.

It has been said time and again that this matter should be treated as an emergency matter; but we do not see any signs at all, of any of the powers that be moving in that direction. Things are going on in the same old leisurely manner. The Minister in charge is not receiving proper assistance and proper aid from the other Ministers, and from the provincial Governments. This matter has been referred to by previous speakers and I will not repeat the same things. But, that is exactly the position in which he, unfortunately, finds himself. What do we find in regard to housing? Only 30,000 houses have been built. They have been built in a manner in which,—I may be pardoned for saying so—the Ministry of Works, Mines and Power or whoever is responsible for building them, cannot be congratulated. They are not even apologies for houses; the construction is such that it will not last for more than three or four years. There is no plinth; there is no ventilation. The houses are built in such a manner that hardly does credit to anybody concerned. Even then, what is the number? It is 25,000 or 30,000. That means, taking five as a unit, houses for 1,50,000 people. You have to provide for another 16 or 17 lakhs of urban population that has come from Western Pakistan alone. I ask, is it a satisfactory record? Whatever be the reason—want of funds, want of co-operation—that is the position and we have to find accommodation for 15 or 16 lakhs more.

On page 17 of this report or review of the working of the Rehabilitation Ministry, you will find, Sir, reference is made to the Maintenance Allowance Scheme. Hon. Members will remember that a Conference was called in the month of July 1949 in which various suggestions were made. One of the suggestions was this: There is a large number of persons who were dependent solely upon incomes from rents in Western Pakistan. They have lost all that income. The Pakistan Custodian, who has taken possession of those properties, is not remitting a single pie of the rents either to the Government of India or to the refugees who have come here. Therefore, these people are in a very pitiable condition. Some means must be found to help them. The hon. Minister of State for Rehabilitation and the hon. Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar gave assurances that they will look into this matter. A committee of the refugees themselves was appointed to make suggestions. Within a fortnight, a scheme was evolved. It was suggested that out of the rents which are being realised from evacuee property here, those persons who are absolutely indigent, that is, widows, minors, persons over 50 years of age, who have no other sources of income, who are not gainfully employed in any way and have nobody from whom they can receive any assistance, may be given allowances according to the income which they had been receiving and which they had lost, up to a maximum of Rs. 250. This was the scheme which was evolved and submitted to the Government. In October 1949, it was announced by the Government that this scheme has been sanctioned and applications were invited to reach them in November. In Delhi alone, over 12,000 applications were received from persons who were not able-bodied, who were widows, minors or infirm people. An agency was set up in the Office of the Chief Commissioner, Delhi to examine these, and on page 17 of this Report, we find that by the end of March, that is by now, only 317 of such applications have been.....

Shri Mohan Lal Saxena: That is an earlier figure. Now it is 1,059.

Dr. Tek Chand: Well, I accept the Minister's correction. But in the report that was circulated to us the number is 317. Well, now he says the figure is nearly 1,000, that one thousand of these applications have been granted. But I am told that the maximum instead of 250 has been reduced to 50. I do not know if that is true. I would request the hon. Minister to throw some light upon that point. Whatever that be, it is clear that out of 12,000 only 1,000 have been sanctioned in a period of four to five months, and also the amount allotted is only for one year, and out of that period five months have already passed. At that rate it will take two years at least to dispose of all these applications, as you see four months are taken to deal with one-twelfth of the applications. It is simple arithmetic. What is the reason? The same old red-tapism. Application has to be made to the Chief Commissioner. And the Chief Commissioner of Delhi is perhaps the hardest worked officer in the whole of India. He must deal with them, nobody else can do that, and the applications must come by the same manner or routine. I ask the hon. Minister to get rid of this red-tapism. Appoint some other agency so that these poor people to whom you have decided to give some sort of relief do receive some relief without any further delay.

I will not detain the House any further, but just mention one point. You have got this Bengal problem which is agitating us now, of course, in the same way as the Punjab problem and the Frontier and the Sind problems agitated us some time ago, and after a time this thing also will lapse and fall off in the same way as the others. But if you want to seriously tackle it, as the Prime Minister in feeling terms said and as Mr. Maitra said, you must have some sort of a planned system of rehabilitation. I hope you have learned from the mistakes that have been made during the last two and a half years. If you go on in this way and simply think that these joint declarations by the two

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Prime Ministers will help us, I would say that we are doomed to disappointment and these people of East Pakistan are likely to meet with the same fate and slow death as the persons who have come from West Pakistan have met.

We are told that the joint declaration will have a great deal of effect. I want to know one thing. Various assurances have been given about the recovery of abducted women. Mr. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar is here and I would like to ask him this question. How effective is this agency on which lakhs of rupees have been spent, how effectively has it worked during the last year? There is one figure that he himself gave us in a debate in this House, that according to the information that he has received, 2,500 women were in the possession of persons who are government officers in West Pakistan and their names etc. have all been communicated by our Ministry to the Pakistan Ministry. I think that was the number, but I am speaking subject to correction, anyway it was a large number. All particulars were there. Such and such woman is with the Inspector of Police at such and such place, with the Deputy Collector of such and such place, with such and such Engineer of such and such place and so on. I will ask Mr. Ayyangar if he is kind enough to reply, or Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena kindly to tell us what progress has been made in their recovery. Several months have passed and how many women have been recovered? That will throw some light and will be some guidance to the House about the value of these joint declarations, as to what it is going to mean with regard to East Pakistan.

With regard to evacuee property, we have had all these Karachi conferences and nothing has come out of them. Therefore, I say we must look into these matters seriously and see that the people both of West Pakistan and East Pakistan get some sort of assistance and relief from this House.

Shri Barman (West Bengal): There comes a time in the life of man when he has no occasion to think about his past, no kind of arithmetical calculations or any logic, but he has to act on the spur of the moment, because the circumstances are such that they leave him no opportunity to calculate in cold. It was such an occasion that came in the life of India when India was partitioned, and every one of us knows how the circumstances were so overpowering and overwhelming that even the best of our national leaders could not conceive of it and had to act as circumstances forced them. Happily, whatever might be the calamities that came over this nation, they were somehow surmounted. Many have been sacrificed. Lot of property has gone out of our hands. People have been reduced to beggary, and as the previous speaker just mentioned, we have as a nation, not been able to save thousands of our mothers and sisters. But the past is past and it is no use referring to what had happened. Our leaders have somehow managed to overcome our difficulties. But let me humbly tell the House that a bigger calamity is coming and is approaching, is threatening and is already on us, a problem much more extensive and overwhelming in extent and in character. There should be no illusion left in the minds of any one either in this House or outside that even now there can be any attempt on our part which can keep the minorities in Eastern Pakistan safely there. It may be within the course of a month or it may take a little longer, but it is definitely certain now that the history of the Punjab is going to be repeated in East Bengal. Therefore I would implore the leaders who are now guiding the destinies of this nation to think and not to be under any sort of illusion whatsoever. This is likely to happen whether they like it or not. It will upset the national economy, and you may have to put aside many of your national schemes. After all, you are now called upon to save part of the nation that you have left in Pakistan and you must be certain by this time that that part of your limb cannot be left there with safety, and

honour. And so you must be prepared here and now to shoulder that burden and must make your preparations without losing a single moment. I am glad this House has understood the situation. The other day the hon. Prime Minister, our beloved Prime Minister on whom we lay all our hopes because we understand that whatever he does he does sincerely, he had to admit that in Pakistan which has declared itself to be an Islamic State, the minorities cannot be happy and cannot have equality of rights whatever the professions of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan may be. We do not know what is an Islamic State and how non-Islamic people can live in that State with equality of status and equality of rights. But the positive fact that faces us today is that the non-Islamic people are not being treated as equals of Islamic people and that the circumstances have reached such a stage that they are being forced to flee from their homes where they had resolved to stay. During these two and a half years after Partition, the bulk of the minorities lived there in East Pakistan in the hope that this communal psychology will be a passing phase, that ultimately sense will dawn on Pakistan and that they will be allowed to live there with safety and with honour. No one wishes to leave his hearth and home and lead the sort of life which the refugees from West Pakistan lead unless it becomes impossible for him to stick to his home and his ancestral surroundings. No one would willingly agree to be uprooted. Hard necessity only would force him to accept it. There should be no illusion about that. I do not want to dilate on this point any more.

I want to submit in this connection that Bengal has sacrificed more than any other part of India for the cause of independence. Is it to be their lot to be sacrificed every year after India has attained independence? Do we not owe anything to these brethren of ours who are in this unfortunate condition? Are they not in this condition because of circumstances and not by choice? They have tried to live there all these years, but circumstances have recently developed which do not allow them to live there. If Pakistan thinks that the minorities might migrate from their State, though it is quite wrong to think so, we owe a solemn duty to these brethren of ours who are living there in the hope that they could do so and who have been forced to go out not only to save themselves but save also the honour of their womenfolk. I would not have referred to this here but for the fact that we hear everyday that the menfolk are killed and our sisters and mothers are not able to keep their honour unsullied. When one hears how they are molested in a brutal manner, it is difficult to derive any consolation in any way. So my appeal to our Prime Minister and to our national leaders is to save the womenfolk even at the sacrifice of the men of East Bengal. If we cannot save our mothers and sisters otherwise, it is better that we are effaced from the face of the earth.

I sometimes hear a wail that if one crore of refugees come from East Bengal the economy of India will be upset. I cannot understand this. Can Mother India who is today maintaining 85 crores of her children deny maintenance to another crore of her own children when they find that they cannot live elsewhere except under her care? No mother will refuse this. I do not think Mother India is so poor that she cannot spare her breast for another crore when she can feed 85 crores. It is sheer weakness on our part to think she will refuse. India has got enough of resources, natural, industrial and agricultural. If we can develop them we can maintain another 50 per cent. more of the population we are now maintaining. As I said at the beginning, this is not the time for making mathematical calculations as to whether we can spend this much or that much. This is a national calamity and we must face it with all the courage that we can muster. We shall take them to our breast and Mother India will be in a position to feed all her sons even if another crore is added to the thirty-five crores.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Shri S. C. Samanta (West Bengal): Independent as we are we have a responsibility towards ourselves and to others also. After attaining independence we are faced with many difficulties. The rehabilitation problem is the chief difficulty. We have to face and solve it because we have achieved our independence at the cost of division of Mother India. You all know, we the Bengalees especially did not want division. The British divided Bengal, but the Bengalees unsettled the settled fact of the division of Bengal. Those Bengalees, when it was a question of Independence, agreed to division. We all know that the people of Bengal started fighting for independence in 1905; again during the non-co-operation they suffered and sacrificed and in 1942 movement also they did not lag behind. On par with other Indians they sacrificed everything for the independence of India. You know, in Bengal they established a national Government and fought the British. Such brave heroes did not hesitate to obey their leaders and so they accepted partition. They accepted partition and hoped to live peacefully though some of them had to leave their beloved land. Some decided to live in Pakistan at the cost of living with their own brethren, because they believed Indians have no communalism; they take men as men and not by religion or on any other consideration. Those heroes were satisfied to be in Pakistan sacrificing everything, when they received the assurance that by mutual agreement India and Pakistan have given that the minorities on either side would be safe and would be allowed to live peacefully and honourably.

I may mention here an instance; and from that hon. Members of this House will appreciate the situation. The brother of my hon. friend Mr. Arun Chandra Guha, one of the Whips in this House, lives in Barisal. He is a practising lawyer. Arun Babu repeatedly asked him to come over to West Bengal, because he is an old man. But his elder brother said "As long as I shall live I will not leave my birthplace. Better I shall die here." This was his utterance up to last month. But last month he has written a letter to Arun Babu saying "Arun, the Hindus cannot live here. The hope I cherished is no longer in me. I find no other alternative for the Hindus but to go away from this place, as neither property nor life nor even the chastity of women is safe here." This is the situation. So people are coming in flocks. They are not allowed to come but still they are coming at the risk of their lives and everything else. Leaving aside loss of life or loss of property when the chastity of a woman or the honour of a woman is not safe in a place how can a man live there? How can a man see before his eyes the honour of his daughter or his wife dishonoured? So they are coming in numbers, and we are duty-bound to receive them. We are glad that our Prime Minister has given us the assurance that he will receive them and we are thankful to him and to the House that they are receiving them in a fraternal manner.

We have experience of rehabilitation of refugees from West Pakistan. Our hon. friend Dr. Tek Chand, with his learning and experience, has expressed his views and told us the difficulties we had to face to rehabilitate those 60 lakhs of people from West Pakistan and the 16 lakhs from East Pakistan. Now a crore of people may come and we have to receive them and absorb them. Our hon. Finance Minister has given a declaration in his speech, which reads:

"If Contrary to our expectation events so develop that the peace and security of the country are in danger, Government will have no hesitation in raising whatever finance may be required for meeting the situation. Government will not hesitate to call upon the people to make whatever sacrifices may be necessary for safeguarding the vital interests of the country."

Now the time and the emergency have come. You cannot doubt the emergency. Already 150,000 people have come. I do not know whether the

number is greater. It may be,—because no register is kept. An emergency has arisen and now is the time for the hon. Finance Minister, the Prime Minister and the Members of this House to take the matter in hand. From our last experience, to which Dr. Tek Chand has referred, we should be very careful. The hon. Lady Member, Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani with the heart of a mother was moved on seeing the conditions there. She being in the rehabilitation work knows the difficulties and yet her heart was moved and she was forced to utter those words before you. If the Government and the people together can make a united front to receive these people and rehabilitate them, then alone the work of rehabilitation and relief will be complete. So at this juncture I appeal to the Government and to all our friends assembled here from all places to consider the matter. My idea is that there is so much cultivable land and if we can give each refugee family ten acres of land and some cash they will be rehabilitated. Half the population may be absorbed in this way. Others may be absorbed in industry, offices and the like. However, the Government should now be prompt about it and from previous experience it should learn not to lag behind.

Prof. K. K. Bhattacharya (Uttar Pradesh): I take this opportunity of stating in a few words what I feel about the problem of relief and rehabilitation. Stupendous as the work of the Rehabilitation Minister is, in my judgment he has acquitted himself well. It should be borne in mind that rehabilitation is becoming a more and more complex problem. With the exodus of population from Eastern Pakistan there is no gainsaying the fact that the country will be faced with a population of 100 lakhs or even more to be rehabilitated. We know about the exodus from the Punjab, N.W.F.P. and Sind, what a colossal drain it meant upon our resources, enough almost to empty even our exchequer. Now, with this influx of the population in hand our financial condition may become miserable. Still we have got to give them shelter. There cannot be any gainsaying the fact that every Hindu who wants to come away in peril of his life and honour must be provided shelter in the Indian Union. Therefore, funds must be made available and placed at the disposal of the Rehabilitation Minister, and his rank must be raised to that of a Cabinet Minister so that he may stand on a footing of equality with the other Cabinet Ministers and discuss all problems on a footing of equality in the cabinet.

I shall only allude to one fact and it is this that compared with the atrocities committed by Muslims in Eastern Pakistan, the atrocities of the Huns, Atilla, Tamerlane, Chengiz Khan, the atrocities of Germany in World War I, the atrocities of the Nazis in World War II and even the Belsen atrocities—of which much was made by the United Nations—pale into utter insignificance. The atrocities committed in Eastern Pakistan are galling to every Indian. Blast our houses, we can endure. Blast our lives, we can endure. But we cannot endure the dishonour of the women of the nation. That nation, that country, which dishonours the women, is not a fit State, it is now a barbaric State, is not a State at all, and it cannot remain in the United Nations Organisation. If even one-tenth of the atrocities committed by the Muslims in Pakistan were correct, then the United Nations Organisation must take the matter well in hand and expel that bestial State from its forum. It has forfeited all respect and it is not entitled to an iota of sympathy.

Coming to one more point I would say that our Rehabilitation Minister would do well to open more centres for relief, open more centres for work, open more centres for relief-cum-work and train them up with the help of the Japanese and the Swiss experts. Why should not the toy-making industry which was the exclusive monopoly of Germany and of Japan be made available to India by virtue of the help of the Japanese experts and by the refugees being trained in that art? Similarly, if we can bring a large number of experts, say, from

[Prof. K. K. Bhattacharya]

Switzerland we can ask them to train the refugees in making watches so that they may be made available in the market. A new psychology has got to be created in the nation and that psychology must be a psychology by virtue of which people will be ready to come to the succour of every distressed man who is a refugee. I mean to say there are wealthy men in this country—there are men of millions. Their homes should be placed at the disposal of refugees and they should also contribute their mite to the State. The State should appeal to them, should make appeals through radio broadcasts, and say "Come here and help. Everyone who can give money, shelter, clothes must all come and help the refugees so that the ship of the nation may stand on even keel."

One word more and I have done. Let the Rehabilitation Minister seriously consider this that funds should not deter his work growing apace. If he can give succour to the millions of refugees he will earn a great name for himself as also for the nation. Rehabilitation must be given top priority now.

The Minister of Transport and Railways (Shri Gopalaswami): I have risen to intervene in this debate for a very few brief minutes. The reply to all that has been said will come from my hon. colleague the Minister of State for Rehabilitation. But I was pointedly referred to by my hon. friend Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand. He seemed to point the finger at me by saying that along with other Ministers, including the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, I had kept away from the House during this debate. But I was actually in the House, sitting behind. When he realised this, he seemed to suggest that he was glad to find that I had come in, perhaps a few minutes before. As a matter of fact, I had been here practically from the commencement of the afternoon session, though I was sitting in a back seat, a position which I think I would be happier to occupy than the seat I am occupying now.

Dr. Tek Chand: The hon. Minister was hiding his light under the bushell!

Shri Gopalaswami: Anyway, Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand took the bushel off and exposed the light to the House!

He referred to one or two matters which had particular reference to me. One was a scheme for giving relief to destitute refugees—widows, orphans and people of that kind—who could not find the means to live in this country without help from the State. As to that matter I do not propose to say much because all the facts are in the possession of my hon. colleague and he will certainly give whatever information is required on that particular point.

The second thing he referred to was Pakistan's breach of Agreements relating to the recovery of abducted women in West Pakistan. That is a matter which the House has debated several times. During the debate on the Bill, which became an Act, regarding abducted women, the matter was fully thrashed out. In the course of that debate it did come out, and I myself gave the information to the House, that a list containing a large number of names of abducted women—with particulars—who were alleged to be in West Pakistan was furnished to the Pakistan Government, and amongst them there were quite a large number who were supposed to be in the custody of officials of varying grades serving under the Pakistan Government. Well, as I said then, we had been reminding the Pakistan Government about the recovery of those people. I admitted then, and I admit now, that Pakistan did not do its duty, did not carry out the promises which we expected them to carry out in regard to those women.

Pandit Maitra: You must have lodged your protests.

Shri Gopaldaswami: Yes, protests were made. Since that debate I took up the matter with the Minister of the Pakistan Government concerned, wrote rather severely to him, appealed also to his sense of humanity, referred also to the fact that while the work on our side had been done in a genuine fashion and substantial results had been produced, nothing worth mentioning had been done on the other side and it was up to him to stand up for the reputation of his State.

I have had a reply from him and, as Pakistan communications always do, he took the line that some of the statements I had made were rather exaggerated accounts of what Pakistan had done or had not done, but he gave some indication that more energy was being put into this work. He gave certain figures and he gave the assurance that the thing would be pursued very energetically in the future. Well, perhaps my hon. friend, Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra, is sure to say that this is one of the many promises we have had from Pakistan and it would meet the same fate as other promises have done in the past. But there is nothing more that we could do.

I think this was mentioned by Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand in another context today, and that was in connection with the joint declaration which it was suggested might be made on behalf of the two Governments in regard to the East Bengal situation. One of the clauses of this declaration which was mentioned by the Prime Minister referred to the recovery of abducted women. Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand said, "We have our own experience of this kind of recovery in West Pakistan. Is there any use getting another agreement from Pakistan about the recovery of abducted women in East Bengal?"

Pandit Maitra: That is a sensible proposition.

Shri Tyagi: Is the statement really going to be made now after the discussion the House had about that?

Shri Gopaldaswami: Well, that is what I can say at present. I would rather not be drawn into making a pronouncement on that particular question today as hon. Members know that it has not been made, nor has it been said that it would not be made.

Shri J. R. Kapoor: Usual indecisiveness. It is the consistent attitude of ours.

Shri Gopaldaswami: I don't know whether there need be any indecisiveness about it. People take different views about the need for a declaration of this sort at this stage. Certain views have been expressed in this House. I suppose those who expressed those views might credit other people with holding views of a different kind quite honestly and sincerely. We need not go into that particular matter just at present. But I should say that, assuming that such a declaration had to be made, we cannot ignore the fact that large number of our sisters in East Pakistan have been abducted and it is certainly our duty to provide for the recovery of those people if we possibly can and if . . .

Shri A. C. Guha (West Bengal): Has there been a single case of a Muslim girl being abducted in West Bengal?

Shri Gopaldaswami: I have not heard of any—I candidly confess—but that does not take away from us the obligation of making every effort to recover Hindu women who have been abducted in East Pakistan. That is a thing which is a necessary clause in any agreement of that type in a situation such as has developed in East Bengal.

[Shri Gopaldaswami]

Now, Sir, there were a few figures mentioned, and some criticism was advanced in the course of the debate today as to the reliability of figures of migrations from West Bengal to East Bengal, and from East Bengal to West Bengal. Certain figures were mentioned by the hon. Prime Minister yesterday, and I myself felt some hesitation about the accuracy of the figures he had mentioned. Since then I have tried to get reliable information about this matter. The only source from which I could immediately get reliable information was the railway staff, and I have got figures for every day from the 1st to the 14th of this month. I don't want to give all the figures now—they are only the figures taken at two border railway stations. From Pakistan to India the total number for these fourteen days was about 87,000, from India to Pakistan the total number was 78,000—that is, the stations of Banpur and Bongaon.

The only point, I think, that the hon. Prime Minister wanted to make yesterday was that there has been a migration of Muslims also from India to Pakistan. That was the main thesis.

Pandit Maitra: It is an absolutely incorrect thesis in this sense that West Bengal is a secular State and thousands of Muslims of East Bengal normally live there in different occupations and compulsion of events might have forced them to leave. That does not mean that they have migrated. Thousands of them live in West Bengal in your railway workshops, shipyards, dockyards and everywhere. In the jute industry thousands of Muslims of East Bengal live in Calcutta. And temporarily they might have gone back. That does not mean migration.

Shri Gopaldaswami: I would ask the House to look at the figures as they stand. I am sure that what my hon. friend has said is correct, that perhaps a substantial number of the Muslims who have gone by rail from West Bengal to East Bengal are people who belong to East Bengal and who had been in Calcutta and the surroundings for the purpose of their livelihoods. It is quite possible; I don't deny that.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: May I interrupt the hon. Minister?

The subject is the rehabilitation of those who came from Pakistan. Therefore, the detailed figures of those that have left the country are not necessary.

Pandit Maitra: Moreover, the Railways don't maintain registers of communities travelling. It is novel to hear it from the Railways Minister that railway tickets are sold on a communal basis and that registers are kept of persons moving . . .

Shri Gopaldaswami: The hon. Member need not put a statement into my mouth which I did not make. I did not say that these figures represent communities. I gave the numbers who went from here to East Bengal and the numbers who came from East Bengal to our place. You can draw your own inference and make your own analysis.

Shri J. R. Kapoor: What is the normal number of passengers going from West Bengal to East Bengal . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister does not give way.

Shri Gopaldaswami: I wish to endorse everything that was said by Dr. Bakshi Tek Chand and one or two other speakers about the proper, planned organisation of relief and rehabilitation in Bengal, and in doing so we should certainly profit by the lessons we have learnt in connection with the rehabilitation of the people who came over from West Pakistan. As a matter of fact,

the great bulk of the time of the Prime Minister, during his two visits to Calcutta, was devoted to a proper organisation of rehabilitation in West Bengal, and I think the hon. Minister of State for Rehabilitation, if he chooses to do so, can give particulars of what has been done in this matter.

Now, I only wish to say a word about one other matter. I entirely agree with hon. Members who said that the twenty crores which are provided in the next year's Budget are very inadequate for meeting the huge problem of rehabilitation of refugees in India. If more money has not been provided, hon. Members know why it has not been provided. It so happens that I am presiding over a Committee which was entrusted with the task of making recommendations in regard to the allocation of these Rs. 20 crores under various heads of relief and rehabilitation, and in making these recommendations to the Finance Minister for the purpose of framing his Budget, the Committee desired me to tell him that they did not consider these Rs. 20 crores adequate; they wanted additional funds to be provided. The hon. the Finance Minister who knows that this work of Government needs all the funds that could be spared sent me a rather heartening reply. He said that, if in the course of the year conditions did improve—and he would try to exploit every situation for seeing that conditions do improve—then, he would feel it his duty to provide additional funds for the work of rehabilitation, so that what I want the House to understand is that though the entry in the Budget is Rs. 20 crores, yet, if it is possible to find funds in the course of 1950-51 over and above what has been provided for, then they will be found by the Finance Minister. At the time that this correspondence between me and him took place, the Bengal situation had not developed to the proportions it has since done, and so far as that situation is concerned, hon. Members may have realized from the speech of the hon. the Prime Minister that the availability of funds is not going to be a consideration as regards the reception of refugees who are coming over from East Bengal and making provision for the rehabilitation of all of them or such of them as wish to remain here. There is no question of anybody being asked against his will to go back. It will be the duty of the Government of India to make provision for everybody who wishes to be rehabilitated and funds are not going to deter us from carrying out that particular obligation. I wish to emphasise this fact in order to make the House realise that Government are fully alive to the magnitude of this problem and are out to find as much money as possible for discharging their duty.

Acharya Kripalani: Are these assurances only for the new refugees or for the old ones also?

Shri Gopaldaswami: Both.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Sir, we are meeting under the shadow of a great tragedy, and the minds of hon. Members are exercised over the tragic happenings in East Bengal. Our hearts naturally go out to the unfortunate victims whose only fault has been that they profess a faith which is not Islam. They are, as the Prime Minister has said, our kith and kin with whom we have many ties in common; and whatever hardships and suffering they are undergoing, and whatever indignities and dishonour they are suffering, every one of us is feeling as much as they. Therefore, I am not surprised that most of the time has been taken up in discussing this burning question. Personally speaking, so long as this question is not solved to the satisfaction of all concerned, it is bound to come before us over and over again in one form or another.

The other day, the hon. the Prime Minister made a statement about East Bengal and I know that those hon. Members who spoke after him were not satisfied with what he had said. Many of them still feel, I know, that the

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena]

only solution was that these one crore persons should be rehabilitated. I also know that there are others who feel that there should be an exchange of population. As the Minister in charge of this subject, I can say from my experience that I entirely agree with the Prime Minister that the exchange of population is not possible. As he said, even if there is an agreed settlement, the exchange will take many years; but many hon. Members seemed to deride the suggestion. They referred to what happened in Western Pakistan and East Punjab. They said that the transfer took place in the course of two or three or four months; but we know at what cost. After all, if I may be excused for using a metaphos, the work of the Rehabilitation Ministry is of re-planting the uprooted ones and here the plants happen to be human beings. It is one thing to take so many human beings from one place to another—to transport them—; but it is not easy to transplant them, so that they may strike roots and thrive. I know that if this one crore, or one crore and twenty lakh people, come from that side to this side, it will not only upset the economy of East and West Bengal, it will not only upset the economy of India and Pakistan, it will upset the very set-up that exists today. I have no doubt that ensuring the security of life and property will relieve our countrymen to a greater extent than this mutual exchange, or this process of rehabilitating them, which is bound to take a long time. I know from personal experience and from personal talks with those who have been uprooted what it is to be uprooted. After all, many of them will be uprooted in the evening of their lives and we can well imagine what it means to them when they have to come to the other side. As somebody pointed out, they would prefer to die in peace and honour. Certainly, we will not allow them to live there, if there is no peace and no honour. Therefore, if I have any say in the matter, I would rather prevent this uprooting of our brethren—our kith and kin—the blood of our blood—than bring them here and try to re-plant them.

Shrimati Renuka Ray: Are you going to protect them where they are?

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: That is what I mean.

Somebody said that in India we are having an additional population every year of over five crores and, therefore, we can easily absorb the one crore or more people.

An Hon. Member: Not five crores, but 50 lakhs.

An Hon. Member: Somebody said 50 lakhs and somebody said five lakhs.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Anyway, to make such a suggestion is like saying that so many plants grow in a garden every year, why not transplant them? We cannot transfer plants from one place to another and at such long distances. So, I am convinced that this will be no solution of the problem; nor will the exchange of population be.

Now, Sir, from the statement of the Prime Minister I understood that he has given a warning in unequivocal terms that we are not going to allow any monkeying with the minorities on the other side of the border. We are going to make every effort, and strain every nerve, to give protection to the minorities that are here and similarly, we will see that protection is given to those who are on the other side.

Pandit Maitra: By speeches from this place?

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: It may not be by speeches. Hon. Members will see that we gave assurances during the time of the partition and we were not able to honour them. I admit we were not able to honour them. But as a result of our experience, our opinion has changed since then.

Shri J. B. Kapoor: We are wiser now.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: When we undertook that operation we never thought that it would be such a troublesome process. But from that experience we have learnt that it is perhaps less costly and easier to keep people where they are than to bring them in such large numbers and rehabilitate them over again. At least that is my personal view.

Several hon. Members have spoken of the contribution of our brethren in East Bengal towards our freedom struggle and I pay my homage to them. I know they have contributed a great deal towards making the India of today. I know they have suffered more than others. I know they have been the pioneers in our fight for freedom. I know they have contributed in more than one way to the shaping of the new India; and I am sure they are entitled to every support and help from us in seeing that they live there with honour and security and peace. I am in complete agreement with my hon. friends when they say that nothing is more shocking to Indian sentiment than the dishonour to women. When honour is lost for men or women, everything is lost. As the Prime Minister pointed out the issue of this statement will be the first step. It does not mean that we will stop there. We will see to it that there is no periodical squeezing of minorities as happened in the Frontier, in Sind and in the Punjab. That will not be allowed to be repeated and we cannot be silent spectators of that process.

Syed Nausherali (West Bengal): What will you do if it is not done?

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: I would ask my hon. friends to leave it to the Prime Minister and his colleagues to decide as to what is to be done and we have to do only as they want us to do. If they have any other solution which is not acceptable to the Prime Minister or the Government the only course is to have someone who will accept that solution and implement it.

Pandit Maitra: That will be done now.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: I now come to the figures. Yesterday my hon. friend Mr. Man pointed out that we are generally too late in the field and when Pakistan comes out with these figures we go about as accused in the dock explaining them. We have got our difficulties. When we get figures they are incomplete. There are certain factors which have to be taken into account, and figures are often deceptive. Pakistan says that about one lakh Muslims have gone from Calcutta.

Pandit Maitra: On a point of order, Sir. If my hon. friend chooses to digress into these highly controversial regions, then he must be prepared for hard knocks from us. We do not accept these figures and they are not at all relevant to the discussion.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I may point out to the hon. Minister that these figures are not quite relevant, except to say that a lakh and fifty-thousand persons who have come is too much for the hon. Minister's broad shoulders to manage. Otherwise, the number of people who went from here is not at all relevant and I do not think it necessary to go into those figures at all. It will only lead to unnecessary controversy.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: I was not raising any controversy. I myself was saying that the figures can be no criterion, because after all those who have gone from here had ample facilities. On the other side we know that East Bengal . . .

Syed Nausherali: May I ask the hon. Minister one question?

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: I am not prepared to give way.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member knows well the parliamentary procedure.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: I was saying that those who know the geographical situation in East Bengal, know how difficult the means of communication in that province are.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House is only anxious to know as to what steps are being taken to rehabilitate persons who have come from there.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: We have to keep exact figures of the persons coming in. All the refugees do not come by train. There are so many who come on foot. As was pointed out yesterday, I have no doubt that if these persons had the same facilities as are available in India the number of persons who would have come would have been four or five times the present figures. I had talks recently with the Chief Ministers of Bengal and Assam who are supposed to know the situation well and their lowest estimate is that about 20 lakhs would have come if they had all the facilities and there were no impediments in their way. Anyway, I will not go into it in detail.

Shri Tyagi: Does the hon. Minister agree that most of those who have gone are residents of Pakistan?

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: My hon. colleague Shri Gopolaswami Ayyangar has conceded that point. I know many of those who have gone are nationals of Pakistan who were employed in India. There are other Muslim employees belonging to Orissa and near about provinces who on account of the disturbances have left for their homes. That is why I was reiterating that we should not be guided by the figures alone.

Shri A. C. Guha: But all of them will come back.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: They will all come back, because we have no restrictions, and there is no permit system.

Dr. Tek Chand: There is no analogy between the two.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: I have only to say that so far as we are concerned, we have made no provision in the Budget for the reception and relief of such a large number of displaced persons. But as the Prime Minister pointed out the difficulty of funds will not stand in the way of the relief of these unfortunate people.

We have appointed liaison officers with the Provincial Governments of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. We have also taken charge of the main camp at Ranaghat. We propose to start another camp which will be able to receive at least one lakh displaced persons at a time. Our idea is to give them relief in the first instance and later give them some work so that they may stand on their feet. We are establishing these camps on the border, so that those people who are anxious, to return may leave their families and go back. We have also posted one of our Joint Secretaries at Calcutta with necessary staff. There is a Financial Adviser attached to the office; so that there may be no delay in sanctioning the proposals that may come for the relief of these people.

Now I come to the other question and that is about funds. It has been pointed out by some of the Members as to how the Rehabilitation Ministry has to content itself with small amounts. All the same I want to tell the House that we have had greater co-operation from the Ministries this year and we have nothing to complain of. The Finance Minister, in spite of his difficulties has tried his best to accommodate us. I know there are many schemes which had to be held up last year, particularly in the United Provinces. After all in the matter of rehabilitation we have to go by priorities.

We cannot take up all schemes at the same time. When we were told that funds will not be available, we decided that as far as possible those who have gone to the land must be given loans, that those who had shops must be helped by loans and that those persons who were going to have *pucca* houses must have mud huts or one room tenements to begin with. It does not mean that they will not have another room. We will certainly construct a second room when funds become available. I want to say one thing in reply to what my hon. friend, Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani, said this morning in criticising the Finance Minister for not having given enough funds and for having produced a surplus budget. So long as the assurance of the Finance Minister, which was quoted by my friend, Mr. Samanta, is there, that in case of an emergency—and I have no doubt that there is an emergency so far as relief and rehabilitation is concerned—funds will be forthcoming and the Government will be finding the requisite funds; and, if necessary, they will ask the people to make additional sacrifices. I am, therefore, not very much worried about funds.

Dr. Tek Chand: May I know if rehabilitation is regarded as an emergency measure by the Cabinet or not? If they do, we do not see any signs of it. If that is the policy, I would ask the hon. Minister or some other member of the Government to tell us so explicitly. During the last two and a half years, it has not been treated as an emergency.

Shri Mohan Lal Saxena: There are emergencies and emergencies. Therefore, there have got to be priorities even for emergencies. After all.....

Dr. Tek Chand: What priority has this got now?

Shri Tyagi: Second after war, I believe.

Shri Mohan Lal Saxena: Now, I will not go into this question. I think the House must accept the assurance given by the hon. the Finance Minister.

Then, Sir, it was pointed out that the working of the Ministry is not satisfactory and that there have been difficulties both from the other Ministries and also from the State Governments. I am happy to inform the House that this time we have had greater co-operation from both, except in the case of a few State Governments, and I have no cause for complaint on that account.

Shri J. E. Kapoor: That is very encouraging.

Shri Mohan Lal Saxena: Again, I have no hesitation in saying that the progress of rehabilitation during the last year has been satisfactory, as can be seen from the review that has been circulated and from the statistical survey that is being made every month. Things are much better than what they have been represented to be by some of my hon. friends. Much has been done; and I know that a great deal remains to be done. If hon. Members focus attention on what remains to be done, naturally they will succeed in producing a sad picture, a disappointing picture; but if they choose to refer to what has been done—and I will do it in the course of the next few minutes—I think hon. Members will feel that I am justified in making the statement that I have made.

I will begin with relief. Last year on 31st March, there were about 9½ lakhs of persons in camps and about 7½ lakhs of persons were on free doles. On the 31st January this year the number of persons on doles was only 1·25 lakhs, and amongst them are also included displaced persons from Jammu and Kashmir. There are about 29,000 of them and, therefore, there is no question of rehabilitating them and they will remain in camps. They also include a number of destitute women and unattached women and children and also old and infirm people who will remain the care and responsibility of Government.

Dr. Tek Chand: Are these the figures in camps?

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: These are the persons getting free doles. Camps are a different matter as they will be converted into colonies.

Sardar Hukam Singh: Is the reduction in the number of people in the camps an achievement for the Ministry?

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Certainly it is an achievement. Let hon. Members take the case of Delhi. Last year in Delhi there were 45,000 persons on doles. Most of them were in the Kingsway Camp. Then came complaints from some State Governments that while we asked them to liquidate their camps, we were feeding people in our camps at Delhi. We decided that this camp should be liquidated on the 14th April. We removed such of them to Okhla as could not find work in Delhi. Then there was agitation, there were hunger strikes and there were deputations. People waited at the door of the Prime Minister and at my house; but we did not yield. After all, if there were genuine cases amongst them, there was some arrangement for them. In spite of the advice of our friends, we decided to stick to our decision, and what is the result? There was a saving of two crores of rupees, and we could build with it some 5,000 tenements for these very persons. It was suggested by my hon. friend, Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani, that the same thing should have been followed from the very beginning. I have followed that very policy. Now the Kingsway Camp has been converted into a colony for displaced persons and they are all living there. They have got schools, dispensaries, etc. We have also instructed the various State Governments that whatever saving they may make on relief work by the 31st October should be utilised for the construction of work centres, houses and other rehabilitation work.

लाला अचिन्त राम : फ्री राशन बन्द कर दिया है तो उनके लिये कोई आल्टर-नेटिव आकूपेशन आफ गेन क्या दिया है ?

Lala Achint Ram: If free rations have been stopped, what alternative gainful occupation has been provided to them?

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: I do not give way. He has made his points already and I am coming to them. All this rehabilitation work could be done because free rationing had been stopped. I know there has been hardship. We were prepared to remove 5,000 families from Delhi to Matsya but they refused to go there. Only 1,000 families went and they were rehabilitated. I have been informed that those who had gone there before September had all been settled there. Hon. Members seem to feel that only if we give them free rations, they are rehabilitated. It is not so. It was pointed out that we have given so much of money by way of loans alone. Giving loans alone will not help them. We have got to give them shelter. We have got to settle them on land. We have to train them in industries. We cannot simply give loans and then feel that they are settled. If we have not settled more people, if we have not given loans to more people, it is not chiefly because of want of funds, but because we have felt that that would not be the proper form of rehabilitation. I may again quote figures for Delhi, because, hon. Members complain that nothing has been done in Delhi. Our programme is to rehabilitate only three lakhs of people in Delhi. We have provided.....

Lala Achint Ram: Five lakhs.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am sure the hon. Minister has noted down the points and as far as possible he will answer them. The hon. Member need not be in a hurry.

Lala Achint Ram: My questions have not been answered.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: I will answer the questions.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Minister may dispose of the question in the order in which he has taken them down.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: I was going to refer to them. So far as rural rehabilitation is concerned, the latest report is that 3,19,523 families have been allotted lands in East Punjab. So far as other provinces are concerned, the number is 54,642. It has been pointed out that we have built about 30,000 houses. I say this is no small achievement in a period of one year, or one and a half year, especially when, as was pointed out by Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani, funds were not available for some time. If funds were available, I am sure we could have built more houses. The total number of families provided with these newly built houses is about 50,000. Those provided with evacuee property houses number 2,20,100. Some *pucca* houses and mud houses have also been built. Besides, 14,513 plots have been given. About 2,000 plots more in Delhi were given on condition that people would build houses themselves. I hope very soon houses would be built on these plots.

As for gainful employment, employment through the Employment Exchanges was found for 1,28,569 persons which means so many families; with dependents, the figure comes to over seven lakhs. Employment through the Transfer Bureau under the Ministry of Home Affairs was found for 6,800 persons. With dependents, the number comes to about 40,000.

Then, there is assistance given by the Rehabilitation Finance Administration. Here again, 3,339 persons were given loans to the tune of Rs. 2.64 crores. Loans have actually been disbursed to 1,641 persons. Here, I may say, the Rehabilitation Finance Administration is more or less an autonomous body, and in the advisory committee, you have Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra, Giani Gurumukh Singh Musafir and others. We had placed funds at their disposal, but they have not been able to give the loans. It is not only money that is the problem. After all, these applications have to be scrutinised and it has to be examined whether the loan that is going to be given would be productive and would help to rehabilitate the persons.

Pandit Maitra: Give us accommodation; we will dispose of all the applications in two months.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: I say that is an autonomous body and it is working. It is not for want of funds that they are not able to proceed. It may be want of accommodation or anything. The Rehabilitation Ministry has nothing to do with that. If my hon. friend had written to the Finance Ministry, they would have got the accommodation.

Dr. Tek Chand: They are refugees with accommodation. Give them one of the hutments.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: I may point out to my hon. friend Dr. Tek Chand that to many the hutments are a boon. I am only sorry that I cannot give enough hutments. According to my friend's standard, the hutment may be nothing. You can go and find out from those persons who have settled there.

About financial assistance in the shape of small loans, the number of persons to whom small loans have been sanctioned is 75,000 and the amount is Rs 5.78 crores. The number of persons to whom evacuee shops were allotted is 27,000 and the number of persons to whom new shops were allotted is 25,000.

I wish to point out that I agree with Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani that rehabilitation is not effected only through the agency of Government. First of all, there is self-help. Many of these displaced persons—as I said last year, I admire their fortitude, their patience, their courage and their enterprise—have been able to settle themselves even without the help of the Government. I am only giving a record of what the Government has been doing. As regards the public, I am sorry to say, that while the public did come out

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with help during relief operations, so far as rehabilitation work is concerned, they have not been co-operating with us. There is a conflict of interests, whether it is in regard to squatters or in regard to unauthorised occupation or even in regard to leasing out of houses. I know there have been many local people who have been taking *pugrees* and who have charged exorbitant rents from these unfortunate displaced persons.

We appealed to the mill magnates and industrialists to employ the displaced persons; and we have offered to give them subsidies for the training period. But, very few came forward. When I was at Ahmedabad, I talked with the industrialists. They told me that there would be agitation among the local labour and that they would complain that if they were going to employ them, the others will be thrown out. Therefore, they were not willing to employ the displaced persons. Well, I may inform the House that I am making every effort to find employment for these people.

When this problem of finding employment for such a large number of people came up in Calcutta, I suggested that we may ask the large number of small factories, numbering about 2,000 round about Calcutta alone to employ them. We thought that instead of giving loans to these displaced persons who may not be able to find accommodation or quota or power, these small factories that were working very well during the war, could employ 5,000 or 6,000 persons provided we could get them the quota. I am glad to say the Industry and Supply Ministry has agreed to give them quota to the tune of 2,000 tons of steel and I hope this will be provided soon.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: It is now time, Sir, that the Demands are put to the House. It was announced from the Chair this morning that this will be finished by 4-30.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: May I remind the hon. Minister that there is another Demand waiting?

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: If I am to reply to all the points that have been raised, I must have time, Sir. I have got to reply to other points.

An Hon. Member: There is a time limit for the hon. Minister also.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: If there is a time limit, I may not be able to answer other points. I am in the hands of the Chair.

Shri J. R. Kapoor: It is only fair, Sir, that the hon. Minister should have the time to reply to all the criticisms.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I agree. Therefore, I would only remind the hon. Minister that in the ordinary course, this Demand should have been completed by 4-30 P.M. Let him take ten minutes and finish by five o'clock.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: As regards the Maintenance Scheme to which my hon. friend Dr. Tek Chand referred, I may say, we have received 12,000 applications from Delhi alone and out of this 3,017 were interviewed and 1,069 sanctioned. That means, the others were not eligible. From other districts, we have received 3,000 applications. Out of them 2,125 have been sanctioned. The monthly allowance is going to be Rs. 54,680 for displaced persons in Delhi. For others, it is going to be Rs. 21,777. We have not reduced the maximum from Rs. 250 to Rs. 50. There are persons who are in need even of this small sum, and, therefore, we have decided that those persons who are entitled to a higher sum may be given Rs. 50 to begin with. This Scheme is to continue for longer than a year. Now we are doing only by way of an experiment. If we can carry on with the collections that we are making from evacuee properties, I have no reason to think why this amount should not be increased. I feel that we may be able to expand the Scheme further.

Dr. Tek Chand: May I know how long it will take to dispose of all these 12,000 applications?

Shri Mohan Lal Saxena: I may inform the hon. Member that the Committee has been working day and night. They are non-official men who have been working since October and I sent one member Ch. Radhakishan with a letter to Lala Achint Ram suggesting that he might take over the work of the Committee. (Interruption) I was only suggesting that if anyone is prepared to take charge of this work I am prepared to give it to him.

Then as regards Rajpura some points were made by Sardar Hukam Singh; and I gave a reply some days ago, and I will repeat it briefly here. The Punjab Government came to the conclusion that in Punjab towns they will have only Punjabis, and men from Bahawalpur and other places of Punjabi extraction only. The Bahawalpur friends wanted to be settled in a town. We went about in search of likely places and we selected Phugwara and Rajpura; and the expert committee decided to have a township at Rajpura. An autonomous board was appointed and Babu Rajendra Prasad himself was good enough to be its chairman. On 31st October 1949 free-feeding was to be liquidated and we wanted to give subsidies; and then Babu Rajendra Prasad pointed out that even if we wanted to give subsidy against work, there was not sufficient work available and it would not be possible to have as many houses as we wanted either. And then it was found that there was not sufficient water. First of all the railway workshop was to be established there. The Batus also wanted to start their work there. Then they came to the conclusion that they cannot have their factories there. Therefore we had to make some other arrangements. The PEPSU Government which had refused to receive these people earlier was now prepared to receive them. There were vacant houses there and so they were sent there. We wanted to build houses in Patiala. Some 350 of them have been completed and another 150 will be completed in April next. We wanted to have a township for 20,000 people but later on it was found that it would not be possible to have such a township. It was with the agreement of Bibi Amtus Salam who had fasted, and when it was found that it was not possible to have a big township there the plans were changed. We are prepared to offer money to anyone who would be prepared to establish a township of 20,000 or 40,000 or 60,000, whatever number he may like. We have told the Bahawalpuris that we are prepared to give them loans, but they will have to fend for themselves. Not only that, we were able to get 10,000 acres of land roundabout Rajpura on the understanding that some of the people would go to the land. But then they said they would not cultivate the land, but would like to remain in towns and take the land. That land will have to be allotted now and if these people want, they can take advantage of it, otherwise it will be allotted to some others.

Now a few words about Bengal. I want to pay my tribute to the admirable work that Dr. B. C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal has done. From morning to night he has been working most strenuously; and I know all the credit is due to him not only for maintaining peace and order, but also for arranging for the free movement of the displaced persons from the other side, for making the arrangements till we have taken over. Even after that, he has arranged to keep the staff under our disposal. We have placed Mr. Nikhil Sen who has had experience of such problems in UNNRA in Europe and we trust the arrangements will be far better than before.

Lastly, I want to refer to the suggestion of my friend Lala Achint Ram. In fact he has five suggestions. As regards two of them, I have nothing to do with them. I do not know wherefrom he gathered the information that the work of the Adviser to the Ministry and the procedure followed are not

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satisfactory. I want to contradict this here and now and I must inform the House that I have the fullest possible co-operation from my adviser Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, and to him goes the credit for whatever we have achieved in Delhi.

Lala Achint Ram: I hope the Minister does not want me to enter into a discussion at this stage.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: No. The other suggestion was that if things did not move and did not make headway, then I must go away—resign and go away. But then we cannot run away from the responsibility whether we be in office or outside it. We are members of the Congress Party and of the organisation responsible for the policy which the Government is carrying on. I hope I will not be revealing any State secret if I say that during the last twelve months, on more than one occasion, I have requested the hon. the Prime Minister to relieve me of this work. It was not said with a view to exercise any pressure on him. I will be the last man to do so, knowing that he is carrying the biggest load and I consider it a privilege to give him even the slightest assistance in carrying that load which he has to carry to-day. My idea was to make room for one who may be able to approach the question with a fresh mind, who may be able to display greater energy and greater.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is it necessary to digress on that point?

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: I will take only one minute more. As I said, I might make room to one who might display greater energy and tact and may be able to achieve quicker and better results, and in that spirit I requested the hon. the Prime Minister. But as I have said, one cannot run away from responsibility and I will try to carry on this work so long as I am asked to do so.

Shri Joachim Alva: Shadow of coming events?

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: I do not know. I have said what I have felt.

Sir, I am grateful to the hon. Members who have appreciated the little work that I have done. As has been pointed out, this is a thankless task, but I find there are Members who have appreciated my work. With these words, I conclude, and Sir, I thank you for the indulgence.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,88,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1951, in respect of 'Ministry of Rehabilitation'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs.6,00,00,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'Expenditure on Displaced Persons'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now take up the Demands under Information and Broadcasting.

DEMAND NO. 12—MINISTRY OF INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,03,01,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'Ministry of Information and Broadcasting'."

DEMAND No. 59—BROADCASTING

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,04,75,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'Broadcasting'."

DEMAND No. 100—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON BROADCASTING

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 60,00,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on 'Broadcasting'."

Before I call upon Shrimati Durgabai to speak on this Demand, I wish to know from the hon. Minister how long he will require for his reply.

An Hon. Member: It depends upon the criticisms made.

The Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting (Shri Diwaker): I would require about 20 minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It looks as if this is an important Demand. Seven hon. Members have given me their names for an opportunity to speak. It is now five o'clock. The hon. Speaker told me that the House might sit till six o'clock. I am prepared to sit a little longer if the House desires me to do so. But I may observe that the House ought not to become thin. I may call at any time the name of the Member who has given me his name. I think we may sit till 6-30. I request hon. Members to confine their remarks to ten minutes.

Shrimati Durgabai (Madras): In deference to your wishes, Sir, I would be as brief as possible so as to accommodate other Members who are anxious to speak on this Demand.

I shall confine my remarks to two or three aspects of the activities of this Ministry and to two or three points which seem to be agitating the minds of the critics of the activities of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. With regard to the All India Radio programmes, there seems to be a complaint that the radio is not catering or does not come up to the mark in spreading the spiritual and cultural message that is purely Indian. As one who is a frequent listener, I do not really find much justification in this sort of criticism. Those who complain about this matter are in my opinion those who have got a prejudice against light music. I do not think that any attempt should be made to rob even those interludes of entertainment. Although the All India Radio should be developed as an instrument of education, I feel that utmost care should be taken to see that it is not converted into a school-teacher with a cane in hand. We have enough of spiritualism. For God's sake, let not the All India Radio impose too much of it.

Next, I want to point out that there seems to be a feeling against the language policy that is now pursued by the Radio. The complaint is that the Radio is not imposing sufficient doses of *shudh* Hindi on non-Hindi speaking people. You are not really giving the proper place to Hindi which it deserves as the national language by merely appointing a percentage of Hindi-knowing people in non-Hindi speaking areas and stations and also by bringing into the recruitment a percentage of Hindi-speaking Directors and Assistant Directors. By these means you cannot really bring about in the minds of non-Hindi speaking people the consideration due to Hindi as the national language of India. It has been made clear in this House on more than one occasion that people in non-Hindi speaking areas have great regard for Hindi and that they

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have done a good deal for the spread of Hindi as the national language long before Hindi was made the national language. They started the propaganda for this language two decades ago when Mahatma Gandhi blessed the movement. Therefore I wish to draw the attention of hon. Members and particularly those critics who say that the policy of the All India Radio is not really satisfactory in that respect. In fact stations like Madras are already giving lessons in Hindi. The popularity of the lessons given in the News Columns also will testify to this effect.

Last year I requested the hon. Minister to see that one Bulletin in those stations might be given in Hindi even to the extent of cutting out one bulletin in English. That also will give the desired result and will be an effective way of propagating Hindi.

About the Musical Round-up I wish to say something. The All India Radio is now giving a Musical Round-up of all the Provinces. This is not only entertaining, but it provides an opportunity to appreciate the cultures of one another. I suggest that this Round-up should be made a daily feature for an hour at the end of a day's programme. This will also help Indian culture to grow more effectively and it will be much more effective in propagating the cultures of the different regions than the platform speeches.

With regard to the Films Division I wish to make a few observations. I agree that Documentaries and news-reels should not be left to private enterprise. But there is a complaint that the Government are monopolising the production of these news-reels and documentaries. It is said that commercial producers should be given a large share in the production of these, the reason being that they have already captured the international markets. If this is done the Government could save some money, they say. But I believe this is a means of making effective propaganda and therefore it should be left in the hands of Government. However, wherever necessary and possible the co-operation of the private producer might be sought and encouragement given to the producer. I am sure the Information and Broadcasting Ministry are giving some encouragement by purchasing the documentaries that are produced by the producers. I am told that recently two documentaries had been purchased—"Our Panchayat" and the "Himalaya". We must agree that the documentaries and news-reels produced by this Division are really of very great importance and value. Therefore the Government should completely take over this aspect of activity and give it sufficient encouragement. Here also I would like to give this warning that care should be taken to see that these documentaries and news-reels concentrate on constructive aspect of things. Supposing the Prime Minister is invited to open an institution. The people who are in charge of producing the documentary should concentrate on giving importance to the constructive work done by that particular institution and not devoting too much attention to the movements of the Prime Minister who opens the institution. This will encourage the constructive work done by the institution.

We must agree with the criticism that the speeches of the Ministers and their activities are too much broadcasted. Not only the newspapers but also the radio gives too much importance . . .

Shri Tyagi: Orders have already been given to the effect that if they neglect the Ministers they will be punished!

Shrimati Durgabai: While talking of films I want to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to a point which seems to be agitating the film producers. There was also uncharitable criticism that our films represent only grandmother stories and mythological themes. There is also complaint that they

are not educative enough. While talking about the radio I said that it should not be made a school teacher with a cane in hand. The same can be said with regard to films. The cinema is the only entertainment that the poor village population of India can afford to have. There are many forms of entertainment for those who complain against the length of films, such as dinner and luncheon parties, dances and many other forms of entertainment. But for the poor villager who walks ten miles from his village with half an anna in his hand to see his cinema would certainly not like to see and hear the teachings of Ramakrishna Paramahansa or Einstein's Theory of Relativity. So the rural population will suffer if the length is cut down. They know the standard of films they should see and the producers also know how to react to their tastes. I therefore appeal to the Minister to give his thought to this matter.

In regard to the length of films he should bear one point in mind. There are films produced in the regional languages and they have only a local market. There are other films which have a fairly all-India circulation and market. Therefore there is no point in saying that the films that are produced in regional languages should be only of a particular duration. I would therefore appeal to the Minister to consider whether such films should not be exempted from the operation of the rule.

I would like to submit one point with regard to publications and then I have done. I am very glad that two publications have been suspended. I am not sorry: I am very glad . . .

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari (Madras): Let more publications be suspended.

Shrimati Durgabai: Those publications which are necessary for foreign consumption may be retained but I do not see any necessity for Government taking up all sorts of publications for home consumption. Is there no other way to propagate the views and news of Government? Instead of taking the whole responsibility of maintaining this division, it would be better to pitch upon deserving journalists who are already running various newspapers, magazines and journals and give them all the encouragement that they deserve. That would be a more effective and potential way of propaganda than Government taking upon themselves this additional responsibility. This would not only save Government a huge expenditure but also help the journalists or institutions which have brought these journals into existence.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay (Uttar Pradesh): I wish to deal with certain aspects of the Information and Broadcasting Department of the Government of India. As regards programmes on the radio, since the previous speaker has dealt with that subject I will leave it.

The first thing which strikes me in respect of this Department is that it is not given the importance that it deserves. In fact in this age of democracy or people's raj the future of the nation depends upon the development of the faculties of the people who make up the nation. In this regard the activities of this Department are very useful and effective. In fact radio broadcasts can raise the cultural, social, economic and political standard of the people if they are properly conducted. I found last evening in my discussion with the hon. Minister that he is taking a keen interest to understand and is also aware of the various complaints and the drawbacks pointed out in respect of this department.

Radio broadcasting is also very useful in many other ways. It can play a great role in the maintenance of world peace. When there is a race for creating destructive weapons the radio is the only instrument which can combat not only the atom bomb but even the Hydrogen bomb. So radio broadcasts have their importance but that importance is not being realised.

[Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay]

I find there has been retrenchment this year, which is due to lack of funds. Certain amount of funds are being taken out of this department to be utilised elsewhere. When you want to cover such a vast country like India, when you want to educate, instruct and present facts to people, to equip them to be good citizens, to make them understand their responsibilities, and you do not want to spend even the amount of money which was allotted last year, it is not justifiable and the amount allotted also is not sufficient.

[SHRIMATI DURGABAI *in the Chair.*]

Money should be spent liberally over it. We must make this Department more useful, more efficient.

While this Department can be very profitable and very useful, it can be very injurious also if it is not properly handled. If the persons who are managing this Department are not suitable persons, if they are not persons who are interested in the well-being of the nation, if they are not patriotic, then this Department can prove very injurious also. That being the importance of the Department I think more attention should be paid to it.

When I speak of the persons who are managing this Department I go back to the origin of this Department. This Department originated as a private commercial concern. Naturally the motive was profit. Afterwards it developed into a government department. But when it became a government department it became a department of the government which was foreign, which was imperialistic. Naturally the activities of the Department must have influenced the mentality of the persons who have been working in that Department, and, as I have known, there has not been any overhauling of the Department. Mostly, the same persons have been continuing except for those who have gone away to Pakistan or have somehow or other left this Department. So, my suggestion in that respect is that, because the Department is a very effective Department, a very powerful Department, some young patriotic journalists should be attached to it. I mean that journalists will be the most suitable persons to work in this Department.

An Hon. Member: Hon. Minister was a journalist.

Pandit Munishwar Datt Upadhyay: And that is why, I think, the hon. Minister really appreciates the drawbacks and difficulties that are being pointed out to him.

As I pointed out just now, if a little improvement is made in this Department it can be a very effective instrument in the hands of the leaders of the nation to improve the lot of this country. I said in the beginning that I wanted to say something about the programmes but I do not propose to do so as those things have been said by the previous speaker. The most important thing that probably appeals to every mind is the rural broadcast, because this vast country lives in villages: our people, the masters of this country, mostly live in the villages. It is for them that we have to make arrangements and see that they realise their responsibilities, they become good citizens, they are properly informed so that they may take their proper place in the governance of the country. In regard to this rural broadcast I find that there are very many difficulties. Although attempts have been made to surmount them, the difficulties are still there. Ours is a vast country of long distances, and then we have got a number of languages, a number of dialects. Then there is a dearth of technicians, engineers. It becomes very difficult in the rural areas even to get the batteries charged. So, these difficulties stand in the way of our making the best use of radio broadcasts for the rural population. The only suggestion that I can make in that respect is that there should be small radio transmitting stations in the district headquarters. This removes most of the difficulties, because in that case the language difficulty is solved

to a certain extent, rather it absolutely solves—the dialect question. And then the other difficulty, the difficulty of long distances, atmospheric disturbances that take place, that is also solved. Arrangement can also be made for charging of batteries and other things. I can very well see that there would still be some difficulties and the lack of technical workers is there. A large number of workers would be required, and so that difficulty is there. But, as people are getting trained now, in the near future I think this suggestion can be implemented. So, when the difficulties are solved I think this Department can be used as a most powerful instrument in the hands of the people who are now charged with planning, the Planning Commission that has now been appointed, because it is the people who have to be acquainted with the problems that face us. It is only then that we can have a solution for our problems.

Then there is one thing which I have to point out which is in respect of the proceedings of this House. Well, the proceedings of this House are broadcast. Generally they are not given in full, the names of the Members of the Parliament are omitted. I mean that sort of omission should be avoided.

I wanted to make a few more points, but as there is no time for me to do so I shall finish.

श्री बलवन्त सिंह महता : इस विभाग का सम्बन्ध हमारे राष्ट्र के जीवन और संस्कृति से है। हमारे राष्ट्र की भावनाओं को जागृत करना और उसमें हमारे संस्कृति के अनुकूल रुचि और अभिरुचि को बनाना इस विभाग का काम है। अब हमको यह देखना है कि यह विभाग किस प्रकार से इसमें सफल हो सका है।

जब से हमने हिन्दी को राष्ट्र भाषा स्वीकार कर लिया है तब से हमारे ऊपर एक और बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी आ गई है कि हम हिन्दी के सन्देश को राष्ट्र के घर घर में पहुंचावें। जहां तक अखिल भारतीय रेडियो का सम्बन्ध है, हम देखते हैं कि हिन्दी जगत ने उसका करीब करीब बहिष्कार सा कर रखा है। हिन्दी के कई महानुभावों का रेडियो विभाग के प्रति अब भी बहिष्कार जारी है और इस बहिष्कार में एक दो व्यक्ति ही नहीं हैं, वरन् हमारे राष्ट्र के बड़े २ महानुभाव—उदाहरणार्थ राष्ट्र कवि मैथिलीशरण गुप्त और हमारे इस भवन के सदस्य श्री० बालकृष्ण शर्मा भी बहिष्कार में सम्मिलित हैं। और भी हमारे देश के साहित्य सेवी और हिन्दी जगत से प्रेम करने वालों ने इसका बहिष्कार कर रखा है। इसका क्या कारण है ?

कहा यह जाता है कि जो आदमी इसके योग्य हैं वैसे आदमी इसके अन्दर नहीं रखे गए हैं। इसमें ऐसे आदमी ही विशेष हैं जो अपने काम में कितने ही योग्य हों, लेकिन इसके लिये बिल्कुल अयोग्य हैं। हमें ऐसे आदमी रखना चाहिये जो हिन्दी भाषा के पंडित हों और जिनका जीवन सांस्कृतिक हो, ऐसे सांस्कृतिक लोग जो हमारे उद्देश्य को अच्छी तरह समझा सकें। आज हमें हिन्दी को हिन्दुस्तान की ही नहीं लेकिन एक अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय भाषा भी बनानी है। इसलिये इसकी बागडोर

[श्री बलवन्त सिंह महता]

ऐसे आवशियों के हाथ में होनी चाहिये जितना हिन्दी पर काफ़ी अधिकार हों, ऐसे अयोग्य आदमी नहीं चाहिये जो कि हमारी भाषा का ठीक प्रकार से उच्चारण भी न कर सकें और जो भ्रष्ट कड़े खूबियाँ हैं; उनसे वे अपरिचित हों। आज होता यह है कि हमारे स्टेशन डाइरेक्टर और प्रोग्राम डाइरेक्टर के जो उन्हे उन्हे पक्के हैं उनको कोई ऐसा व्यक्ति नहीं है जो उसका ठीक से संचालन कर सके। इसी तरह जहाँ तक इनफ़र्मेशन ब्यूरो (सूचना विभाग) का सम्बन्ध है, वहाँ भी ऐसी ही हालत है। वहाँ भी ऐसे निकम्मे और अयोग्य आदमी भरे हुए हैं जो शायद अपने काम में योग्य हों लेकिन इस पद के लिये वह ऐसे पोस्ट-आफिस से बन गये हैं कि मिनिस्टर्स से जो (सूचना) इन्फ़र्मेशन वांती है उसे इधर से उधर पहुँचा देते हैं। लेकिन जो हमारे उन्हे और विशेष पत्र प्रतिनिधि (कारेस्पॉन्डेन्ट्स) (Correspondents) हैं उनको वे सम्बोध नहीं कर पाते जिससे इसका असर हमारे देश पर अच्छा नहीं पड़ रहा है और हमारी सरकार का भी काम नहीं होता क्योंकि जिस प्रकार कि सूचना सरकार के लिये निकलनी चाहिये उस प्रकार से समय पर वह नहीं दी जाती और जिस समय में वह देनी है समय बीत जाने पर उसका जो उचित महत्त्व है वह भी बिल्कुल मारा जाता है।

इसके अतिरिक्त जो हमारे यहाँ के पत्र हैं उनकी भी काफी उपेक्षा की गई है; आपको मालूम है कि यू० के० (U. K.) और यू० एस० ए० (U. S. A.) के या विदेशी सूचना विभाग हैं उनकी ओर से हिन्दी में अपना अच्छा से अच्छा साहित्य दिया जाता है। जबकि हमारे यहाँ सब कार्य अंगरेजी में होता है। जब हमने हिन्दी को अगनी भाषा स्वीकार कर लिया है तो उसके विद्वानों को जहाँ तक हो सके उन्चे से उन्चा पद देना चाहिये और हमारा सब कार्य हिन्दी में होना चाहिये। उम्मीद तो मैंने यह की थी कि इस साल का बजट भी हमारा हिन्दी में ही होगा लेकिन कम से कम इन्फ़ार्मेशन और ब्राडकास्टिंग (Information and Broadcasting) की जो बिकरन पत्रिका है वह तो मैं दिवाकर साहिब से यह आशा करता था कि अवश्य ही हिन्दी में प्रकाशित कराते ताकि देश पर एक बहुत बड़ा असर होता। दूसरी बात यह है कि जितने भी विद्वान और कलाकार वगैरह रहे जायें वे भी विद्वान हों। यदि इस पर ध्यान रखा जाय तो काफी बुराइयाँ दूर की जा सकती हैं। बहुत से इधर उधर के आदमी इसमें आ जाते हैं इसका कारण यह है कि उनका सेलेक्शन नृत्य-ठीक प्रकार से नहीं होता। इसी प्रकार से समाचार इत्यादि का प्रकाश ऐसे आदमियों के हाथों में है जो हिन्दी भाषा भाषी नहीं हैं। ऐसे सभी आदमियों को पूर्ण रूप से हिन्दी का ज्ञान होना चाहिये। इसी प्रकार से न्यूज-डाइरेक्टर अधिक स्वतन्त्रता से जर्मलिस्ट, पत्रकार

होने चाहियें। ऐसा न होने से मौजूदा आदमी चाहे वे अपने काम में कितने ही ऊंचे हों, लेकिन उनसे काम नहीं चल सकेगा। उनको तो पत्रकारों से सम्पर्क में रख कर पत्रकारिता को बढ़ाना है। हिन्दुस्तान में ही नहीं सारे संसार में आज तो रेडियो और ब्राडकास्टिंग और इन्फार्मेशन का बड़ा महत्त्व है। इससे लोगों में हलचल पैदा की जा सकती है, संसार में क्रान्ति पैदा की जा सकती है और अपनी संस्कृति संसारव्यापी बनाई जा सकती है। इसमें जब तक इस प्रकार के आदमी नहीं रखे जायेंगे उस वकत तक कुछ नहीं हो सकेगा। इसलिये जरूरत है कि हमारे इन्फार्मेशन विभाग पर ऐसे ऊंचे दर्जे के आदमी हों। आपको मालूम है कि जो हमारे हिन्दी के पत्र हैं, और योग्य पत्र हैं उनकी कितनी अवज्ञा की जाती है। अभी "मिलाप" में हैदराबाद में लायक अली का जो कांड हुआ है उसके बारे में एक सूचना पहले छप चुकी है और उसमें बतलाया गया था कि वहां की पुलिस नाकाबिल है और वह भली प्रकार से प्रबन्ध नहीं कर पा रही है। अगर इस सम्बन्ध को पहिले से देख लिया जाता तो शायद यह घटना न घटती। हमारे हिन्दी के पत्रों की कम्पनी उपेक्षा की जाती है और साधारणतया मामूली पत्रों की और खास-तौर से जे अंगरेजी से इतर पत्र हैं उनकी तो बहुत ही उपेक्षा की जाती है। जरूरत यह है कि हम सबको संगठित करें और बीच में एक एजेंसी कयम करें जो इन पत्रों और हमारे सरकारी इन्फार्मेशन ब्यूरो के बीच में हो। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर सा० ने पत्रकारों से हाल ही में कहा कि वे बहुत बड़ा चढ़ा कर हेड लाइनें देते हैं। वास्तव में यदि बीच में इस प्रकार की कोई मशीनरी रहती है तो ऐसी बातें नहीं हो सकतीं। हमें इसको शीघ्र से शीघ्र संगठित करना है और ऐसी चीजें पैदा करना है जिससे हमारे राष्ट्र के ऊपर अच्छे से अच्छा असर पड़े।

विवरणपत्रिका (brochure) में बतलाया गया है कि करीब करीब भारतवर्ष में सभी प्रांतों में उनकी लैंग्वेज बेसिस (language basis)—भाषा के आधार पर रेडियो स्टेशन खोले दिये गए हैं। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि राजस्थान और मध्य भारत दोनों की अमबादी मिला कर कम से कम तीन करोड़ होती है यह बहुत बड़ी आबादी है लेकिन वहां पर एक भी रेडियो स्टेशन नहीं है। एक टूटा फूटा स्टेशन जोधपुर में था लेकिन वह भी वहां की सरकार द्वारा बन्द कर दिया गया। मैं नहीं समझता कि हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब ने क्यों राजस्थान सरकार को नहीं पूछा कि वह क्यों बन्द कर दिया गया जबकि उसके द्वारा हमें थोड़ा बहुत ज्ञान मिलता था। आज हमने बरिग मताधिकार दिया है, आज हमारी शिक्षा का प्रतिशत कितना गिरा हुआ है यदि हम विधान द्वारा जल्दी ही जनता को साक्षर न बना सकें तो श्रुत ज्ञान से तो हम उसे साक्षर बना ही सकते हैं, परन्तु उसके लिये रेडियो स्टेशन और उसके संचालन

[श्री बलवन्त सिंह महत्ता]

की अच्छी मशीनरी की आवश्यकता होती है। तीन करोड़ आदमियों का देश है जो पिछड़ा हुआ है उसके लिये रेडियो स्टेशन की कितनी आवश्यकता है, अगर रेडियो स्टेशन बन्द न किया जाता तो वहाँ ज्ञान प्रसार में कितनी मदद मिलती, लेकिन एक था वह भी बन्द कर दिया गया, जिससे हमारे यहाँ एक कहावत चल पड़ी है कि मारवाड़ में बन्द हुआ और धारवाड़ में शुरू हुआ।

इसी प्रकार से डाकुमेन्टरीज (Documentaries) का मामला है। मैंने दो एक डाकुमेन्टरी . . . देखीं वे सब अंगरेजी में थीं। जवाहरलाल जी की अमेरिका यात्रा और कान्स्टिट्यूशन की जो डाकुमेन्ट्री बनी हैं वे सब हिन्दी में होनी चाहियें। दूसरी इसलिये बनाई गई है कि हमारे देशवासियों को मालूम हो कि किस प्रकार से मतदान दिया जायगा, कितने वोटस होंगे, उसके क्या क्या अधिकार होंगे, वह उसे अंगरेजी में बतलाया गया। अंगरेजी वाले तो पहले ही से जानते हैं। कान्स्टिट्यूशन को भी पढ़ लेंगे। अतः अपने देशवासियों और खास कर गांव वालों के लिये हमें फिल्मों हिन्दी में तैयार करनी चाहियें। जो ब्रोशर (Brochure) है उसमें उन्होंने बताया है कि एक दो पत्र बन्द कर दिये गए हैं और इस लिये उसमें चार पांच लाख की कमी खर्च में हुई है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो पत्र दस साल तक चले वे अपने पैरों पर क्यों नहीं खड़े हो सके? जो अन्य पत्र मिनिस्ट्री निकालती है उसके लिये देखना चाहिये कि उसका प्रचार ठीक ठीक होता है या नहीं, इस पर कितना खर्च होता है और हमारे पत्र अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो रहे हैं या नहीं। उसमें चार पांच लाख खर्च होता है तो क्यों दस साल से दो पत्र चले आ रहे थे फिर भी अगर वे अपने पैरों पर खड़े न हो सके या वह सरकार का उद्देश्य जनता तक न पहुंचा सके तो उसकी असफलता का क्या कारण है। जो मौजूदा पत्र हमारे चल रहे हैं उनकी उन्नति भी हमें इसी प्रकार से देखनी है।

दूसरे जो हमारे पब्लिकेशन्स (Publications) चल रहे हैं उनमें जनता के लिये शिक्षा का (प्रचार) प्रोपेगैन्डा होता है या नहीं? हम देखते हैं कि देश में १७ प्रतिशत महिलाएँ अपढ़ हैं। जिस प्रकार से बच्चों के लिये पत्र का प्रबन्ध है उसी तरह स्त्रियों के लिये एक अलग पत्र होना चाहिये और खास कर देहाती महिलाओं के लिये।

इसी प्रकार से हमारे यहां ढाई करोड़ आदिवासी हैं उनके लिये भी रेडियो में प्रोग्राम होना चाहिये। और उनकी जानकारी तथा शिक्षा के लिये अलग प्रकाशन होना चाहिये। मैं आपका ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि इसी प्रकार का रेडियो द्वारा प्रोपेगन्डा (प्रचार) होना चाहिये जो हमारी शिक्षा में उन्नति करे।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri Balwant Singh Mehta (Rajasthan): This Department is concerned with our national life and culture. It is the function of this Department to arouse our national feelings and emotions and to form our likes and dislikes in conformity with our culture. Now we have to see how far this Department has been successful in this respect.

Since the time we have adopted Hindi as our national language, an even greater responsibility has devolved upon us that we should spread the message of Hindi to every home in the country. So far as the AIR is concerned, we find that the Hindi-knowing world has practically boycotted it. Many of the Hindi scholars are still continuing their boycott of the Radio Department, and this boycott has not been made by one or two persons only, but the renowned poets of our country like Shri Maithli Sharan Gupt and Shri Bal-krishna Sharma, who is a member of this House, have also boycotted this. And, moreover, many *litterateurs* in our country and the lovers of Hindi world have also boycotted this. What are the reasons for this? It is generally said that those persons who are eminently fitted for employment in this Department have not actually been appointed. This Department specialises in those persons who may be very efficient in their work but are absolutely unfit for it. We should engage such persons who are scholars in Hindi language and are living a cultural life—I mean those cultured persons who can very well understand our aim and object. Today we have not only to develop Hindi as the national language of India but have also to make it an international language. Therefore, only those persons should be entrusted with the charge of this work who have got sufficient hold on the language. We do not want such incapable persons who may not even be able to pronounce our language properly and are not acquainted with the specialities inherent in the language. Today what happens is this that there is no person amongst those holding the key posts such as Station Director and Programme Director etc. who is capable of managing the Radio organization efficiently. Similar conditions prevail in the Information Bureau, and that also is dumped with such inefficient and incapable persons who may perhaps be capable in their work, but in their present posts they are functioning like post-offices and releasing the information received from the Ministers hither and thither. Moreover, they cannot also satisfy our renowned and Special Correspondents and thus it is not having any salutary effect on our country. For this reason, the work of our Government also is suffering, because the Notifications issued by them are not published in time and thus after the lapse of time they altogether lose their real importance.

In addition to this, great indifference has also been shown towards our papers. You know that the Foreign Information Department in U.K. and U.S.A. send the best pieces of their literature for publication in Hindi, whereas the whole work is done here in English. Since we have adopted Hindi as our national language, we should provide highest posts to the Hindi Scholars,

[Shri. Balwant Sinha Mahta]

as far as possible, and our entire work should be conducted in Hindi. I had hoped that our this year's Budget would also be in Hindi. I also expected from the hon. Shri Diwakar that he should have at least published the Report of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting in Hindi so that it would have exercised wholesome influence on the country. Secondly, all the scholars and artists etc. who are appointed should be learned persons. If attention is devoted towards this aspect, many evils can be removed. Many persons are indiscriminately appointed here without holding a proper selection. Similarly the management of the News Division etc. is also in the hands of such persons who are not Hindi-knowing. All such persons should be thoroughly acquainted with Hindi. Similarly, the News Division etc. especially the journalists should be appointed from the Press. In the absence of such arrangements the present incumbents however efficient they may be, will not be able to carry on with the work satisfactorily. They have to develop their journalist experience by remaining in touch with the journalists. Not only in India, but in the whole world, Radio and Information and Broadcasting play a vital role. They can arouse emotion amongst the masses, revolutionize the world and develop the spread of culture throughout the whole world. So long as persons of this type are not appointed in these Departments, they will not be able to achieve anything. Therefore, it is necessary that persons of such high calibre should be appointed in our Information and Broadcasting Departments. You know how indifferently our Hindi papers and even those which are good are treated? Recently a news item had been published in the *Milap* even before the escape of Laik Ali from Hyderabad and it was mentioned therein that the local police were quite inefficient and incapable of handling the situation properly. If this news had been carefully looked into at that time, perhaps, this incident would not have occurred. Our Hindi papers are being accorded a very indifferent treatment and it is the case with all the ordinary papers in general and other than those of English in particular. It is essential that we should consolidate all these through the medium of an agency which should serve as a link between these papers and our Press Information Bureau. Our hon. Prime Minister had recently told the Press correspondents that they exhibit exaggerated headlines. In reality, if any such type of machinery serves as a medium, such things cannot happen. We ought to organize this as soon as possible and create such things which may have healthy influence on our nation.

It has been stated in the Brochure that radio stations have been opened in almost all the States in India on linguistic basis. I want to tell you that the total population of Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat combined together comes to at least three crores. This is quite a big population, but there is not even a single radio station in that area. There was only one station at Jodhpur and that too in a bad condition. But that was closed by the Government there. I do not follow why our hon. Minister has not enquired from the Rajasthan Government the reasons for closing down this station, when we were getting some information and knowledge through this. Today we have agreed to the grant of adult franchise. How much low is the percentage of our literacy today? If by means of our Constitution we cannot spread literacy amongst our masses, we can at least impart them education by infusing knowledge through the ears. But even for that purpose, a Radio station equipped with adequate machinery would be a necessity. A country inhabited by three crores of people has been thrown backward. You can just imagine how essential is the radio station for it. If the radio station had not been closed there, it would have considerably helped in the spread of education. But there was only one and that too had to be closed down. This has given rise to a saying there that it was closed in Marwar and opened in Dharwar.

Similar is the case with documentaries. I happened to see one or two documentaries and these were in English. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to the U.S.A. and, similarly, the documentary relating to our Constitution, which have been produced, should be in Hindi. The latter has been produced with the object that our countrymen should know how to cast their vote, what will be the number of voters, and what will be their rights—all this has been explained in English. The English-knowing people know this already. They will also go through the Constitution. Thus we should produce such films in Hindi for the benefit of our countrymen especially those living in the rural areas. It has been stated in the brochure that one or two journals have been discontinued and as a result of this a saving of Rs. four to five lakhs has been effected in expenditure. I should like to know why the papers which had been published for ten years could not become self-supporting. With regard to other papers published by the Ministry, it should be seen whether proper publicity is being given to it and whether or not our papers are becoming self-supporting. A sum of Rs. four to five lakhs is spent on that account. Then what are the reasons that these papers which had been in existence during the last ten years failed either to become self-supporting or bring home to the masses the aim and object of the Government? We have also to watch in this manner the progress of the journals which are being published at present.

We have further to see whether or not the other publications which are issued at present contribute to the spread of education amongst the masses. We find that 87 per cent. of the women in this country are illiterate. Just as arrangements have been made to publish a journal for the benefit of children, similarly, a separate journal should be published for the women community and especially for the women folk in the rural areas.

Further, there are 2½ crores of *Adivasis* in our country and a radio programme should also be provided for them and independent broadcasts should be made with a view to impart them information and knowledge. I should like to draw your attention towards this direction that such propaganda as may tend to promote the cause of our education should be made through the medium of Radio.

Shri Sarwate (Madhya Bharat): I shall confine my remarks only to certain anomalies across which I happened to come. Broadcasting is declared to be a powerful means of cultural propaganda and cultural education. It is also a means of encouragement to the artists. One should have thought that keeping this in view the Department would have taken care to see that more money is spent on artists and less on establishment. But I find from the figures that, in 1939 when the total expenditure was Rs. 24 lakhs, Rs. six lakhs were spent as allowances to artists, that is to say, 25 per cent. I find further that for the year 1950-51, a budget provision of Rs. 38 lakhs only has been made for these allowances out of a total estimated expenditure of Rs. 204 lakhs. This comes to only 18 per cent. Again, the figures disclose that whereas the expenditure on establishment is increasing by leaps and bounds, the remuneration paid to the artists is steadily being curtailed. I shall substantiate this with figures. In 1948 the amount spent on establishment was Rs. 32 lakhs. In 1950-51, the corresponding provision is Rs. 55 lakhs, that is to say, an increase of 40 per cent. In the case of artists, the expenditure in 1948 was Rs. 25 lakhs, but in 1950-51 the provision is Rs. 38 lakhs, that is to say, an increase of only 15 per cent. Whereas the provision under establishment has been increased by 40 per cent., the provision under artists has been increased by only 15 per cent. This is like feeding the cook rather than the person concerned.

Shri Tyagi: Feeding the guest.

Shri Sarwate: Even the figure of Rs. 88 lakhs is illusive. It is mostly the result of increase in stations. If we come to individual stations, we find a very sad tale. Take Delhi itself. The actual amount spent on establishment previously, i.e. in 1948, was Rs. 4:68 lakhs. It has been now raised to Rs. 4:85 lakhs in 1950-51. In the case of the artists, the provision has been reduced from Rs. 4:16 lakhs in 1948 to Rs. 3:60 lakhs in 1950-51. Take the case of Bombay. The actuals on establishment which were Rs. 4:11 lakhs rose to Rs. 4:23 lakhs. Under the head artists, what was spent actually i.e. Rs. 3:23 lakhs in 1948 has dwindled to Rs. 2:97 lakhs in 1950-51. This is the way things are being done. Artists are being paid less and less. The cut is more in their case than in the case of establishment. I think this matter calls for the serious notice of the Department. The case should be the reverse, in my opinion. Artists should be paid more if you want to encourage arts. What is the use of increasing the establishment? Simply because a man takes an artist and keeps him in the special room and all that sort of thing, you should not go on increasing the charge on his salary. I have not taken what is spent on other things. That expenditure is also increasing, while the artists are being starved. This is one of the points which I commend to the serious notice of the hon. Minister in charge.

Secondly, I find that what is spent on programme publications comes to about Rs. 15 lakhs. It is claimed in the last year's report that these publications are being operated on a commercial basis and constitute a source of revenue. My grievance is this. In none of the materials and literature supplied to us do we find anything which may justify or through which we can verify the correctness of the above statement. I want to know the number of subscribers; the amount of subscription collected; the amount of income derived through advertisements: there is at present only an omnibus figure of Rs. 91 lakhs under the heading "broadcasting". It does not give us any detailed idea. It does not show how far the radio journals are profitable or otherwise. What I find is that in the case of the B.B.C. they spend only one per cent. of the total expenditure on their radio programme publications, whereas we are spending 5.87 per cent.—that is, nearly six times the B.B.C. spend. The B.B.C. is making a net profit from these publications. There is nothing to show whether we are making a net profit also. So, I would request the hon. Minister in charge to give us details, by which the expenditure under this head can be justified.

Now, I want to make one or two general suggestions. The accounting system of this Department should be put on a commercial basis. There should be profit and loss accounts in every Branch and every station, so that we may know whether a station is paying or not. There should be a balance sheet compiled on the lines of a company's balance sheet. I have very good reason to make this suggestion. When the Department of Broadcasting was started in 1932, the then Finance Minister in introducing the Indian Tariff (Amendment) Act, made the following very significant remarks:

"They (i.e. the Government of India) consider, however, that the service (i.e. the broadcasting service) should not be a charge upon the general tax-payer and they accordingly propose that the import duties on wireless reception apparatus should be enhanced so as to ensure that the customs receipts associated with broadcasting may suffice to cover the cost of the service."

The then Finance Member, thus, gave the assurance that the broadcasting service would not be a charge upon the general tax-payer. There is nothing in the subsequent publications and reports of the Department to show that this policy of the Government has been changed. However, it has changed in fact. I

find from the report that till 1938-39 this Department was actually a source of revenue to the tune of Rs. five lakhs. But we find a different tale from 1938-39 onwards. When accounts are maintained on commercial lines, one may find out, which branch or station of Broadcasting is a burden and to what extent on the general tax-payer.

I want to make only two suggestions. I fully endorse the grievance put forward by the previous speaker, namely, that certain big areas have been left out of consideration in fixing the expansion programme of radio stations. Whereas Bombay has got three stations—namely, Bombay, Baroda and Ahmedabad (and Dharwar is shortly going to have or already has one)—such a large tract as Central India (Madhya Bharat) has been utterly neglected. This applies to Rajasthan also. This point should be borne in mind. Some provinces have got four and some five stations, while others have none. Why should there be this partiality? We who are coming from Rajasthan and Central India are entitled to have a station in our midst. That is one point.

The other point that I want to make is this. There was a grievance made on the last occasion that the patronage through Government advertisements was largely extended to English papers. Now that Hindi has been adopted as the National Language, Hindi should be the means of educating the masses.

Shri Satyanarayana (Madras): Why not the other languages?

Shri Sarwate: Maybe, but Hindi should have the major portion, because Hindi is the accepted channel through which we can educate people all over India. So, a major portion of Government patronage in regard to advertisements should be extended to Hindi papers, and there should be absolutely no room left for any grievance on the part of Hindi papers.

One more little point. I will take only one minute.

Mr. Chairman: Your time is over.

گھنٹی جی - ایس - مسٹرو : پچھلے ۲۶ مارچ کو جب اس سبجیکٹ پر
 ڈسکشن (discussion) ہو رہا تھا تو اس وقت تپتلی اسپیکر کو گھنٹی بجا کر
 کورم پورا کرنا پڑا تھا - پر مجھے خوشی ہے کہ آج یہ بات نہیں ہے اگرچہ بے
 رونقی ہے -

میں نہیں سمجھتا کہ اتنے تھوڑے سے وقت میں میں اس مضمون کے ساتھ
 کوئی انصاف کر سکتا ہوں - مگر ایک دو باتیں میں ضرور بیان کروں گا اور
 ہائی کو چھوڑ دوں گا - مہرے لئے پہلی مشکل یہ بھی ہے کہ میں تھوڑا
 سا کوئی ہوں اور اگر بہت سے مضمون سامنے آجائیں اور میں ان کو ایئرینج
 (arrange) نہ کر سکوں تو میں ان کو بھول جاتا ہوں - اس لئے اس تھوڑے سے
 وقت میں مہرے لئے سب پائلٹس کو ایئرینج (arrange) کرنا بڑا مشکل ہے -
 مگر ایک بات میں اچھے مسٹر صاحب کے دھیان میں ضرور لانا چاہتا ہوں -
 اسے میں ضروری سمجھتا ہوں اس لئے سب سے پہلے لیتا ہوں - وہ زبان کا
 معاملہ ہے - اس میں کوئی شک نہیں کہ اس وقت ہماری زبان ہندی مانی

[گھائی جی - ایس - مسالفر]

جا چکی ہے۔ پچھلے سال تو کچھ شک تھا۔ مگر اب تو ہم نے پلس کو دیا۔ کہ ہماری زبان ہندی ہی رہے گی۔ پہلے ہم ہندی اور ہندوستانی ناموں میں کچھ اتلا فرق نہیں سمجھتے تھے۔ مگر ہندی والوں نے جب ایٹا پلاننگ آف ویو (point of view) ہمارے سامنے رکھا تو ہم ماقہ گئے کہ ہندی ہی نام اچھا ہے اور میں نے اسی نام کی حمایت کی۔ مگر جس قسم کی ہندی اب ہمارے سامنے لائے کا توں کہا جا رہا ہے، اس سے تو ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ یہ ہمارے لئے بہت مشکل ہو جاوے گی۔ مجھے آنرہبل منسٹر کی پچھلے سال کی اسٹیج میں سے دو ایک فقرے بڑے پسند آئے۔ انہوں نے کہا: "لیکن ہمیں یہ سوچنا ہے کہ انڈین سلسکرتی ایک ایسی چیز ہے جس کے لئے ہم کو صاف دیکھنا چاہئے۔ جہاں تک میں جانتا ہوں انڈین سلسکرتی اتلی مثال ہے۔ اتلی وستی ہے اور کھڑے پیمانے پر کھڑی ہوئی ہے کہ وہ کسی کو باہر نہیں بھکا سکتی ہے" یہ تھیک ہے۔ مگر ہم تو سوچ رہے ہیں کہ اگر ایسا ہی حال رہا تو ہمیں تو بھانگا ہی پڑے گا۔ کہوں کہ ریڈیو پر جو ہندی استعمال ہوتی ہے اور جس کو ہندی کا نام دیا جاتا ہے وہ اتلی مشکل ہوتی ہے کہ ہم لوگوں کی سمجھ میں نہیں آتی۔ میں پچھلے دنوں شری نگر کہا تھا۔ تو وہاں ہماری فوجوں کے انچارج میجر جنرل مجھ سے کہنے لگے کہ ہمارے جوان آل انڈیا ریڈیو نہیں سنتے۔ وہ پاکستان کا ریڈیو سنتے ہیں۔ جب دیکھو وہ پاکستان کا ریڈیو لگاتے دیکھتے ہیں کیونکہ انہیں آل انڈیا ریڈیو کی زبان سمجھ میں نہیں آتی۔ میں نے خود دیکھا ہے کہ ہمارے جو لڑکے اور لڑکیاں کالجوں میں پڑھتے ہیں جب وہ اس پروگرام کو سنتے ہیں جسے خلاص ہندی کہا جاتا ہے تو انہیں یہ سمجھ میں نہیں آتا کہ یہ ہندی بولی جا رہی ہے یا عربی بولی جا رہی ہے۔ اگر دلی اسٹیشن پر سوئی نہ لگی ہو تو وہ نہیں سمجھ سکتے کہ یہ دلی سے ہندی بولی جا رہی ہے یا لکھنؤ سے عربی بولی جا رہی ہے۔ تو اس لئے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہندی کو جو کہ ہماری راشٹر بھاشا ہو گئی ہے وہ سب کی ماں ہے اور اس لئے اسے سب کو اپنی گود میں لینا چاہئے۔ ہماری کلاسٹی ٹیوہلٹ اسمبلی کے پریسیڈنٹ راجندر پرشاد جی نے ایک لیکچر ایگسپوزس کی سنٹرل کمیٹی بنائی تھی۔ سارے صوبوں کی بولوں کے ماہر اس میں رکھے تھے۔ اس میں اسٹیٹ منسٹر ہرائساک سنگھ بھی موجود تھے۔ تو اُس وقت جو وہاں ایگسپوزس تھے انہوں نے یہ ظاہر کیا تھا کہ سلسکرت - فارسی - عربی - اُردو حتیٰ کہ انگریزی سے بھی وہ الفاظ لئے جا رہے ہیں جو کہ پرچت ہو گئے ہیں۔ اور جہاں تک ہو سکے گا اس زبان کو آسان بنایا جائے گا۔ کل برسوں میں ہمارے سامنے

شری سمت ناراٹن جی نے اگرچہ وہ ایک ایسے پرائس سے سمبندھ رکھتے ہیں جو ہندی اسٹیٹنگ نہیں ہے ہندی میں اسٹیج کی - اس کی کوئی نہ ہوا۔ لیکن خود ہو گیا، کہ اگر سب ایسی ہندی بولنے لگ جائیں تو پھر ہندی بہت جلد پورچس ہو سکتی ہے -

پچھلے سال ایک اعتراض اٹھایا گیا تھا کہ رلیجنس پروگرام جو صرف دلی - کلکتہ اور تریچلپالی سے ہوا کرتے ہیں یہ سب اسٹیٹوں سے ہوں - تو منسٹر صاحب نے اسے ایک مشکل بات سمجھا - مگر ہر طرف سے یہ آواز آ رہی تھی - تو انہوں نے اس کا یہ علاج سوچا اور جواب دیا کہ وہ اس کو کنچرل پروگرام کے نام سے رکھ دیں گے - مگر اس سال کی رپورٹ سے ظاہر یہ ہوتا ہے کہ سلسلے کے پروگرام کو ہی انہوں نے کنچرل پروگرام سمجھا ہے - رپورٹ میں لکھا ہے :

"As Sanskrit provides one of the main streams of India's cultural traditions, I.R. has undertaken to present in varied forms the inspiring richness and variety of Sanskrit literature and mythology. Such programmes broadcast during the year from almost all stations have taken the shape of adaptations from Sanskrit drama, recitation of Sanskrit poetry and reading from Sanskrit classics. They arouse among a large number of listeners an emotional response because of traditional associations."

جس قلمگ سے یہ عہدت رکھی گئی ہے وہ ٹھیک ہے - مگر مجھے تو شک ہے کہ اس وقت سلسلے کو بطور ایک زبان کے وائو (revive) کہا جا سکتا ہے - رپورٹ میں آگے یہ لکھا ہے کہ کچھ جگہوں پر سلسلے بولی اور سمجھی جاتی ہے - مگر اس بےسوہی صلی میں سلسلے کو بطور ایک زبان کے وائو (revive) کہا جا سکتے ہیں تو مشکل معلوم ہوتا ہے - اور میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہماری ہندی بھی بہت کمزور ہو جائیگی اگر ہمارا دھیان صرف اس میں سلسلے کے مشکل الفاظ ہی بھرنے کی طرف رہا - لیکن سوہی صلی میں تقویاً تمام پورے کئی زبان تھی - گریک (Greek) میں ارسٹوٹل - سوکریٹس اور پلٹو کی اچھی اچھی تصانیف میں اور انکی کتابوں کو اب صدیوں گڈی جائے کے بعد بھی کالجوں میں پڑھایا جاتا ہے - مگر اگر کوئی یہ خیال کرے کہ لیٹن اور گریک اب پھر دوبارہ کسی زبان کی شکل میں آ سکتی ہوں یا یہ کہ انگریز انگریزی کو چھوڑ کر پھر لیٹن کو مان لیں گے - تو یہ بات ایک بھی مشکل بات ہے - تو میں سلسلے کے خلاف نہیں ہوں بلکہ انے سلسلے کا سرچشمہ خیال کرتا ہوں اور میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اگر گیتا - قرآن - گرو گرتھ صاحب اور بائبل (Bible) سے اچھی اچھی چیزیں نکل کر رہیں پورے براتکاس کی جائیں تو یہی بات نہیں ہے - سکولر اسٹیٹ کا میں وہی مطلب سمجھتا ہوں جیسا کہ کل بات چیت میں منسٹر صاحب نے بتلایا تھا کہ دھرم وردھ یا دھرم رت اسٹیٹ کا نام سکولر اسٹیٹ نہیں ہے - بلکہ ہر ایک دھرم کے ساتھ ایک سا سلوک کہا جاتا اسی کا نام سکولر اسٹیٹ ہے - جہاں تک کہتا کا تعلق ہے - میں تو سمجھتا ہوں کہ وہ

[کہانی جی - ایس - مسافر]

بہشک بہت اچھی چیز ہے - مگر اسکے شلوک ترجمہ کے ساتھ براڈکاسٹ کہہ جائیں تاکہ سب سمجھ سکیں اور سب کو پتہ لگے - اس میں شک نہیں کہ ہمارے منسٹر صاحب جو سنسکرت کے کلچرل پروگرام کرتے ہیں وہ اچھے ہیں - لیکن میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ اگر اس کے بجائے کہنا - اریٹھد - ہائیل - قرآن کے ترجمہ اور گرو گرنتم صاحب کے حصے - جو کہ ہندی میں بھی ہے - سنائے جائیں تو زیادہ اچھا ہوگا - لیکن جو زبان ہمارے سامنے آئے وہ ایسی ہو کہ سمجھ میں آنے والی ہو - ہمارے یا تریپتی والوں کے لئے جہاں سنسکرت زیادہ سمجھی جاتی ہے آپ سنسکرت کا پروگرام رکارڈ کروا کر براڈکاسٹ کر سکتے ہیں -

میں دو ایک باتیں اور کہنا چاہتا ہوں - میں توڑا سا پنجاب اور پنجابیوں کے متعلق ضرور کہنا چاہتا ہوں - پنجاب میں آج تک انگریزوں کے علاوہ پنجابی اور اردو چلتی رہی ہیں - وہاں کے تمام لوگ پنجابی یا اردو جانتے ہیں - ہندی لکھنے اور پڑھنے کا رواج بہت کم تھا - تو اس وقت باقی صوبوں میں تو اپنی اپنی زبان میں براڈکاسٹ ہوتا ہے کیونکہ وہ زبان وہاں سمجھی جاتی ہے - جیسے تامل - تھلیگو - کلاڑی کے استیشن ہیں - پنجاب میں یہ حالت نہیں ہے وہاں کے ریڈیو اسٹیشن جالندھر سے صرف ۵۰ فیصدی پروگرام پنجابی میں ہوتا ہے اور پنجاب کا اسٹیشن بھی ایک کلوارٹ کا ہے اور اتنا کمزور ہے کہ پچیس میل سے زیادہ دور پر نہیں سنا جا سکتا - اگر موسم اچھا ہو تو زیادہ دور بھی سنا جاتا ہے - مگر بہت کمزور اسٹیشن ہے - یہاں دلی میں جہاں کہ ۱۵ - ۲۰ لاکھ کی آبادی ہے اس میں سے تقریباً آدھی پنجابیوں کی آبادی ہے - یہاں ۲۰ ہزار ریڈیو ہیں جن میں سے کوئی دس ہزار ریڈیو کے لائسنس پنجابیوں کے ہونگے - مگر پنجابی کا پروگرام یہاں ۱۵ منٹ سے زیادہ نہیں ہے -

دوسری بات مجھے پنجاب کے بیس پچیس آرٹسٹوں کے متعلق کہنی ہے جو کہ یہاں خراب ہو رہے ہیں - انکو ریڈیو اسٹیشن پر اسلئے نہیں بولنے دیا جاتا کہ انکا ہندی میں پروونسیشن خراب ہے - اس لئے انکو علیحدہ رکھا جاتا ہے - ظاہر ہے کہ جب ہم کسی لفظ کو اداپت (adopt) کر لیتے ہیں تو ہم کو ایسی باتوں کا خیال نہیں کرنا چاہئے - شہدوں کی دو قسمیں ہیں یعنی تکسم اور تدبہو - تکسم وہ ہیں جو اسی طرح بولے جاتے ہیں جس طرح سنسکرت میں اور تدبہو وہ ہیں جو اداپت کر لئے گئے ہیں - جیسے اگر بیرون کو جوہن کہا جائے تو یہ نہیں کہا جا سکتا کہ یہ پروونسیشن تھیک نہیں ہے - ہمارے مولانا صاحب ہاؤس میں جب اردو بولتے ہیں تو اہل کو اہل اور فہرورنہری کو فروری

ہی کہتے ہیں۔ اسی طرح باتل کو ہم 'وٹل' کہتے ہیں۔ تو جو لفظ اس طرح
 بن جاتے ہیں اصل میں وہ صحیح سمجھے جانے چاہئیں۔ جو لفظ فلطالعام ہو جاتا ہے وہ
 صحیح ہی سمجھا جاتا ہے۔ جو پنجاب کے ہندی کے ہی۔ اے۔ ہوتے ہیں یا
 سلسکرت کے ایم۔ اے۔ ہوتے ہیں انکو ہندی ساہتہ سہیلن والے یہ کہتے ہیں کہ
 ان کا پرونسیسشن تھیک نہیں ہے اور نہ ہی انکا پرونسیسشن تھیک ہو سکتا ہے
 کیونکہ وہ پنجابی ہیں۔ تو مجھے یہ کہنا ہے کہ پنجاب والوں پر سے یہ
 جس ایڈوانٹیج (disadvantage) دور کرنا چاہئے۔

میں زیادہ تاہم لیکر کچھ کستاخی کر رہا ہوں۔ مگر ایک بات اور صدر
 صاحبہ کی اجازت سے کہنا چاہتا ہوں۔ وہ یہ کہ آرٹسٹوں اور دیگر اسٹاف کے
 خرچ کا تناسب تھیک نہیں ہے۔ یعنی آرٹسٹوں کے واسطے صرف ۳۸ لاکھ روپیہ
 خرچ کیا جاتا ہے۔ پچھلے سال وہ ۳۲ لاکھ تھا۔ اس سال ۶ لاکھ اور بڑھایا گیا ہے
 مگر تناسب وہی رہا ہے۔ میں یہ بھی کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اسٹاف آرٹسٹس کو بھی
 گورنمنٹ سرورینٹ سمجھا جائے اور انکو بھی وہی سہولیتوں دی جائیں تا کہ وہ
 اچھا کام کر سکیں۔ کلاکاروں کی قدر پوری ہونی چاہیئے۔ ان الفاظ کے ساتھ میں
 دصاحبہ سے معافی مانگتا ہوں کیونکہ مجھکو دو تین منٹ زیادہ ہو گئے۔

(English translation of the above speech)

Giani G. S. Musafir (Punjab): On the 26th of March last while this subject
 was under discussion, the Deputy-Speaker had to ring the bell for obtaining
 the quorum. But I feel gratified that this is not the case today, although the
 attendance is thin.

I do not think I can do proper justice to this subject in such a short time
 at my disposal. But I should like to mention one or two things and the rest
 I shall not deal with. My main difficulty is that I am a petty poet and if
 many subjects pass through my mind and I cannot arrange, I forget these.
 Therefore, it is very difficult for me to arrange all these points in such a short
 time. But one thing, I must bring to the notice of the hon. Minister and I
 consider it a matter of paramount importance and I should, therefore, like to
 take it up first of all and that is the language question. There is no doubt
 in it that Hindi has since been adopted as our national language. It was some-
 what doubtful last year. But now we have passed that Hindi shall be our
 language. Previously we did not find much difference between Hindi and the
 Hindustani names. But when the Hindi-knowing people placed
 their point of view before us, we agreed that the Hindi was the most
 appropriate name and I supported this. But judging from the type of
 Hindi which it is being endeavoured to bring before us, it so appears
 that it will be very difficult for us. I have liked one or two sentences in
 the speech delivered by the hon. Minister last year. He said: "But we have
 to think that even the Indian culture is such a thing for which we require a
 measuring rod. As far as I know the Indian culture is so vast and extensive and
 it stands on such a deep-rooted foundation that it cannot drive away anybody
 from its fold".

This is true. But we are thinking that if such a state of affairs continues, we
 shall have ourselves to run away because the Hindi that is used for the purposes

[Giani G. S. Musafir]

of broadcasts from the A.I.R. and which is called as 'Hindi' is so difficult that it is not susceptible of being understood by people of my calibre. I had gone to Srinagar a couple of days ago. The Major General commanding our troops there told me that our jawans do not listen to the A.I.R. broadcasts—they listen to the Pakistan Radio. Whenever you see, they are found listening to the Pakistan Radio because they cannot understand the language used by the A.I.R. I have myself seen it that those of our boys and girls who are studying in the colleges, when they listen to this programme which is called pure Hindi, they are unable to make out whether this is being broadcast in Hindi or in Arabic. If the pointer does not indicate the Delhi Station, they cannot distinguish whether the broadcasts from Delhi were in Hindi or in Arabic from Lahore. So, I take it that Hindi which has since been adopted as our National language is the mother of all languages and it should assimilate others also. The President of our Constituent Assembly, the hon. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, had set up a Central Committee of the language experts and it constituted of experts in the languages spoken in all the States. The hon. Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting was also in this Committee. So, the experts who constituted that Committee then expressed the views that those words which are in common use—may be Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic or even English—shall be adopted and this language will be made an easy one as far as possible. Only the other day, Shri Satyanarayana, though not coming from a Hindi-speaking province, delivered a speech in Hindi. We were delighted to hear this. If everybody begins to speak Hindi in this manner, it can become popular very soon.

An objection was raised last year that the religious programmes which are broadcast only from Delhi, Calcutta and Trichinopoly should be transmitted from all the stations. The hon. Minister then thought it to be a difficult proposition. But when this demand was being pressed from every side, he found out a solution and replied that it will be provided in the name of cultural programme, but it appears from the report for the year under review that he has considered the Sanskrit programme alone as the cultural programme. The report lays down:

"As Sanskrit provides one of the main streams of India's cultural traditions, A.I.R. has undertaken to present in varied forms the inspiring richness and variety of Sanskrit literature and mythology. Such programmes broadcast during the year from almost all stations have taken the shape of adaptations from Sanskrit drama, recitation of Sanskrit poetry and reading from Sanskrit classics. They arouse among a large number of listeners an emotional response because of traditional associations."

The manner in which this passage has been worded is correct. But I am doubtful whether Sanskrit can be revived as a language at present. It has been further mentioned in the report that Sanskrit is still spoken and understood at certain places. But it seems difficult to revive Sanskrit as a language in this present twentieth century, and I think it would tend to weaken the cause of our Hindi if we merely devote our attention to introduce difficult Sanskritized words in it. Latin was the language of almost the whole of Europe during the tenth century. There are very useful books written in Greek by Aristotle, Socrates and Plato and their books are today taught in the colleges even after the lapse of many centuries. But if anybody now thinks that Latin and Greek can again be revived in the form of any language or that Britishers will forsake the English and again adopt Latin, that would, of course be very difficult. So, I am not opposed to Sanskrit, but I regard it as the fountain-head of culture and I think there will be nothing bad in it, if useful recitations from the Gita, Quran, Guru Granth Sahib and the Bible are broadcast from the Radio.

From "Secular State", I understand the same as the hon. Minister stated yesterday during the course of a discussion that anti-religious or un-religious State does not constitute a secular state, but it is the impartial treatment of all religions that makes a state 'Secular'. So far as Gita is concerned, I think it is undoubtedly the best, but its *shlokas* should be broadcast together with their translation so that everybody may be able to follow and understand these. There is no doubt in it that the cultural Sanskrit programmes which are provided by our hon. Minister are all good. But I think it will be much better if in place of these programmes, annotations drawn from the Gita, Upanishads, Bible and Quran and those portions of the Holy Guru Granthas which are in Hindi, are recited. But whatever language is used, it should be understandable by all. You may, however, by recording the Sanskrit programme broadcast it to the people at Banaras and Tirupati where Sanskrit is better understood. I would like to say one or two things more. I should like to speak a few words with regard to Punjab and the Punjabees. Until now Punjabi and Urdu have been in vogue in the Punjab in addition to English. All the people there are conversant with Urdu and Punjabi. Hindi was not frequently used there. But in other Provinces broadcasts are being made through the medium of respective regional languages because those languages are understandable there, such as in the case of stations in the Tamil, Telugu and Kannada speaking areas. This is not the case in Punjab. There only 50 per cent. of the programme is broadcast in Punjabi from the Jullundur Station and that station too is of one Kilowatt and it is so weak that it is not audible beyond the radius of 25 miles. If the weather is good, it can also be heard at a long distance. But it is a very weak station. Here in Delhi, the Punjabees comprise of nearly half of the population which ranges between 15 to 20 lakhs and there are twenty thousand radio sets and out of which at least ten thousand radio licences are held by the Punjabees. But the time allotted here for the broadcast of Punjabi programme does not exceed more than fifteen minutes.

Secondly, I have to say something in respect of the Punjabi Artists numbering about twenty or twenty-five who are rotting here. They are not permitted to speak from the Radio Station on account of the reason that their Hindi pronunciation is bad. Therefore, they are isolated. It is obvious that when we adopt any word, we should not think of such things. There are two types of words, viz: *tatsam* and *tadbhav*. The former means those Sanskrit words which are spoken in an unaltered form and the latter are those which have been adapted, for instance, if the word "yowon" is pronounced as "jehan", it cannot be said that the pronunciation is incorrect. When the hon. Maulana speaks Urdu in this House, he pronounces the word "April" and "February" as "Aprail" and "Fevruary" respectively. Similarly we pronounce "bottle" as "botal". So, such derivated words should invariably be taken as correct. Thus a word which becomes colloquial should be treated as correct. The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan authorities think that not only the pronunciation of those who are Graduates in Hindi and M.A.'s in Sanskrit from the Punjab University is incorrect, but they cannot also pronounce correctly, because they are Punjabees. So, what I mean to say is that this disadvantage from which the Punjabees are suffering should be removed.

I must apologize for the transgression of time-limit. But with your permission, Madam, I should like to say one thing more and that is that the expenditure in respect of Artists does not bear any proper proportion to that of other staff, i.e., only Rs. 80 lakhs are spent on account of Artists. Last year this amounted to Rs. 82 lakhs. This year although the amount has been raised by Rs. seven lakhs, yet the radio remains unaltered. I should also urge that the Artist staff should be treated as Government servants and they should be afforded the same facilities so that they may be able to put in useful service. The artists should be treated commensurately. With these words, I would resume my seat and apologise for having taken two or three minutes in excess.

Shri Mudgal rose—

Mr. Chairman: May I request the hon. Member to finish at 6.10?

Shri Mudgal (Bombay): This is an important Ministry since it deals with the minds of the people through its three main activities, *i.e.*, the press, the radio and the films. It not only instructs the people but it informs, entertains and enlightens them. This Ministry's work during the current year has been very good in many sectors, but its future programme is handicapped by lack of funds. Therefore ways and means should be found to augment the funds of this Ministry so that its important work can be extended in many ways. For instance, the radio is an instrument of propaganda to accomplish certain national purposes and it is not done as it should be done. Our propagauda, whether internal or external, is very defective. We may be soon confronted with the need of making use of our radio for accomplishing certain purposes to forward our national policies for which I do not see any adequate preparations made by our Broadcasting Department, and I urge on the Minister the necessity of looking into this and improving that particular activity.

Coming to the internal development of our radio, the Ministry's Handbook tells us that community, rural and foreign programmes have been introduced. That is a very good development indeed. I understand from the Ministry that they have been working on certain types and specifications of radio sets for our community and rural programmes. In this respect I suggest that our Broadcasting Department should encourage the manufacture of radio sets in India, and the types of radios that we require for our internal consumption, after proper census has been taken and the annual requirement of sets ascertained, should be divided among the existing manufacturers and assemblers of radio sets. This way we can build up our radio industry very rapidly.

There are various other aspects of radio work for which more funds would be needed. As our Finance Minister is unable at present to supply all the funds needed for the important work of this Ministry, other means should be explored. Unfortunately many of our Secretariats are still following British ideas and British practices. I have been advocating for the last three years that we should accept advertisements on our radio system, which would bring us additional revenue. The opposition to that is that it is not done in Britain. The British used to say that. Many people in India do not still want to do new things and do not still want to learn from the experience of other foreign countries. If we do not want to accept advertisements throughout the day, let us have that system for one hour a day. That will bring us additional revenue. This has been done in America very successfully. I have seen American programmes, having stayed in that country for 17 years. Nothing is wrong with that. British prejudices should not prevent us from adopting a system that would improve our broadcasting system. If we do not want private enterprise as in the United States, we can have the Australian system which is part private and part Government. I suggest, let us at least start under the auspices of the Government, an experiment in introducing advertising on our Radio. That would help us not only to have an additional revenue to expand our establishment; possibly, it will help us eventually to eliminate licensing of our Receiving sets.

Shri Diwakar: I have been listening with great attention to the number of speakers who have been giving their careful thought to the working of this Ministry. Every one of them has pointed out the importance of this Ministry and its working. But, I am sorry to say that this importance is not reflected in the time allotted to the debate of this important subject.

An Hon. Member: The Government is responsible for that.

Shri Diwakar: Possibly many people who have spoken could not give us the advantage of the study that they have made of the problems of this Ministry. Many more who have studied them, and who might have had very useful suggestions to make, could not stand on their legs in the House at all. Thus, I fear this particular debate has suffered very much for want of the time that was necessary for this important subject.

Now, the time at my disposal also is so short that I can hardly touch the points that have been raised. However, I have tried to study all the Cuts that were tabled. I see that there are 70 Cuts, given by 50 people. That, I think is a fair measure of the attention as well as the interest that they are taking in this Ministry. I now find that out of those seventy Cuts, more than forty are in regard to the All India Radio, its programme and policy and so on. In the Ministry again, the All India Radio comes for a large measure of importance and interest. Therefore, my reply also would bear the same proportion in which hon. Members have given importance to the working of this Ministry.

While I am thankful to some of the hon. Members who have said that more finances are necessary for this particular department, that possibly economy in this department is not something which should be looked upon as a sacrosanct thing, and that money should be provided according to necessity, according to the needs and urgency of the work concerned, I think that that is a problem, that is a difficulty which every one of us is facing and therefore it is a national problem more than a problem for any particular Ministry.

Straightaway coming to the points raised, there are some common points as regards two things, if I may say so. One is about the employment of non-journalists in the Publications Division, in the P.I.B. Department as well as the Radio News Division. I submit that the facts are quite otherwise. For one thing, every post that carries, I think, a salary of Rs. 300 and more, is filled by the Union Public Service Commission. Secondly, one of the requirements of these posts includes as one of the qualifications journalistic experience. As I scanned the lists of officers and employees, I found that predominantly most of them have actual journalistic experience. Some of them who had not this experience had journalistic diplomas. Some others were trained after they had joined and when they were temporarily working here. At any rate, the general criticism that there are more non-journalists than journalists in places where journalists ought to be of right, does not hold good.

The second comment was about artists being paid less than they ought to be and that establishment and other administrative posts carry away more of the money spent than is necessary. I think, there too, there is some misunderstanding. So far as administration and establishment are concerned, we must bear in mind that administration and establishment include the whole of the Engineering department. The Engineering Department, so far as the All India Radio is concerned, is as important as, if not more than the artists themselves. Possibly, I am putting it a bit too strongly. Just as in the case of publishers, a publisher is as important a factor as the writer of a particular novel or work of literature, so too, in this case, the Radio Engineering department which keeps the equipment quite fit and up-to-date is very important. Possibly, this misunderstanding has arisen on account of clubbing together general administration along with the Engineering department on the one side and payment to the artists on the other. However being myself a writer and a journalist, I am quite jealous of the rights and also the emoluments of the artists as such. It is they who create literature, it is they who compose poems and it is they who sing the songs that move our hearts. I should be the first to do everything that could be done in order to see that artists get a good deal. There are certain associations of artists but apart from the associations, many

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of them have put forward their difficulties and their problems to us. Some of them have naturally to be decided upon not by us, but by the Home Ministry. They have also been giving sympathetic consideration and trying to meet the situation as far as possible, consistently with economy as also the financial circumstances of today. Therefore, I may assure hon. Members that everything will be done to see that the artists get a fair deal.

Then I may say a few words about development plans of the A.I.R. Hon. Friends referred to vast areas which are not served or where there are no broadcasting stations. I would humbly point out that it is not by areas by which the establishing of particular stations is to be judged. It is by the criterion of coverage. We have to see whether a particular area is covered by another station or not. It is not necessary, for instance, to have a station in every State area as such. But if the people there in that particular area are within the range of another station, be it in some other State or somewhere else, then I think there should not be any complaint about not having broadcasting stations. Now the old development plan that was drawn up in 1947 is being implemented to-day and with the coming in of the Calicut station, that development plan so far as the pilot stations are concerned will be complete. And that would be somewhere in the middle of the present year. The next plan of development may have to be taken up only when we have an all-India survey from the point of view of broadcasting. While the first development plan was drawn up, I may tell you that the State areas of those days which formed practically a third of India containing a fourth of the population were not taken into consideration. Now when the whole of India is integrally and constitutionally one, all those areas and the populations in those areas will naturally have to be considered and the next plan will depend upon the survey that we carry out. Of course, the plans would be there sooner than their implementation; and again the implementation will depend upon the finance available at that time. I think this is the only way in which we can draw up new development plans. When I have explained the matter thus I don't think hon. Members will continue to insist on having broadcasting stations in every particular area as such.

The next criticism was about the language policy and the language controversy. I do not want now to go into that controversy as such. Fortunately for us the Constituent Assembly has accepted a certain policy and has laid down definitely that the State language should be of a particular type and that the Central Government should encourage a particular type of Hindi. I think there is no scope now for any controversy in that behalf. No doubt, certain people thought that the language policy of the A.I.R. was so much against the views that they held that they tried to be out of it. And some hon. Members pointed out that there was a boycott. That term was used. But I am sorry to say that I cannot endorse that statement, because there was no boycott as such. Many Hindi poets and literary men have been co-operating with us, and a few of them were not. Now I am happy to tell you that very recently Shree Sumitranandan Pant, one of the brightest stars in the literary firmament of Hindi has kindly taken up the work of arrangement of the Hindi programmes in all the four Hindi Stations, and I may further tell you that Shri Maithili Saran Gupt, another great star has agreed to have his poems broadcast which he had not done for some time. So I think this is a very happy augury and now if anybody thinks in terms of boycott or non-cooperation or anything of that type, I think he is doing the greatest disservice to the very cause which he thinks he is promoting by this attitude.

Now as regards cultural programmes, I am very glad to say that the cultural programmes, especially in Sanskrit have become recently very popular. Even as regards religious texts and broadcasting from them, none of my friends here need go away with the impression that this is not done. When we say Sanskrit, we do include the Gita, Vedas, Upanishads and other books. When we say Arabic, or Urdu or Gurmukhi, we include all books which are sacred, which are religious and from which material also we draw. Only what could not be done and what is very difficult to do is religious broadcasting as such, on particular days and at particular hours; because in that case a great practical difficulty arises as to how to accommodate not only a number of religions but also a number of sub-religions, creeds and people having faith in certain schools of thought. That being the practical difficulty, we have arranged to see that all these materials are used in cultural broadcast but not in religious broadcasts as such. I think that should satisfy all of us. This has nothing to do with the State being secular or non-secular. Of course, I have defined so far as I have thought about that matter, secularity as being something not against religion or above religion, but something which is "*Dharma nirapeksha*, not *Dharmavirahita* or *Dharmavirudha* or *Dharmaatita*. It should be *Dharma-nirapeksha*, all religions should be looked upon as being equal, and it should not be partial to any one religion. That being the criterion, I think hon. Members may be satisfied if this is the way the A.I.R. is proceeding. Madam, I have hardly touched upon the fringe of the points raised about A.I.R. and.....

Hon. Members: We are satisfied. It is 6.30 now.

Shri Diwakar: If the House will sit a little more, Madam, ...

Shri Sarwate: What about the assurance regarding commercial accounting?

Shri Diwakar: About that, I think there is some confusion. No doubt as far as 1952 was concerned, there may be something said about running A.I.R. on a commercial basis. But saying that it should be run on commercial basis does not mean that it begins making profit to-day. It only means that the ultimate aim is that it should be on a commercial basis.

Shri Sarwate: What about accounting?

Shri Diwakar: Even accounting that is suggested is relevant only when we go along that line. So far as commercial accounting is concerned, that is a matter which may have to be examined. But, as I say, to-day we are yet in the stage of developing. That being the case, it is not possible for us to make profits as such. Now to compare ourselves with the B. B. C. is like a small goat trying to compare itself with an elephant. The B. B. C. is fully developed and developed to such an extent that it is able to sell its publications alone for about £1,000,000, so that I think comparisons of that kind are very discouraging. Therefore, we have to go our own way and see that this Department is run without any cost to the Government. I am glad to say in this connection that every month the number of sets is increasing by about 10,000. By the end of this year we shall have about 4,00,000, whereas we had only about 300,000 last year. This means that we are making fair progress. The progress of radio broadcasting will depend not only on trying to make our programmes good but also on the development of electricity in the country, the development of the radio-manufacture here and the availability of cheap radios. These are the factors which are necessary in order that there may be greater progress in this matter.

Only one point more, Madam, I have already pointed out that rural broadcasting gets the greatest possible consideration at our hands. To-day every station has special broadcasts for rural areas. We have also started what are

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called 'Farm-Forums' in five or six radio stations. These Farm-Forums are for special audiences of the agriculturists and it is not only a one-way traffic. We see to it that the farmers gather together at that particular time, think over the broadcasts and give their own questions to the radio-stations. Answers to these questions are given in the next broadcasts. That is the way we are trying to develop rural broadcasts.

I think if no more time can be given to me, I should better close.

Shri Tirumala Rao (Madras): May we know the Government's views regarding the length of films?

Shri Diwakar: The views of Government on that question are already there. But that will have again to be discussed for which there is no time. So now I thank hon. Members who have made many suggestions. But I would like to say that, though we have not been able to get enough time here, we are here all the time, at least till the session is over and I am available for any discussion or suggestions from hon. Members on any matter pertaining to the whole Department. After all is said and done, I look upon the working of this Department as of other as a great co-operative effort. In this effort of ours we have a lot of work to do in addition to speaking in this forum and therefore I expect every one of the hon. Members to take interest and see that whatever we can do in the matter is done under the circumstances and within the means available.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,03,01,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'Ministry of Information and Broadcasting'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,04,75,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'Broadcasting'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 60,00,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1951, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Broadcasting'."

The motion was adopted.

The House then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 20th March, 1950.