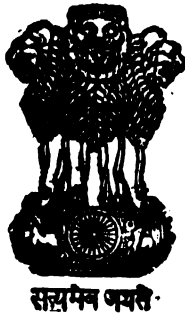


Monday 11th February, 1952



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# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part I—Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

VOLUME I, 1952

(6th February to 5th March, 1952)

Fifth Session

of

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1952



## CONTENTS

*Volume I—From 6th February to 5th March, 1952*

	<i>Columns</i>
<b>Wednesday, 6th February, 1952—</b>	
Members Sworn . . . . .	5
Oral Answers to Questions . . . . .	1—23
Written Answers to Questions . . . . .	24
<b>Friday, 8th February, 1952—</b>	
Oral Answers to Questions . . . . .	25—46
Written Answers to Questions . . . . .	46—52
<b>Monday, 11th February, 1952—</b>	
Oral Answers to Questions . . . . .	53—72
Written Answers to Questions . . . . .	72
<b>Tuesday, 12th February, 1952—</b>	
Oral Answers to Questions . . . . .	73—100
Written Answers to Questions . . . . .	100
<b>Wednesday, 13th February, 1952—</b>	
Oral Answers to Questions . . . . .	101—109
Written Answers to Questions . . . . .	109—110
<b>Thursday, 14th February, 1952—</b>	
Oral Answers to Questions . . . . .	111—129
Written Answers to Questions . . . . .	129—130
<b>Friday, 15th February, 1952—</b>	
Oral Answers to Questions . . . . .	131—144
Written Answers to Questions . . . . .	144—146
<b>Monday, 18th February, 1952—</b>	
Oral Answers to Questions . . . . .	147—158
Written Answers to Questions . . . . .	158—160
<b>Tuesday, 19th February, 1952—</b>	
Oral Answers to Questions . . . . .	161—186
Written Answers to Questions . . . . .	186—188
<b>Wednesday, 20th February, 1952—</b>	
Oral Answers to Questions . . . . .	189—216
Written Answers to Questions . . . . .	216—222
<b>Thursday, 21st February, 1952—</b>	
Oral Answers to Questions . . . . .	223—244
Written Answers to Questions . . . . .	244—246
<b>Friday, 22nd February, 1952—</b>	
Oral Answers to Questions . . . . .	247—281
Written Answers to Questions . . . . .	281—288
<b>Monday, 25th February, 1952—</b>	
Oral Answers to Questions . . . . .	289—323
Written Answers to Questions . . . . .	323—332



**THE**  
**PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES**  
**(Part I—Questions and Answers)**  
**OFFICIAL REPORT**

53

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

Monday, 11th February, 1952

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

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

EVALUATION OF MUSLIM EVACUEE  
PROPERTY

\*12. **Shri Raj Kanwar:** Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) the progress so far made in the work of evaluation of Muslim evacuee property left in India, by the office of the Chief Settlement Commissioner;

(b) the date by which the work is likely to be completed; and

(c) whether any steps are proposed to be taken for the more rapid completion of the work of evaluation and if so, what are they?

**The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain):** (a) Evaluation work was initially undertaken under a pilot scheme in Delhi and in that State more than 50 per cent. of the properties have already been evaluated. In the States of Punjab, Pepsu, Rajasthan, U.P. and Saurashtra special staff has been appointed to undertake the valuation work and varying degree of progress has been made. In other States where either the State Governments were prepared to undertake the work themselves or the amount of the property was not considerable, the work has been entrusted to the State Governments concerned.

Valuation of evacuee agricultural land has started in the State of Delhi and staff will be shortly appointed for valuation of such lands in U.P.

381 PSD

54

Arrangements for valuation of industrial concerns are under consideration.

(b) It is not possible to fix any definite date, but every effort is being made to complete this valuation simultaneously with the verification of the claims of displaced persons.

(c) More staff is being appointed.

**Shri Raj Kanwar:** Since when is the office of the Chief Settlement Commissioner functioning and is it working at its full strength?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** The office of the Chief Settlement Commissioner started working in the month of December. It gained momentum in January. It is working now at an accelerated pace but it cannot be said that it is functioning with full strength.

**Shri Raj Kanwar:** What is the present strength of the personnel employed in the department?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** It is difficult for me to give the figures, because the employees of this department are spread all over the different States.

**Shri Raj Kanwar:** Will the immovable property left by the Muslims in India be sold by public auction and the sale proceeds utilised for the grant of compensation in cash to displaced persons?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** At this stage I am not prepared to commit myself to any particular method.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** Have the Government any idea as to whether the Pakistan Government is also making any evaluation of the property left by Hindus in West Pakistan?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** I saw some news item in Pakistan newspapers that they have also started some sort of valuation but I am not in possession of the details or exact and accurate information.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** May I know if the Government of India are conducting

any negotiations with the Pakistan Government over this matter?

**Shri A. I. Jain:** I do not think any question arises about the carrying on of any negotiations with the Pakistan Government on this matter.

**Shri Raj Kanwar:** Will some of the immovable properties of the Muslims who have migrated to Pakistan be given in exchange to the displaced persons from Pakistan?

**Shri A. I. Jain:** I have already said that at this stage I am not in a position to commit myself to any particular method.

**Dr. Deshmukh:** Are we to understand that the Government of India do not possess any information on the question whether the properties left by the Hindus in Pakistan are being valued or not?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** We have not got any accurate information, nor have we any source of accurate information.

#### Sarvodaya CENTRES

\*43. **Shri Raj Kanwar:** Will the Minister of Planning be pleased to state:

(a) the number of *Sarvodaya* centres opened in each State so far and the grant given by the Government of India to each Centre; and

(b) the steps taken by Government to open more centres in the near future?

**The Minister of Planning (Shri Nanda):** (a) Eightyone *Sarvodaya* Centres have been opened so far. Of these, 29 are in Bombay, 39 in the Punjab, three in Hyderabad, four in Kutch, four in Rajasthan, one in Madhya Pradesh and one in Tripura. Except for the Centres in Bombay, and the Punjab, the other Centres are run by private social service organizations assisted, in some cases, by grants from State Governments. There are no *Sarvodaya* Centres receiving grants from the Government of India. Several State Governments have rural development projects engaged in activities similar to *Sarvodaya*, but not bearing this name, for instance, Pilot Projects in five districts in Uttar Pradesh, Firka Centres in Madras and Basic Education and *Khadi* Centres in Bihar.

(b) No *Sarvodaya* Centres are being established by the Government of India themselves.

**Shri Raj Kanwar:** Have any trainees completed their training so far and if so, what is their number?

**Shri Nanda:** The figures are not available at the moment but if notice of the question is given, I can give the information.

**Shri Kamath:** What progress, if any, has been made with regard to the organisation of the *Bharatiya Seva Sangh*, which was envisaged as a part of the machinery for the implementation of the Five Year Plan?

**Shri Nanda:** I fail to see the immediate connection between the *Bharatiya Seva Sangh* and the *Sarvodaya* schemes of the States.

**Shri Raj Kanwar:** Do Government propose to give large grants for this scheme?

**Shri Nanda:** No.

**Shri Deogirikar:** May I know whether the *Sarvodaya* organisations are autonomous or is there any interference from the Government as regards superintendence, initiative, guidance, etc.?

**Shri Nanda:** It depends upon the conditions in different provinces. The arrangements in each province determine the relations between the Government and the management of the centres.

**Dr. Deshmukh:** Is there any proposal on the part of the Central Government to give recognition to the *Sarvodaya* activities?

**Shri Nanda:** In several cases the *Sarvodaya* activities are being actually conducted under the direct supervision of the Government and all the expenditure is being borne by the Government.

**Shri B. K. Das:** Do the Provincial Governments take an initiative in the matter and desire that centres be opened in the Provinces?

**Shri Nanda:** It is entirely on the initiative of the State Governments that the schemes are being run.

#### INDO-GERMAN TREATY

\*47. **Shri Raj Kanwar:** Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether the Government of India have under consideration any proposal to enter into a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce with the German Federal Republic; and

(b) if so, when such a proposal is likely to materialise?

**The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Dr. Keskar):** (a) and (b). The proposal for a Treaty of Friend-

ship and Commerce has been accepted in principle by both the Governments. The matter is under negotiation at the moment and the Government of India hope that the Treaty will be soon drafted.

**Shri Raj Kanwar:** What is the position with respect to German reparations so far as India is concerned?

**Dr. Keskar:** I do not see the relation between the draft treaty and the question of German reparations.

**Mr. Speaker:** Nor have I been able to see.

**Shri Kamath:** Does India now deal directly with the Bonn Government or is there any liaison between the Government of India and the Bonn Government?

**Dr. Keskar:** We deal directly, in all respects.

**Shri Kamath:** In all respects and in all matters?

**Dr. Keskar:** In all matters pertaining to the two Governments.

#### CLOTH (PRODUCTION)

\*48. **Shri Kshudiram Mahata:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state the percentage of super-fine, fine, medium and coarse cloth produced by the textile mills during the year 1951-52 from 1st June 1951 upto 31st January 1952?

**The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Mahtab):** The percentages of super-fine, fine, medium and coarse cloth produced during the period are 6.1, 28.2, 57 and 8.7 respectively.

**Shri Kshudiram Mahata:** May I know whether this sort of proportion is followed in making allotments to each State so far as the different varieties of cloth are concerned?

**Shri Mahtab:** I think I have made it clear on the floor of this House on many occasions that the State Governments intimate their requirements to the Textile Commissioner and their requirements are met the next month. I do not know whether the State Government requirements are according to the percentage of production here given but on the whole, I think, the requirements of the States almost coincide with the percentages of production.

**Shri Kshudiram Mahata:** Are Government aware of the fact that

medium and coarse cloth are not available in the market?

**Shri Mahtab:** They are available but not in the same quantity as demanded, on account of the fact that medium and coarse cloth are made out of Indian cotton which is not in large supply. Therefore the percentage of production of fine and superfine cloth has gone up from 15 to 40 per cent. in the course of the last three or four years after the Partition.

خواجہ علیایت اللہ : کیا حکومت کو معلوم ہے کہ فائن اور سوپر فائن کا نشان لگانے وقت ملین ایسے کپڑوں پر بھی سوپر فائن کا نشان لگا دیتی ہیں جو فائن اور کورس سے بھی خراب ہوتے ہیں اور وہ اس کی قیمت بھی بڑھا دیتی ہیں ؟

[**Khawaja Inait Ullah:** Are the Government aware of the fact that while marking cloth textile mills give superfine marking on such cloth, which in fact is inferior even to fine or coarse varieties and increase its price as well?]

**Shri Mahtab:** That is not possible under the existing rules because in that case they will be criminally liable. Therefore, what I think the hon. Member suspects is that some of the varieties of fine and superfine cloth are not so good as they ought to be and not that the fine and superfine marks are given on coarse and medium varieties of cloth.

خواجہ علیایت اللہ : میرا یہ سسپیشن نہیں ہے - میں جانتا ہوں کہ جس کپڑے پر آئین روپہ گز لکھا ہوتا ہے وہ اس سے خراب ہوتا ہے جس پر دو روپہ گز لکھا ہوتا ہے - میں یہ جانتا چاہتا ہوں کہ گورنمنٹ اس کا کیا علاج کر رہی ہے ؟

[**Khwaja Inait Ullah:** It is not a mere suspicion on my part but a real fact that sometimes cloth the price of which is marked as three rupees a yard is worse than the cloth whose price is marked as two rupees a yard. I want to know what steps have the Government taken to remedy this state of affairs?]

**Shri Mahtab:** If specific cases are brought to my notice I can take immediate action against the producing mill.

**Pandit Kunzru:** Does the hon. Minister mean that the disparity between the production of superfine and fine cloth on the one hand and medium and coarse cloth on the other will continue for some years?

**Shri Mahtab:** I do not know how long it will continue but if our calculation about production of Indian cotton comes to be correct I think the problem will be solved towards the end of this year, that is by December, 1952.

**Pandit Kunzru:** Is cotton suited to the production of medium and coarse cloth available anywhere outside India and, if so, has Government made any attempt to purchase it?

**Shri Mahtab:** It is available only in Pakistan and I shall be very happy if we can come to some agreement with Pakistan about this. But the hon. Member may have read in the newspapers that the Pakistan Government have entered into an agreement with Japan with regard to the disposal of their cotton. Anyway we are trying our utmost to obtain as much supply of this cotton from Pakistan at possible.

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** May I know whether medium and coarse varieties of cloth are exported in large quantities and that that is responsible for this scarcity of medium and coarse cloth in India?

**Shri Mahtab:** No, that is not correct.

**Shri Shiv Charan Lal:** Does the Government know that when a consumer goes to purchase medium and coarse cloth he is also asked forcibly to purchase fine cloth along with medium and coarse, otherwise he is not supplied medium and coarse varieties?

**Shri Mahtab:** A number of cases of that nature have been brought to my notice and I have personally seen it. That goes to show that there is some defect in the administration of control in the local area and I would request hon. Members who come across such

cases immediately to contact the civil supplies authorities of the state concerned and bring the matter to their notice. In case they fail there, I would request hon. Members to bring it to my notice.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** Have the Government taken any action against such dealers who have been compelling the customers to purchase fine along with medium and coarse cloth?

**Shri Mahtab:** As a matter of fact, I know in many states the civil supplies authorities have taken action against such dealers. It is not for the Government of India to take action but I can take it up with the State Government to stop these things.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** May I know the nature of the action taken? Have their licences been suspended?

**Shri Mahtab:** Apart from suspension of licences some of them have been sent to jail also. But most unfortunately many of these dealers treat these prosecutions as mere accident.

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** May I know whether the Minister's attention has been drawn to a news item which appeared in the Press saying that large quantities of medium and coarse Indian cloth exported to Asian countries have come back to India and are being sold in the Indian market?

**Shri Mahtab:** That is not true—I have not come across any Press report of that kind, but that is physically impossible.

**Mr. Speaker:** Next question.

#### *Dhoties and Sarees*

\*49. **Shri B. K. Das:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state:

(a) whether the requirements of different States in respect of *Dhoties* and *Sarees* could be met during the last year;

(b) if not, what were the difficulties that stood in the way; and

(c) what steps have been taken to meet the requirements?

**The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Mahtab):** (a) No, Sir.

(b) The main difficulties were:

(i) increase in the demand for coarse and medium varieties of *dhoties* and *sarees* as a result of the high prices for fine and superfine varieties; and

(ii) non-availability of suitable types of cotton in adequate quantities.

(c) The measures taken were:

(i) directing mills who produce varieties other than *dhoties* and *sarees* to switch over 50 per cent. of their looms of reed space 48" to 58" for the production of *dhoties* and *sarees*;

(ii) negotiating with mills for an increase in the production of these varieties; and

(iii) efforts at meeting the cotton requirements of the mills.

**Shri B. K. Das:** The hon. Minister stated in answer to part (a) that the requirements could not be met. May I have an idea as to what percentage of the requirements of *dhoties* and *sarees* have been met?

**Shri Mahtab:** The figure is not available with me now, but with regard to the total requirements of cloth while our total requirements are about 4500 million yards the production this year is about 4100 million yards and therefore I think in the course of this year we shall reach the target of our requirements.

**Shri B. K. Das:** May I know what were the requirements of the West Bengal State last year in the matter of *dhoties* and *sarees*?

**Shri Mahtab:** I have not got those figures here but if separate notice is given I shall supply them. But with regard to the requirements of West Bengal Government we have made an exception there in the production of *sarees*. The mills situated in that State have been called upon to switch over 60 per cent. of their production to *sarees* whereas in the other States it is about 50 per cent. That has been done at the request of the West Bengal Government.

**Shri B. K. Das:** May I know how far the position has improved over what it was in 1950?

**Shri Mahtab:** Most certainly. I made an enquiry only two months ago; the position in West Bengal has improved considerably but even then it must be admitted that there is shortage of *sarees* in view of the complaints received. We are now taking steps to increase the production of *sarees* in those mills.

**Shri Kamath:** How much longer will it take for the Minister's dream, of eight or nine months ago as stated by him in this House that the market will be flooded with *dhoties* and *sarees*, to be translated into reality?

**Shri Mahtab:** I don't think this question can be answered, but the

hon. Member knows that today there is not so much shortage of *dhoties* and *sarees* as there was eight or nine months ago and the hon. Member is.....

**Shri Kamath:** No, the Minister dreamt...

**Shri Mahtab:** It was not a dream. It was...

خواجہ عدایت الہ : کیا ہر اسٹیٹ  
گورنمنٹ اور خاص کر بہار گورنمنٹ  
اپنی مرضی اور اپنی ضرورت کے مطابق  
کوٹا مانگ سکتی ہے یا سلٹر سے  
مجبور کیا جاتا ہے کہ نلن فلن کہو  
تم لے لو ؟

**[Khwaja Inait Ullah:** Can every State Government especially the Bihar Government ask for a quota according to their will and need or are they compelled by the Centre to take specific varieties of cloth only?]

**Shri Mahtab:** That is a very usual mistaken belief that from the Centre there is any compulsion that certain varieties of cloth must be taken by the State nominees. As a matter of fact, the State nominees are at liberty to refuse any variety of cloth which they do not want and supply is made according to the requirements given notice of by the State Governments one month ahead.

خواجہ عدایت الہ : کیا تھکستان  
مل ایسا کرنے پر مجبور نہیں کرتی  
ہیں کہ یہ کہو تم لے لو ؟

**[Khwaja Inait Ullah:** Do not the textile mills compel them to take certain specific varieties of cloth?]

**Shri Mahtab:** No. that is not done.

**Shri Shiv Charan Lal:** Does the Government know that the supply of coarse and medium cloth is not so much less than the supply of *dhoties* and *sarees* because the mills produce *sarees* and *dhoties* in lesser numbers than they produce other cloth?

**Shri Mahtab:** There seems to be a fallacy here. *Dhoties* and *sarees* can be of coarse and medium variety, they can also be of fine and superfine varieties. There is a shortage of medium and coarse cloth, but so far as *dhoties* and *sarees* are concerned,



my present information is that there is a complaint that sarees are in short supply and therefore steps are being taken to increase the production of sarees.

**Shri B. K. Das:** May I know whether according to the present plan there will be some improvement during the current year as regards the supply of dhoties and sarees?

**Shri Mahtab:** As I have already said, dhoties of fine and superfine varieties have not been the subject of complaint. There is a complaint about the supply of sarees of all varieties. Steps which are being taken this month will produce results. I think, in the month of March or April and I think there will be an increased supply of sarees available.

#### COSSIPORE CAMP

\*50. **Shri B. K. Das:** Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that there has been a large number of deaths in the Cossipore Camp in West Bengal during the last year;

(b) if so, what has been found to be the reason for such deaths; and

(c) what steps have been taken by Government in that behalf?

**The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain):** (a) to (c). The required information is being collected and will be placed on the Table of the House.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** I think this incident occurred some months ago. How is it that Government has not yet got the required information?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** I am expected to collect accurate information which has been asked for in the question. I got a report, but it did not contain all the information and therefore, I did not think it proper to supply the House only half information.

#### EXPORTED TEXTILES

\*51. **Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the Minister of Commerce and Industry be pleased to state:

(a) whether there have been any complaints from foreign countries regarding the poor quality of Indian textiles;

(b) whether there has been any proposal for the inspection of Indian textiles by the Cotton Textile Fund Committee;

(c) if so, whether there has been any opposition to the scheme from the trade; and

(d) whether Government propose to enforce the scheme of inspection of exportable textiles?

**The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri Mahtab):** (a) Yes, Sir, there have been a few isolated complaints.

(b) Yes, Sir.

(c) Some of the leading Millowners' Associations have expressed their opposition to the proposal.

(d) Government are awaiting the recommendations of the Cotton Textiles Fund Committee which is to examine the scheme in the light of the representations from the Industry at their next meeting on the 25th February 1952, before coming to a decision.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** Is it not true that the Textile Fund Committee has already made some recommendations for inspecting the textiles that are being exported?

**Shri Mahtab:** The Textile Fund Committee first made recommendations and these were protested against by some of the Millowners' Associations and these protests have been sent back to the Textile Fund Committee. The Committee is meeting on the 25th February to deliberate over those protests. On receiving the Committee's reply, Government will come to a decision.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** Have protests come only from the Millowners' Associations or also from the established shippers who think that this inspection would drive them out of the trade?

**Shri Mahtab:** Protests have come from some Millowners' Associations and also from Chambers of Commerce.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** Has the Textile Directorate made any recommendation on this matter to the Government?

**Shri Mahtab:** No. As a matter of fact, the administration of any kind of inspection must be done by the Textile Fund Committee, provided they are given the necessary authority by the Government of India under the Textile Control Order. At present, they have no authority, but some time back Government took the initiative and wrote to the Trade Commissioners in foreign countries to receive such complaints and forward them to the

Textile Commissioner so that Government on their own account could do something. But that did not become successful and for that reason the Textile Fund Committee has now taken up this matter and as a matter of course, the protests which were received against the recommendations of the Textile Fund Committee must be considered by that Committee. It will not take much time to get the reply of the Textile Fund Committee to those protests and Government will come to a decision soon.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** May I know from what countries the protests have come?

**Shri Mahtab:** That information is not readily available with me. But some and not many countries have sent protests.

**Shri Amolakh Chand:** May I know the number of countries which have lodged their complaints with the Government of India?

**Shri Mahtab:** I am very sorry that that information is not with me, but I think one or two countries lodged complaints.

**Shri Kamath:** In spite of the fact, as stated by the hon. Minister himself, that complaints have been received from some foreign countries about the shoddy goods exported from here to those countries, may I know the grounds on which the protests or objections have been made by the trade to the scheme of inspection by Government?

**Shri Mahtab:** I could not follow the question. Is he wanting to know the ground of the protests?

**Shri Kamath:** Yes.

**Shri Mahtab:** The whole correspondence is with me. They have protested on the ground that inspection at the ports would not be successful and would be undesirable on many other grounds. But they have not denied the charges made against them.

**Shri Kamath:** Have the trade undertaken to see, or given a guarantee, that shoddy goods will not be exported in future?

**Shri Mahtab:** No. There is no such thing as "trade". There are various trade associations. They are not statutory bodies. Therefore, there is nothing like the trade giving a guarantee. Here, there must be some statutory guarantee against that kind of export and for that the Textile Fund Committee has been

entrusted with the work. They have now taken it up and as a matter of course these protests have gone to them. I think it is but fair to refer these protests to them and as soon as we hear from them, we will come to a decision.

**Shri Amolakh Chand:** May I know the steps which Government propose to take to see that such cases are not repeated in future?

**Shri Mahtab:** The whole discussion is about that. The Textile Fund Committee feel that there should be a scheme of inspection of these exported commodities and if such a scheme comes into operation I think there will be no repetition of these things.

#### AID TO DISPLACED PERSONS

\*52. **Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the Minister of Rehabilitation be pleased to state:

(a) the number of East Bengal displaced persons receiving aid from Government of India as permanent liabilities;

(b) the nature of the aid given to them;

(c) where these displaced persons are at present domiciled;

(d) whether there is any scheme to give some suitable work to them; and

(e) whether there is any proposal to rehabilitate them?

**The Minister of State for Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain):** (a) to (e) The information is being collected and will be placed on the Table in due course.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** Can the Minister give us some idea at least?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** I can roughly reply to all the questions. As regards the number; the number from East Bengal is about 30 to 35 thousand. That is the permanent liability. As regards the nature of the aid given to them, I may say that it is Rs. 12 per month for food to every adult and Rs. 8 per month to every minor below the age of 12 plus one or two sets of clothing every year, free accommodation, free hospital aid and free education to children. If they earn anything by personal efforts; that is theirs. These people are mostly living in West Bengal. Those who migrated to Assam are living there and those who have migrated to Tripura are living there. A few hundreds are in Bihar and a few

hundreds in Orissa. We are trying to give them suitable work, but it has not been possible to settle any considerable number of them on work. There is a proposal to rehabilitate them. Those who can do some kind of work will be given training for it and will be settled in the villages. Those who are completely crippled or too old and are unable to earn their livelihood will have to be retained more or less permanently.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** May I enquire whether the hon. Minister thinks that Rs. 12 per month is sufficient for a person even for a week?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** Rs. 12 per month plus the other amenities have been found to be quite sufficient.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** What other amenities?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** I have already said one or two sets of clothing, free housing, free medical aid and free education to children and right to earn.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** Will the Rs. 12 cover also the food expenses?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** Only the food expenses.

**Mr. Speaker:** We are now entering into an argument.

**Shri Shiv Charan Lal:** May I know what kind of work is being taken from these people and what sort of training is being given to them?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** In some of the homes these persons are being given training in tailoring, rice husking etc. and they are employed on work to which they have been habituated.

**Shri B. K. Das:** May I know whether complaints have been received by Government from the displaced persons as far as the allowance given to them is concerned?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** This is the usual scale of allowance which is being given not only to one or two or a hundred or a thousand families but perhaps to about 50 or 60 thousand families and it is considered to be adequate.

**Shri B. K. Das:** May I know whether any number of these people have been rehabilitated on work by this time?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** Some of them may have been but I have not got any figures with me.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** May I know if these permanent-liability refugees get

any ration or does the Rs. 12 cover also their cereal cost?

**Shri A. P. Jain:** The Rs. 12 covers the food—not "also" but "the".

#### FINAL REPORT OF THE PLANNING COMMISSION

**\*44. Shri S. N. Das** (on behalf of **Shri Jnani Ram**): Will the Minister of Planning be pleased to state:

(a) whether the final report of the Planning Commission has been prepared;

(b) when it is expected to be published; and

(c) the main features of changes from the Preliminary Report?

**The Minister of Planning (Shri Nanda):** (a) and (b). The final report of the Planning Commission is under preparation and is expected to be presented in about three months.

(c) These are under consideration.

**Shri S. N. Das:** May I know whether any specific changes have been made or are going to be made as a result of the conference that Acharya Vinobha Bhave had last year with the Planning Commission?

**Shri Nanda:** That matter is still under consideration.

**Shri S. N. Das:** May I know whether as a result of the criticisms made on the floor of the House and the criticisms received from various organisations in the country any important changes in matters of policy in the Planning Commission report have been made?

**Shri Nanda:** It will take some time to complete the process of reconsideration.

**Shri S. N. Das:** May I know, Sir, whether any definite steps have been taken between the period the House adjourned and now about the machinery to be set up to give effect to the Planning Commission's suggestions and recommendations?

**Shri Nanda:** Constant consideration is being given to the question of the suitable machinery for the implementation of the Plan.

**Shri Kamath:** Is it a fact, Sir, that the Planning Commission invited Acharya Vinobha Bhave officially to discuss the Five Year Plan with them and is it a fact that he very severely criticised the utility of the Plan, not merely before the Planning Commission themselves, but also in his own organ the *Sarvodaya*?

**Shri Nanda:** As a result of the talks we held with Vinodna Bhawe my impression is that the distance between us is not so wide as was being imagined.

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** May I know, Sir, whether there will be any change in the Planning Commission as a result of the present General Elections and the final set-up of the State Governments?

**Mr. Speaker:** Change in the personnel?

**Shri K. Velayudhan:** In the policy of the Planning Commission.

**Shri Nanda:** The reconsideration that I have spoken of will take into account this factor and all new developments that have arisen or may arise.

#### COLLIERY LABOURERS DISCHARGED

\*45. **Shri S. N. Das** (on behalf of **Shri Jnanu Kani**): Will the Minister of Works, Production and Supply be pleased to state:

(a) the number of labourers discharged from Government collieries during the year 1951;

(b) the main reasons for their discharge; and

(c) the number of persons amongst them who were re-instated during the year?

**The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply** (**Shri Buragohain**): (a) Nil.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** Is it not true that last year the Ministry told us that there was surplus labour in these railway collieries? There was also an assurance that the surplus labour would be reduced. How is it that no action has yet been taken?

**Shri Buragohain:** It is true that the Railway Collieries Enquiry Committee estimated the extent of surplus labour at 3,000 and the cost to Government of each minimum paid labour, exclusive of housing, at Rs. 1,000. Thereafter the matter was also examined by the Coal Commissioner who was also asked to put up specific proposals. In accordance with his estimate the figure came to 9,000. The matter was placed before the Cabinet which decided that it should be further gone into with a view to finding out as to how far the labour reported surplus was actually non-existent. A Fact Finding Committee is now going into the whole

question and is expected to report by the middle of next month.

**Shri A. C. Guha:** May I enquire what action Government has taken to implement the assurance given last year on the recommendations of the Estimates Committee before this House?

**Shri Buragohain:** As I have already said, I have nothing useful to add except to say that we are waiting for the report of the Fact Finding Committee on which are represented the representatives of labour unions.

#### JAPANESE PEACE TREATY

\*46. **Shri S. N. Das** (on behalf of **Shri Jnanu Kani**): Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state when it is expected that a separate peace treaty between India and Japan will be signed?

**The Prime Minister** (**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru**): The Japanese Government's comments on the Government of India's tentative draft of the proposed peace treaty have been received and are under examination.

**Shri S. N. Das:** May I know, Sir, whether negotiations regarding this Treaty with Japan are still going on, or they have come to an end?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** As I have just said—and I repeat for the hon. Member's sake—the Japanese Government's comments on the Government of India's tentative draft of the proposed peace treaty have been received and are under examination.

**Shri Kamath:** Before India moved in this matter, did she consult the other powers who were non-signatories to the San Francisco Treaty, or did she move on her own?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** The Government of India take steps when and as it thinks proper, but generally it does keep in touch with friendly powers and in consultation with them.

**Shri Kamath:** In this matter too may I take it that India has kept in touch with the non-signatory powers to the San Francisco Treaty?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** I cannot at the moment remember the names of all the non-signatory powers, but we have kept in touch with some friendly powers concerned.

बाबू रामनारायणसिंह : सुखहाने की क्षती  
के बारे में संसद से सच की जावनी वा नहीं है

**Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** Will the House be consulted with regard to the terms of the peace treaty?

**श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू:** आम तौर से तो यह बातें इस सियत से पश नहीं आती हैं। जब यह तै हा जाता है ता इतला क लिए आपक सामन रखी जाता है। जहा तक इस सुलहनामे का सवाल है यह तो एक मामूली फ्रेडशिप और ट्रेड का सुलहनामा है। इसमें कोई पॉलीटिकल पेचादाग्या नहीं है।

**[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Ordinarily such things are not brought up in this manner. Only when they are settled they are placed before the house for information. So far as this Peace Treaty is concerned it is a simple treaty of Trade and Friendship and has no political complications.]

**Shri Kamath:** As regards this very important matter of the Japanese Peace Treaty, has India kept in touch with China, or is it proposed to keep in touch with China in this matter?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** No, Sir, not in regard to this particular draft treaty, because the question does not arise. This is a very simple draft of resuming normal diplomatic relations and trade matters and expressions of friendship. It is a kind of treaty more or less on the lines we had with Iran, with Afghanistan, Indonesia and other countries, round about without any particular commitment. It really is a kind of thing that follows the ending of a formal state of war, so that no political commitments or implications are involved in it.

**Shri Kamath:** Is it a fact, Sir, that at the time of the signature of the San

Francisco Treaty, Mr. Dean Acheson, on behalf of the United States of America stated that Japan would not be allowed to enter into any subsequent treaty contrary to the terms of the San Francisco treaty, and if so, has the United States of America taken any move, or stated anything, to India or her representatives about this matter?

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Hon. Members can hardly ask me to comment on statements made by foreign ministers of other countries. So far as we are concerned, we deal directly with Japan in this particular matter.

#### WRITTEN ANSWER TO QUESTION ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER, C.P.W.D.

**4. Shri Jagannath Das:** Will the Minister of Works, Production and Supply be pleased to state.

(a) the emoluments of the Administrative Officer of the C.P.W.D. and the qualifications of the present incumbent to the post; and

(b) whether the post was filled through the U.P.S.C. or directly?

**The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragonam):**

(a) The prescribed scale of pay of the post of Administrative Officer, Central Public Works Department, is Rs. 650—30—800. The present incumbent of the post is a Matriculate and has about 35 years' service to his credit. He has worked as Superintendent for about 7 years and as Assistant Administrative Officer for about 7 years prior to his appointment as officiating Administrative Officer.

(b) The post was not filled through the Union Public Service Commission. The post is a post included in the Cadre of the Central Secretariat Service and, is to be filled in accordance with the rules of that service which has recently been re-organized.



# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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VOLUME I, 1952



(5th February, 1952 to 29th February, 1952)

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Fifth Session

of the

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA

1952

## CONTENTS

*Volume I—5th February to 29th February, 1952.*

*Columns*

### TUESDAY, 5TH FEBRUARY, 1952—

President's Address . . . . .	1—16
-------------------------------	------

### WEDNESDAY, 6th FEBRUARY, 1952—

Deaths of Shri Deshbandhu Gupta, Thakur Lal Singh, Durbar Gopaldas Desai and Shri Manik Lal Gupta . . . . .	17—18
Motion for Adjournment—Release of detenues elected to Legislatures . . . . .	19—20
Resignations of Members . . . . .	20
Leave of absence from the House . . . . .	20
President's Assent to Bills . . . . .	21
Papers laid on the Table—	
Report of Indian Delegation to 13th Session of U.N.E. and S. Council . . . . .	21 ✓
Summary of proceedings of Tenth Session of Indian Labour Conference . . . . .	21 ✓
President's Acts <i>re</i> Punjab . . . . .	21—22
Ordinances promulgated after Fourth Session . . . . .	22
Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections Bill—Introduced . . . . .	22
Indian Independence Pakistan Courts (Pending Proceedings) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	22
Discussion on motion to consider—Postponed . . . . .	25—28
Prevention of Corruption (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	23
Delhi University (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	23
Uttar Pradesh Cantonments (Control of Rent and Eviction) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	23—24
Resolution <i>re</i> Continuance of President's Proclamation <i>re</i> Punjab—Adopted . . . . .	24
Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections Bill—Discussion on motion to consider not concluded . . . . .	29—98
Death of King George VI . . . . .	96

### FRIDAY, 8th FEBRUARY, 1952—

Message of Condolence on death of King George VI . . . . .	97
Papers laid on the Table—	
Notification under section 2C of Insurance Act . . . . .	98
Review of Rehabilitation Finance Administration . . . . .	98
Notification amending Union Public Service Commission (Consultation) Regulations . . . . .	98
Order amending Punjab Public Service Commission (Limitation of Functions) Regulations . . . . .	98—99
Amendments to Cinematograph (Censorship) Rules . . . . .	99
Delhi and Ajmer Rent Control Bill—Extension of time for presentation of report of Select Committee . . . . .	99
Indian Standards Institution (Certification Marks) Bill— Extension of time for presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	100
Go-Samvardhan Bill—Extension of time for presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	100—101
Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections Bill—Referred to Select Committee . . . . .	101—19
Part B States Marriages Validating Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	120—22
Prevention of Corruption (Amendment) Bill—Passed . . . . .	122—74

### MONDAY, 11th FEBRUARY, 1952—

Resignations of Members . . . . .	175
Capital Issues (Continuance of Control) Amendment Bill—Introduced . . . . .	175

MONDAY, 11TH FEBRUARY, 1952—*contd.*

Foreign Exchange Regulation (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	176
Requisitioning and Acquisition of Immovable Property Bill—Introduced . . . . .	176
Coal Mines (Conservation and Safety) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	176—77
Motion on Address by the President—Discussion not concluded . . . . .	177—284

## TUESDAY, 12TH FEBRUARY, 1952—

Motion on Address by the President—Adopted . . . . .	280—321
Delhi University (Amendment) Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	332—58
	364—78
Indian Explosives (Amendment) Bill—Passed . . . . .	358—64

## WEDNESDAY, 13TH FEBRUARY, 1952—

Death of Shri T. A. Ramalingam Chettiar . . . . .	379
Resignation of Shri Brijlal Biyani . . . . .	379
Papers laid on the Table—	
(i) A nend nent to Regulation 6 of the Industrial Finance Corporation of India Employees Provident Fund Regulations . . . . .	379—80
(ii) Letters re Extension of period of Sterling Balances Agreement . . . . .	547—50
Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Amendment Bill—Introduced . . . . .	380
Indian Boilers (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	380
Bombay Port Trust (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	381
Delhi and Ajmer Rent Control Bill—Presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	381
Resolution re Punjab Tenants (Security of Tenure) Amendment Act 1951—Withdrawn . . . . .	381—516
Resolution re Punjab District Boards (Amendment) Act, 1951—Withdrawn . . . . .	516—24
Resolution re Punjab Occupancy Tenants (Vesting of Proprietary Rights) Act, 1951—Withdrawn . . . . .	525—29
Resolution re Punjab Cotton (Prevention of Adulteration) Act, 1952—Withdrawn . . . . .	529—32
Resolution re Punjab Betterment Charges and Acreage Rates Act, 1952—Withdrawn . . . . .	532—43
Indian Independence Pakistan Courts (Pending Proceedings) Bill—Motion to consider—Not concluded . . . . .	543—47

## THURSDAY, 14TH FEBRUARY, 1952—

Message from the President . . . . .	551
Inflammable Substances Bill—Introduced . . . . .	551
Employees Provident Funds Bill—Introduced . . . . .	552
Indian Independence Pakistan Courts (Pending proceedings) Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	552—72
Uttar Pradesh Cantonments (Control of Rent and Eviction) Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	572—74
Foreign Exchange Regulation (Amendment) Bill—Passed . . . . .	574—78
Capital Issues (Continuance of Control) Amendment Bill—Passed . . . . .	579—99
Mines Bill—Consideration of clauses not concluded . . . . .	600—26

## FRIDAY, 15TH FEBRUARY, 1952—

Resignations of Members . . . . .	627
Paper laid on the Table—	
Abstract Estimates for the Major Port at Kandla . . . . .	627
Preventive Detention (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	627—28
Territorial Army (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	628
Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	628
Go. Samvardhana Bill—Presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	(2)
Indian Standards Institution (Certification Marks) Bill—Presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	629



FRIDAY, 16TH FEBRUARY, 1952—*contd.*

Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections Bill—Presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	629
Presentation of the Punjab Budget for 1952-53 . . . . .	629—30
Demands for Supplementary Grants for 1951-52 (Punjab State—Not concluded) . . . . .	630—39
	642—58.
Point of Order <i>re</i> appointment of two hon. Members as Lieut. Governors . . . . .	640—42
Mines Bill—Passed, as amended . . . . .	659—76
Abducted Persons (Recovery and Restoration) Amendment Bill—Passed . . . . .	676—87
Madras Port Trust (Amendment) Bill—Passed . . . . .	687
Bombay Port Trust (Amendment) Bill—Passed . . . . .	688
Requisitioning and Acquisition of Immovable Property Bill—Referred to Select Committee . . . . .	689—714
Coal Mines (Conservation and safety) Bill—Motion to consider—Adopted . . . . .	714—24
Business of the House—Hours of sitting . . . . .	724

## MONDAY, 18TH FEBRUARY, 1952—

Message from Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother . . . . .	725
Resignation of Moulavi Maanmmed Haneef . . . . .	725
Papers laid on the Table—	
Declarations of Exemption issued under Registration of Foreigners Act, 1939 . . . . .	726—27
Constitution (Removal of Difficulties) Order No. II (Fourth Amendment) order . . . . .	728
Constitution (Removal of Difficulties) Order No. II (Fifth Amendment) order . . . . .	728
Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	728
Control of Shipping (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	728
Criminal Tribes Laws (Repeal) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	728—29
Demands for Supplementary Grants for 1951-52—Punjab State . . . . .	729—34
The Punjab Appropriation Bill—Introduced . . . . .	734
The Punjab Budget—General Discussion . . . . .	734—828
Coal Mines (Conservation and Safety) Bill—Concluded . . . . .	828—42

## TUESDAY, 19TH FEBRUARY, 1952—

Resignation of Members . . . . .	843
Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	843
Requisitioning and Acquisition of Immovable Property Bill—Presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	844

## THE PUNJAB BUDGET, 1952-53—

Demands for Grants on Account . . . . .	844—952
---	---------

## WEDNESDAY, 20TH FEBRUARY, 1952—

Resignation of Dr. Devi Singh . . . . .	953
Demands for Supplementary Grants for 1951-52—Railways . . . . .	953—67
Demand No. 4.—Ordinary Working Expenses Administration . . . . .	964—66
Demand No. 5.—Ordinary Working Expenses—Repairs and Maintenance . . . . .	963—57
Demand No. 6.—Ordinary Working Expenses—Operating Staff . . . . .	964—67
Demand No. 7.—Ordinary Working Expenses—Operation (Fuel) . . . . .	957—60
Demand No. 8.—Ordinary Working Expenses—Operation other than Staff and Fuel . . . . .	960—62
Demand No. 9A.—Ordinary Working Expenses—Labour Welfare . . . . .	963—64
Demand No. 17.—Open Line Works—Replacements . . . . .	965—67
Demands for Supplementary Grants for 1951-52 . . . . .	907—1026
Demand No. 1.—Ministry of Commerce and Industry . . . . .	986
Demand No. 3.—Commercial Intelligence and Statistics . . . . .	967—85
Demand No. 7.—Overseas Communications Service . . . . .	987

WEDNESDAY, 20TH FEBRUARY, 1952—*contd.*Demands for Supplementary Grants for 1951-52—Railways—*contd.*

Demand No. 10—Defence Services, Effective—Army . . . . .	987
Demand No. 19—Tribal Areas . . . . .	987
Demand No. 20—External Affairs . . . . .	987✓
Demand No. 22—Customs . . . . .	987
Demand No. 23—Union Excise Duties . . . . .	987
Demand No. 26—Stamps . . . . .	987—88
Demand No. 27—Payments to other Governments Departments, etc., on account of the Administration of Agency Subjects and Management of Treasuries . . . . .	988
Demand No. 29—Joint Stock Companies . . . . .	988
Demand No. 30—Miscellaneous Departments . . . . .	988
Demand No. 31—Currency . . . . .	988
Demand No. 33—Superannuation Allowances and Pensions . . . . .	988
Demand No. 34—Miscellaneous . . . . .	987—85
Demand No. 35—Grants-in-Aid to States . . . . .	989
Demand No. 36—Miscellaneous Adjustments between the Union and State Governments . . . . .	989
Demand No. 42—Survey of India . . . . .	989
Demand No. 43—Botanical Survey . . . . .	989
Demand No. 46—Civil Veterinary Services . . . . .	989
Demand No. 57—Ajmer . . . . .	988, 992—1026
Demand No. 60—Broadcasting . . . . .	989
Demand No. 64—Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research . . . . .	989—90
Demand No. 74—Kutch . . . . .	990
Demand No. 78—Vindhya Pradesh . . . . .	990
Demand No. 79—Manipur . . . . .	988—85
Demand No. 80—Tripura . . . . .	990
Demand No. 81—Relations with States . . . . .	990
Demand No. 84—Lighthouses and Lightships . . . . .	990
Demand No. 88—Supplies . . . . .	990
Demand No. 91—Stationery and Printing . . . . .	991
Demand No. 91A—Stamp Cancelling and Printing Inks, Manufacturing Factory . . . . .	991
Demand No. 98—Capital Outlay on Industrial Development . . . . .	991
Demand No. 101—Commuted Value of Pensions . . . . .	991
Demand No. 103—Capital Outlay on Schemes of Government Trading . . . . .	991
Demand No. 103A—Transfer of the Sale Proceeds of American Loan wheat to the Special Development Fund . . . . .	988—85
Demand No. 104—Capital Outlay on Development . . . . .	988—85

THURSDAY, 21ST FEBRUARY, 1952—

Resignation of Members . . . . .	1027
Papers laid on the Table—	
Constitution (Removal of Difficulties) Order No. IX . . . . .	1027—28
Appropriation (Railway) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1028
Demands for Supplementary Grants for 1951-52 . . . . .	1028—72
Demand No. 18—Ministry of External Affairs . . . . .	1028—71
External Publicity . . . . .	1034—71
Demand No. 45—Agriculture . . . . .	1028—71
Demand No. 87—Ministry of Works, Production and Supply . . . . .	1028—72
Demand No. 96—Defence Capital Outlay . . . . .	1028—72
Appropriation Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1072
THE PUNJAB BUDGET—1952-53—	
Demands for Grants on Account . . . . .	1072—84

	<i>Columns</i>
<b>FRIDAY, 22ND FEBRUARY, 1952—</b>	
Motion for Adjournment—	
Slump in cotton prices . . . . .	1085
Presentation of Railway Budget, 1952-53 . . . . .	1086—95
Statement <i>re</i> Basic Plan—Conference of Food Ministers . . . . .	1095—96
Appropriation (Railway) Bill—Passed . . . . .	1096—97
Appropriation Bill—Passed . . . . .	1097
The Punjab Budget, 1952-53—	
Demands for Grants on Account—Concluded . . . . .	1098—1115
Punjab Appropriation (Vote on Account) Bill—	
Introduced . . . . .	1115
Passed . . . . .	1116—17
Punjab Appropriation Bill—Passed . . . . .	1115—16
Employees' Provident Fund Bill—Discussion on Motion to consider—Not con- cluded . . . . .	1118—24
<b>SATURDAY, 23RD FEBRUARY, 1952—</b>	
Resignation of Members . . . . .	1125
Employees Provident Funds Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	1125—1230
<b>MONDAY, 25TH FEBRUARY, 1952—</b>	
Papers laid on the Table—	
Notifications amending Delhi Motor Vehicles Rules . . . . .	1231—32
Railway Budget—	
General discussion—Concluded . . . . .	1232—80
<b>TUESDAY, 26TH FEBRUARY, 1952—</b>	
Papers laid on the Table—	
First and Second Reports of Public Accounts Committee on Appropriation Accounts 1948-49 . . . . .	1281
Notifications under Central Excises and Salt Act . . . . .	1281—82
Railway Budget, 1952-53—	
Demands for Grants on Account . . . . .	1282—1337
Appropriation (Railway) Vote on Account Bill—	
Introduced . . . . .	1338
Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Bill—Passed . . . . .	1338—68
Control of Shipping (Amendment) Bill—Passed . . . . .	1369
Bombay Coasting—vessels (Amendment) Bill—Passed . . . . .	1370—71
Inflammable Substances Bill—Passed . . . . .	1372—80
<b>WEDNESDAY, 27TH FEBRUARY, 1952—</b>	
Paper laid on the Table—	
East Punjab University (Amendment) Act, 1952 . . . . .	1381
Appropriation (Railways) Vote on Account Bill—Passed . . . . .	1381—93
Requisitioning and Acquisition of Immovable Property Bill—Passed, as amended . . . . .	1398—1448
Indian Boilers (Amendment) Bill—Passed . . . . .	1448—49
Criminal Tribes Laws (Repeal) Bill—Discussion on motion to consider—Not concluded . . . . .	1449—53, 1459—66
Procedure <i>re</i> Finance Bill . . . . .	1453—59
<b>THURSDAY, 28TH FEBRUARY, 1952—</b>	
Resignation of Members . . . . .	1467
Business of the House . . . . .	1467—70
Criminal Tribes Laws (Repeal) Bill—Passed, as amended . . . . .	1470—88

THURSDAY, 28TH FEBRUARY, 1952—*contd.*

Indian Tariff (Amendment) Bill—Passed . . . . .	1488—94
Presidential and Vice-Presidential Elections Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	1494—150 <sup>3</sup>
Delhi Special Police Establishment (Amendment) Bill—Passed . . . . .	1504
Contempt of Courts Bill—Passed . . . . .	1504—10
Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Passed, as amended . . . . .	1510—42
Preventive Detention (Amendment) Bill—	
Motion to consider—Concluded . . . . .	1542—48

## FRIDAY, 29TH FEBRUARY, 1952—

Resignation of Member . . . . .	1549
Preventive Detention (Amendment) Bill—Passed . . . . .	1549—1608
	1613—33
Presentation of General Budget, 1952-53 . . . . .	1609—13
Finance Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1613
Business of the House . . . . .	1633—34

## CORRIGENDA

to

the Parliamentary Debates (Part II—Other than Questions and Answers), Fifth Session, 1952

In Volume I,—

1. No. 2, dated the 6th February, 1952,—

(i) Col. 23, line 33 for "to provide for" read "further to amend", and in line 2 from bottom for "further to amend" read "to provide for".

2. No. 5, dated the 12th February, 1952,—

(i) Col. 309, for existing last line read "chancellories or in government, but"

(ii) Col. 362, line 31 for "Kamth" read "Kamath".

3. No. 6, dated the 13th February, 1952,—

(i) भाग ३९१, पंक्ति १५ में "एम जुनही" के स्थान पर "जुल्म नहीं" पढ़ें ।

(ii) भाग ३९२, पंक्ति २५ में "बतक" के स्थान पर "बक्त" पढ़ें ।

(iii) Col. 443, line 8 for "ony" read "only".

(iv) کالم ۳۷۲ آخری لائن کے شروع میں وہ ملی ہیں ان کے متعلق یہ پڑھیں —

(v) Col. 529, for existing last line read "excess of such moisture as may reasonably be expected, by watering the".

(vi) Col. 530, insert "both parties are protected. They pro—" as last line.

4. No. 8, dated the 15th February, 1952,—

(i) Col. 648, after line 7, insert "this demand has come before the House today, that".

(ii) Col. 658, line 32 for "OUTLAY" read "OUTSIDE".

(iii) Col. 659, line 6 from bottom for "Jagivan Ram" read "Jagjivan Ram"

(iv) Col. 676, last line for "liament" read "Parliament".

(v) Col. 686, line 16 from bottom for "Gapalaswami" read "Gopalaswami".

5. No. 9, dated the 18th February, 1952,—

(i) भाग ८०३, नीचे से पंक्ति ४ में "जचित राम" के स्थान पर "अचित राम" पढ़ें ।

6. No. 11, dated the 20th February, 1952,—

(i) भाग १००७, पंक्ति ९ को "की जरूरत है" पढ़ें ।

7. No. 14, dated the 23rd February, 1952,—

(i) Col. 1184, line 8 for "Jagivan Ram" read "Jagjivan Ram".

(ii) Col. 1191, for existing line 4 read "Clause 6 —Contributions and matters".

(iii) भाग १२२७, पंक्ति १० में "यस्य" के स्थान पर "सत्तम" पढ़ें ।

8. No. 15, dated the 25th February, 1952,—

(i) भाग १२५४, पंक्ति २४ में "रती" के स्थान पर "तीर" पढ़ें ।

9. No. 19, dated the 29th February, 1952,—

(i) Col. 1564, in the beginning of line 17 from bottom insert "voted".

(ii) Col. 1612, line 3 from bottom for "purpose" read "propose".

(iii) भाग १६२४, पंक्ति ५ में "सउन" के स्थान पर "उस ने" पढ़ें ।

**THE  
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES**

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)  
**OFFICIAL REPORT**

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175

PARLIAMENT OF INDIA  
Monday, 11th February, 1952

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

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]  
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS  
(See Part I)

11-23 A.M.

**RESIGNATIONS OF MEMBERS**

**Mr. Speaker:** I have to inform the hon. Members that the following Members have resigned their seats in Parliament with effect from the dates mentioned against their names:

(1) Shri Bahurao Sakharam Hiray, 8th February, 1952. (2) Shri C. Subramaniam, 7th February, 1952. (3) Shri Murlidhar Vishvanath Ghule, 9th February, 1952. (4) Shri Sita Ram S. Jajoo, 9th February, 1952.

**CAPITAL ISSUES (CONTINUANCE OF CONTROL) AMENDMENT BILL**

**The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi):** I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Capital Issues (Continuance of Control) Act, 1947.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Capital Issues (Continuance of Control) Act, 1947.”

The motion was adopted.

**Shri Tyagi:** I introduce the Bill.

386 PSD

176

**FOREIGN EXCHANGE REGULATION (AMENDMENT) BILL**

**The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi):** I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, 1947.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, 1947.”

The motion was adopted.

**Shri Tyagi:** I introduce the Bill.

**REQUISITIONING AND ACQUISITION OF IMMOVABLE PROPERTY BILL**

**The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain):** I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the requisitioning and acquisition of immovable property for the purposes of the Union.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the requisitioning and acquisition of immovable property for the purposes of the Union.”

The motion was adopted.

**Shri Buragohain:** I introduce the Bill.

**COAL MINES (CONSERVATION AND SAFETY) BILL**

**The Deputy Minister of Works, Production and Supply (Shri Buragohain):** I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the conservation of coal and make further provision for safety in coal mines.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the conservation of coal and make further provision for safety in coal mines."

The motion was adopted.

**Shri Buragohain:** I introduce the Bill.

#### MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT

**Mr. Speaker:** Before I call upon Mr. Shiva Rao to move his motion, I would inform hon. Members that, as on previous occasions, we shall be having a time-limit on the speeches to be made—thirty minutes for the Mover of the motion and fifteen minutes for each other hon. Member who wishes to say anything in respect thereof. Members participating in the debate are generally given fifteen minutes, but the hon. the Prime Minister when replying for the Government may be given, and will be given, such time as he may require.

**Shri A. C. Guha (West Bengal):** May I know for how many days the debate will go on?

**Mr. Speaker:** For two days.

**Shri Kamath (Madhya Pradesh):** May I submit, Sir, that in your discretion Members taking part in the debate may be given twenty minutes instead of fifteen?

**Mr. Speaker:** Well, it all depends upon the way and the importance of the points which the Member is making. I cannot commit myself.

**Shri Kamath:** That is why I said 'in your discretion'.

**Shri Shiva Rao (Madras):** I beg to move:

"That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:

"That the Members of Parliament assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to the House."

Listening to the Address last week and reading it again for the purpose of the debate what struck me as of even greater interest and importance than the contents of the Address was

its key-note. The Address makes a brief reference to the General Elections which have been held in the country, it gives the House an impressive chronicle of the very solid achievements in the field of international affairs and, lastly, it refers in a spirit of restrained optimism to economic and social progress at home. It struck me, that all these three points dealt with in the Address, make one significant story. The significance is not only for us in this country, but I venture to point out to the House that it is for the entire world.

If I may deal first with international affairs to which the Address devotes several passages, I would at the outset remind the House that we were the first after the end of the last war to achieve our political freedom. Having had the privilege of serving on the Indian Delegation to the United Nations for some years I have kept statistics on this aspect of the world problem. Five years ago there were no less than seven hundred million dependent people throughout the world: they were either in the colonies of the various imperial powers or were in trust territories. I think it is striking evidence of the rapid change which is coming over the world that during these five years, of the seven hundred million dependent peoples there are today less than a hundred and fifty million. The area of political freedom and of emancipation is mostly in Asia, as the Address points out, but within the last year or two the urge for self-government has spread to other countries, and notably to the peoples in North Africa. The Address has referred to the emergence of Libya as a free State. May I add that we in this country are entitled to derive legitimate satisfaction and even pride from the fact that in the freedom of Libya and generally in the solution of what was then regarded as a complicated problem, namely the future of Italian Colonies, the Indian Delegation played a very notable part. There is also reference in the Address to the national liberation movement in Tunisia. In this connection I would remind the House that only two or three days ago there appeared in the Indian press a very interesting and significant statement by the leader of that movement whom several of us had met last year when he was on a visit to Delhi. He referred in that statement with gratitude to the advice given to him by our present Home Minister when he was Governor of West Bengal, the advice being that Tunisia in her struggle for freedom and independence should attempt to follow the advice and the inspiration

of Mahatma Gandhi. And therefore in a very real sense we have, since the end of the last war, not only achieved our independence by the methods and the principles of Mahatma Gandhi, but our freedom is having a very profound effect on other subject races.

There is evidence on all sides that new life is pouring into the Middle East and into Africa. I think it was yesterday that the Secretary-General of the United Nations made a statement at the end of the last session of the General Assembly in Paris. He called attention to the rising influence of the Asian-Arab States on many of the decisions taken at this session, and he went on to add:

"The reconciliation of old and new interests in the Middle East and the Far East is one of the most grave and pressing challenges to our civilization."

He thought the use of the U.N. machinery may not in all cases be necessary or advisable, but he was certain that peaceful solutions would not be possible unless they are based on mutual recognition of the rights and obligations accepted in the U.N. Charter. I would say that in the task of that reconciliation and in meeting what he called "a grave and pressing challenge to our civilization" we are playing a very notable part. In other words, it means that the foreign policy of our Prime Minister is already beginning to pay a very rich dividend.

The Address refers to the treaties of friendship with Iran, Turkey and Indonesia and agreements of other kinds with Thailand, the Philippines and Afghanistan. There is also a reference to the negotiations that are going on for a Treaty with Japan. It means this: that from China and Japan in the Far East all round the Continent of Asia along the southern shores of the Mediterranean, our foreign policy is exercising a very profound and a very wholesome effect. Not only during the last few years has the area of political emancipation been extended but today we, in this country have achieved striking successes in establishing a very large region of mutual goodwill and friendship, barring perhaps one or two exceptions at the moment. How it strikes an outsider was made clear in a statement which Shri B. N. Rau made a few weeks ago—either in Madras or in Bombay; and that statement was made at the end of two years of very intimate association with the United Nations as India's permanent delegate. He stated the view which was expres-

sed to him in London by, I think, an official of the B.B.C. This official asked Shri B. N. Rau how it was that India, who is still very young in the international field, has come to exercise so much influence in world affairs, and how her prestige and influence have risen even rapidly during the last few years. I refer to that statement because I think it is the best answer—this fact of our growing prestige and influence in the outside world—one can give to a criticism which we have heard in the last few months that the foreign policy of our Prime Minister is tending to leave India in isolation. I submit that in this world, with all the uncertainties regarding the immediate future, more cannot be achieved in the field of foreign affairs than we have to our credit during the last few years. And if I may say so, it is not only the unique personality of the Prime Minister, but it is his clear vision of the implications of a lasting world peace and the determined stand which India has made on all problems in whole-hearted allegiance to the principles of the Charter which have given us this position, notwithstanding the fact that we are still very young in the international world.

It is against this background that I would prefer to view the General Elections which have just been held. We have led the way, as I pointed out, in political freedom, entirely by the methods of Mahatma Gandhi; and I claim that we are now leading the way towards establishing the democratic way of life, not only for ourselves but for a great many countries which look to us for guidance and even inspiration. In view of one of the amendments which is on the Order Paper—it seems to be critical of the way in which our General Elections were conducted—I would like to say this, though I have not the time this morning nor is it an occasion for a detailed analysis of the General elections. Having regard to the magnitude of these elections—I have not at the moment precise figures as to the number of voters who went to the polls, but I think that out of the 17½ crores of voters, not less than eight crores, or possibly more, went to the polls—and having regard to the fact that this is our first experience of General Elections with adult suffrage, and also having regard to the very large number of voters who went to the polls, I think the tribute paid in the Address to those who were responsible for the conduct of these General Elections, from the Election Commissioner down to that vast army of Returning Officers and Polling Off-



[Shri Shiva Rao]

cers who laboured for many weeks throughout the country, is well deserved. Technical errors and irregularities, there undoubtedly were. I think most of us who participated in the General Elections suffered to a greater or lesser extent as the result of these errors and irregularities. But I repeat, viewing the General Elections as a whole, I think, those who were responsible for their conduct are entitled not only to our appreciation but to our gratitude.

There is one other aspect of the General Elections to which I would like to make a reference and to which also the Address makes a passing reference: and that is the very active interest displayed by women voters. I do not think that my experience was exceptional. I think many other candidates had the same experience; in my constituency more women than men went to the polls and as I went round the constituency on polling day, it gladdened my heart to see the long queues of women voters waiting to record their votes, even Muslim women who came out for the first time, not breaking their practice of *purdah* but coming out to record their votes, notwithstanding the inconvenience of walking long distances. I know that in many instances women displayed a surprising amount of independence and, I may venture to add, more political discrimination than the men voters. I know many of them voted for the Congress candidates...

**Shri Kamath:** Was it open or secret ballot?

**Shri Shiva Rao:** I discovered it afterwards, as I went to my constituency, because many of the visits I made were after the elections. Groups of women including Harijan women came to satisfy their curiosity because they confessed they had voted for the bulls and wanted to know the candidate who represented that symbol. (An Hon. Member: Bullocks). These elections have aroused worldwide interest, and well they might. I think we can say today with confidence that adult suffrage is not only practicable in this country in spite of the size and population of the country but I think that adult suffrage is the only desirable basis for our Constitution. No reasonable doubts or misgivings can be entertained in any quarter hereafter as to the capacity of an Asian country to run elections on a democratic basis. I do not say that adult suffrage constitutes the democratic way of life by itself, but it is certainly the foundation of a democratic method. We have succeeded in running our elections in

the way we have done. I think it would be a great encouragement to other countries who have not yet completed their Constitutions.

From this I must pass on to the third aspect, namely economic and social progress to which, as I said, the Address makes a reference in a spirit of restrained optimism. I am convinced after spending three months in my constituency that economic and social progress during the next few years must proceed at a very much quicker rate than it has done in the last few years. I went round my constituency with a copy of the report of the Planning Commission in my hand. I tried to explain the several aspects of that report, and I must say that the voters throughout the constituency showed a very large measure of interest in the schemes to which reference has been made. Differences between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' will have to be smoothened out at a much quicker rate than we have attempted in the last few years, not by facile promises which were made of 20 acres of land and a black cow to every peasant, but by hard and sustained work in and through the administration. During the last session of this House we had several opportunities of having informal talks with Members of the Planning Commission. I ventured to point out in those group discussions that I was not primarily interested in seeing whether the different targets which have been laid down by us are reached or even approximated in the next five years. What to me is of greater importance and interest is the extent to which we are able to secure non-official co-operation and support. The various schemes in the report of the Planning Commission have been evolved at the top. What I would like to see—and I say it on the basis of the reactions I have had from hundreds of meetings which I addressed in the last few months in my constituency—is the evolution of thousands of small schemes from the bottom coming up to the top for assistance and support: schemes capable of being taken up at the village or district level, schemes which will require comparatively little of finance, schemes for the completion of which spare labour in the villages can be utilised, schemes which could be completed in the very near future and their results made visible to those who have participated in them. That is an aspect which I would like both the Minister of Planning and the Leader of the House to bear in mind. I make a special point of it because the Address refers to the Agreement which has just been reached with the United States for the loan of 50 million

dollars for what has been called Development Projects. There is also reference to an Agreement with the Ford Foundation for rural development. I think the time is opportune for taking a very different view of planning and the schemes which are to be placed before the country during the next five years, and I think it is of the utmost importance that non-official support and co-operation should be enlisted.

I think that the spirit of restrained optimism which marks the last few passages in the Address is fully justified. I feel confident that we can make a success of the new task that lies before the Government that would be formed in the next few months and the new Parliament that would be summoned here after this session is over. That task, I think, can be faced with confidence. If we succeed in this, we shall again be the pioneers in laying the real foundations of a democracy not only in this country, but for all those other countries which are looking to us, as I said, for guidance and inspiration.

It seems to me there is only one real issue before the country at the present moment—Economic and social progress. There must be rapid progress, as I said, during the next few years. None will contradict that proposition. But the only real issue before the country at the present moment is whether we are to achieve that economic and social progress by constitutional methods and principles and by the way of life taught to us by Mahatma Gandhi or whether that progress is to be achieved by other methods, alien as I think they are, to our way of life. I say that because in my own constituency I felt the challenge of the new point of view and it has met with a certain amount of success in constituencies in districts next to mine. That is the real issue before the country at the present moment. If we can prove, as I think we can, that economic and social progress is possible by the principles of Mahatma Gandhi, by the method of non-violence, that would make not only for the happiness and prosperity of our own people, but it will be a demonstration to the other countries of Asia that democratic processes can succeed in Asia as much as in other parts of the world. That would be our biggest contribution to lasting world peace.

श्री राधेलाल व्यास : मैं अपने राज्य मध्य भारत और उस के अन्तर्गत अपने

निर्वाचन क्षेत्र उज्जैन का यह बड़ा सौभाग्य और सम्मान समझता हूँ कि मुझे इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने का अवसर प्राप्त हुआ है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण में सब से पहले यह बताया है कि पार्लियामेंट के इस अधिवेशन में केवल विवाद रहित विषय ही लिये जायेंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह पार्लियामेंट जिस की यह अन्तिम बैठक है विवाद-ग्रस्त प्रश्नों को छोड़ कर एक ऐसी परम्परा को जन्म दे रही है जो बहुत ही प्रशंसनीय है और मैं समझता हूँ कि भविष्य की पार्लियामेंट इस परम्परा को क्रायम रख कर जनतंत्र के लिए एक स्वस्थ वातावरण भविष्य में निर्माण करती रहेगी।

माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने निर्वाचन के सम्बन्ध में भी अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं और शासन ने जिस प्रकार निष्पक्षता से और स्वतन्त्रता से देश भर में निर्वाचन का कार्य कराया हम सब को उस पर बहुत ही अभिमान है। एक महत्वपूर्ण बात इस निर्वाचन ने प्रकट की है और वह यह है कि पिछले चार, पांच वर्षों में जिन सिद्धान्तों और असूलों की ले कर शासन कार्य करता रहा है और जिस दिशा में वह सोचता रहा है और जिन पवित्र सिद्धान्तों को ले कर एक विधान तैयार किया गया था और उस के द्वारा एक सेक्युलर स्टेट (Secular State) को जन्म दिया गया, इस चार, पांच वर्ष के अनुभव के बाद देश ने यह सिद्ध कर दिया है कि देश की जनता सेक्युलर स्टेट क्रायम करने के पक्ष में है और वह साम्प्रदायिकता से बहुत दूर है। एक और भी बात इस निर्वाचन के सिलसिले में देखने में आई है और वह यह है कि यह शासन हमेशा नागरिक स्वतन्त्रता का कठोर हिमायती रहा है और उस ने नागरिक स्वतन्त्रता को हमेशा क्रायम रक्खा है। निर्वाचन ने स्वतन्त्रता को काफ़ी मदद दी गयी और

[ श्री राधे लाल व्यास ]

इस को बरकरार रखा गया यहां तक कि कांग्रेस के विरोध में जो व्यक्ति और संस्थायें थीं उन को व्यक्तिगत आक्षेप, गलत तथा झूठा प्रचार करने की इतनी अधिक स्वतन्त्रता थी जितनी कि कभी भी नहीं हो सकती थी और इतनी अधिक स्वतन्त्रता दे कर यह सिद्ध कर दिया है कि भले ही उस से कांग्रेस को कोई क्षति हुई हो, परन्तु नागरिक स्वतन्त्रता को कायम रखना शासन का मुख्य उद्देश्य है और उस ने अपने इस उद्देश्य को अपने कार्य द्वारा सिद्ध कर के दिखला दिया है।

इस निर्वाचन में एक विशेषता यह रही कि मित्रियों में राजनैतिक चेतना उत्पन्न हुई और उन्होंने इस में भाग लिया और खास तौर से किसान और मजदूरों के बीच जागृति हुई और उन्होंने इस में जितनी दिलचस्पी ली है वह एक बहुत ही महत्व की बात है और लोगों के उन को मड़काने के और विरोधी प्रचारों के बावजूद भी उन्होंने सही दिशा में अपना मत दिया है। इस से देश को काफ़ी लाभ पहुंचा है और यह भविष्य के लिए एक बहुत ही शुभ चिन्ह है।

हमारी विदेश नीति के बारे में भी राष्ट्र-पति जी ने अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं। पिछले चार, पांच वर्षों में हमारी जो विदेश नीति रही है और चाहे कुछ देशों ने प्रारम्भ में उस को समझने की भूल की हो और उस के महत्व को न सपना हो, परन्तु अब यह निश्चित रूप से कहा जा सकता है कि पिछले वर्षों में हम जिस विदेश नीति को अपनाते रहे हैं उस का आधार स्वतन्त्रता, विश्व शान्ति और मानव स्वतन्त्रता रहा है और उसी आधार को ले कर ही हम ने किसी गुट-बन्दी में शामिल न होते हुए निष्पक्षता से सदा न्याय का ही पक्ष लिया है। और उस परिणाम यह है कि आज संसार में हिन्दु-

स्तान का महत्व बढ़ा है और हिन्दुस्तान की बात ही ज़्यादा वज़नदार मालूम होने लगी है और मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि यही हमारी नीति रही तो एक दिन वह आयेगा जब हिन्दुस्तान की नीति के अनुसार ही संसार में शान्ति कायम करने के लिए लोगों को इस तरफ़ झुकना होगा। विदेश नीति के सम्बन्ध में एक महत्वपूर्ण बात यह भी है कि हमारे पड़ोसी राष्ट्र चीन से हमारा सम्बन्ध इन दिनों में बहुत ही अच्छा कायम रहा है। यह भी खुशी की बात है कि एक सांस्कृतिक शिष्ट मण्डल वहां से आया और यहां से भी एक सांस्कृतिक शिष्ट मण्डल वहां जा रहा है। नागपुर युनिवर्सिटी का इंटरनेशनल ऐकेडेमी आफ़ इण्डियन कल्चर (International Academy of Indian Culture) भी इस दिशा में बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण कार्य कर रहा है। सारे एशिया के भिन्न भिन्न देशों के प्रतिनिधियों से मिल कर हमारे यहां एक योजना बन रही है जिस से कि हम एशिया के बिखरे हुए अलग अलग देश एक दूसरे के नज़दीक आयें और एक नये एशियन कल्चर (Asian Culture) को जन्म दें। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार एशिया की भिन्न भिन्न भाषाओं की और भिन्न भिन्न कल्चरों के लिये भी एक ऐसी ही ऐकेडेमी को कायम करेगी और इस दिशा में अगला क़दम बढ़ा कर, जो एक नये एशिया का आज जन्म हुआ है, उस को और प्रबल और पक्की तौर से कायम करने के लिए आगे क़दम बढ़ायेगी।

हमारे देश की खाद्य समस्या पिछले चार, पांच वर्षों से बहुत ही ख़राब रही है। हमारी सरकार ने सच्चाई और ईमानदारी से इस समस्या को हल करने का प्रयत्न किया है। लेकिन पिछले दो वर्षों में जब कि हम ने खाद्यान्न की कमी को दूर करने का निश्चय

किया था, वह कमी दूर होने की बजाय हमारी आवश्यकता और भी अधिक बढ़ती चली गयी। पिछले सालों में जो प्रयत्न खाद्यान्न को बढ़ाने के लिए किये गये थे, उन प्रयत्नों के बावजूद अभी हमारा उद्देश्य बहुत दूर है। यह खुशी की बात है कि हाल ही में शासन ने एक समिति को नियुक्त किया है और पिछले सालों में जो प्रयत्न किये गये हैं उन में क्या खाँमियाँ रही हैं और उन को और ज्यादा सफल बनाने के लिए आगे बढ़ाया जाय, इस पर विचार करने के लिए एक समिति की नियुक्ति की है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि वह समिति जल्दी ही विचार कर के देश के सामने अपने सुझाव रखेगी जिस से हम इस समस्या पर जल्द काबू प्राप्त कर सकें। पिछले चार वर्षों में लगभग पाँच अरब रुपये का अनाज हमारे देश में आया और उस का बहुत गहरा असर हमारा आर्थिक परिस्थिति पर पड़ रहा है। जितनी जल्दी यह प्रश्न हल होगा उतनी जल्दी ही हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने में और देश की तरक्की करने में हमें योग मिलेगा। मुझे प्रसन्नता है कि हमारी सरकार का ध्यान इस विषय पर है। प्लानिंग कमीशन (Planning Commission) ने भी सर्वोच्च स्थान कृषि को ही दिया है और मैं समझता हूँ कि जैसे ही प्लानिंग कमीशन का कार्यक्रम कार्यरूप में परिणत होगा, तो अगले पाँच वर्षों में हम निश्चित रूप में स्वावलम्बी खाद्य के सम्बन्ध में हो सकेंगे।

12 Noon

आर्थिक स्थिति के बारे में भी हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने ध्यान दिया है। पिछले वर्षों में कई चीजें हमारे देश में बनने लगी हैं और बहुत से जो हमारे कारखाने थे उन का उत्पादन भी बढ़ा है, लेकिन फिर भी आयात और निर्यात का संतुलन हमारे देश के पक्ष में नहीं है और राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण

में इस ओर संकेत किया है। पिछले दो वर्षों में हमारे देश में जो नेशनल लेबोरेटरीज कायम हुई हैं, उन्होंने कई नवीन अनुसंधान किये हैं और बहुत सी चीजें जो हमारे देश में बन सकती हैं उन को बूँट निकाला है, उन के लिए उपलब्ध साधन भी तलाश किये हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि उस से जो हमारे शासन की आवश्यकीय वस्तुएं हैं, यदि उन का उपयोग हमारे देश में बनी हुई चीजों से ही किया जायगा तो निश्चित रूप में हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति में सुधार होगा। यह भी हमें याद रखना है कि जापान अब स्वतन्त्र हो गया है और फिर से दुनिया की मंडी में वह अपने उत्पादन को बढ़ा कर अपने माल को भेजना शुरू करेगा। जर्मनी का भी पुनर्जीवन हो रहा है और वह भी एक बहुत बड़ा व्यापारिक देश रहा है। एशिया के जो देश स्वतन्त्र हो रहे हैं और जो स्वतन्त्र हो गये हैं वह भी अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए अपने यहां उत्पादन को बढ़ा रहे हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में हम को विचार करना है, सोचना है कि हमें जल्द से जल्द यह जो परिस्थिति दुनिया में उत्पन्न हो रही है उस को ध्यान में रखते हुए अपने यहां इतना अधिक माल पैदा करें कि हमें दूसरों के भरोसे न रहना पड़े। जैसे कि खाद्य समस्या की जांच के लिए एक समिति नियुक्त की गई है, यदि शासन निर्यात और आयात के सम्बन्ध में भी एक जांच समिति नियुक्त करेगा तो मैं समझता हूँ कि जल्द ही हम इस नतीजे पर पहुँच सकेंगे कि निर्यात और आयात का संतुलन हमारे पक्ष में ठीक बिठाया जाय जिस से कि हम अपने देश की इस विषम आर्थिक स्थिति को सुधारने में जल्दी से कामयाब हो सकें।

पाँच वर्षीय योजना के बारे में मेरे मित्र श्री शिवा राव साहब ने काफी बातें कही हैं। पाँच वर्षीय योजना की बातें देश के सामने

[ श्री राधेलाल व्यास ]

रखी गयीं और जनतन्त्र की पद्धति के अनु-  
कूल यह एक बहुत ही अच्छी बात है कि शासन  
ने जनता से सुझाव और समालोचनाएं  
मांगीं और उन का स्वागत किया और इस  
सब अनुभव के बाद वह अब अन्तिम रूप से  
अपनी रिपोर्ट तैयार कर रहा है। देश के  
मानव और प्राकृतिक सम्पत्ति साधनों का  
पूरा पूरा उपयोग करना और आर्थिक समस्या  
को हल करना इस प्लानिंग कमीशन का  
मुख्य लक्ष्य है और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस  
लक्ष्य को प्राप्त करने के लिए सारे देश के  
लोगों के सहयोग और सद्भावना की ज्यादा  
आवश्यकता है। प्लानिंग कमीशन ने लोक  
सेवा संघ का सुझाव भी सामने रक्खा है  
और जब तक देश के सभी वर्ग शासन के  
साथ सहयोग नहीं करते तब तक हम उस  
में सफल नहीं हो सकते। मैं समझता हूँ कि  
जहां तक इस हाउस का सम्बन्ध है शासन  
के साथ उस का हमेशा पूरा सहयोग रहा है  
और देश की इस विषम परिस्थिति में, आर्थिक  
स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए हाउस का, प्रत्येक  
सदस्य का प्रयत्न इस दिशा में पूरा पूरा  
रहेगा।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने काश्मीर की समस्या की  
ओर भी हमारा ध्यान दिलाया है, काश्मीर  
के सम्बन्ध में हमारी नीति स्पष्ट रूप से शुरू  
से ही एक रही है और उस नीति का आधार  
बढ़ रहा है कि काश्मीर की समस्या का हल  
काश्मीर की जनता ही करेगी और उस नीति  
पर हम दृढ़ हैं। कुछ लोगों का यह सुझाव  
कि काश्मीर का बटवारा होना चाहिये, मैं  
समझता हूँ कि यह हाउस उस से कभी भी  
सहमत नहीं हो सकता है और न वह सही  
नीति कही जा सकती है। हमारी जो नीति  
वैदेशिक मामलों में यूनाइटेड नेशन्स आर्ग-  
नाइजेशन (U.N.O.) के सामने रही है  
कि हम तमाम संसार की स्वतन्त्रता को चाहते

हैं, विश्व की शान्ति को चाहते हैं, उसी नीति  
का आधार हमारा काश्मीर के सम्बन्ध में  
रहा कि काश्मीर के भविष्य का फैसला  
काश्मीर की जनता ही करेगी। यद्यपि हम  
इस प्रश्न को आपस में तय नहीं कर सके  
लेकिन साथ ही हमारी सरकार ने शक्ति  
के बल पर भी इस प्रश्न को हल न करते  
हुए शांतिपूर्ण तरीकों से यूनाइटेड नेशन्स  
आर्गनाइजेशन के सामने रख कर अपनी  
नीति के अनुकूल ही उस को हल करने का  
प्रयत्न किया है। और हम ने तथा शासन ने  
आशा की है कि जल्दी ही इस प्रश्न का हल  
निकलेगा, और शासन इस नीति पर दृढ़  
है कि वह काश्मीर का बटवारा अपने सिद्धांतों  
की हत्या कर के करे। चाहे अपने स्वार्थों  
के विपरीत भी हो तो भी वह इस काश्मीर  
की समस्या को हल करने के लिए तैयार  
नहीं है। काश्मीर की जनता ने, पिछले  
जमाने में कान्स्टिट्यूट एसेम्बली के जो  
चुनाव हुए हैं, उस में यह बतला दिया है कि  
काश्मीर भी हिन्दुस्तान के साथ है। वह  
साम्प्रदायिकता के साथ नहीं है और न उस  
राष्ट्र के साथ है जो साम्प्रदायिक है। न वह  
उस से मेल जोल कर सकता है न उस के  
साथ रह सकता है।

राष्ट्रपति जी ने अपने भाषण के अन्तिम  
हिस्से में हमारा ध्यान राष्ट्र पिता के सन्देश  
की ओर दिलाया है, और इस दृष्टि से यह  
भाषण एक बहुत ही ऐतिहासिक महत्व का  
हो जाता है। पिछले सालों में जो उन के  
भाषण हुए हैं उन में बराबर उन्होंने राष्ट्र  
पिता के सन्देश की ओर हमारा और देश का  
ध्यान आकर्षित किया है, और यह निश्चित  
है, जैसा कि राष्ट्रपति जी वं भी बतलाया,  
इसे हमें उन का अन्तिम भाषण ही नहीं  
समझना चाहिये, बल्कि यह भी जानना  
चाहिये कि यह अन्तिम भाषण नहीं बल्कि

देश के लिए अन्तिम चेतावनी है कि यदि हम राष्ट्रपिता के सन्देश के अनुसार न चले और हम न मिलजुल कर कार्य नहीं किया, जो हमारे यहां बर्गीय विभिन्नतायें हैं अगर उन को जड़ से उखाड़ कर न फेंक दिया गया, धर्म और जाति के आधार पर जो विभिन्नतायें हैं उन को अगर हम न अलग न किया और नहीं पिटाया, जो पिछड़े वर्ग हैं, जो अछूत हैं उन को अगर हम न बराबरी का दर्जा नहीं दिया, और हम मिल कर न रहे, सब लोगों के सहयोग और सद्भावना को ले कर भारत के विकास के लिए अगर हम न प्रयत्न न किया तो मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारा भविष्य उज्ज्वल नहीं कहा जा सकता। पिछले वर्षों में जिस कार्य के लिए हम न प्रयत्न किया है, जितने परिश्रम और कठिनाई के साथ हम न स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त की है वह सतरे में है। चुनाव हो चुके हैं, हम न अपनी अपनी शक्ति को आजमाया है, तो यदि हम राष्ट्र-पिता के सन्देश को ध्यान में रखते हुए आगे बढ़ेंगे और मिल जुल कर रहेंगे तो हम अपने देश की बहुत तरक्की कर सकते हैं। साथ ही हम विश्व शांति को कायम रखेंगे, और संसार में फिर भारत को वही स्थान दिला सकेंगे जो स्थान पहले अशोक के जमाने में, हर्ष के जमाने में और महात्मा बुद्ध के जमाने में भारत को प्राप्त था।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

*(English translation of the above speech)*

**Shri Radhelal Vyas** (Madhya Bharat): I consider it a great privilege for my State of Madhya Bharat and for my constituency of Ujjain that I got the opportunity to support this motion. The President has pointed out in his Address that only non-controversial matters will be taken up in this session. I think that the present Parliament, which is meeting in its last session, is creating a very commendable convention by putting off

controversial questions and I believe that the future Parliaments will continue to maintain a healthy atmosphere for the Republic by honouring this convention.

The President has also expressed his views about the general elections and we are all very much proud of the free and impartial manner in which the Government have conducted the elections all over the country. These elections have laid bare a significant fact—that the people of this country are far away from communalism and believe in the secular ideal. The elections go to show the trend of thought of the people during the last four or five years following the making of our Constitution in which we had incorporated these sacred principles on the basis of which we created a secular State. Another thing has also been made clear by these elections and that is that this Government have always been a staunch supporter of the civil liberties and have always upheld them. Considerable freedom was given during the elections and was preserved throughout, so far so, indeed that the individuals and the parties that put up fight against the Congress did not hesitate to cast personal aspersions and indulge in false propaganda which otherwise was never possible. However the Congress might have suffered by allowing them that freedom, the main object behind that was to safeguard the civil liberties. That it was done has been proved in practice.

A striking feature of these elections has been the creation of political consciousness in our womenfolk, and especially among the peasants and workers, who have all participated in the elections. The keen interest and the consciousness they have displayed is a matter of great significance and it is gratifying to note that in spite of incitement and false propaganda offered by the opponents, they have exercised their franchise in the right direction. This has done a great good to the country and is a happy augury for the future.

The President has also spoken with regard to our foreign policy. However mistaken notions some countries might have held in the beginning in understanding our foreign policy and its significance, it may now be safely said that the foreign policy we have been following for these four or five years has been basically aimed at the achievement of world peace and human freedom and it is on that basis that we have always sided with what

[Shri Radhelal Vyas]

is just, without aligning ourselves with any power bloc. And the result of that is that the importance of India amongst the nations of the world has enhanced and our country's point of view has begun to be taken seriously. I believe that if we continue to follow that policy, a day will come when the world will have to incline to our policy in order to establish world peace. An important aspect of our foreign policy is that our relationship with our neighbouring country China has been very cordial all through this period. It is also a matter of great pleasure that a cultural delegation from that country came here and that one from our country is reciprocating the gesture. The international Academy of Indian Culture of the Nagpur University is also doing a very important work in that direction. In collaboration with the representatives of the various Asian countries, we have been endeavouring to bring the countries of Asia nearer to each other and creating a new Asian culture. I hope that the Government would also establish a similar academy for the different languages and cultures of Asia and by thus going a step further would strengthen and augment the emergence of the New Asia.

The food situation of our country has been very alarming for the last four or five years. The Government have tried to solve this problem with sincerity and honesty. But in the last two years when we were determined to be rid of food scarcity, the problem assumed gigantic proportions instead. In spite of the efforts we have made in the past to increase food production, our object is still far from achievement. It is good, however, that the Government have recently appointed a Committee to investigate into the shortcomings of the past and consider the methods of removing these drawbacks. I hope the committee would soon submit its recommendations so as to enable us to get over this problem soon. Foodgrains worth nearly 5,000 million rupees were imported in the country in the last four or five years and this is deeply affecting our economy. The sooner, therefore, this problem is solved the sooner will our economy improve adding to our efforts towards the country's progress and prosperity. I am glad that our Government have that in mind. The Planning Commission too has given the highest priority to agriculture and I hope as the programme of the Planning Commission is implemented, we shall become self-sufficient in the matter of food within the next five years.

12 Noon

The President has also turned his attention to the economic situation in the country. We have begun to manufacture many things here during the past years and there has also been an increase in the production of the already existing industries. Yet, however, the balance of trade is not in our favour as the President said in the course of his Address. The National Laboratories that were opened during the last two years in the country have conducted a number of researches and found out many things that could be manufactured in our country as also the materials available for their manufacture. I am sure that if the Government begin to fulfil their requirements from things manufactured in the country, there would be a definite improvement in our economic position. We cannot afford to ignore that Japan has now regained independence and will shortly be supplying the world market with her goods by increasing her production. Germany is also recovering and she too has been a great exporting country. Those countries of Asia that are achieving or have achieved independence are also increasing their production for the betterment of their economy. Under these circumstances, due to these swiftly changing conditions all the world over, we have to think seriously and endeavour to produce so much in our country that we may not have to look to others. If a Committee is appointed for considering the manner of bringing about a proper adjustment between our imports and exports and achieving a favourable balance of trade in the same way in which a Committee has been appointed to consider our food problem, then, I am sure, we shall soon be able to get over our critical economic situation.

Our hon. friend Shri Shiva Rao has spoken at length about the Five Year Plan. The Five Year Plan was put before the country and it is, indeed, so good that in accordance with the democratic practice the Government asked for suggestions and criticisms from the people and welcomed them and that they are now preparing their final report in the light of these suggestions. The main object of the Planning Commission is to tackle our economic problem by making full utilization of the human and natural resources of the country and that object cannot be achieved without getting more and more co-operation from the people.

The Planning Commission has also made a suggestion for the formation of a Lok Seva Sangh and unless all

classes of the country cooperate to achieve that, we cannot have success. So far as this House is concerned, I can say that it has always extended full co-operation to the Government and I am sure that in the present critical period every Member of this House would make every effort in that direction.

The President has also drawn our attention towards the Kashmir problem. Our policy with regard to Kashmir has clearly been one and the same from the very beginning and the basis of that policy is that it is the people of Kashmir with whom rests the final solution of this problem. And we are still firm on that policy. The suggestion from some quarters that Kashmir should be divided, I am sure, will never meet with the approval of this House; nor that policy can be said to be the right policy. The basis of our policy in Kashmir—it is that the people of Kashmir who would decide the future of the State—is entirely in keeping with our foreign policy of freedom of the world and the world peace which we have been advocating before the United Nations Organization. Although we could not reach at a mutual settlement on that question, yet our Government, without resorting to the method of reaching a solution by use of force, have endeavoured to achieve a solution by peaceful methods in accordance with their policy propagated before the United Nations Organisation. We hope that a solution will be found soon. But the Government are firm on their policy and would not sacrifice their principles and let Kashmir be divided. They are not prepared to accept such a solution of this problem even if it may be in their interest to do so. The people of Kashmir have recently shown in the elections to their Constituent Assembly that Kashmir is also with India, that she has nothing to do with communalism and with those nations that are theocratic. She can neither align with them nor live with them.

In the concluding portion of his Address the President has drawn our attention towards the message of the Father of the Nation and from that point of view this Address assumes a historical importance. In his Addresses delivered in the past years, he has always drawn our attention to the message of the Father of the Nation. It is definitely, as the President has himself said, his last Address, but I am prone to say that we should not only consider it to be his last address but the last warning to the country that if we did not work co-operatively, if we did not root out class differences,

if we did not abolish discrimination based on religion or community, if we did not give an equal status to the backward and the untouchables and if we did not work in co-operation and good faith for the prosperity of the country, our future would be dark. The goal for which we worked in the past under such hardships and difficulties and achieved our independence is in danger today. The elections are over. We have tried our strength. Now if we proceed in keeping with the principles propounded by the Father of the Nation and work in a co-operative manner, we shall be able to bring prosperity to our country. With that we can also secure for India the same place in the comity of Nations which she enjoyed in the times of Asoka, Harsha and Mahatma Buddha.

With these words I support the motion.

**Mr. Speaker:** Motion moved:

“That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms:

“That the Members of Parliament assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to the House.”

Before the House proceeds further with the debate, I would like to draw hon. Members' attention to a few general aspects. One of the important aspects is that no further motion or amendment would be permissible. Last time, I had said that as motions had been moved no further amendment would be permitted. It seems that there has been a slight misunderstanding over that but I will not try to put that into force today till the amendments are moved. Today, four amendments have been received, which I am including in the discussion today. But let it be clearly understood that when the motion has been taken up for discussion no amendments will be permissible. The difficulty is that the amendments received on the day cannot be circulated to all Members in time and the Government will also have some difficulty in knowing what is exactly the information asked for or the criticism offered. Whatever that may be, I have received in all, including those received today, notices of 34 amendments, 30 of which have already been circulated to Members. Four are new ones and all the 34 amendments have been received from 21 hon. Members.



[Mr. Speaker]

So far as possible, I would like to give an opportunity, though I do not necessarily promise it, to those who have tabled amendments from different points of view. I have classified them and shall take up that subject in respect of which a larger number of Members have given notice of amendments, under the impression that that is a subject which has generally occurred to them as being fit for discussion and that is rightly so to my mind, looking at the number of amendments on the food problem. That is how I propose to proceed.

Hon. Members will kindly strictly limit their speeches to the relevant remarks, so that as many hon. Members as wish to take part in the debate may be in a position to put their points. (*Interruption*). The time-limit is there but the hon. Member will see that 15 minutes mean four speeches per hour and eight hours would mean 32 speakers, provided hon. Members strictly adhere to the time-limit and I do not exercise the discretion which Mr. Kamath wanted me to exercise. That leaves no chance for others, if every Member who has tabled an amendment is to be given an opportunity. Therefore, with a view to give chance to other Members I would earnestly appeal to hon. Members to be short and to the point, instead of entering into a general discussion on the matter.....

**Dr. Deshmukh** (Madhya Pradesh): The House is very much depleted, Sir.

**Mr. Speaker:** Still the number of speakers is large enough.

I will now call upon Pandit Balkrishna Sharma.

**Pandit Balkrishna Sharma** (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, as you have said, I will try to finish my remarks as soon as...

**Shri Kamath:** Do I take it that it is not necessary for Members to stand and catch your eye?

**Mr. Speaker:** That old practice should continue, otherwise I will not know who wishes to speak.....

**Shri Kamath:** Pandit Balkrishna Sharma was called upon before he caught your eye.

**Mr. Speaker:** The usual procedure has to be followed.

**Pandit Balkrishna Sharma:** I beg to move:

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

"but regret to find no mention of the undesirable attitude of the

Western Powers against resurgent nationalism in Asian countries."

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

"But regret to note his silence on the attitude of the U.N.O. in not naming the aggressor in the Kashmir dispute and thus in allowing the aggressor to pass off as an aggrieved party to that dispute."

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

"but regret the omission of a call to the Indian People to meet the challenge of the shortage of food grains and to make supreme efforts on a co-operative and collective basis to make successful the Grow More Food movement in the country."

The President in his Address very rightly congratulates those who handled this great experiment in democracy in Asia and he very rightly compliments the whole nation for having gone through this experiment without any disturbances to a marked extent. But the one great thing that we miss in the Address is about the new thought and the parties that have come into existence and the way in which the one great party, the Indian National Congress, even after having achieved great success in almost all the States barring a few, has not taken into consideration the danger to democracy that lies ahead. I do not mean that the President in his Address could have brought to notice any defection on the part of the Congress party. He being the Head of the State which embraces all the parties existing in the State cannot mark out one particular party, but the danger to democracy that is before us should have been brought to the notice of the people. The great Communist party which has shown itself to be well-entrenched in a particular part of the country, no doubt to a very great extent has given to the people an idea that without the economic structure which it envisages and wishes to bring into existence, that without social reconstruction, the fate of the country cannot be bettered and that in that direction alone lies the destiny of the nation. Now if democracy in our country is to function properly then the biggest party in the country should be in a position to give a sort of a moral equivalent to that economic programme which is placed by the Communist party before the country. The amount of discipline which it exercises over its members, the

amount of inspiration which it gives to the members of its party should be an eye-opener to the great Congress organisation. Unless in future we take note of this aspect of the question there is every likelihood of a dictatorship rising in the country thereby bringing into jeopardy the fate of this nascent democracy in Asia.

Another point that I wish to emphasise is about the food problem of the country. The President in his Address has referred to the food situation and has also drawn our attention to the 'Grow-more-food' campaign which in his opinion is yielding good results and which it is proposed to continue, as he says, intensively in selected areas. I am sorry to note that in regard to this problem nothing has been said in the Address which would enthuse people towards putting up their co-operative and collective effort in the direction of bringing self-sufficiency in food in the country. It was for this reason that I placed an amendment before the House stating that the omission of a call to the Indian people to meet the challenge of the shortage of food grains and to make supreme efforts on a co-operative and collective basis to make successful the 'Grow-more-food' campaign in the country, was regrettable. My submission is that however much we may try through our service channels to bring about a change in the food situation, we shall not succeed, and that in order to bring about success in this direction we will have to take a leaf out of the book of, say, either Russia or China. So long as our people are not inspired to work in a co-operative and collective manner for the increase of food production in the country, so long as an army of workers is not diverted to the villages, and so long as non-official colour is not given to this 'Grow-more-food' campaign, my fears are that the 'Grow-more-food' campaign will remain a pious wish. I therefore wish that the President should have said something in his Address which could have inspired the people to take to this campaign more seriously.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Another omission that appears to me to be regrettable in the Address is about the Kashmir affair. As we all know, the United Nations Organisation has been seized of this matter for the last so many years and yet we do not see the end of the problem. The amendment that I have tabled in this respect is that the silence on the part of the President on the attitude of

the U.N.O. in not naming the aggressor in the Kashmir dispute and thus in allowing the aggressor to pass off as an aggrieved party to that dispute was not very fair to the House. As a matter of fact, we all know that India did not lag behind in supporting the United Nations Organisation when the question of naming an aggressor in Korea came before it for discussion. We were the first to accept that the North Koreans were the aggressors. Similarly, we expected that after this generous support by us in support of the cause of the United Nations in the Korean affair we shall not be treated in a step-motherly way. All the same the U.N.O. has till today refused to name Pakistan an aggressor nation. This means that the United Nations is permitting international banditry to pass off as a party to the dispute. In a way Pakistan has been referred to by one of the mediators as a nation which took an aggressive attitude in regard to Kashmir, but then if once the aggressor is named the whole case of Pakistan to sit around the table falls to the ground and therefore this omission in the Address of the President does not seem to me to be fair.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Amendments moved:

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

"but regret to find no mention of the undesirable attitude of the Western Powers against resurgent nationalism in Asian countries."

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

"but regret to note his silence on the attitude of the U.N.O. in not naming the aggressor in the Kashmir dispute and thus in allowing the aggressor to pass off as an aggrieved party to that dispute."

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

"but regret the omission of a call to the Indian People to meet the challenge of the shortage of food grains and to make supreme efforts on a co-operative and collective basis to make successful the Grow More Food movement in the country."

**Dr. Deshmukh:** I beg to move:

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

"but consider that there is need for placing greater emphasis on—

(a) rural welfare,

[Dr. Deshmukh]

- (b) rural education,
- (c) construction of roads in rural areas,
- (d) elimination of dust nuisance,
- (e) care of the destitute children, and
- (f) uplift of socially and educationally backward communities,

by taking greater initiative in these matters as well as by subsidising State efforts on a more liberal scale if necessary by resorting to floating or raising of a loan for these purposes."

The Address delivered by the President is certainly a very welcome Address which will go down in history as a piece of literature.

**Shri R. Velayudhan** (Travancore-Cochin): Who is the author?

**Dr. Deshmukh:** Whosoever may be the author, it is the President's Address and I am right, I suppose, in calling it as such. It has not only summarised the achievements of the present Government but has made a passionate appeal so far as our future conduct is concerned. There are many problems which are agitating the minds of the people, and it is correct to say that the food problem is an important one among them. Closely associated with it is the problem of rural welfare. Before I leave the food problem and proceed to the next item, I must say that the Government was indeed faced with a very serious situation and my hon. friend the Minister in charge of Food and Agriculture has certainly spared no pains in trying to tackle it to the best of his ability. There are certain inherent difficulties in solving it, but despite them, his imaginative mind has given us many inspiring activities which in time to come may yield very good fruit.

We have gone through a General Election of the widest and unprecedented dimensions and it is neither an exaggeration nor a wrong interpretation to say that the Congress party has been voted to power especially by the rural population. Even in this morning's *Times of India* I saw a heading "CONGRESS VOTED TO POWER BY THE RURAL POPULATION". I therefore wish to draw the attention of the Government so far as the question of rural welfare is concerned. (Shri

**R. Velayudhan:** Question.) My hon. friend questions my statement that the rural population has voted the Congress to power. I think I will invite him to a debate outside this House and there decide the issue in the presence of a different audience.

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** You may do it in the next Parliament.

**Dr. Deshmukh:** My hon. friend will not be there.

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** I am there.

**Shri Kamath:** Very much there.

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** I am an hon. friend against you.

**Dr. Deshmukh:** I am sorry, I had not noted the fact of my friend's election. I offer my congratulations to my hon. friend and shall search out another occasion to answer his question.

To take, first, rural welfare, we find that in the Planning Commission Report there are many items in which the rural welfare question has been dealt with either directly or indirectly. There is certainly a reference here and there in the Report to the questions I have raised in my amendment. Nonetheless, the emphasis is not so forceful as one would like it to be. Every one is fond of repeating the oft-repeated platitude that India consists of villages, and villages mean villagers and agriculturists. In spite of that, there is a lack of concentrated attention so far as their welfare is concerned. I have been fighting for the last five years with the Ministry of Agriculture to include the welfare of the agriculturists in the portfolio of Agriculture. The Labour portfolio includes not only the looking after of the labour and its wages, but also rural welfare specifically. Yet, I am sorry to see that there has been no improvement in the lot of the agriculturists. There has been mentioned some legal difficulty, but I hope it would be got over and rural welfare would be made to form a part of the portfolio of agriculture both at the Centre as well as the States.

Then I refer to rural education. It may be said that we are all very keen on education and we are trying to do our best, but I wish to point out that there is a difference between content of rural education and urban education. There is also a difference in the system of the education. It has got to be investigated and a more suitable course of education will have to be

prescribed. I am happy to see that efforts are not wanting in experimenting what are the requirements of the rural population and what sort of education should be imparted. It will be indeed very advantageous if the Government and the Planning Commission would pay greater attention to this question and help in the completion of the experiments that are being carried on in a few places in India.

Then, I refer to the construction of roads in the rural areas. My hon. friends will probably say that this is a matter which falls within the purview of the State Governments, but the State Governments have not been able to do anything in this matter, and unless the Central Government subsidises the efforts in this respect, there is no likelihood of any advance. It must, I think, be the experience of you, Sir, and of the many candidates who have emerged successful or unsuccessful out of this election that if there is one very great demand from the rural population, it is the demand for roads. There is a regular road hunger in the country and in spite of that only very little action is being taken. My concrete suggestion is that the Central Government should set apart some funds for this and other purposes mentioned by me. I am also prepared to indicate the source. Stop prohibition and impose salt duty at double the rate. If this amount is earmarked for some of the things embodied in my amendment including construction of roads in rural areas, an equal amount being contributed by the State Governments and an equal amount being contributed by the persons living in the particular localities, then I am sure we shall be able to make considerable progress.

**Shri Kamath:** You do it when you become a Minister.

**Dr. Deshmukh:** I do not know when that will happen. I can certainly promise my hon. friend that if, I am made the Minister I will give effect to this suggestion of mine without any hesitation. Not only in respect of constructing roads, but in respect of every item of nation-building activity I would suggest Government's adopting this policy of subsidising. Mere appeals will not be useful. Collection of funds and making them available in ever increasing measure is the main thing and it is only by these means that we shall be able to get contributions from the people concerned.

Next comes the question of the elimination of dust nuisance. Whereas

we spend lakhs of rupees on the construction of railway stations, we spend very little towards eliminating the dust nuisance from a place which is frequented by people for many more and longer hours than the railway stations, namely, the bus stands. It is a shame that wherever we go we find so little being done by the municipal committees for the elimination of the dust nuisance. State Governments also seem to have paid no attention to this. Even if we spend one-tenth of the amount on the motor stands, it will lead to considerable betterment of the health of our people. It is a pathetic sight to see the dustbesmeared articles being eaten by people because with the arrival and departure of each vehicle huge clouds of dust arise. In rains all this is turned into mud. I consider it tragic that nation's attention should not have been diverted to these motor stands where far larger number of people remain for longer hours than the railway stations.

The other question which for a number of years has been agitating my mind is the care of destitute children. This is one problem which has been left untouched by the Planning Commission. I would like to draw their attention to this question because this is not only a potential but a real danger to society. It is very often said that this is a colossal task which it is not possible for us to tackle for want of finance. If only we take into account the earning capacity of these children if their energies are properly utilised, it will pay us at least the amount we may have to spend on them.

I have referred to the uplift of the socially and educationally backward communities. It has been dealt with by the Planning Commission; but they have not devoted as much attention to the problem as I would have liked them to, nor have they proposed adequate redress. All these subjects which, as I have said, fall within the purview of the Provincial and State Governments, but unless all these matters are taken up by the Central Government, I do not think much progress will be made.

So far as the issue of Kashmir is concerned, I feel attracted by the proposition which has been given publicity in some papers that it is time we withdrew our petition to the United Nations. Since we were the petitioners who had referred the matter to the U.N.O. and since we feel that there is no likelihood of the United Nations coming to any proper conclusion or

[Dr. Deshmukh]

deciding the issue in the course of a short time hence, I think we should withdraw the case. There has already been a clear verdict of the people of Kashmir in the shape of the election of the Constituent Assembly and since a free people are going to frame a Constitution for themselves there is no further need for interference by any outside body. It has already been conceded by at least one of the mediators that Pakistan has been the aggressor. I would therefore request that the Government should now decide not to pursue this dead horse any more and to withdraw the petition and allow the Kashmir people unfettered power to draw up their Constitution and work it.

My hon. friend Mr. Shiva Rao said while concluding his speech that the question before the country was evolution or revolution. If there is any one matter, if there is any one touchstone upon which this question would be decided, it would be the amount of attention we pay to the rural community. It must be the experience of everyone of us that when we go to the villages there is a feeling of despondency. However much we might have worked, all of them feel that we are not likely to do anything substantial for them. If they have voted for us it is merely because we are probably not as bad as the other candidates. But they have not that confidence and faith which we would like them to have in our policy and in our Government. From that point of view I would urge that the items I have referred to are not trifling items, but the crying needs of the people and unless they are solved by a progress of evolution, people will have to resort to revolution.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Amendment moved:

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

"but consider that there is need for placing greater emphasis on—

- (a) rural welfare,
- (b) rural education,
- (c) construction of roads in rural areas,
- (d) elimination of dust nuisance,
- (e) care of the destitute children, and
- (f) uplift of socially and educationally backward communities,

by taking greater initiative in these matters as well as by subsidising State efforts on a more liberal scale if necessary by resorting to floating or raising of a loan for these purposes."

**Prof. K. T. Shah (Bihar):** Sir, I take it that the amendments tabled by me are taken as moved and, therefore, I need not read them. They relate to two main points—one in regard to the .....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member will kindly resume his seat. The hon. the Speaker said that all the amendments that have been tabled will be taken as moved. But how can I take the amendments of hon. Members who are not here as moved. Therefore, those hon. Members who wish to move them may indicate them, in which case they will be taken as moved. The amendments of those hon. Members who are not present now will stand over.

**Shri D. S. Seth (Uttar Pradesh):** I beg to move:

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

"but regret to find that in spite of the grave food situation in the country, no mention has been made of any concrete proposals whereby food production in the country is to be increased to make it self-sufficient at the earliest without importing food-stuffs from foreign lands."

**Shri Brajeshwar Prasad (Bihar):** I beg to move:

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

"but regret to find no mention of the attitude of England against the legitimate aspirations of Egypt."

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** I beg to move:

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

"but regret that many elected members to the Legislatures and Parliament are either detained, or under warrant of arrest or are imprisoned and that many political organisations including the Communist Party of India is banned in the States of Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin."

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

"but regret that the Government failed to solve the problems of food and clothing."

**Shri Kamath:** I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address makes no reference to the unsatisfactory manner in which the General Elections have been conducted."

**Dr. M. M. Das (West Bengal):** I beg to move:

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

"but regret that no mention was made in the Address of the necessity of giving any price incentive to the growers of food grains by fixing the procurement price after taking into consideration the cost of production."

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

"but regret that the Grow More Food campaign has not produced the expected results and that there is necessity for appointing a Committee to enquire into the working of the scheme."

**Shri Nazruddin Ahmad (West Bengal):** I beg to move:

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

"but regret the absence of any mention of any effective steps being taken against black market which is flourishing everywhere."

**Prof. K. T. Shah:** I beg to move:

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

"but regret that no reference has been made to the defects in the working of the Representation of the People Act, 1951 as revealed by the recent General Elections."

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

"but regret that, while speaking of the economic situation at home and the fall in the price index, no reference has been made to current talks in London regarding the rupee sterling ratio, and the likely consequences on India's national economy of any change in the existing position forced by the departure of Britain, unilaterally, from the Sterling-Dollar Ratio as fixed in August, 1949."

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I think the next amendment standing in the name

386 PSD

of Shri Velayudhan is barred; it is the same as that of Mr. Kamath.

**Shri S. M. Ghose (West Bengal):** I beg to move:

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

"but regret that there is no expression of dissatisfaction on the continued detention of Shri Hariganga Basack, an Indian citizen in East Pakistan for more than three years."

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Amendments moved:

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

"but regret to find that in spite of the grave food situation in the country, no mention has been made of any concrete proposals whereby food production in the country is to be increased to make it self-sufficient at the earliest without importing food-stuffs from foreign lands."

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

"but regret to find no mention of the attitude of England against the legitimate aspirations of Egypt."

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

"but regret that many elected members to the Legislatures and Parliament are either detained, or under warrant of arrest or are imprisoned and that many political organisations including the Communist Party of India is banned in the States of Hyderabad and Travancore-Cochin."

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

"but regret that the Government failed to solve the problems of food and clothing."

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

"but regret that the Address makes no reference to the unsatisfactory manner in which the General Elections have been conducted."

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

"but regret that no mention was made in the Address of the necessity of giving any price incentive

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

to the growers of food grains by fixing the procurement price after taking into consideration the cost of production."

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

"but regret that the Grow More Food campaign has not produced the expected results and that there is necessity for appointing a Committee to enquire into the working of the scheme."

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

"but regret the absence of any mention of any effective steps being taken against black market which is flourishing everywhere."

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

"but regret that no reference has been made to the defects in the working of the Representation of the People Act, 1951 as revealed by the recent General Elections."

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

"but regret that, while speaking of the economic situation at home and the fall in the price index, no reference has been made to current talks in London regarding the rupee-sterling ratio, and the likely consequences on India's national economy of any change in the existing position forced by the departure of Britain, unilaterally, from the Sterling-Dollar Ratio as fixed in August, 1949."

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

"but regret that there is no expression of dissatisfaction on the continued detention of Shri Hari-ganga Basack, an Indian citizen in East Pakistan for more than three years."

As the hon. the Speaker has already informed the House, no further amendments would be allowed to be tabled.

**Prof. K. T. Shah:** In these amendments that I have tabled there are two main points which relate to the subjects dealt with in the Presidential Address. One relates to the defects revealed by the actual conduct of the elections and the other to the economic

consequences that may be apprehended as a result of the talks that are now proceeding on the ratio of the pound sterling in relation to world currencies and particularly with regard to the dollar.

Taking the first, as regards the elections I would begin by admitting and recording my appreciation of the general official world which have helped to conduct the elections. It certainly is quite true that these elections have taken place on a very unprecedented scale, a much larger number of voters going to the polls than were expected, and not a discreditable proportion of them being women voters who were presumably not even literate, nevertheless showing an interest that is gratifying to all those who hope that the future of the world lies with democracy. I would, however, like to point out that while recording appreciation of the services of the electoral officials there have been instructions from above which have very materially changed the shape of the Representation of the People Act under the name of rules and interpretations of those rules. A very important rule—I forget the number, I think it is 46—requires that each of the boxes should be taken up separately, that each box should be completely finished before another could be taken up. In the interest of expediting the work they seem to have changed the rule after Parliament had adjourned, without any notice being given of the change to the people concerned—to the candidates or their agents. And what is worse in my opinion, not only was no intimation given before the polling or counting day, but the rule itself was further explained or interpreted by the Election Commission, which may be binding upon the Returning Officers who are responsible immediately on the spot but which certainly cannot be binding on the candidates or their agents who are in no way informed; nor had they time to make any representations about the propriety or correctness of this changed rule or this interpretation. Even assuming that the law confers the power upon the Election Commission to make alteration in the rules, I think in all fairness the parties concerned should have been informed and, further still they should have been given an opportunity of being heard as to whether or not this new rule would at all be practicable or desirable. Speaking for myself, I found it only on the day that the counting had begun and after objection had been taken by my counting agent, on which the ruling was given on the spot without waiting for the

telegram I had sent to the Election Commissioner regarding the impropriety or objectionability of this change in the rule and the interpretation given to it. So, up till now I have not received any reply to the telegram sent, and the order of the Returning Officer remains absolute. I am not suggesting that that may have affected the number of votes, nor do I want to say that in itself it vitiates the election. But I would like to point out that it is physically impossible to look at the number of boxes spread out on a narrow table in a very small room where only two or three persons are entitled to be present on behalf of the candidate or the rival candidates, if there is more than one. Only the candidate himself, his election agent and his counting agent are entitled to be present, though the boxes are spread out—in my case I am speaking—fifteen and sometimes thirty at a time where it is physically impossible on a table stretching over some forty feet, to see whether all the preliminaries had been properly complied with, whether the seals were intact, whether all the other requirements were properly complied with. While not suggesting that there was any foul play in the matter, I am free to point out that it violates the spirit, if not the letter, of the entire legislation that a practice of this kind should be permitted, and that too without any intimation to the candidates. I dare say the Election Commission will present a report on the working of the Representation of the People Act, particularly as shown in the conduct of these elections, and I do trust that matters of this kind which have been voiced in Parliament already and which may have been formally brought to their notice will also be taken note of in that report. But whether or not such notice has been taken, I think it is important that the point should be made in this connection so that even if nothing could be done with regard to the elections which have just been over, some action may be taken to guard against misuse of such powers as I believe has taken place, though perhaps in all good faith in this matter.

Another point that I would like to bring to the notice of this House for future guidance is in regard to the scale of expenses, the maximum prescribed by the law. I do not think that due attention has been given to the amount of expenses provided. Particularly in regard to rural constituencies, sparsely populated, with long distances between polling booths or centres; if you really wish to educate your electorate it cannot be covered

within the amount fixed. You are therefore faced with a dilemma either of not really educating the electorate or of presenting returns which are, to say the least, properly edited but not correct. This is an unfortunate dilemma and I trust the House will take notice and the Election Commission will also take notice when the law is being reviewed to see that something is done to guard against the undesirable aspect on either side of this dilemma. It is not a good reform or amendment of this Act to suggest that the amount may be raised, but in a constituency with something like two or three lakhs of voters even a single letter to each voter costing you two annas will by way of postage alone far exceed the amount of legitimate expenses provided. In a constituency extending over 4,000 or 5,000 square miles, the length and breadth of distances going into hundreds of miles, on roads which are called roads only by courtesy, which are hardly even tracks, the transport alone would cost at the ordinary rates, leave alone the special demand at that time for motor transport that is allowable for propaganda, far more than the amount provided in the Act, if you wish properly to educate your electorate, if you wish to present your case before the electorate in a proper, fair and honourable manner. It is true that well-organized and well supported parties may have means of conveying their case to the electorate far more cheaply or at any rate in a manner that may not bring them outside the provisions of the Act, but for Independent candidates or candidates who have no big parties and big funds to support them, the question is very serious: Is it that you wish for only people who can afford large expenditure or who are backed by well organized parties or do you wish the elections to be really free, not merely on the mechanical or technical side but also in the spirit of a popular democracy at work? Or is it that you wish to provide expenditure sufficient to cover all these that I have mentioned, and many more such as printing, travelling agents, their expenses and even entertainment up to the point of polling.

**The Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri Thirumala Rao):** Are these details quite relevant in a discussion of the President's Address? The hon. Member is experienced enough...

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** There is a limit of time of 15 minutes.



**Prof. K. T. Shah:** I take notice of it. This is therefore a point that requires attention, for if you permit even an increase in expenditure you will make room for candidates only confined to very rich people and that in itself is a matter that requires consideration for unless people can afford thousands of rupees to spend on this matter, it would be a mockery of an election; they will either put up party nominees or they would have to indulge in all kinds, may I say, of dishonest practices which may be within the terms of the law, but they will not be really a correct representation of the facts. For this reason, therefore, I suggest that the election machinery and the provisions of the kind that I have illustrated should be looked into more carefully and stringently, so that our future elections may be more properly conducted in the true spirit of a democracy at work.

The other point that I have brought out in my amendment is a more serious one relating to the entire national economy of this country. It is well known that the economic position of Britain is extremely precarious and the Sterling is unable to keep its ratio in the world market. Actually after two years and more of experience of the new ratio they have decided that the sterling should remain free. We are still tied to the Sterling ratio and as such even if you talk of a falling price index, I am afraid the true position of the national economy of this country, particularly in its regard to the ratio of the rupee with the rest of the world currencies is not a true one and that the prospect before us is not at all encouraging. If we bear in mind the possibilities that England may be forced to resort to for correcting her international trade position or balance of trade position. I should like, therefore, that note should be taken of this matter that before any acquiescence is given to the unilateral change of the kind made 2½ years ago of the sterling ratio to the dollar and by following meekly in their train without any question or consideration, I say before such a thing takes place, this House will be properly informed and consulted or its advice taken before Government commit themselves to a policy of the kind that it did 2½ years ago. I regret I have not enough time to expand upon this very serious matter that will affect. I venture to say, very profoundly the lives of our people. Though it may sound as if it is by a stroke of the pen that the Bank of England or the Government of England makes the change in response to pressure both at home and

1 P.M.

abroad, yet whatever that may be, I would repeat with all the earnestness at my command that this matter deserves far more consideration than was shown to it on the last occasion when the change was made. If one may judge from the Press reports that have come so far, and which are meagre regarding the progress of these talks, it seems we are in for another surprise and I wish that this House ought to be warned and even guarded against it.

*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. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** At the outset, let me express my thanks to you, Sir, for giving me a chance to speak at an early stage of the debate which I never used to get on previous occasions. If I may make a relevant personal remark, I congratulate you on being returned to this House for guiding our deliberations in future too.

We have gathered here to express our opinions on the Presidential Address. I was keenly listening to the speech made by Mr. Shiva Rao and the speeches of his successors like Pandit Balakrishna Sharma. But the hon. President began his speech by saying: "We meet here today under unusual circumstances." It is I also admit, an unusual circumstance in which we are meeting here. At the same time, I have to ask a question to you and to this House: Who is responsible for these unusual circumstances? For my own part, I and my party are not responsible for it.

**Shri Naziruddin Ahmad:** God is responsible!

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** Not even those who have fought this election against the Government are responsible for these unusual circumstances. I must say that the Government which is in power in this country are responsible for these unusual and curious circumstances.

We have all come here after experiencing a great experiment in democracy in the country. I am very happy to say that not only my party, but all the progressives in this country have taught a lesson to the ruling powers, who thought that they will

not be uprooted from power. This election was not at all a free and fair election even though it was tom-tommed that it will be a free election. In my State and in many States in South India—I have got reports also from the States in Northern India—it was not a fair and free election. (Some hon. Members: Oh!) Great were the difficulties that we were labouring under in Travancore-Cochin. When we submitted our nomination as progressives, about 42 political organisations were under a ban in my State. More than 17 candidates who are top-ranking leaders, who are the most beloved sons of my State, were in Jail, or under detention or under a warrant of arrest. It is under these unfavourable circumstances that we fought this battle of democracy in my State and I am proud to say that we have won the battle. What we have won in other States also. Tampering with ballot boxes, using of Government machinery against the parties who have opposed the Congress, using of undue influence by the police, military and reserved police forces, were the order of the day in some of the States.

**An Hon. Member:** In which State?

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** At least in my State. We had no cars. We were not allowed to go to the restaurants because the police had already gone there and asked the restaurants not to give us food. The taxi owners were asked not to give us any cars. The Government machinery was working in full swing when the elections were going on in my state. I know the experiences of the people who have fought against the ruling power. In other States also more or less the same was the experience or perhaps in many ways more intense than what we were experiencing in our State. (Interruption) As a personal explanation, I have to say that the constituency where I fought was one of the biggest constituencies in India. It had about 7,88,000 voters. In so many places, we were not able to get access on the day of the election. Take for example the constituency from which the Chief Minister of the State was contesting. Myself and my colleague went to the constituency on the election day. We saw voters being taken in cars to the polling booths. We protested in the presence of the Chief Minister. But, he said, "Who are you to say? I am in power today; I will do what I like". It was not a free election in that constituency that he was contesting. The whole of the police force was on

guard there. The military was there. For one candidate more than 700 cars belonging to the Congress party were working in that particular constituency. All our protests were in vain. It is in this way that the Congress has won the elections in some of the States.

**An Hon. Member:** How did you get elected?

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** Of course, I got elected in spite of all these difficulties. I am not saying only about my case. I am saying about my other colleagues who have been defeated because of the interference of the Government in power. (Interruption) Otherwise, we would have been in a majority.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** May I suggest to the hon. Member that the conduct of the Congress outside is not relevant to this debate. The conduct of the Government is certainly relevant; particularly the Union Government and not the Provincial or State Governments.

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** The Prime Minister of India toured South India. He came to our State also. We sought an interview with him in order to express our difficulties.

**Shri Bharati (Madras)** Not as the Prime Minister.

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** The Communist Party was banned in my State. The students' organisations were banned; many other organisations were under ban. We, as the citizens of India, as people who were contesting the elections in the State and for Parliament have a right to approach the Prime Minister and place our grievances before him. We were refused an interview. Our request was turned down by the Prime Minister himself. He said that a most fair and free election was conducted in our State. On top of that he declared that India is a most democratic State in spite of all the repressive laws in the country. In spite of all, what is the result of this election? It shows, apart from many things, the people are intelligent, whatever the Congress people and the Government from the other side may be caricaturing. They say that the people of this country are illiterate and that is why they have voted for this party or that party. They say that the people have not voted for a particular ideology. But, from this election, we understand that the common man in this country is a very intelligent person. And he has exercised his vote correctly and he

[Shri R. Velayudhan]

has also given a clear verdict on the Government of the day. What is that verdict? They have said clearly that they do not want this Government to continue any more, not even for another hour more in this country.

**Shri Bharati:** Not this Government?

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** Yes, that is the verdict of the people given to the world that the people of this country do not want this Congress Government, this fascist regime to continue any more. But they have shown that they have got faith in a particular ideal—the ideal of democracy. The people have now given a lesson. What is that lesson? It is that they have faith not in the Congress party but they have, especially in South India, shown that they have a tendency to go towards the left. If the elections have shown a lesson to the world it is this that the people here have a tendency towards the left. And that is exactly what is wanted in this country today. Let me also say that it is not for the Communists that the votes were given. It is not for the Democrats or the Progressives that the votes were given. But all the same, I say, Communism has come to stay in this country. It is a political party now and it will be nonsense for anyone to ignore that political party in this country. It is the biggest opposition in the country. The masses are following that party today. You cannot hide that fact though you want to, as the British people tried to hide the real fact of the Indian national struggle at one time.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member claimed to be a Socialist once. Is he now a Communist?

**Shri Bharati:** Last time he was a Socialist; but he has now joined the Communist party.

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** It is no matter for laughter and if you want my personal explanation I am prepared to give it.

**Shri Bharati:** Let us have it.

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** Even when I joined with the Socialists in Parliament I stood for a united front of the left in the country. I was never a primary member of the Socialist Party of India.

**An Hon. Member:** But you wore a red cap.

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** We want a left front in this country and therefore we have used this opportunity here and outside to achieve this end.

Within the limited time at my disposal, I have to cover two or three more points. I have a lot of complaints sent to me by friends regarding the elections in some parts of Hyderabad, Travancore-Cochin and Mysore. It was not a fair thing for the party in power even if they had the greatest machinery in the country to interfere in these elections. I say this with great pain. Some of the representatives of the people who have secured the largest majorities in the elections are still in prison today, or are under arrest warrants. The All India Radio would not report these matters. One elected representative from my State got 42,000 votes out of 52,000 votes polled, but though the fact of his election was reported by the All India Radio, the number of votes secured by him was not. In this way the Government used all sorts of methods to discourage the leftist forces in the country. But, in spite of all these handicaps, we have practically won the elections as is shown by the results.

I mention all these, not for the purpose of fighting the Congress party or the party in power, not to bring about chaos in the country. I do not want to do that. My purpose is to bring about peace and happiness to the people of the country in which you and I are interested. What is wanted in the country is not a one party Government but a Government of all the progressive forces. If you are intelligent enough, if the party in power is intelligent enough they will institute not one party governments, but coalition Governments, not only in the States but also at the Centre. What is the number of votes polled by the party in power? Not even 42 per cent. for parliament.

**Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar):** No: even that much.

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** Not even that much, says my old and respected colleague here. Therefore, if you want peace in the country, if you want good Government, which you have not been able to bring about in this country yet and in which attempt you have failed miserably, the one thing that I want is coalition Government at the centre with all the political parties who have come out successful in the elections. I do not know whether the leadership of Pandit Nehru will accept this, but if the elections have

do one thing more than any other, it is this, that it has exploded the myth of his personal leadership. I have great respect for Pandit Nehru. The Congress party people were making great use of his name. His photos were being taken out from one place to another. The National Flag too was made use of. His name was being exploited and made use of at every one of their meetings. But at the same time, the people gave their verdict and it was a different verdict. They have given the verdict that he is not the leader of this country but that a certain ideal is their leader. They have certain ideals to lead them and it is not a personal leadership they say, that should lead them. We do not believe in personalities, we believe in the leadership of an ideology and for that the people have voted. It is for that that we stand.

To sum up my points, what we want is a Democratic Government and for that you must have coalition Governments, both at the Centre and in the States. But what has been done recently? We have a caretaker Government in Madras run by a defeated Chief Minister. And in Travancore-Cochin only 44 out of 108 seats have been captured by the party in power and still you are having a care-taker Government. That is because you have no plans or programmes before you. Why not have a new Government in these States here and now? You want to wait for another three or four months; but the people are anxious to have new Governments in all the States where they have got at least a working majority with the other parties put together against the Congress. I submit to you that it is my humble opinion that we are not for the introduction of Communism immediately in the country, not even for the introduction of Socialism; but we want a Democratic Government and a good Government in the country. And that you cannot have. You have experimented on this for the last four years and failed. Only a coalition Government can be worked, a coalition of the progressive forces of people, who have come out successful with the votes of the people of the country.

**Shri Kamath:** While the President's valedictory Address has been of the expected pattern, I am amazed no less than amused—and I am sure hon. Members in this House will share my feelings in this regard—that it has fallen to the lot of my gallant friend Shri Shiva Rao to thank the President for his Address. I hope and trust that in keeping with the established tradition, with but a few exceptions

in this House, ere long he will be translated to a seat on one of the Benches in front of him. He is shaping very well; but is it not, may I say, a little strange that a vehement critic of some of the big projects and the publicity plans of the Government should find himself today in this rather unenviable position of moving this motion? But the big difference between then and now is that the General Elections have taken place and the dust and din are subsiding, though not yet quite subsided. The House cannot possibly have forgotten the valiant role that my friend Mr. Shiva Rao played in the exposure of what has popularly come to be known as the jeep scandal. By a strange irony of fate—if you permit a few sidelights on the atmosphere of the General Elections that was created by the party in power—this discovery of the skeleton in the cupboard of Government was fathered upon me by a person who came to campaign against me in my constituency during the elections and was introduced to the electorate there as a friend and personal envoy of the Prime Minister. This personal envoy of the Prime Minister also accused me of having been a signatory to the telegram sent by some M.Ps. to the American Government for food aid to India, and it was said of me or against me that an independent candidate, if elected to Parliament would be dangerous to the Parliament, because state secrets would no longer be secret and they will be exposed, betrayed or given out to foreign embassies, if not to foreign countries. That person who was introduced to the electorate as a friend and personal envoy of the Prime Minister was no other than Kumari Mridullaben Sarabhai. Several Congressmen there, who belonged to the party in power, took some lessons from her, I must say with regret in the art of mendacity, and setting at naught the salutary advice given by the Prime Minister on the eve of the elections, namely that the elections should be fought with dignity and decency, it was sedulously spread in the rural areas—because the urban areas are fairly literate and educated. In it was propagated that I had received 2½ lakhs from America, that I had an American wife who was connected with the American embassy in New Delhi.....

**The Minister of State for Finance (Shri Tyagi):** Good news!

**Shri Kamath:** The villages were treated to variants of this theme.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Bachelors' wives are not relevant matter here.

**Shri Kamath:** That is only by way of giving some sideights as to how the Prime Minister's position was exploited.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** How is the Government concerned?

**Shri Kamath:** Because the person who came there was given out as the Prime Minister's envoy. However, I am not labouring the theme at all. By way of introduction I am giving an idea of the atmosphere that prevailed. I am talking about my province in general and my constituency in particular and if my views are coloured by what happened in my constituency, you will pardon me for it. I am not speaking of other provinces at all.

The foreign country mentioned varied from America to Russia and even Italy in different villages.

All this would have been comic, if it were not tragic in as much as the electorate in the rural areas, especially, was ignorant and illiterate and was somewhat swayed by such serious accusations made against me, which had they known the truth they would have judged as a tissue of lies, and damned lies at that.

I looked forward, because there were rumours in my constituency, to hearing the speeches of my friend Mr. Sidhva also there. Mr. Sidhva, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Shrimati Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, the papers reported, would come down specially to my constituency and enlighten the electorate upon their duty of voting, and voting, properly. But we were all disappointed. It was one of the biggest jokes of the whole campaign, as one of my supporters in a public meeting said that "to defeat Mr. Kamath so many big guns are coming from Delhi and that we are looking forward to meeting here Kumari, Vidhva and Sadhva—Kumari Amrit Kaur, Vidhva Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, and Sadhva—which is a slight variant of the name Sidhva."

Coming to the manner of the election itself, I am constrained to submit to the House that it was hardly fair or free. Most of the unfairness or unfree character of the elections stemmed from the fact that the President of one of the political parties contesting the election was also the Prime Minister of the land and the head of the Government. The Prime Minister admitted the other day in the House—you were not here then, Sir—that when he toured the country in his electioneering campaign for the

Congress his tour programme was inevitably and always sent to all officials, civil and military, who as a matter of duty called upon him, and joined in many places and provinces the electioneering entourage of the Congress President *cum* Prime Minister. It was reported in the papers that the Prime Minister had advised other Ministers in the Provinces not to mix up their election tours with their official tours. But apparently he himself appeared to be an exception to the very salutary rule that he had propounded so far as other Ministers were concerned, and he at any rate mixed up his official work as Prime Minister with his election work as Congress President. The other day he brushed aside in the House further questions about this matter by saying that "it is always done", and when I wanted to pursue the matter further, the Speaker intervened saying that I was entering into an argument. Therefore, I could not pursue the matter further. When Pandit Nehru toured the country as Congress President for election and vote-catching for the Congress, it was wholly unfair that officials of Government should have moved about in his entourage freely and created the impression on the ignorant people in town and country that they too were part of the Congress electioneering circus. From this example set in high quarters it was only a step further for the lesser minions of Government such as the *patwaris*, *patels* and *kotwars* in the rural areas to describe to the simple peasants there that Congress candidate's box was *sarkari peti* and that failure to put the ballot papers in the *sarkari peti* would be visited with dire consequences. Other variants of the same theme were that the Congress candidate's boxes were *Gandhiji ki peti*, *Nehruji ki peti* and *Gomata ki peti*. The bull became *Go-mata*. (Interruption).

3 P.M.

Mr. Shiva Rao rather unconsciously this morning let slip, I would not say a facetious remark, but a remark made perhaps in all seriousness that after the polling or election was over, village women came to him and said that they voted for the bulls and that they wanted to see the man behind the bulls or the candidate whom the bulls represented. And Mr. Shiva Rao gave *darshan* of the man behind the bulls. This in a nutshell was what really happened in most areas in the country, especially in rural areas, which comprise 70 to 80 per cent of the electorate in our country. In my constituency and in my province of Madhya Pradesh in

the villages, in remote villages, where independent candidates naturally could not reach with their meagre resources, the people believed that they were voting for bullocks only and neither for the candidate nor even for the Congress. I will tell you an anecdote. In one village after the polling was over when it was casually asked for whom they had voted, they said they had voted for bulls.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** How did the bulls reach them? Is failure on the part of some of the candidates to carry on propaganda a subject matter here?

**Shri Kamath:** No, no. I am telling you how the village officers, the *patwaris*, the *patels* and the *kotwars*, though they are forbidden by the Act to take part in the election, yet they have taken part and tried to mislead the poor, simple peasants, the villagers. They were even told that if they did not like to vote for Congress, 'do not vote at all!'

कांग्रेस तो बरबादी चाहती है, वह तो बहुत खराब लोग हैं, लेकिन बैलों को वोट दो। वह कोई नुकसान नहीं करेंगे।

And many villagers said later on:

हां हमने बलों को वोट दिया है। कांग्रेस को कभी नहीं देंगे और कांग्रेस को वोट नहीं दिया। बैल हमारा नुकसान नहीं करेंगे। बैल क्या करेंगे, घास खायेंगे।

[Congress wants total disaster. They are all very bad people. Vote for the bullocks. They will do you no harm.]

And many villagers said later on:

"Yes, we have voted for the bullocks. They will do us no harm. We shall never vote for the Congress and we have not voted for them this time. The bullocks will do nothing but feed themselves on green fields."]

That is how many villagers in the Gond areas of Madhya Pradesh really felt and acted.

Then, my friend, Mr. Velayudhan has just told the House how the National Flag was misused by the Congress party. He perhaps did not have any documentary proof but I have got some photographs taken in my constituency of the National Flag

having been used by the party for their own propaganda.

My friend, Mr. Shiva Rao really told the truth when he said that the voters had voted for the bulls—May their tribe increase!—and he waxed eloquent, so did my friend, Dr. Deshmukh, that women had taken an interest in this election. But in my own province in a certain place it was reported to me that when Gond women were crossing a little river or a rivulet the home guards stood on this side and shouted to them that the military was waiting on the other side of the river and if they came their lives and honour would be in danger, because those women were apparently from a village which was anti-Congress and reports were that they were going to vote solidly anti-Congress. The women were threatened by the home guards standing on this side that if they dared come on this side of the river their life and their honour would not be safe, and the women thereupon turned back. My friend, Mr. Munshi makes a wry face—he did not contest the elections, so he does not know exactly what had happened.

As regards the other malpractices that were indulged in, I would not give them in detail nor have I the time for it—in two or three minutes I will finish what little I have got to say. From Uttar Pradesh I have got certain very interesting, and rather heart-rending may I say, documents making very serious allegations. This one is from Aligarh. It appeared that the Returning Officer at Aligarh went into the room where the ballot boxes were kept at dead of night and was doing something. God only knows what. Now a report was made to the Election Officer and the Election Officer does admit in his note, a true copy of which was given to me, that the Returning Officer was inside the room where the boxes were kept. The Election Officer says:

"On enquiry from the District Election Office on phone I am informed that the boxes of the hall were being arranged candidate-wise under the supervision of the Returning Officer."

As if there was no other time for the boxes to be arranged! In my own constituency the boxes were arranged when brought out for counting—there is no need to arrange them inside. But even the District Election Officer got suspicious and asked the work to be stopped:

"I have however asked the work to be stopped forthwith and the keys of the hall to be sent to me immediately."

[Shri Kamath]

And most surprising of all, in Aligarh, in the same place where this thing took place, the District Magistrate promulgated an order under section 144 Criminal Procedure Code—I do not know whether in any other city or town of India it was done—for counting purposes only. The section applied to the whole of the premises of the Election Office and a distance of 200 yards round about it and "shall remain in force from the 9th to the 24th February, 1952". God alone knows why this was promulgated when in no other place—section 144 was promulgated. It was however explained to me that it was intended to prevent people from coming near at night and trying to see what was going on inside at dead of night.

I would have liked to say much more but today I would end up by saying that the warning uttered by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President, at the time the Constitution was adopted, the warning uttered by him in the Constituent Assembly has assumed, to my mind at any rate, considerable significance and it sounds very true. Whatever the President may say today or feel today about the elections, the warning which he uttered that day was that adult franchise without adult education, or at least adult literacy—because when literacy is there there will not be any need for symbols at all—is an enterprise, an adventure, an undertaking, a task attended by dangers and pitfalls. And I am sure if Mahatma Gandhi himself were alive today—well, even Mahatma Gandhi was not spared; I do not know if it happened in your province also, but in this election poster of the Congress, Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation—I look upon him as a national symbol and I am sure all of us look upon him as a national symbol and not as a mere party boss—and in this poster he is shown with folded hands, as if he is begging for your votes, for the votes of the people! The Rashtrapita, who never took part in any election, who never begged for votes at any time of his life, he is dragged down from his *Divyaloka* or wherever he is at present, and made to.....

**Shri V. Gangaraju (Madras):** Is it any Congress party poster?

**Shri Kamath:** Yes, it is a Congress party poster. The publisher's name is there.

**Shri V. Gangaraju:** The symbol of a ladder is also there.

**Shri Kamath:** Ah, I will read it out to you:

इस सीढ़ी ने ऊपर चढाया है, यहीं आगे बढ़ायेंगे ।

[This is the ladder that has taken you up. Now this very ladder will take you on to progress]—Referring to Congress which is here symbolized by a ladder.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member forgets that this is discussion on the Presidential Address. The conduct of the Government may be in question but not what a particular party has done—it is open to a party to do as it likes.

**Shri Kamath:** The law forbids the use of national symbols and national emblems. I look upon Mahatma Gandhi as a national symbol and not as a mere individual or party symbol or party boss. If Mahatma Gandhi had been alive today and if he had learnt about the methods adopted by the Congress, he would have said, "It is better that Congress is defeated than that it should win by such methods". At one time in 1942 he said, "I leave India to God or to anarchy". I do not know whether anarchy is overtaking the country. I hope it does not. I hope God will protect us and that He will save democracy in India.

**Shri Naziruddin Ahmad:** I believe that this last session of this Parliament is a great constitutional anomaly. Members who have not contested and Members who have been defeated in the elections are taking part in the deliberations of this House. That is why I consider it a constitutional anomaly. Of course, there is no way out of it. Things have been so managed that many of us have to sit here, although some of us are mere anachronisms. The justification for this anomalous meeting lies in the fact that we have gone through the biggest election in the world and this has led to vast administrative problems. There is the election to the Upper House yet to be held; then there is the election of the Vice-President and President. All these things will cause delay and during the interregnum we must do something.

The position in the country is this. There is scarcity of food and clothing, and corruption and black marketing are flourishing. The difficulties which the Congress faced during the

Elections were due to the failure of the Government to tackle these problems. For various reasons, it was not easy to solve them satisfactorily. The food problem was particularly difficult of solution. The cloth problem might have been solved, but there was too much of bungling in it. All this is due to the fact that the Government has had no previous experience of administration. It was perpetually in the opposition and when it came to power, it found that the slogans which it had uttered would not avail it now.

As a result of these failures, the leftists had a chance and they have come in during the elections in large numbers, more particularly the Communists. Had the leftists combined, the Congress would have experienced more reverses. One speaker explained that the Communists are for democracy or some such thing. As I understand Communism, it is the reverse of democracy. Nobody has any quarrel with the Communists in their theories of equality, justice and the like. No one quarrels with their slogans. But the question is: do they practise what they preach? So far as I know, they depend upon chaos and disorder, crime and grievance (*Shri R. Velayudhan*: No, no.) Yes. That has been their history throughout the world. We are, after all, getting the first lessons of what Communists are likely to be, but the world has seen their dangerous character. If they believe in and take to democratic methods and not only preach but practise democracy, then the whole country would be grateful to them. But the doings of the Communist party in Telangana and other places, if repeated, will be a real curse. Therefore, so far as the Communists who may be returned to the House when it is properly constituted are concerned, they will themselves be on their trial. If they pursue democratic methods, they will be welcome, but if they use the Parliament as a platform for preaching lawlessness and disorder, then the country will have to disown them.

Taking everything into consideration, the Government has done remarkably well. The food situation is very unsatisfactory and things might have been managed better. But the reason for the failure is obvious. The cloth problem has been bungled and there certainly was much room for improvement in this respect. The Congress will be in power in the next Parliament. Their ability, honesty, integrity, business ability and administrative power will be tested to the utmost. If they fail to solve the

problems that affect the masses, they will have to thank themselves for bringing the disruptive elements into the core of our society.

The subject of my amendment relates to the absence of any mention about the steps necessary to prevent black marketing. Effective steps have never been taken and I fear will not be taken.

**Dr. Pattabhi (Madras)**: Should not be taken.

**Shri Naziruddin Ahmad**: Yes, from a certain point of view they should not be taken, because that would involve big friends to their right and the left. But I submit that upon this issue rests the success or failure of the Government. So far as this House is concerned, it is practically dead. Therefore, the discussions here are merely a post-mortem examination of what has been done.

**Shri R. Velayudhan**: This House is only a ghost.

**Shri Naziruddin Ahmad**: To all intents and purposes, this Government is a caretaker Government and this House is a caretaker House.

**Shri R. Velayudhan**: Not an undertaker House?

**Shri Naziruddin Ahmad**: You may call it an undertaker House also. So far as the putting down of the black market is concerned, it raises important questions. Many glaring cases are known and the hon. Ministers of Government also can find many instances in the heart of New Delhi itself which will show how black market is flourishing.

The question is not the absence of laws, but what is lacking is the will to act. Government is not showing sufficient strength, sufficient purpose, to check black-marketing and again I am reminded of the friendly interruption of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya that perhaps they do not want to go far enough. There are big persons involved who have friends in high places in Government and they cannot be tackled effectively. Probably the strength of the Government to a certain extent depends upon them. But I submit that the happiness of the entire people to a large extent depends upon Government taking a strong line in checking black markets, and if they fail any longer to solve the problem, the result would be that disruptive forces, Communists and others who are so much disliked, will take their place one day. The next Government—it is too late for the



[Shri Naziruddin Ahmad]

present Government to do it—should tackle the problem in a more realistic fashion. They must act with a will to win and with a will to check black marketing and other allied curses.

Then there is corruption in public life which is increasing day after day. Cases of well known persons or officers of Government, who have been flourishing in their trade, have been brought to the notice of the House, but nothing could be done against them. I think the next Government would at least take care to tackle these problems and try to give satisfaction to the people by a proper discharge of their duties.

A large number of questions have been raised in the amendments. They are of an academic nature, and I do not want to repeat the remarks of other members. There are a large number of speakers who are anxious to speak and I do not want to stand between them and you. I submit that Government should take note of the remarks made in the House and try to mend their ways for the future.

Shri Venkataraman (Madras): Ordinarily I should have confined my remarks to the subject which always attracts my attention, namely the condition of the workers and the peasants in this country and the attitude that the Government should take in respect of them. But in view of the very serious charges and allegations made with regard to the elections, I feel that if they are not controverted or denied by at least some section of the House, it will leave an impression not only in this House, but elsewhere that there has been something very seriously wrong in the manner in which the elections have been conducted.

I come from a province in which the party in power has suffered very severe reverses. I come particularly from a district in which it suffered perhaps the worst of the reverses.

Shri E. Velayudhan: Then, how did you succeed?

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Shri Venkataraman: I shall come to that.

Nevertheless, I must say that it is not alleged by the persons who succeeded, who are in a vast majority in my district, that the elections have been in any way unfair. The point is this. A large number of candidates who stood

for the elections began to look upon the elections as if it meant only their relationship with their electorate and the rival candidates. They did not look upon the elections as something which happens throughout the country, as one in which officers were called upon to undertake very heavy responsibilities, sometimes without even sufficient time and very often under most trying circumstances. The candidates wanted that whatever they objected to should be attended to immediately, whatever they wanted should be attended to immediately and if their complaints were not heeded to immediately, they thought everything was wrong. The real danger in looking upon the elections in that way is that for each constituency there must be an election separately from the rest of India, all the officers should be concentrated in that place right from the Election Commission down to the lowest officer and unless that is done it would not be possible for any Government to attend to the elections of that particular constituency immediately and the moment objection was taken. In the large context in which the elections were held, in the way in which the officers functioned, the candidates who succeeded as well as the candidates who were defeated have generally admitted in their speeches, in their statements and in their general appreciation of the situation that the elections were fair and on the whole conducted in a very orderly fashion.

The Communist party for which my hon. friend Mr. Velayudhan took brief and spoke here, has expressed so far as the province of Madras is concerned that the elections were on the whole fair and free. I had always known that the Communist party has only one opinion and it does not allow discordant voices in its party. Perhaps, the entry of my friend Mr. Velayudhan is the beginning of the trouble for the party also.

Then, the way in which the electorate responded to their duties and the large percentage of men and women who voted in our State and particularly in the State of Travancore-Cochin show that the adult franchise has not been a mistake at all and that the people of this country are quite prepared and quite ready to undertake the responsibilities of running the administration of this country by exercising their franchise. I do not know if my hon. friend Mr. Kamath who has the reputation of being the champion of democratic rights, has a lurking suspicion that

adult franchise has not been a success in this country. If he says so, I am afraid his experience in his province must have been somewhat disappointing. But the experience of other people throughout the country and the number of men and women who voted, the large percentage of people who exercised their franchise all over India and particularly the South, goes to show that we need have no fears whatsoever with regard to the political consciousness of the adult population who were called upon to exercise their franchise and also called upon to undertake the responsibility for the Government of this country. I feel that so far as the South is concerned, people voted consciously—whether they voted for the Government in power or against it—they were fully alive to their responsibilities which were entrusted to them and there were no complaints whatsoever in regard to the manner in which the elections were conducted and the manner in which people responded to their duties. I want to put it on record that the officers and the persons who were responsible for the conduct of the elections discharged their very onerous task in the best possible manner under the circumstances and that they deserve the congratulations of the House for the manner in which they performed their duties. I also wish to place on record that the people of this country have voted in these huge elections in a very orderly manner without causing the least disturbance at any place and have exercised their franchise with such consciousness that they have proved to the whole world that the grant of adult franchise is no mistake at all.

Then, as far as the future programme is concerned, let me proceed to state a few salient features which we must take note of. The agrarian problem has been neglected in this country far too long, and I think the penalty which the party in power paid in some areas is largely due to the neglect of the agrarian problem. You might have noticed that in this House time and again I have complained of the reluctance on the part of Government to face the problem of the agricultural labourer, the delay in fixing minimum wages for agricultural labour and practically ignoring the just grievances of the large masses of the population who are working in the fields, in the villages and in the upcountry. It is said that we have passed the Zamindari Abolition, the Jagirdari Abolition, and the Inams Abolition Acts and all that. But these Acts do not benefit the landless

agricultural population, who are the lowest strata of society, but benefit only the tenantry class. The tenants have benefited by the abolition of the jagirdari and the inamdari. But the landless agricultural labourer who really performs all the services and who is the backbone of agriculture in this country has been very sadly neglected. Even his minimum wages have not been fixed, no attempts have been made to alleviate burden of debt which has been accumulating for generations, no attempt has been made to provide him with adequate facilities for housing with the result that the agricultural labourer has begun to feel that the party in power has either no interest in him or that some other party may be able to deliver the goods. My serious submission to this House and to the Government, therefore, is that notwithstanding the delay that has occurred in tackling this problem, the Government ought to lay more and more emphasis on the implementation of the legislation which has already been passed rather than on passing new and fresh labour legislation. We have passed the Minimum Wages Act quite a long while ago, but even now it has not been implemented in the State of Madras from which I come. I myself sat in two Committees for fixing the minimum wages of plantation labourers and local board employees. But even though the report was submitted long long ago the minimum wages were not fixed and I understand that even the unanimous recommendations of the Committee have not been accepted by the Government. In the matter of fixing minimum wages for agricultural labour not even a beginning has yet been made with the result that though we have passed several pieces of ameliorative legislation for the betterment of the conditions of the working classes in this country and they are on the statute book, in actual practice the persons concerned do not get any benefit therefrom. During the course of my election campaign when I was explaining to the large landless agricultural population that we have passed several pieces of legislation for the betterment of their conditions, quick came the question "Have you fixed the wages for us?" So that, the people of this country apply only one test and that test is, "What is the net result, what is the tangible or substantial thing we have got as a result of your endeavours and all your legislation?" If we do not show any tangible and substantial results, any amount of our passing legislation, any amount of our debating on the conditions of the people in

[Shri Venkataraman]

this country and shedding tears—whatever they may be, crocodile or otherwise—on the condition of the poor people in this country will not go to soothe their feelings of almost bitterness that is spreading. I therefore submit that the Government ought to take greater interest in the implementation of the legislation which has been passed and see that the several enactments which have already been put on the statute book are enforced so that the people in this country may get the benefit out of the legislation which has been passed. It is necessary that in order to prevent a violent or a cataclysmic revolution in this country we should march ahead of the times. Unless we go a little ahead of the general feeling amongst the people, unless we take progressive measures in the matter of ameliorating the condition of the poor people, the time will come when they would resort not to the constitutional method but to the *ultra* or the un-constitutional methods including violence and revolution.

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** Have you become a Communist?

**Shri Venkataraman:** My friend Mr. Velayudhan has not studied as much of the Communistic principles as I have done.....

**Shri R. Velayudhan:** Are you an ex-Communist?

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

**Shri Venkataraman:** .....and I can quote that Karl Marx wrote that the first country in the whole world which would become Communist was England. He wrote that as early as in 1850, and even though we are now in 1952 England is as far away from Communism as the north pole is from the south. The reason for that according to me is that the successive Governments in England, be they Conservative, Liberal or Labour, have always marched ahead in social legislation of the times with the result that they took the wind out of the sails of the parties which tried to preach violence, which tried to disrupt the Constitution and which tried to bring about major changes in the social structure by means of violence and revolution. Therefore, if we want to take a lesson from history, if we want to profit by the experience of other countries it is very necessary that we should march ahead of the other countries, particularly in Asia, and set an

example to the other countries of Asia in the matter of social legislation thereby inspiring the common man in this country with a faith and a belief that this Government not only intends but is quite capable of ameliorating his conditions in an orderly fashion, in a constitutional manner and by progressive legislation.

150 बाबू रामनारायण सिंह // सभापति पही-  
दय, राष्ट्रपति के कई अभिभाषण हो गये हैं, किन्तु मुझे कभी उन पर बोलने का अवसर नहीं मिला था। आज इस का अवसर आप ने दिया है इसके लिये आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

सभापति/जी, जिस ढंग से राष्ट्रपति यहां आते हैं, भाषण देते हैं और उन के भाषण पर कुछ बहमें हो जाती हैं, यह सब जान कर मुझे आनन्द नहीं होता। जिस ढंग से राष्ट्रपति जी यहां आते हैं तो मुझे पुरानी गुलामी याद आ जाती है कि मैं एक दिन गुलाम था, विदेशी लोग यहां पर शासक थे और वह बड़ी शान, ठाट बाट और जाग जमक के साथ बाहर की जनता के साथ साथ यहां के सदस्यों पर भी अपनी धाक जमाने के लिए आते थे और कुछ कह कर चले जाते थे। जिस ढंग से राष्ट्रपति यहां आते हैं मुझे वही बातें याद आ जाती हैं। हमारे राष्ट्रपति यहां आते, कुछ बोले और हपारी मदद करें, यह तो एक अलग बात है। लेकिन मुझे सब से अधिक दुःख इस बात का होता है कि हमारे जो नेता कहते हैं वह तो विदेशियों की हर विषय में बन्दरों की तरह नक़ल करने में अपना गौरव समझते हैं। दुनिया में जो जो घटनाएँ होती हैं उन का कुछ अर्थ होता है। मैं ने पहले ही कह दिया कि विदेशी लोग तो अपनी धाक जमाने के लिए उस ढंग से आया करते थे। लेकिन अब भला कहिये, कि जिस वक्त राष्ट्रपति यहां आते हैं तो उन के साथ यहां पर सैनिक रक्षकों

की क्या जरूरत है ? वह तो विदेशी थे । उन को डर था कि शायद कोई संसद् वाला आदमी उन को क़त्ल न कर दे, गोली न मार दे । उन को इस प्रकार का डर था । आज हमारे राष्ट्रपति को तो इस तरह का शक़ नहीं होना चाहिये कि उन को यहां पर किसी तरह कोई क्षति पहुंचा सकेगा या उन का अपमान कर सकेगा । यहां पर सैनिक रक्षकों के आने की जरूरत किसी हालत में नहीं है । बल्कि मैं तो समझता हूँ कि यह हमारी राष्ट्रीय संसद् का अपमान है कि हमारे/राष्ट्रपति सैनिक रक्षकों के साथ हमारी संसद् में आबें और कुछ कहें और चले जायं । हां, यह दूसरी बात है कि राष्ट्रपति यहां आबें, चाहे प्रधान मन्त्री या आप उन का स्वागत कर के उन को यहां ले आबें और वह आ कर यहां कुछ पवित्र आदेश उपदेश कर जायं । यह तो खुशी की बात हो सकती है । लेकिन जिस बंग से वह आते हैं उस का मैं, सभापति जी, घोर विरोध करता हूँ और सारे देश से और सारी संसद् से अपील करता हूँ कि इस तौर तरीक़े को अब ख़त्म करें ।

इस के साथ साथ हमारे दिल में एक बात और उठती है । हम लोगों का बहुत दिनों के बाद गुलामी से उद्धार हुआ है । एक एक मिनट का हम लोगों को हिसाब रखना चाहिये । हमें एक एक मिनट सचार्ई के साथ काम करना चाहिये और उस के साथ साथ एक एक पैसे का हिसाब करना चाहिये । अब कहिये कि राष्ट्रपति जी क्या बोल गये ? मैं तो कहता हूँ कि जो वह बोल गये वह उन से नहीं बुलवाना चाहिये था । राष्ट्रपति हमारे देश के सब से माननीय व्यक्ति हैं । वह कुछ उपदेश कर दें या आदेश कर दें वह सब को मान्य होने चाहियें । यह तो ठीक बात है । लेकिन यह क्या बात है कि पड़बड़ तो सारी बातों में गवर्नमेंट करती है, जो बातें प्राइम मिनिस्टर

करते हैं और जो बातें प्राइम मिनिस्टर को कहनी चाहियें, वह राष्ट्रपति के मुंह से कहला दें ? जो बातें प्राइम मिनिस्टर को कहनी हों उसे उनको स्वयं कहना चाहिये और उन पर बहस हो, या न हो । लेकिन यह क्या कि गवर्नमेंट की बातें, प्राइम मिनिस्टर की बातें राष्ट्रपति के मुंह से कहलाई जायं । यह तो बिल्कुल बुरी बात है । यह कभी नहीं होनी चाहिये । यह कैसी बात है कि राष्ट्रपति के भाषण पर इस तरह से बहस हो । इस तरह से इस पर क्यों इतना पैसा खर्च होता है और इतना समय क्यों नष्ट होता है ? हम को मालूम होता है कि इस सारे कार्य में नक़ल तो है ही, उस के साथ साथ इस में सचार्ई भी नहीं मालूम होती है । राष्ट्रपति जी तो अपने राष्ट्रपति भवन में रहते हैं । उन के मुंह से कहला दिया गया कि चुनाव कैसे हो गये । चुनाव तो हमारे देश के लिए एक बहुत बड़ी घटना हुई है, बल्कि सारे संसार के लिए एक बहुत बड़ी घटना हुई है । लेकिन इस सम्बन्ध में राष्ट्रपति से कहला दिया गया कि जिस तरह से कर्मचारियों ने इस चुनाव में ख़रताब किया है, उस के लिए सरकारी कर्मचारी प्रशंसा के योग्य हैं और उन की प्रशंसा भी कर दी । राष्ट्रपति को तो मालूम नहीं और उन से यह कहलवा दिया । यह तो ठीक उसी तरह हुआ जैसे पहले ज़माने में मैं कहा करता था कि जो पुलिस अफ़सर कहे वह कलक्टर मान जाय, जो कलक्टर कहे वह लेफ़्टिनेंट गवर्नर मान जाय और जो लेफ़्टिनेंट गवर्नर कहे वह बड़ा लाट मान जाय । इस तरह से जो गांव का चौकीदार कहे वह भी बादशाह के मुंह से कहला दी जाय या बड़े लाट के मुंह से कहला दी जाय और वह सरकारी नीति समझी जाय । इस रीति को तो ख़त्म करना चाहिये । हमारी कुछ आवाज़ उठ रही है, तो कुछ हमारे भाई लोग जो अभी तक कांग्रेस

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[ बाबू रामनारायण सिंह ]

से मुहब्बत रखते हैं और कांग्रेसमैन अपने को कहते हैं, उन को बुरा मालूम होता है जब सुनते हैं कि चुनाव के समय बहुत गड़बड़ी हुई। यह तो जिस को तकलीफ़ होती है वह जानता है कि क्या तकलीफ़ हुई। आप तो अभी रूलिंग पार्टी / (Ruling party) यानी शासक दल में हैं। आप को क्या मालूम, आप को तो सब मदद ही मिलती है। लेकिन सभापति महोदय, मैं कहता हूँ कि इस में, कोई शक़ नहीं कि जो चुनाव हुआ है इस के लिए यह कहना कि वह सचार्ज के साथ हुआ है, ईमानदारी के साथ हुआ है, यह बिल्कुल ग़लत होगा। चुनाव में सब से पहली बात क्या होती है कि कहीं पर कोई उम्मीदवार खड़ा होता है तो कहीं पर कोई उम्मीदवार खड़ा होता है। एक जगह एक ब्रह्मचारी उम्मीदवार है और उस के खिलाफ़ कौन उम्मीदवार होता है, सारे हिन्दुस्तान का प्राइम मिनिस्टर। अब भला कहिये कि जिस वक्त किसी आदमी के सामने वह जाता है प्राइम मिनिस्टर वोट मांगने के लिए या उन की तरफ़ से कोई जाता है और दूसरी तरफ़ से वोट मांगने के लिए एक साधारण व्यक्ति जाता है तो उस वोट पर क्या साइकालाजिकल इफ़ेक्ट (Psychological effect) उसके दिमाग़ पर होता होगा? मैं तो कहता हूँ कि संविधान में इतना संशोधन अवश्य होना चाहिये कि चुनाव होने के तीन महीने पहले मंत्रियों को हटा देना चाहिये, पन्चमण्डल नहीं रहना चाहिये। सरकार के नाम से केवल उन्हीं आदमियों को रहने देना चाहिये जिन को चुनाव में भाग लेना नहीं है, जिन को चुनाव से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं रखना है। लेकिन जिस को वोट मांगना है जिस को उम्मीदवार होना है, उस को तो सरकार में नहीं रहना चाहिये। हम ने देखा है कि इसका नतीजा बहुत बुरा

हुआ है और देश को इस विषय पर सोचना होगा और जितने इस देश के मले और हितैषी लोग हैं उन को सोचना है कि इस गड़बड़ी को कैसे दूर किया जाय सरकार में रह कर और मन्त्री कहला कर और बहुत सी बातें कह कर वोट मांगे जायें। यह बहुत बुरा होता है।

अब इस बार तो यह चुनाव हो ही चुका है, इस को पवित्र चुनाव नहीं कह सकते हैं। लेकिन ज़रूर से ज़रूर इस का उपाय होना चाहिये कि अब से जो चुनाव हो उस चुनाव में उस के तीन महीने पहले कोई मंत्री नहीं रहे। मंत्री रह कर लोग बहुत तरह की गड़बड़ करते हैं। सारे देश में बहुत गड़बड़ी हुई है। मेरे यहां भी गड़बड़ी हुई है, उस के बारे में भी दो चार बातें मैं कह देता हूँ। सभापति महोदय, हमारा हज़ारीबाग़ ज़िला है। वहां भी चुनाव के सम्बन्ध में घोर जंग हुआ है। वहां पर जो मंत्री थे, जिन को खड़ा होना था, नाम तो लोग उन का जानते ही हैं मुझे कहने की ज़रूरत नहीं है। उन मंत्री ने यह किया कि पहले से ही मंत्री होने के नाते वह कर सकते थे वह किया कि अपने मन के अफ़सर सारे सूबे से चुन चुन कर उस ज़िले में उन को पोस्ट कर दिया था, जिस में उन के कहे मुताबिक़ काम होता रहे जैसा कि लोग जानते हैं सभापति महोदय, मैं गड़बड़ सड़बड़ बातें नहीं करता हूँ। मैं जो कुछ स्वयं जानता हूँ, देखता हूँ या सुनता हूँ, वह मैं आप के सामने रखता हूँ और यह आप विश्वास रखें कि मैं झूठ नहीं बोलता। और जैसा कि महारामा गांधी स्वयं कहा करते थे कि हमारे देश में अगर एक आदमी बड़ा होता है चाहे वह किसी भी पार्टी का हो, तो उसी प्रशोरसन (Proportion) से सारा देश बड़ा होता है और राष्ट्र बड़ा होता है। मैं उस

नाम को खूब सम्मानता हूँ और मैं किसी पार्टी के खिलाफ नहीं बोलता। जो भी गड़बड़ करते हैं उस के लिए मुझे लज्जा अनुभव होती है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि दूसरे लोग ही गड़बड़ करते हैं, मैं सब ठीक ही करता हूँ, लेकिन हमारे पार्टी भी जब गड़बड़ करते हैं, तो मुझे भी दुःख होता है और लज्जा जाती है। इस बास्ते सारे देश के सामने और समा-पति जी, आप के सामने यह बातें रखता हूँ। वैसे कि मैं ने पहले कहा कई महीने पहले से इस जिले में उस मंत्री के लिए जो कांग्रेस टिकट पर चुनाव लड़ रहे थे, मैं उस मंत्री का नाम लिये देता हूँ, हालांकि आज उस की जरूरत नहीं है, आप लोग स्वयं जानते होंगे और जान भी जायेंगे, तो उन मंत्री के लिये तीन महीने पहले से सरकारी अफ-सरान ने दिलचस्पी ली और उम के लिये प्रचार किया। यह कहा जा सकता है कि कांग्रेस पार्टी की तरफ से उसके एक में प्रचार किया गया, तो मैं कहूँगा कि अभी तक सरकारी पार्टी और कांग्रेस पार्टी अलग अलग चीज नहीं समझी जाती हैं बल्कि एक ही पार्टी समझी जाती है और सरकारी कर्मचारियों के जब सम्बन्ध में बात करते हैं तो कांग्रेस पार्टी का नाम आ ही जायगा। इस को तो पार्टी इन पावर के लोगों को बर्दाश्त करना चाहिये और सुन कर लज्जित होना चाहिये। सभापति महोदय, मैं ने देखा है कि जितने सर-कारी अफसरान थे, हर एक के बारे में अलग अलग तो मैं नहीं कह सकता लेकिन साधारण-तया सरकारी कर्मचारियों ने कांग्रेस उम्मीद-वारों के पक्ष में और खास कर के रेवेन्यू मिनिस्टर के बास्ते काम किया है। और मैं कहता हूँ कि बड़गांव केन्द्र जो कहलाता था वहाँ पर इतना रुपया खर्च किया गया था जिस का हिसाब देना मुश्किल है। वैसे हमारे विधान में है और रूल में है कि आठ हजार रुपये से अधिक खर्च नहीं होना चाहिये,

लेकिन मेरे ख्याल से वहाँ पर आठ लाख रुपया खर्च हुआ हो तो ताज्जुब नहीं। मैं ठीक से नहीं जानता, लेकिन उन की पार्टी की तरफ से भी मैं ने सुना है कि कम से कम तीन लाख रुपया एक क्षेत्र में खर्च किया गया है और वह सब रुपया, सभापति महोदय, जाया कहाँ है? रेवेन्यू मिनिस्टर कोई ज़मींदार नहीं थे और न ही वे कोई बनिक थे और न ही उन के पास कोई पुरखों की कपाई का रुपया था। लोगों से रुपया लेकर, चाहे उस को आप बूस कहिये या कुछ भी कहिये, चुनाव में पानी की तरह बहाया गया। मैं और क्या आप को बताऊँ, बताते लज्जा जाती है, कोई पाप बाक़ी नहीं रहा जो उस क्षेत्र में चुनाव के सिलसिले में न किया गया हो। बोट पाने के लिए रुपया पानी की तरह से उस निर्वाचन क्षेत्र में बहाया गया था। लोगों को बमकाया गया कि अगर उन्होंने उस अपुक मन्त्री को वोट नहीं दिया तो उन को खाना नहीं मिलेगा, कपड़ा नहीं मिलेगा और उन पर मुकदमा चलाया जायगा और उन को हर तरह से सताया जायगा। मैं आप को बतलाऊँ कि खुद रेवेन्यू मिनिस्टर साहब ने कहीं पर अपने भाषण में कहा था कि मैं तो हिटलर की तरह जबर्दस्ती बोट लूँगा और मुझे लोगों को बोट देना होगा। और मुझे कहते हुए लज्जा जाती है कि अपने पक्ष का समर्थन करने के लिए मुण्डों को, साधुओं के भेष में लाया गया और वह साधु जाते थे चिटिया फटकारते हुए और दूसरी बातों के बाद मैं कहते थे कि लोग रेवेन्यू मिनिस्टर को वोट दें और मैं कहाँ तक आप को बतलाऊँ, देखाओं को भी बोट मांगने के लिए भेजा गया। मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ, लेकिन सभापति महोदय, जो कुछ मैं कहता हूँ वह निराधार नहीं है वह सब अखबार में छप चुका है। वहाँ पर आठ बक्कों में से वोट्स भी निकाल लिये गये थे उन के फिंगर्स हमें याद हैं और वह सब रिपोर्ट

[बाबू रामनारायण सिंह]

की बात है। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कौन सा अनर्थ बाकी बचा जो नहीं किया गया और कौन सा पाप ऐसा बचा है जो वहाँ पर न किया गया हो। रेवन्यू मिनिस्टर को जिताने के लिए सब कुछ किया गया। मगर परमात्मा की मर्जी नहीं थी और वह उस चुनाव क्षेत्र से हार गये, हालांकि दूसरी जगह से वह जीत गये।

अन्त में मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऊपर जो कुछ मैं ने कहा है उस के लिए अगर मैं ने गलत कहा हो, तो मुझे भारी से भारी सजा होनी चाहिये और आप मुझ को गोली मार दीजिये। मैं स्वयं नहीं चाहता कि मैं किसी के बरखिलाफ झूठ बोलूँ जिस में कोई सार न हो और इस तरह से गलत प्रचार करूँ। लेकिन मैं नेहरू जी से और सारे देश से अपील करता हूँ कि जो कुछ बातें मैं ने कही हैं उन की पूरी पूरी जांच होनी चाहिये और पूरी जांच तो पीछे हो पहले उन के जो गुप्तचर विभाग हैं सी० आई० डी० वाले हैं उन को भेज कर के गुप्त रूप से सब सब बातों का पता लगायें कि यह कहाँ तक सच है अथवा झूठ है। मैं एक बार फिर सारे संसद, देश व नेहरू जी से अपनी अपील करता हूँ कि इन सारी बातों की जो मैं ने बतलाई है, पूरी जांच पड़ताल होनी चाहिये। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि नेहरू जी स्वयं जो कहा करते थे कि इस चुनाव में कांग्रेस का टिकट मेन आफ इन्टेग्रिटी (men of integrity) को दिया जायगा, तो वह उन का सिद्धान्त कहाँ चला गया ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : देखिये, अब आप का समय पूरा हो गया है।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : सिर्फ़ आधा मिनट और कृपा करियेगा।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : बाबा, बाबा मिनट कर के तो तीन चार मंता बाप को बन्त मिल चुका है।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : सैर, मैं अन्त किये देता हूँ। मुझे इतना ही कहना है कि इस बात की जांच होनी चाहिये और ऐसा उपाय किया जाना चाहिये जिस से भविष्य में चुनावों में ऐसे अनर्थ न होवें और कांग्रेस में जो ऐसे लोग घुस आये हैं जो उसे बदनाम करते हैं और ऐसा अनर्थ करते हैं, उन को कांग्रेस से निकाल देना चाहिये और माकूल सजा देनी चाहिये ताकि देश भर में एक पवित्र वायुमण्डल का प्रसार हो और देश में सुख और शान्ति का संचार हो।

(English translation of the above speech)

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Sir, the President has addressed the House many a time, but this is the first opportunity I have got to express myself on it. I thank you for allowing me to do so.

Sir, I am not satisfied with the way the President comes to the House and delivers his Address and with the debate which takes place on it. It reminds me of the days when I was a slave and the foreign rulers used to come to address the House with all the pomp and show at their command, in order to impress both the common people and the hon. Members of this House. I am reminded of all those things when I see the President coming to address the House. I can understand if the President addresses us and helps us in our work. But it is painful for me to note that our leaders take pride in aping the foreigners in all things. Everything that takes place in the world has a meaning. As I said, the foreign rulers used to come to the House with the flourish of trumpets with a view to create an impression. But does the President need his bodyguard when he comes to the House? The foreign rulers were afraid lest some person in the Parliament should kill or shoot them. Our President should not have any fear of coming to any harm or being insulted at somebody's hands.

In no cases does he need to bring his bodyguards into the House. I would even say that it is an insult to the Parliament that our President should come with his bodyguards to address us. If he comes here, is received either by the hon. the Speaker or the hon. Prime Minister, and gives us his valuable advice, it is a different matter. It will give us pleasure. Sir, I strongly oppose the way in which the President comes to the House and appeal to the country and my colleagues in the House to put a stop to this.

This gives rise to another point. We have attained freedom after a long time. We should not waste even a minute. We should work truthfully and keep an account of all that we spend, however small the amount may be. Now, let us see what the President has said in his address. In my opinion he should not have been asked to say what he did. The President is the most respected person in our country. Whatever advice he gives should be acceptable to all. How is it that all the bungling is done by the Government, but all that should be said and done by the Prime Minister, is said by the President. The Prime Minister should openly come out himself with all that he wants to say; a debate may take place thereon or not. It is bad to make the President say what the Government or the Prime Minister ought to, and this should not be done. Why should time and money be wasted on a debate on the Address of the President? It seems to me that this, besides being a case of aping others, is also devoid of all truth. The President has been living in the seclusion of the Rashtrapati Bhavan and he has been made to say how elections have taken place. The general elections have been a great event not only for our country but for the world as a whole. The Government asked the President to express his appreciation of the manner in which the election officials have worked and he has praised them. He does not have a firsthand knowledge of it but has been made to say so. This bears a close similarity to what used to happen in the olden days when the Collectors used to agree to what the police officers said, the Lieutenant Governors agreed to what the Collectors said and the Viceroy likewise agreed to what the Lieutenant Governors said. This will mean that if what a village Chowkidar says, is announced by the King or the Viceroy, it will be considered as Government policy. This practice should be given up. Our

voice jars on the ears of our friends who still love the Congress or call themselves congressmen. They feel annoyed when they hear that many irregularities have taken place during the elections. The wearer only knows where the shoe pinches. You being one of the ruling party get all the help and may not know. But Sir, I maintain that it is entirely wrong to say that elections have been fair. The first stage in the elections is that of putting up candidates. In a certain constituency a certain Brahmachari is a candidate against no less a person than the Prime Minister of our country himself. Just imagine the psychological effect on a voter who is approached for his vote by the Prime Minister or somebody on his behalf after an ordinary person has asked him for his vote. I would urge that our Constitution be so amended as to provide for relieving the Ministers of their charge three months before the election. There should be no Cabinet in that period. Only those people should be allowed to continue in the Government who do not intend either to stand for or participate in the elections. But those who have to stand for election, should not remain in Government. We have seen the bad results of lack of such arrangements. The country and those who have its good at their heart should think of ways and means to remove such irregularities. This is improper that a person should ask for votes when he is in the Government and calls himself a Minister.

The elections that have taken place cannot be said to be without any blemish. But we should see to it that in future all Ministers relinquish their posts three months before elections. Ministers, while they are there as Ministers, do many unseemly things. There has been bungling in the whole of the country. It has taken place in my constituency too and I wish to say a few words with regard to that. Sir, I belong to the Hazaribagh District. There too has been tussle in the elections in that District. The Minister there, who was to be a candidate—all of us know his name and I need not mention it—did all he could as a Minister. He posted officials of his choice in that district so that things could be done as he wished them to be done. Sir, as all know I do not believe in saying unreasonable things. I put before you what I know, see or hear, and believe me I do not tell a lie. Mahatma Gandhi used to say that if there was a great man in our country, no matter to what party he belonged,



[Babu Ramnarayan Singh]

he went to make our country, our nation, great in the same proportion. I fully realize the idea underlying this and do not say anything against anybody. Whosoever bungles, I feel ashamed of that bungling. I do not say that only others behave in this manner and whatever I do is right. But when some people do commit some irregularity or bungle I feel pained as well as ashamed. Sir, I will point out those things before you and before the country. As I have already pointed out, three months before the elections the Government offices began to take interest in the Minister concerned, who was seeking election on Congress ticket—I will name him, though it is not needed as you yourselves know and will know—and campaigned for him. It can be argued that propaganda was carried on in his favour on behalf of the Congress Party, but I want to point out that no distinction is made between the Government and the Congress Party, and when you talk about Government employees, the name of the Congress Party is bound to come up. People belonging to the Party in power should be ashamed of it. Sir, I have seen that all the Government officers—I cannot say every one of them but in general—they worked in favour of Congress candidates, especially the Revenue Minister. In what is known as Badgaon Centre, so much money has been spent that it cannot be accounted for. Though our election law and the rules lay down the limit of Rs. 8,000/- for election expenses, I will not be surprised if the amount spent on elections by the Revenue Minister is Rs. 8,00,000/-. I do not have exact figures but I have heard that even his party spent at least Rs. three lakhs in one single constituency. Where did that much money come from? The Revenue Minister is not a landlord or a moneyed man nor did he obtain any legacy in the form of money earned by his forefathers. Money, whether collected from the people or call it money obtained in the shape of illegal gratification, was spent indiscriminately in that election. The knowledge that there is not a sin which was not committed in that constituency, makes me feel ashamed. Money was spent recklessly in order to obtain votes. People were given the threat that if they did not vote for a certain minister they would not get food and clothing and they would be prosecuted and persecuted in every way. Let me tell you that the Revenue Minister himself had said in a speech somewhere, that he

would get votes like Hitler in a forcible manner and that people will have to vote for him. It is a matter of shame that hoodlums dressed as sadhus were used for election campaign in his favour. They went about preaching which ended in their advising the people to vote for the Revenue Minister; even prostitutes were sent to beg votes. Sir, I do not want to take any more time, all I want to say is that all this is not baseless; it has been published in the newspapers. Ballot papers were taken out of eight ballot boxes, the number of ballot papers taken out I know; all this was put on record. I want to say what misdeeds and sins were not committed in that constituency. Everything was done so that the Revenue Minister might win. But God did not will it so, and he lost, though he was elected from another constituency.

In the end I wish to submit that if what I have said may not prove correct, I am prepared to take the greatest punishment, even to face the firing squad. I do not want to spread baseless things against anybody or indulge in wrong propaganda. I appeal to Pandit Nehru and to the country as a whole that what I have said should be thoroughly enquired into. First of all, Intelligence Bureau men, the C.I.D. people, should be sent to enquire secretly into the authenticity or otherwise of these happenings. I again appeal to Pandit Nehru and the country that all I have said should be enquired into. Pandit Nehru used to say that Congress ticket would be given only to men of integrity; where is that principle? I want to know.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member's time is up.

**Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** Just half a minute more.

**Mr. Speaker:** The hon. Member got half a minute, three or four times.

**Babu Ramnarayan Singh:** All right. I conclude. I have only to say that these happenings should be enquired into and we should see to it that they are not repeated in the future elections. Those in the Congress, who give it a bad name and indulge in such irregularities, should be turned out and punished properly so that a clean atmosphere may pervade the country and it may enjoy peace and happiness.

**Dr. K. V. Thakkar (Saurashtra):** There are only two points on which I wish to speak. One is the Five Year Plan. I attach very great importance to that part of the Plan which deals with agriculture. I would go so far as to say that the present Government or any Government in this Republic of ours will stand or fall by the amount of success it achieves in raising sufficient food for our growing population, which has gone on increasing and in a few years' time will be nearly double. The few seats which the Communist party has been able to capture in the elections, I attribute to the failure of the "Grow-more-food" campaign.

The second point I would emphasise is the raising of the social and economic level of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. These two classes together form one-seventh of our total population. The condition of these submerged and suppressed classes must be improved by a much more liberal treatment than has so far been accorded to them. When I say much more liberal treatment, I mean raising their educational, social and economic status by planned measures which will yield quicker and richer results. I do know most of the provinces are doing their best in this matter. All the same, a good deal remains to be done and I think a good directive from the Centre seems to be a necessity in this matter.

In some Provinces, the Tribal population has been under-estimated. Unless the figures are corrected, their representation in the Provincial Legislatures and in the Houses of Parliament will be less than what they are normally entitled to.

**श्री ऐस० ऐम० दास :** मेरे माननीय मित्र श्री शिवाराव ने जो प्रस्ताव इस संसद् के सामने रखा है उस का समर्थन करते हुए मैं कुछ बातों की ओर सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। इस में कोई शक नहीं कि इस चुनाव में जिसे अब हम ने क़रीब क़रीब समाप्त कर लिया है उस में सरकारी कर्मचारियों ने जिस प्रकार से व्यवहार किया है और बैलट पेपर की जो पवित्रता उन्होंने रखने की कोशिश की है उस के लिए वे बधाई के पात्र हैं। साथ ही साथ हमारे देश की जनता ने जिस शांतिमय तरीके से हमारी आशंकाओं और भय के खिलाफ़ व्यव-

हार किया है उस के लिए वह भी बधाई की पात्र है और धन्यवाद की भी।

लेकिन सब से ज़रूरी चीज़ जिस की सरकार में सरकार का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि सरकार या राजनैतिक पार्टियों ने सिवा बोट मांगने के और सिवा जनता को सूचित करने के कि अमुक तारीख तक विधान सभा तथा संसद् के प्रतिनिधियों का चुनाव हो जाना चाहिये, मैं समझता हूँ कि लोकमत को शिक्षित करने का कोई भी काम नहीं किया। मैं ने अपने छोटे से क्षेत्र में देखा कि कोई भी गांव ऐसा नहीं था जहाँ यह पता चला हो कि क्या काम लोगों को करना है। मेरे पहले जितनी पार्टियां या पार्टियों के लोग बहां गये उन में से कोई भी ऐसे नहीं थे जिन्होंने यह समझाने की कोशिश की हो कि पहले पहल जो चुनाव हो रहे हैं उन में एक साथ दो मत एक आदमी को प्रदान करने होंगे, एक पार्लियामेंट के लिए है और दूसरा उन के राज्य की विधान सभा के लिए है। अगर इस बात की भी जांच की जाय तो जहां जहां गांव के लोगों ने बहुत बड़ी तादाद में बोट दिये हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि किसी भी जांच करने वाले को निराशा के अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं मिलेगा कि जनता अभी तक पूरी तौर से अनभिज्ञ है कि उस ने किस के चुनाव के लिए बोट दिया है। मेरे माननीय मित्र श्री कामत ने जिस बात की तरफ़ इशारा किया था, मैं समझता हूँ कि उन्होंने मज़ाक में कहा होगा कि बैलों को बोट दिया, लेकिन मैं भी कह सकता हूँ कि बहुत थोड़ी तादाद में जनता ने यह महसूस किया है कि हम ने देश का शासन चखाने के लिए जो एक नया संगठन तैयार किया है उस संगठन के दो महत्वपूर्ण संस्थाओं के लिए दो मत देने हैं। इस बखत जनता ने जो लाखों की तादाद में बोट दिया है उस में से पांच या

[श्री ऐस० ऐन० दास]

दस प्रति शत से ज्यादा लोगों को इस की कोई जानकारी नहीं है। जब रिप्रेजेंटेशन ऐक्ट (Representation Act) इस सभा के सामने विचारार्थ पेश था तब मैं ने इस बात की तरफ संस्कार का ध्यान खींचा था कि कोई ऐसा आयोजन होना चाहिये न सिर्फ इस चुनाव के पहिले बल्कि किसी जनरल चुनाव के पहिले जिस के जरिये जनता को थोड़े से शब्दों में अच्छी तरह से बता दिया जाय कि किस बात के चुनाव आगे आने वाले हैं और उस चुनाव में उन का क्या स्थान है। लेकिन उस समय जो हमारे कानून मन्त्री थे उन्होंने मेरे इस सुझाव को यह कह कर हटा दिया कि यह प्रस्ताव बहुत अच्छा है लेकिन यह सम्भव नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर हिन्दुस्तान के प्रजातन्त्र को सही तरह से चलाना है और हिन्दुस्तान का जो विधान हम ने बनाया है उस की रक्षा हमें करनी है और इस विधान के जरिये अगर जनता का सुधार करना है तो जल्द से जल्द दूसरे चुनाव के आने के पहले ही ऐसी मशीनरी सेट अप (set up) होनी चाहिये जिस के जरिये हिन्दुस्तान की करोड़ों जनता को जिस को हम ने मतदान का हक दिया है उस को अच्छी तरह से बतला दिया जाय कि हमारे नवीन शासन का क्या संगठन है और किन बातों के लिए उन्हें समय समय पर वोट देना पड़ता है। मुझे यह कहने में कोई संकोच नहीं है कि दो कमरे थे एक में विधान सभा के लिए और एक में पार्लियामेंट के लिए वोट दिये जाते थे। मेरा स्थाल है कि सैकड़ पीछे नब्बे आदमियों ने यह नहीं समझा कि किस बात के लिये वोट दिये जा रहे हैं। अगर चुनाव चिन्ह न होता तो देश में सैकड़ पीछे पांच लोग भी यह निर्णय न कर सकते कि वह किस बात के लिए वोट दे रहे हैं और किस को दे रहे हैं। हो सकता है कि किसी भी चुनाव में कोई वोट देने वाला संसद् में वोट

देना चाहता है, कांग्रेस की ओर विधान सभा में वोट देना चाहता है किसी दूसरी संस्था को, तो उस के अन्दर इस बात का निर्णय करने की ताकत नहीं थी। इस में उसे कठिनाई थी। इसी लिए मैं सरकार का ध्यान इस तरफ खींचना चाहता हूँ और राजनीतिक पार्टियों का भी ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ कि उन का काम सिर्फ यही नहीं होना चाहिये कि जो सरकार हो उस के खिलाफ जैसी तैसी बात कह कर वोट ले लें। जनता को यह भी बतलाने की कोशिश करें कि वोट क्या होते हैं और वह कैसे इस्तेमाल किये जाने चाहियें। इस सिलसिले में मैं कहूँगा कि माननीय राष्ट्रपति जी ने जो अभी भाषण दिया उस में कहीं इस बात का जिक्र नहीं है। जब तब कभी कभी इस बात का जिक्र होता है कि सामाजिक शिक्षा की एक योजना तैयार की जा रही है।

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

मुझे मालूम नहीं है कि जो सामाजिक शिक्षा की योजना राज्य सरकारों ने तैयार की थी और उस को मदद देने के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार ने जो वादा किया था वह सारी की सारी योजना किसी आफिस में पड़ी हुई हो तो उस से जनता का क्या लाभ। इसलिये मैं इस अवसर पर अपने विचार प्रकट करना चाहता हूँ कि जनता को अपने अधिकार और हकों से पूरी तरह से परिचित कराने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि जल्द से जल्द सामाजिक शिक्षा का आयोजन किया जाय और यह काम राजनीतिक पार्टियों पर न छोड़ा जाय कि वह जा कर जनता को उन के कर्तव्यों का ज्ञान कराये।

दूसरी बात मेरे माननीय साथी श्री शिव राव ने कही कि हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री की जो

वैदेशिक नीति है अच्छी तरह से बढ़ती गई है और इस में फल लगने लगे हैं। मैं भी इस के साथ अपनी सहमति प्रकट करता हूँ। लेकिन साथ ही साथ मैं यह कहे बिना नहीं रह सकता कि जहाँ हम ने पिछले तीन चार सालों में वैदेशिक नीति में सफलता प्राप्त की है, घर के मोर्चे पर हमारी नीति उतनी ही असफल रही है। इस चुनाव के सिलसिले में लोगों ने जा कर देखा होगा, और जैसा कि मैं समझता हूँ, जनता के नीचे के स्तर के जो लोग हैं उन के लिए मुख्य सवाल है रोटी और कपड़े का। लेकिन यहां भी मैं इस बात के कहे बिना नहीं रह सकता कि इस सरकार ने इतनी अवधि में इस अन्न और वस्त्र के सवाल को अच्छी तरह से हल करने में सफलता प्राप्त नहीं की है, जिस का परिणाम यह हुआ कि आज उस के खिलाफ हर तरफ एक प्रकार का असन्तोष दिखालाई पड़ता है और एक आध राज्य में अगर हमारे साम्यवादी नेताओं को सफलता मिली है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि उस का मुख्य कारण यह है कि हम ने नीचे के स्तर के लोगों की समस्याओं को जिन को हम समझते हैं कि पिसे हुए हैं, गिरे हुए हैं, शोषित हैं, उन की समस्याओं को हल नहीं कर सके हैं। उन के लिये अभी तक हम ने कोई काम नहीं किया। यह सही है कि देश के पड़े लिये लोग इस बात को महसूस कर सकते हैं कि सरकार के सामने बहुत सी कठिनाइयाँ थीं और बहुत बड़ी बड़ी बिकट समस्याओं का सामना उस को करना पड़ा, लेकिन फिर भी सरकार को चाहिये था कि जनता के नीचे के स्तर के जो लोग हैं उन के अन्न और वस्त्र का समुचित प्रबन्ध करती। इस समय हमारे व्यवसाय तथा उद्योग के मन्त्री मौजूद नहीं हैं, जैसा चार पांच महीने पहले उन्होंने इस प्रकार के वादे किये थे कि थोड़े समय में, दो तीन महीने के अन्दर वस्त्रादि का समुचित प्रबन्ध हो जायेगा। यहां मैं अपने को यह कहने से रोक नहीं

सकता कि बावजूद इस के कि देश में बहुत-सा कपड़ा तैयार हुआ है देश का गरीब व्यक्ति जितना वस्त्र खरीदता है उस से वह अपने बदन को पूरी तरह से ढक नहीं सकता। लेकिन जितना भी कपड़ा वह खरीद सकते हैं, जितने भी पैसे उन के पास इस के लिए हैं उस को व्यय करने के बाद भी जो कपड़ा वह खरीदना चाहते हैं वह मोटा कपड़ा उन के सामने नहीं जाता। मुझे यह कहने में शर्म होती है कि बिहार में चुनाव के सिलसिले में मुझे दौरा करने का जो समय मिला उस में मैं ने देखा कि गाँव के लोग जो बिल्कुल मजदूर हैं जिन के पास जमीन नहीं है उन को सिर्फ यह विक्रायत थी कि जो कपड़ा वह खरीदना चाहते हैं, धोती या साड़ी, उस के साथ उन को अनपापुलर क्लॉथ (unpopular cloth) भी दिया जाता है, और यदि वह उसे नहीं खरीद सकते हैं तो उन्हें बिना कपड़े के रहना पड़ता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह किसी भी सरकार के लिए लज्जा की बात है। जो सरकार आज है वह तो अपना कर्तव्य कर चुकी। लेकिन मुझे आशा है कि यहाँ दूसरी सरकार जल्द से जल्द आ कर अन्न और वस्त्र का इन्तजाम करेगी।

4 P.M.

बीसरी बात में यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब संसद् के सामने प्रेस बिल विचारार्थ पेश था उस समय हमारे माननीय गृह मन्त्री श्री राजगोपालाचार्य ने और हमारे माननीय प्रधान मन्त्री पण्डित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने एलान किया था कि 'सरकार इस बात पर विचार कर रही है और जल्द से जल्द प्रेस के सम्बन्ध में जांच करने के लिए एक कमीशन बिठाया जायगा। कई महीने गुजर गये पर अभी तक न मालूम हमारी सरकार ने इस काम पर क्यों ध्यान नहीं दिया। यह ध्यान

[ श्री ऐच० देन० दास ]

बढ़ेगा कि लोकतन्त्र चलाने के लिए एक बहुत शिक्षित लोकमत की जरूरत है और आज के अखबारों का हमारे लोकमत पर बहुत प्रभाव पड़ रहा है। लेकिन आज हमारे देश में अखबारों का इस तरह संचालन हो रहा है कि मुझे कहते हुए संकोच मालूम होता है कि आज जो अखबार चलाने वाले हैं उन के लिए प्रेस स्वतन्त्र हो सकता है लेकिन क्रम की स्वतन्त्रता नहीं है। प्रेस के मालिक को स्वतन्त्रता है कि वह जो चाहे लिखवा सकता है, परन्तु जो लोकमत को प्रभावित करने वाले हैं, जो हमारे अखबार नवीस हैं, उन की क्रम पर रोक लगी हुई है। हिन्दुस्तान जैसे देश में जहां १८ करोड़ जनता को हम ने मत का अधिकार दिया है और जहां ज्यादातर आदमी पढ़े लिखे नहीं हैं वहां पर अखबारों का संचालन ऐसा होना चाहिये कि जिस से प्रजातन्त्र के विचारों का फैलाव हो और जनता को सही कर्तव्य बतलाया जाय। लेकिन आज जो हमारे देश में प्रेस है उस की क्या हालत है? वह हमारे आदर्शों को नहीं मानता है। इस लिए जरूरी है कि प्रेस के सम्बन्ध में जल्द से जल्द कमीशन बिठाया जाय। जिब समय इस पर बहस हो रही थी उस समय कहा गया था कि इस पर सरकार क्रियाशील विचार कर रही है। मालूम नहीं कि वह क्रियाशील विचार पूर्ण हुआ या नहीं। मैं मालूम सरकार उस सम्बन्ध में क्या कर रही है। इसलिए मैं सरकार से अनुरोध करूंगा कि जल्द से जल्द प्रेस सम्बन्धी जांच करने के लिए कमीशन की नियुक्ति की जाय।

एक बात जिस की तरफ मैं अपने संशोधन के जरिये ध्यान नहीं खींचना चाहता था उस के सम्बन्ध में मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ, और वह भी जनता की शिक्षा के सम्बन्ध

में है। हम ने अपने विधान के दिशेनिर्देशक सिद्धिपत्र में (directive principles) में यह दिया है कि दस वर्ष के अन्दर देश आयोजन किया जायगा कि इस देश का कोई १४ वर्ष का बच्चा या बच्ची ऐसी नहीं रहेगी जो कि शिक्षा से वंचित हो। पर विधान को पास हुए दो वर्ष हो गये और अब हम तीसरे वर्ष में पदार्पण कर रहे हैं, पर हम को नहीं मालूम कि किसी भी राज्य सरकार ने इस तरफ कुछ कार्य किया हो। केन्द्र में भी एक शिक्षा विभाग है। उन्हें नहीं मालूम कि उस ने भी किसी राज्य की सरकार को निःशुल्क और अनिवार्य शिक्षा के लिए कोई प्रेरणा की है या नहीं या उस के लिए कोई स्कीम चालू की है। मैं समझता हूँ कि दस वर्ष ऐसे ही कहते कहते बीत जायेंगे और हम देखेंगे कि भारत की जो ८९ प्रति शत जनता निरक्षर भट्टाचार्य है वह वैसी ही निरक्षर भट्टाचार्य बनी रहेगी और हम यह कहेंगे कि जनता प्रजातन्त्र को चला सकती है। मुझे इस बात का अफसोस है कि आज हिन्दुस्तान में यूनिवर्सिटियों की तरफ तो लोग बहुत ध्यान देते हैं। पर यूनिवर्सिटियों में पढ़ने वाले किस श्रेणी के लोग होते हैं? यूनिवर्सिटियों में पढ़ने वाले ऊंची और मध्यम श्रेणी के लोग हैं जिन के पास पैसे हैं। हिन्दुस्तान की करोड़ों जनता ऐसी है कि जिस के पास पैसा नहीं है कि वह अपने बच्चों को यूनिवर्सिटी की शिक्षा दिलवा सके। लेकिन यहां यूनिवर्सिटियों को अच्छी तरह चलाने की और उन की तरक्की की योजनायें बन रही हैं। पहले देश में जो करोड़ों निरक्षर गरीब जनता है उस की शिक्षा का इन्तिजाम होना चाहिये उस के बाद ही यूनिवर्सिटी की शिक्षा का इन्तिजाम होना चाहिये। इस लिए मैं सरकार का ध्यान इस तरफ खींचना चाहता हूँ कि देश में निः-

शुष्क और अनिर्वाह शिक्षा का इन्तिजाम जल्द से जल्द होना चाहिये ।

वह कहने के बाद में एक बात वह कहना चाहूंगा, जैसा कि हमारे भाई वेंकटारवन ने कहा है, कि हमें जो इस चुनाव में विरोध का सामना करना पड़ा है वह सचमुच उन लोगों से करना पड़ा है जिन के पास जमीन नहीं है, जो मजदूरी करते हैं और जो खेत कर खेत के मजदूर हैं । उन लोगों के लिए हम ने सचमुच कुछ नहीं किया है । वह इस बीज को अच्छी तरह अभी नहीं सपन्न पाये हैं । अगर हम ने उन के लिए अन्न और वस्त्र का ही इन्तिजाम कर दिया होता तो आज यह परिस्थिति न होती । आज जो विरोध हम को मद्रास, त्रावणकोर में और दूसरी जगहों पर मिला है वह इसीलिए है कि जो खेत के मजदूर हैं उन की समस्याओं को हल करने के लिए हम ने कुछ नहीं किया है । आज जो हमारे हरिजन भाई हैं और जो इयूल्ड कास्ट (Scheduled Castes) के हैं और जिन का श्यादा तर हिस्सा खेतिहर मजदूर है, उन में जाने का मुझे मौका मिला है । मैं ने देखा है कि उन की एक ही शिकायत थी कि सरकार ने उन के लिए अन्न और वस्त्र का बेसा इन्तिजाम भी नहीं किया जैसा कि अंग्रेजों के समय में होता था और इस लिए जगह जगह यही आवाज बुनाई पड़ती थी कि इस से तो पहली सरकार ही अच्छी थी । यद्यपि वह ऐसा अज्ञान की बजह से कहते हैं परन्तु जिस को अन्न और वस्त्र की आवश्यकता है उस को हम कब तक बड़े बड़े सिद्धान्तों को कह कर भुलावे में डाल सकते हैं । इस लिए मैं अपनी सरकार से अनुरोध करूंगा कि वह इन समस्याओं पर विशेष रूप से ध्यान दे । अभी हिन्दुस्तान की जनता गलत रास्ते पर नहीं गई है, लेकिन अगर वह गलत रास्ते पर जायेगी

तो वह हमारी ही गलती से जायेगी । जैसा हम ने इन चार पांच वर्षों में किया है अगर हम ने उस से अच्छा काम न किया और अगर जनता गलत रास्ते पर चली गई तो इस में दोष जनता का नहीं होगा हमारा ही होगा ।

इन शब्दों के साथ जो प्रस्ताव हमारे माननीय सदस्य श्री शिवाराव जी ने उचस्मित किया है मैं उस का समर्थन करता हूँ ।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri S. N. Das (Bihar): While supporting the motion moved by my hon. friend Shri Shiva Rao, I want to bring certain matters to the notice of the Government. There is no doubt that the Government officials deserve to be congratulated upon their behaviour in the current general elections which are almost finished, and for the manner they have striven to preserve the sanctity of the ballot box. Our people in general too deserve our congratulations and thanks for setting at naught all our fears and apprehensions in a peaceful manner.

But the most important issue which I want the Government to note is that, apart from asking the electorate to vote in their favour or publicising the final dates upto which elections to the various State Legislatures and the Parliament must be completed, the Government or the political parties of this country have done nothing to educate public opinion. In my own small constituency I noted that nowhere in any village the people had an idea of what they were to do on an occasion like this. The persons connected with different political parties, who had visited those places prior to me, had without exception failed to explain to the local inhabitants how they were to exercise the double franchise in the first general elections being conducted in India, viz., how they were to cast one vote to elect their representative in the State Legislature concerned and another for electing the person to represent them in the Parliament. Should an investigation be undertaken in the areas where the village folk have exercised their franchise in large numbers, I think the investigator concerned would meet nothing but despair to find so vast number of our people still unable to understand whom they have

[Shri S. N. Das]

voted for. I thought Shri Kamath had made the remark in a lighter vein that 'they had voted for the oxen'. I too, however, can say that not many of our people had understood that their votes were intended for two important institutions entrusted with the governing of this country under the new Constitution. Not more than five or ten per cent. of our voters, who exercised their franchise in the recent elections, realized the implications of their vote. When the Representation Bill was under consideration in this House, I had pointed out that the Government should make some provisions whereby, not only in the case of the current elections but also for all general elections to come, the public should be well educated beforehand in as many words as to what were the issues involved in the coming elections and what part they were expected to play in them. The then Minister of Law though he thought this suggestion to be commendable did not accept it on the ground that it was not practicable. I hold that if democracy has to function smoothly in India and if the new Constitution framed by us has to be preserved and further if we are to ameliorate the conditions of our masses under the new Constitution, it is necessary to set up some machinery at the earliest possible date and before the next general elections whose task it should be to educate in clear terms many crores of our voters, whom we have given the franchise, in the matter of the new Governmental structure of this country and on the issues for which they will be called upon to vote at times. I can say so without fear of contradiction. While in one of the two rooms votes for the State Legislature were cast, in the other they exercised their franchise for the Parliament. I think that as many as 90 per cent. of the electorate had not understood the issues for which the votes were being cast. Had there been no election symbols, not even five per cent. of our people could have decided in whose favour and for what they should cast their votes. It was possible that certain persons while wishing to elect a Congressman to the Parliament might have desired to send the nominee of another party to the State Legislature. In that event he would have found himself handicapped to reach a decision. He would have experienced a difficulty in it. For that reason I want to impress upon the Government as also on the different political parties that they should not concern

trate merely on getting votes somehow or other by saying all sorts of things against the Government, or for that matter the party in power at the time. They should also explain the implications of vote to the public as also the right use of the same. I submit that the President's address contains no reference to this subject. Occasionally, however, a reference is found to a scheme of Social Education being under preparation.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

I cannot quite appreciate what good this scheme of social education, which was prepared by the State Governments and to which the Central Government had promised financial aid, can do to our people if it is allowed to be confined to some office in a neglected state. I, therefore, welcome this opportunity to express the view that in order to make our countrymen conscious of their rights, it is necessary that a scheme of social education be inaugurated without further loss of time. The task of making our people duty-conscious should not be left to the political parties alone.

Another issue touched by Shri Shiva Rao was that the foreign policy pursued by our Prime Minister has progressed well and that it has now begun to yield wholesome results. I want to express my agreement with that view. At the same time I cannot help feeling that, though we have achieved notable success in the field of foreign policy during the last three or four years, in the matter of internal policy ours has been a dismal failure. The people have realized during the current elections, and personally I too hold the same view, that the most important issue for the sections of our people belonging to the lower strata of society is that of food and clothing. Once again I have to say that the present Government have not succeeded in solving these two problems though they have been in office now for fairly long. The result is that everywhere we find people discontented. If the Communists, therefore, have been successful in a State or two, the main reason, I think, is the fact that we have failed to solve the problems facing the poorer classes of our people whom we, nevertheless, know to be down-trodden, oppressed and exploited. We have done nothing so far to ameliorate their condition. It is correct to

presume that the educated sections of our public can well understand the difficulties facing the Government all along. Still it did not lessen the duty of the Government anyway to make suitable arrangements for feeding and clothing those sections. I don't see the Minister of Commerce and Industry in the House. Four or five months back he gave assurances that adequate supply of food and cloth would be ensured very shortly—within two or three months. He is free to say here things like that. Yet I will submit that despite so much production of cloth in the country, the poorer classes of our people have not been able to buy cloth sufficient enough to cover their bodies. Despite their willingness to buy as much cloth as was commensurate with their means and to spend the total money they could spare for its purchase, they were unable to get the coarse cloth which they may have wished to purchase. I feel ashamed to state that during my election tour of Bihar I heard a general complaint from the landless labourers, whose only means of subsistence is the manual labour, that they were compelled to purchase the 'unpopular cloth' along with sarees or dhoties, failing to purchase it, they had to forego the entire cloth. I feel it is a matter of disgrace and humiliation for any Government. The present Government has already discharged its obligations. I hope the next Government will take speedy action to make necessary arrangements for the supply of food and cloth.

4 P.M.

The next issue I want to take up is that of the Press Bill. When that Bill was under discussion in this House, the then hon. Minister of Home Affairs, Shri Rajagopalachari and the hon. Prime Minister had announced that the Government were considering the measure and that shortly a commission charged with the enquiry into the working of the Press would be set up. Many months have since passed, but nobody knows why the Government have paid no attention to this matter. We have to accept that a well educated public opinion is vital to enable a democracy to function smoothly and, further—that the newspapers these days wield a tremendous influence on public opinion. Looking at the way the newspapers of this country are managed, I feel constrained to say that, whereas the proprietors or the financiers of Press enjoy unrestricted freedom, there is no freedom of the pen. A Press

proprietor is free to get things written to order, but that is not the case with those who write for these papers and who, in fact, are the real persons responsible for moulding public opinion in any particular way. There are restrictions on their pen. In a country like India, where 18 crores of people have been enfranchised and most of whom are illiterate, the newspapers should be so managed as to propagate democratic ideas and to impress on the people their duty in the right direction. What is, however, the state of working of our Press today? They are not yet reconciled to our ideal. It is, therefore, necessary to set up a commission to conduct enquiry into its working at the earliest. At the consideration stage of that Bill, it was said that the matter was under the active consideration of the Government. It is, however, not known whether that active consideration has now been completed or not. One does not know what the Government are doing in the matter. I, therefore, insist that they should set up a Commission at an early date to conduct an enquiry into the working of the Press.

Another matter to which I want to draw their attention in my amendment concerns again the issue of public instruction. In our Directive Principles we have laid down that things will be so arranged within the next ten years as to leave no boy or girl of fourteen in this country to go without education. Yet it is now two years since we passed our new Constitution, but no State government seems to have taken any steps in that direction. We have a Ministry of Education at the Centre too. But we do not know of any directive issued by that Ministry to any State urging on them the need for free education. No scheme is known to be in operation to that end. Ten years will pass in the twinkling of an eye. At the end of that period we shall find the 89 per cent. of our people illiterate as ever before and yet we will never feel tired of saying that only people can make democracy a success. I feel sorry when I find my countrymen giving so much attention to University education. But what class of people are receiving the University education? They generally belong to the high or middle classes who can afford the expenses of this education. Crores of our people, however, have no money to give their children University education. Still we are busy with schemes to promote the cause of University education and to run them



[Shri S. N. Das]

on more sound lines. I plead that priority should be given to arrangements for the education of crores of our poor countrymen. I, therefore, want to draw the attention of the Government to the desirability of making speedy arrangements for free and compulsory education.

Next, as Shri Venkataraman has said, I want to submit that the opposition that we have encountered in the recent elections has, really speaking, come from the landless agricultural labour. We must confess that we have done nothing for the amelioration of their conditions. They have not yet shown that consciousness of this lapse on our part. Had we only arranged the supply of food and cloth for them, the situation would not have been what it is today. The opposition that we faced in Madras, Travancore and other places, is due to the fact that we have done nothing towards solving the problems of our agricultural labour. A majority of our Harijans and Scheduled Castes people constitute the landless labour. I had the occasion to mix with them. I observed that they all complained of only one thing. Everywhere I heard them say that the present Government had not made arrangements to supply them food and cloth even in the manner the British Government had done. So everywhere a feeling was voiced in favour of the former Government. Maybe that they were saying so out of ignorance, but those, who are badly in need of food and cloth, can no longer be duped with sermons on lofty ideals. I, therefore, want my Government to concentrate particular attention on these problems. The people of India have not yet gone on a wrong path; yet should they do so, the responsibility for that will be ours. In case we do not give a better performance than what we have been doing hitherto during the last four or five years and if, as a result of that, our people go astray, the responsibility will not be theirs but definitely ours.

With this I support the motion moved by my hon. friend Shri Shiva Rao.

Shri Shiv Charan Lal (Uttar Pradesh): The wise man is he who takes lesson from the times. If he does not, then the times are sure to turn him out. The elections are over and we should see what we have to learn from these elections. The Government should see and act according to the lessons they learn from the elections. The elections,

to my mind, have cleared two points. One is that communalism has no place in the country. The elections have cleared all the communalists. The second is that the country is going left and there is no doubt about it. We never expected it but it is coming and the Government must be prepared to do something which will meet half way the progress of that movement. It is a question of changing the social order. If the Government persists in keeping to the old order, in a way siding with the capitalist, that will not do. The elections have taught that lesson for us. If we persist in keeping the old order, where one Government servant will get Rs. 50 and another Rs. 5,000, that will not do. How can you keep the man contented who gets Rs. 50/-? He cannot even feed his children who die of hunger and starvation, for want of housing and clothing. How can he educate them? Unless you satisfy that large class of people how can you expect that the public will support the Government? You must meet them at least half way. The old order must change.

Long ago, perhaps in 1931, in the Karachi Congress the Congress passed a resolution that the minimum salary should be Rs. 50 and the maximum Rs. 500. Certainly the value of the rupee has changed and it is only 25 per cent. of what it was. Then raise the salary to Rs. 200 from Rs. 50 and then you will be justified in raising the higher salaries also. The Congress resolution is there and the Government which has the mandate of the Congress should stand by it. Instead of meeting these demands, the Government is, to some extent, if you will excuse me in saying it, playing into the hands of the capitalists.

What has it done towards nationalisation of industries? Some people raise the objection that you cannot nationalise industries because you have not got capable men. That is no argument. It does not require very technical knowledge to manage banks and insurance companies. You have people who have the knowledge and why have you not nationalised them up to this time? If you had nationalised the banks and insurance companies certainly the Government would have got 100 crores which they could have spent in nation-building purposes. Instead of doing that you have played into the hands of capitalists. What is all this cloth

and sugar muddle but the mischief of the millowners? Whenever you try to cheapen a certain variety of cloth they reduce production of that variety and increase the production of the varieties of cloth which are not popular. Even high officials do not know their technique and are playing into their hands. Even now there is no dearth of cloth and if you have not *dhoties* and *sarees*, it is because they will not produce them in quantities, so that they will be able to obtain better price in the black market. If you want to eradicate these evils you should nationalise these industries. If the mills are run by the Government they can produce anything they like and there will be no intermediary interested in preventing its production. So the best thing is to nationalise the industries. The national demand is that the Government should move towards nationalisation of the industries. I do not mean that you should do it in a day or at once but do move in that direction so that people may have confidence that the Government is going in the right line.

As regards education, it is becoming dearer and dearer in every State. The school fees for children have been raised. Whence can those poor people pay those increased fees? Government should pay them. If you say where can Government get it from, I say they should get it, as I said earlier, by nationalising industries, banks and insurance companies. Whatever you do, do meet the requirements of the people. It is only when the Government meet the requirements of the people and move towards the left—that is the tendency of the country, it is no use shutting our eyes to it—that the Government can be popular and we can keep aside the Party of which we are most afraid.

**Dr. M. M. Das:** From the highly interesting subject of nationalisation upon which my hon. friend, Mr. Shiv Charan Lal has just now spoken, I beg to divert the attention of the House to the less interesting but more sustaining subject of food and agriculture. The President in his Address to the House very kindly announced the decision of the Government to appoint a Committee which will enquire into the working of the 'Grow-more-food' campaign. Within thirty-six hours of this announcement by the President the hon. Food Minister hurriedly issued a Press Note in which he announced the names of the personnel of the Committee and its terms of reference.

The execution of the 'Grow-more-food' programme of our Government has been the subject matter of great controversy and debate in this House. A large number of Members of this House have repeatedly pointed out that the results of the 'Grow-more-food' campaign have not been commensurate with the expenditure incurred. Many of us have repeatedly asked Government to appoint an enquiry committee to go into the working of the 'Grow-more-food' campaign. During the last Budget session, on the 4th April, 1951, the date appointed for private Members' resolutions, there came a resolution by a Private Member for discussion before the House. The resolution read thus:

"This House is of opinion that a Committee consisting of ten Members of Parliament be appointed to examine in detail the measures taken by different States for increased food production and the expenditure both of the Union Government's grants and loans to them for that purpose."

In the terms of reference of the Committee appointed a few days ago, the hon. Minister of Food has said that this newly-appointed Committee will examine the categories of 'Grow-more-food' campaigns for which funds have been sanctioned and the extent to which the utilisation of the funds has been in conformity with the intended purposes. There are a few other important matters which this Committee has to examine.

It will be seen that the aims and objects of the non-official resolution and the aims and objects of this Committee which has been recently appointed by Government are to a great extent identical. The debate upon that resolution did not conclude on the first day and the resolution again came up for discussion on the 23rd August in the subsequent autumn session of Parliament. At the end of the debate Mr. Thirumala Rao, our Deputy Food Minister rose to reply. He expressed his inability to accept the resolution on behalf of the Government. This is what he said, I am reading from his speech:

"I have followed the discussion during the last day and today also with the attention that it deserves, but I am not convinced that the Government should accept this resolution because the purposes for which the Committee is intended to be appointed will not be served by the mere appointment of the Committee."

[Dr. M. M. Das]

Then again he says in another part of his speech:

"I do not think a Committee of this House will be able to get any more information or new information on these topics than what is available with the State Governments and the Central Government. Even if this Committee"—which was proposed in the resolution—"which will be a roving commission, goes about touring from place to place they have to take the assistance of the State Governments and they would not be able to get any more points than what is already available with the Central and State Governments."

With these words the Deputy Minister of Food and Agriculture turned down the resolution of the private Member. This happened on 23rd August, 1951, just only five months back. With all humility, with all the respect that I can command, I beg to ask our hon. Minister of Food and Agriculture: What has happened during these last five months which has necessitated the Government appointing this Committee, the proposal for which was turned down by Government only five months back? I beg to ask most respectfully: What new situation has arisen, what new factors have come into existence which have compelled our Government to appoint this Committee a proposal for which they turned down just five months back? Has anything wrong or rotten come to light? Has any act of commission or omission by the Government relating to the 'Grow-more-food' campaign been unearthed? How is it that the proposal for the appointment of an enquiry committee which was turned down by Government only five months back has now been given effect to? Perhaps Government think it beneath their dignity to accept the suggestion from a non-official Member of the House. Perhaps Government think that all the wisdom and intellect of the world has collected in the heads of the Members on the Treasury Benches. I think our Government will do well to remember that those of us who take the trouble of studying things and making suggestions to Government do not do so for the mere fun of it but because we honestly feel and we honestly believe that our suggestions if accepted will do good to the country.

There is another important aspect of this question. As we all know, the Planning Commission has given the

topmost priority to the agricultural development of this country. The Commission has discussed all the different aspects of this question in great detail in their draft report. They have also chalked out in great detail a programme for the solution of our problems so far as food and agriculture are concerned. The President in his Address said that "the Planning Commission is now engaged in drawing up its final Report which it hopes to complete in about three months' time" whereas the Enquiry Committee which has been appointed a few days ago will submit its report, according to the Press Note, within a period of six months. In these circumstances, the Planning Commission will have no opportunity at all to consider the report of this Enquiry Committee and formulate its policy and programme in the light of that report so far as the "Grow-more-food" campaign is concerned.

There is another very important matter to which I would like to draw the attention of the Government as well as the Enquiry Committee. The procurement price of foodgrains has acted as a deterrent to the "Grow-more-food" campaign, at least in some parts of the country. In those parts where the lands are irrigated and are not subjected to the vagaries of nature and are assured of water supply, the conditions of the food growers may not be very bad, but in those other parts which are not irrigated and which are subjected to the vagaries of nature like floods and draughts, the procurement price is too low to leave a margin of profit to the food growers. I earnestly hope that the Enquiry Committee will examine this question and give its advice to the Government.

Dr. V. Subramaniam (Madras): I had no idea to speak, but after hearing so many speeches I would like to say just a few words regarding the general policy adopted by the Central Government. We have had to face many difficulties and most of them have been successfully overcome by us. But, while formulating policies we were not firm in certain matters. This uncertainty and the resultant fluid policies have led to black markets and inefficient working of the controls. When prices go up, we enforce the control and when prices go down we relax it. We do not study the overall position of the commodities and the stocks which are necessary for internal requirements. We should do this before we fix up the export quota. In

my opinion, on finding the practical difficulties we have come to some decisions rather too late in the day. Although our policies during the last two years have been comparatively good, still in the matter of food and clothing there was much room for improvement.

Take Madras. Technically, there was a six-ounce ration, and yet in the public market people were getting sixteen ounces for their private use. They bought it from the black market or white market, as you call it. The question before every one during the election was this: Why this six-ounce ration? People were shouting: Do not vote for the six-ounce ration Government! Uproot it! That was the slogan in our parts at least. So, when rice is available in bags and bags before the very eyes of the Government, why have these controls? Whatever economists may have to say about the success or failure of the controls, I say that the controls have failed in Madras at least and Government might well have removed them. We discussed this question academically and the experts' view was given as being in favour of the controls. But I regret that the layman's views were not taken into account. At least in the future, let us gradually remove these controls. That is the only way if we want to put an end to black market. I give this as my candid opinion. There is no use keeping the controls for name's sake. Either strictly enforce the controls or remove them once and for all. There should be some stability in this matter. After you remove the controls, the prices may go up, but within six or nine months the prices will definitely come down. There is no use experimenting with this question. We have done it for five years now. Let us take a lesson and take bold steps.

I join my hon. friend Mr. Venkataraman in saying that the elections throughout the country have been on the whole fair and well conducted. The masses were able to understand the implications of the elections and the meaning of their vote. Though there were some reverses in my district of Trichinopoly, I must say that the main cause for the defeats was the food problem. We put up nineteen candidates and only five of them came out successful. "Do not vote for the six-ounce ration Government" was the slogan that was adopted. Thus, we must tackle the food problem properly in the future. The black marketeers should be severely punished. There is no use giving them latitude or cover under the law.

I think we must thank the electors of Bharat for their able statesmanship and discipline during the elections. Though 90 per cent. of them were not educated, they conducted themselves well. In our parts, the officials were very impartial and they did their best in the arrangements for the elections which were most excellent. The Election Commissioner deserves all praise from this Parliament. We should take a lesson from the present elections and the top-ranking leaders must put an end to their quarrels and give themselves wholeheartedly to the service of the country.

Shri S. M. Ghose: I wholeheartedly support the motion moved by my hon. friend Mr. Shiva Rao. I also associate myself wholeheartedly with all that was said with reference to the way in which the elections were conducted and join with my friend in congratulating the election officers and the voters. I have myself also heard words of praise and congratulation all over the country for them. I know how well the election officers have worked amidst numerous difficulties and I myself have congratulated and thanked them for the manner in which they have conducted the elections. Many of our friends doubted whether adult franchise would work well, but I think all doubts have now been removed once and for all. The manner in which both men and women have exercised their votes and conducted themselves during the elections has proved this beyond measure.

I am sorry, however, that there is no expression of dissatisfaction in the President's Address at the continued detention of some of our Indian citizens in East Pakistan. I have in mind the case of Shri Hariganga Basack. In reply to a question of mine in this House the Prime Minister said a year ago that Government were trying to secure his release; but he is still rotting in the East Pakistan jails and nothing seems to have been done. If our citizens do not get this much of consideration and protection, if they cannot even move about freely in other lands without being harassed in this manner, then I am afraid our Government do not deserve the congratulations of this Parliament.

Shri Hariganga Basack is a resident of Tripura. He went to Dacca for some private business of his own about four years back. But there he was immediately arrested and detained. Not that he was tried for any offence, not that he was imprisoned after a proper trial. His deten-

[Shri S. M. Ghose]

tion is being continued year after year without any reasons whatsoever being given. The Pakistan Government were even assured that if he was released he would immediately come back to his own native place. Even then his case has not been considered. I do not know how long it will take to secure the release of this Indian citizen who is rotting in East Bengal jail.

Shrimati Jayashri (Bombay): I support the motion moved by Mr. Shiva Rao. I would like to congratulate the country for the great opportunity it had of exercising the right of democratic citizens. It was, I should say, a great experience. The country has shown that though the elections were on such a big scale, it could undertake this responsibility in a peaceful and fair manner. The elections have also demonstrated this fact that unless leaders of the people serve the masses, it is very difficult for them to come to this House or to the State Assemblies. The elections have, therefore, taught us a very good lesson, I should say.

This being the last session of this Parliament, some of us expected that some mention would have been made in the President's Address of the Hindu Code Bill. The passage of this Bill would have undone a great injustice under which the women of this country have been suffering. In fact some of the women in our constituencies were asking us what we would do about this Bill in the next Parliament. I, therefore, naturally expected that some mention would have been made of it in the Presidential Address.

The other important matter to which I would like to draw the attention of the country is to the problem of food and clothing. In regard to export of cloth, to which Mr. Radhelal Vyas referred, we should advise our people to exercise some measure of austerity, as is being practised by other nations. As we all know, England is suffering from scarcity of food. But still the people are prepared to make sacrifices. We should, therefore, put this example before the people of our country: if we want to keep up the foreign markets, we should be prepared to make some sacrifices.

In the matter of the food problem, women can play an important part in solving it. Some of them have some constructive suggestions for solving the problem. I, therefore, feel that

women should have found representation on this "Grow-more-food" Committee. After all this problem is in the hands of women and I would therefore take this opportunity of making this suggestion of having women on this Committee.

श्री द्विवेदी : मैं इस प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करने के लिये बड़ा हुआ हूँ जो अभी श्री शिवा राव जी ने आप के सम्मुख प्रस्तुत किया है। मैं ने कुछ आदरणीय सदस्यों का भाषण सुना और मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ कि कल तक जो एक दूसरा राग बलाप रहे थे, आज बिल्कुल उस के प्रतिकूल दिशा में अपना भाषण दे रहे हैं। मेरे मित्र आदरणीय रामनारायण जी ने प्रेजीडेंट महोदय के ऊपर भी आरोप लगाये और कहा कि हम विदेशों की नकल करते हैं। मैं उन से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अभी अभी संविधान का निर्माण आप के सहयोग से हुआ था और आप ने ही इम वर्तमान कानून को बनाने में सहायता की थी, उस समय आप ने जो बातें पेश की थीं और जो संशोधन पेश किये थे, उन्हीं के आधार पर तो हमारे देश का यह संविधान बनाया गया था और जब अब इस को देश पर लागू किया गया है तो आप कहते हैं कि हम विदेशों की नकल करते हैं। किसी भी देश में जहाँ स्वतन्त्रता हाल ही में आई हो और जैसा उस देश का विधान बना कर प्रस्तुत किया गया हो, हमें उस विधान के उसूलों और सिद्धान्तों के अनुकूल ही तो कार्य करना होगा। हमारे प्रेजीडेंट महोदय ने एक परम्परा को कायम किया और उस को कार्य-रूप में पालन कर के दिखाया। अगर आप उस में कोई नवीन बात पेश करना चाहते हो तो आप उसे पेश कीजिये। अभी नवीन पार्लियामेंट हमारे सामने कुछ दिन के बाद अस्तित्व में आने वाली है। यदि आप कोई तबदीली चाहते हैं, कोई परिवर्तन

चाहते हैं तो आप उस को पेश कीजिये । विधान को सुधारिये, नियमों को बनाइये उस के बाद कहिये कि प्रेजीडेंट महोदय किस तरह काम कर रहे हैं । अभी हम एक परम्परा को ले कर कार्य कर रहे हैं और चल रहे हैं, ऐसे समय पर केवल उस परम्परा का खंडन मात्र करना जब कि चुनाव अभी खत्म हो रहे हैं और कहीं जगह बाकी हैं, उचित और न्यायसंगत नहीं है । अभी हम को केवल आजादी प्राप्त किये चार वर्ष व्यतीत हुए हैं और इस बीच हमारी सरकार ने एक विधान बना कर खड़ा कर दिया और उस ने देश भर में एक ऐसा चुनाव कराया जो संसार भर में कभी हुआ ही नहीं । हमारे देश को तो इस बात का गर्व है कि हमारा नेतृत्व ऐसे नेताओं ने किया है जिन्होंने ने संसार भर में भारत का नाम ऊंचा किया । यहां पर ऐसे निष्पक्ष चुनाव हुए हैं जो विश्व विदित हैं । जो लोग कहते हैं कि चुनाव में गड़बड़ी की गई है या उस में किसी प्रकार की गलत कार्यवाहियां की गई हैं वह केवल इसलिये ऐसा कह रहे हैं क्योंकि वह हार गये और उन्होंने ने जनता का सामना करने में अपने को योग्य नहीं पाया । यही कारण है कि आज वह बजाय स्वयं अपने को कमजोर समझें, वह सरकार को गलत बताते हैं, या सरकारी कर्मचारियों पर टिप्पणियां कर रहे हैं । मैं उन से केवल यह कहूंगा कि आप जाइये और जनता के समक्ष अपनी यह बातें कहिये और उस के बाद यहां पर कुछ कहने का साहस कीजिये । भारत ही क्या हर देश में जो प्रधान मंत्री होता है वह अपने पद का इस्तीफा दे कर चुनाव नहीं लड़ता है । मैं पूछता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जो कांग्रेस पार्टी के अध्यक्ष हैं और जो हमारी ससंघ के नेता भी हैं, उन्होंने ने अगर चुनाव के सम्बन्ध में देश भर का दौरा किया तो क्या बेजा किया ।

जिस संस्था के वे अध्यक्ष हैं, उस के सम्बन्ध में अगर उन्होंने ने प्रचार किया तो क्या बेजा किया ? क्या विलायत में ऐसा नहीं होता है, अमरीका में नहीं होता है ? हर देश में ऐसा होता है और वही हमारे देश में भी हुआ है । आज संसद् में एक चित्र ने महात्मा जी का चित्र यहां दिखलाया जो कि कांग्रेस प्रचार के सिलसिले में एक पोस्टर पर बना हुआ था, मैं इस में कोई बेजा चीज नहीं समझता । अगर कांग्रेस पार्टी ने अपने प्रचार के हेतु महात्मा गांधी जी का नाम लिया तो इस में क्या आपत्ति की बात है ? आप भी महात्मा जी का चित्र छाप सकते थे । कांग्रेस को महात्मा जी पर उतना ही अधिकार है जितना कि किसी और देशवासी को हो सकता है । और कांग्रेस दल को तो उस से भी अधिक अधिकार महात्मा जी के ऊपर है, उन के आदर्शों पर चलने का हमें गर्व है, हम चाहते हैं कि उन के सिद्धान्तों पर हम देश को चलायें ।

श्री कामत : वह तो राष्ट्रपिता हैं, केवल कांग्रेस पिता नहीं हैं ।

श्री द्विवेदी : लेकिन उन्होंने ने कांग्रेस का नेतृत्व किया है, उस का मार्ग दर्शन किया है ।

श्री कामत : महात्मा गांधी ने कांग्रेस को छोड़ दिया था ।

श्री द्विवेदी : यदि आप कहते हैं कि उन्होंने ने कांग्रेस को छोड़ दिया था तो आप अपने को उन का अधिकारी समझ सकते हैं और अपने प्रचार में स्वयं गांधी जी का चित्र छाप सकते थे और कोई आप को रोकने वाला नहीं था । यह तो बलों का प्रचार है । अगर किसी दल विशेष ने गलती की हो तो उस दल के अध्यक्ष को आप उस के लिये लिखिये और उस को ससझाइये ।

[ श्री द्विवेदी ]

सरकार ने क्या गड़बड़ी की है ? हाँ अगर किन्हीं सरकारी कर्मचारियों ने कोई गड़बड़ी की हो तो यह तो व्यक्ति विशेष की बात हो सकती है, लेकिन समूचे कर्मचारी-मंडल ने जिस इंसॉफ के साथ और जिस योग्यता के साथ इस चुनाव का संचालन किया है वह अनुकरणीय है और सारे संसार के सामने एक उदाहरण है। इस लिये मैं तो कहूँगा कि हमारे देश में जो महान् चुनाव कर के दिखलाये गये हैं, वह एक बहुत बड़ी चीज़ है और यदि कोई सदस्य हार गये हैं तो उन को हिम्मत नहीं हारनी चाहिये। यह तो जनतन्त्र का पहला अबसर है। हो सकता है कि कहीं कहीं कुछ भूलें हो गई हों। इतना महान कदम जो हमारे देश ने उठाया है, वह कोई छोटा काम नहीं है, लेकिन हमें तो सराहना करनी चाहिये, अपने उस विशाल जन समुदाय की जहाँ इस अल्पकाल में उस ने संसार को दिखा दिया कि हमारे जो बालिया मतदाता हैं वह अपनी जिम्मेदारी को भली भाँति समझते हैं। आज इस देश की जनता जानती है कि वर्तमान परिस्थिति में स्वतंत्र उम्मीदवारों की कोई कीमत नहीं है। सरकारें किसी बल की ही बन सकती हैं। और आज हमारे देश में एक ही ऐसा दल है जो सरकार की जिम्मेदारी को संभाल सकता है। हमारी आज़ादी अभी छोटी है और बाल्य अवस्था में है और बालकपन की अवस्था में यदि हम उस को भला बुरा कहें तो यह एक बड़े दुःख की बात होगी। भला बुरा कह के हम देश के प्रति गद्दारी करते हैं या उस को धोखा बते हैं।

अब हमारी आज़ादी अभी छोटी ही है तो हमें सरकार बनाने की जिम्मेदारी ऐसे शर्कों में सुपूर्द करनी चाहिये जो उस

को योग्यतापूर्वक सम्भाल सके और देश को उन्नति के पथ पर ले जायें। हमारे नेताओं ने और सरकार ने जो विधान बनाया उस के अनुसार उन्हीं ने यह चुनाव करवाये हैं और यदि किसी व्यक्ति या सदस्य महोदय को कोई आपत्ति हो तो उस में संशोधन लावें और तबदीली करायें। और यदि किसी सरकारी अफसर को गलत कार्य करते हुए पकड़ा जायेगा तो उस को उचित दंड दिया जायेगा। लेकिन हम यहाँ संसद् में ऐसी छोटी छोटी बातों को ले कर इस प्रकार के भाषण करेंगे जिस से जनता में गलत असर पड़े तो यह कोई अच्छी चीज़ नहीं है। आप जिम्मेदार लोग हैं। और पूरी जिम्मेदारी के साथ अपने इस देश का विधान बनाने के कार्य में हाथ बंटाया है, यदि आप इस किस्म के प्रलाप करेंगे, एक निर्वाचन क्षेत्र की बात ले कर खड़े हो जायेंगे तो वह बात सारे भारतवर्ष के बारे में लागू नहीं हो सकती। भले ही किसी क्षेत्र विशेष में कोई गड़बड़ी हुई हो, और उस की पुष्टि हो जाने पर हमारी सरकार उचित कदम उठाने को तैयार है। संसद् में अभी एक सदस्य ने जिन का कि नाम श्री वैलायुधन है, यह कहा है कि कम्युनिस्ट इस देश में ठहरने के लिये आये हैं और जैसा कि श्री वैकटारमन ने कहा कि विलायत के लिये किसी ने कहा था कि कम्युनिज्म वहाँ सब से पहले आयेगा, लेकिन आज तक वहाँ पर नहीं आ सका, ठीक यही बात हमारे भारत-वर्ष के लिये भी है, क्योंकि जिन आदर्शों को ले कर हम चले हैं और जिस नीति का अनुसरण कर रहे हैं और अपने कार्य का संचालन किया है उस में उस के यहाँ पैर जमते दिखाई नहीं देते। आप ने देखा कि हमारे देश में लग-भग अस्सी लाख शरणार्थी पाकिस्तान से आये और इस ने

उन को बसाने का काम कितनी सफलता के साथ पूरा किया और कर रहे हैं। किस तरह हमारी सरकार और उस के नेताओं ने बात की बात में छः सौ रियासतों का धब्बा दूर किया और उन का विलीनीकरण कर दिया। इस देश में किसानों की बड़ी समस्या रही है। उन के गल्ले के जो दाम थे, वह बहुत ऊंचे उठे लेकिन उन से लगान जितना पहले लिया जाता था उतना ही अब भी लिया जाता है। जिन मजदूरों को पहले चार, चार आने और दो, दो आने मजदूरी मिलती थी, वह आज रुपया, दो रुपया और तीन, तीन रुपया तक कमाते हैं फिर उन की आर्थिक अवस्था आज पहले की अपेक्षा अधिक अच्छी है।

**5 P. M.**

पिछले चार सालों के अन्दर जो महान् परिवर्तन देखने में आये हैं वह सब इसी सरकार की बदौलत हुए हैं। आखिर और कहां से हुए आप देखिये कि जिस मुल्क में सुई जैसी छोटी चीज भी विदेश से बन कर आती हो वहां रेल के इंजिन बनते हैं, मोटरें बनती हैं, साइकिलें बनती हैं, यह सब कैसे हुआ? बड़ी बड़ी नदी योजनायें, और जो पंचवर्षीय योजना सरकार ने बनाई है, आखिर किस ने बनाई है आप उस पर क्यों पर्दा डालते हैं। आप को चाहिये कि जब आप खराब बातों की टीका टिप्पणियां करते हैं तो हमें अच्छी बातें भी बतानी चाहियें। अच्छी बातों की भी टीका करें, और बुरी बातों की भी। अगर हमने कोई गलती की है तो हमारी सरकार नहीं कहती है कि हम से गलतियां नहीं हुई हैं, हमें इन गलतियों को सुधारने की जरूरत है और भविष्य में ऐसा पथ निर्धारण करना आवश्यक है जिस से भारत का कल्याण हो और भारत का मुख इतना उज्ज्वल हो जितना संसार के किसी देश का न हो और जैसा

नेतृत्व हमारे देश ने अशोक सम्राट के समय में किया, जैसा गौतम बुद्ध के जमाने में किया, वैसा हमें कर के दिखलाना है। हमें इस देश में रामराज्य स्थापित करना है भले ही इस में कितनी कठिनाइयां आयें। जब मैं अपने चुनाव क्षेत्र में गया तो मैं ने देखा कि लोगों को यह शिकायत नहीं थी कि सरकार ने कोई गलती की है, उन की शिकायत थी कि उन को कपड़ा नहीं मिलता है, उन को शकर की कठिनाइयां हैं, उन को वितरण के बारे में कठिनाई थी। हमारा काम अगले पांच वर्षों में यह होगा कि हम ऐसा प्रबन्ध करें कि कपड़ा काफी मात्रा में जाता तक पहुंच सके और उन की कठिनाइयां दूर हो सकें। हमें पंच वर्षीय योजना के अन्तर्गत यह काम करना है कि हमारे जितने पोर्लिंग स्टेशन हैं वहां सड़कें हों, और शिक्षा का प्रचार हो ताकि आइन्दा पांच वर्षों में मतदाता मदतान के लिये और अधिक योग्यता से तैयार हों और वह अपने विचार के साथ और योग्यता के साथ मतदान कर सकें। और साथ ही जो लोग ऐसे हैं जिन को कम मत प्राप्त हुए हैं, जो लोग इस चुनाव में हार गये हैं उन को भी निराश नहीं होना चाहिये। अभी तो केवल हमारे जनतन्त्र का प्रादुर्भाव हुआ है। इसीलिये एक ही चुनाव में हिम्मत हार कर बैठ जायें और सरकार की टीका-टिप्पणी करने लगे यह जिम्मेदार आदमी को शोभा नहीं देता है। हमारी स्थिति चाहती है कि हम मतदाताओं को चुनाव के योग्य बनायें। हम बाहर से मेम्बरों को और सदस्यों को ऐसी बातें सिखलायें जिस में हमारा प्रजातन्त्र जो एक बालक के रूप में है, अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो सके और दूसरे देशों के सामने इस प्रकार का उदाहरण उपस्थित करे कि कोई उंगली न उठा सके। आप को मालूम है कि आज अन्धकार के



[श्री द्विवेदी]

बादल छाये हुए हैं, आज अंगरेज मिश्र से युद्ध के लिये तैयार खड़ा हुआ है, अभी युद्ध के बादल चीन में मंडरा रहे हैं, आज फिलिस्तीन में क्या हो रहा है ? आज पूंजीवादी अमरीका और कम्युनिस्ट रूस हमारे ऊपर आतंक के बादल फैला रहे हैं। तो क्या इस समय में हमें कमजोरी में पड़ना चाहिये। क्या हमें इस क्रिस्म की बातों में पड़ना चाहिये ? जिस से हमारा राष्ट्र कमजोर हो यह अच्छी बात नहीं है। आज इस बात का समय है कि हम अपने राष्ट्र को सबल बनायें, और जो भी सरकार हो जो भी दल इस योग्य हो, उस के हाथों को मजबूत करें। आप की छोटी सी कमजोरी से देश नाश को पहुंच सकता है। इसलिये छोटी सी कमजोरी में न पड़ कर हमारा मुख्य कर्तव्य होना चाहिये कि हम हर प्रकार से सरकार की सहायता करें। हमें आज पंडित नेहरू सा नेता मिला है, जिस ने महात्मा गांधी के पीछे इस राष्ट्रीय संस्था को कामयाबी के ऊंचे दर्जे पर पहुंचाया और शासन को सम्भाल कर संसार के सामने एक बढ़िया नमूना पेश किया। आप लोग मेरी बात सुन कर शायद हंसते होंगे, लेकिन सचार्ड छिप नहीं सकती बनावट के असूलों से खुशबू आ नहीं सकती कभी कागज के फूलों से यह सच्ची बात है और मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि पंडित जवाहर लाल ने आज हमारे देश को जो नेतृत्व प्रदान किया है उस का मुकाबला करने के लिये आप कोई दूसरा नेता तो पेश कीजिये जो हमारा नेतृत्व कर सके और कार्यभार सम्भाल सके। आखिर आप क्यों नहीं कोई ऐसा नेता पैदा करते हैं। जो देश भर में प्रचार कर के इतनी सीटों पर कब्जा कर सकता है, जिस के नाम पर ही आज लोग वोट देने को तैयार हों, आज सब को इस बात की खुशी है

कि हमारे देश में स्वतन्त्र चुनाव हुए, किसी क्रिस्म की गड़बड़ी नहीं हुई। आप अपने को समर्थ बनाइये कि आप को बहुमत प्राप्त हो सके तथा आप विजयी बन सकें। कई जगहों से स्वतन्त्र उम्मीदवार चुन कर आये हैं, अन्य दलों को भी कुछ विजय मिली है। मगर इस से क्या फायदा कि अभी चुनाव खत्म भी नहीं हुआ है और आप लांछन लगाने लगे। जो बात आप को एलेक्शन ट्रिब्यूनल (Election Tribunal) के सामने कहना चाहिये था उसे वहां न कह कर आज संसद् में बोल कर यह दिखलाना चाहते हैं कि एलेक्शन में गड़बड़ी हुई है। आप जनता तक नाम पहुंचाना चाहते हैं गलत या सही। परन्तु आप के प्रचार के लिये सही रास्ता होना चाहिये। आप के काम के लिये और शिकायतों के लिये और बहुत मार्ग हैं आप को उन को अपनाना चाहिये न कि संसद् में प्रेजीडेंट के भाषण पर बोल कर दोषारोपण करना। आज हमारे सामने गहन समस्यायें हैं, वस्त्र और खाद्य की समस्यायें हैं उन पर आप को बोलना चाहिये था। जो बातें इर्रिलेवन्ट (Irrelevant) हैं जो सामयिक नहीं हैं उन को कहने का यह समय नहीं है।

इन बातों के साथ मैं प्रस्ताव का समर्थन करता हूँ।

(English translation of the above speech)

Shri Dwivedi (Vindhya Pradesh): I have stood up to support the motion moved by Shri Shiva Rao. I am surprised to note from the speeches of some of the hon. Members that what they have said today is completely the reverse of what they have been saying till yesterday. My friend Shri Ramnarayan Lal has criticised even the President and has stated that we imitate the foreign countries. I would like to remind him that the present Constitution was framed with his co-operation and support. This

Constitution of ours was framed on the basis of the very suggestions and amendments moved by the hon. Members. But now, when it has been enforced in the country, he says that we imitate foreign countries. In a country, which has attained freedom recently and where a Constitution has been framed, we shall have to act according to the principles of that Constitution.

Our President set a tradition and acted up to it. If he (the hon. Member) has any new suggestions to make, let him offer them. The new Parliament will come into existence in a few days. If he wants any changes, let him offer suggestions to that effect, reform the Constitution and frame rules. After that is done, he should judge how the President is functioning. At this stage, we are following a tradition and now when elections are nearing completion, even to criticize this tradition is not just and proper. Only four years have passed since we won independence, but during this period, our Government have enforced the Constitution and held a general election which is unprecedented in the history of the world. The country is proud of the leaders whose leadership has enhanced the prestige of India in the eyes of the world. The impartiality with which elections have been carried out is well-known. The people, who allege that unfair means have been adopted in the elections or that malpractices have been indulged in, say so only because they have been defeated and have not been able to prove their worth before the people. That is the reason why instead of blaming themselves, they criticize the Government and Government officials. I would only ask them to go and face the public and then have the courage to say something here. The Prime Minister does not contest elections after resigning his post. It is so not only in India but in all other countries. I ask whether the President of the Congress Party, who is also the leader of this House, did an improper thing when he toured the whole of the country? Was he unjustified in doing propaganda in favour of the organization of which he is the President? Is that not done in England or in America? It is done in every country and the same has been done in our country also. Today in Parliament a friend produced a poster published in connection with Congress propaganda, which shows a picture of Mahatmaji. I do not see anything wrong in it. There is nothing objectionable in the Congress Party invoking the name of Mahatma Gandhi for the sake of its propaganda. He

could also exhibit a picture of Mahatmaji. The Congress has as much right over Mahatmaji as any other person in the country can have. Rather the Congress Party has a greater right over him. We are proud of following in his footsteps and we want the country to act according to the principles laid down by him.

**Shri Kamath:** He is not only the Father of the Congress, but the Father of the Nation also.

**Shri Dwivedi:** But he led and guided the Congress.

**Shri Kamath:** But Mahatma Gandhi had left the Congress.

**Shri Dwivedi:** If you say that he had left the Congress, you can claim to have a right on him, and for doing propaganda in your own favour, you could exhibit his picture and nobody could check you. This is just party propaganda. If a particular party has committed some irregularity, you can write to the President of that party for its correction. The Government is not guilty of any malpractices. Of course, some individual Government officials might have been guilty of this, but the way in which the Government servants as a whole have conducted the elections, the fairness and competence they have displayed in this connection, is an example worthy of emulation. I would therefore say that the great elections held in our country are a big achievement and if any members have suffered defeat, they should not lose heart. This is the first stage of democracy and it is possible some mistakes might have been made, but the country has taken a big stride forward. Our vast masses deserve praise, for in a very short time the adult voters among them have shown that they are aware of their responsibility. Today the people of the country know that in the present circumstances, independents have no value. Governments can only be formed by a party and today there is only one party in the country which can shoulder the responsibility of Government.

Our freedom is still new and young and to criticize it while it is young is not proper. If we do so, we would be doing treachery to the country and deceiving it.

While our independence is still new, we should entrust the responsibility of forming the Government to such hands as are able to shoulder it competently and lead the country towards progress. The elections have been held according

[Shri Dwivedi]

to this Constitution framed by our leaders and Government. If any person or hon. Member has any complaint against it, he should try to get it amended, and if any Government official is found guilty of committing an irregularity, he should be suitably dealt with. But it does no credit to us to make speeches in Parliament about these minor things which are likely to affect the public mind prejudicially. You are responsible people and you have co-operated with full responsibility in the task of framing a Constitution for this country. Now if you make such complaints and bring up matters relating to a particular constituency, it would not apply to the whole of India. I concede that some malpractice might have been indulged in a particular constituency, but on a confirmation of the same being obtained, our Government is prepared to take proper steps. Shri Velayudhan has just said that Communists have come to stay in this country. Just as Shri Venkataraman quoted somebody as saying that Communism would be the first to come to England but it has not come there so far, the same applies to India exactly, because the ideals we aim at, the policy we follow and the work we have done, would not let Communism plant its feet here. You know that nearly 80 lakhs of refugees came here from Pakistan and you know how successfully we have tackled and are tackling the problem of their rehabilitation. You also know how our Government and its leaders blotted out the 600 States and merged them with India. The problem of the *Kisans* has been a big problem in this country. The price of grain has risen very high, but the revenue now being taken from them is the same as was taken before. The wages of labourers have increased from two or three annas to two to three rupees and their economic condition is far better than it was before.

After all, the vast changes brought about in the last four years have been due to this present Government and none else. The country which had to import even small things like needles now produces railway engines, motor cars and cycles. How has this been done? Who has planned the big river projects and the Five Year Plan? Why do you ignore them? While condemning the errors of omission and commission of the Government, we should also make a mention of the good things done. We should present both the credit side and the debit side. Our Government do not deny the mistakes they have committed. We

have to rectify these mistakes and to follow a path which may lead India towards prosperity and unequalled renown. We have to equal the leadership which existed in India in the times of Emperor Asoka and Gautam Buddha. We have to establish Ram Rajya in this country, however difficult it may be to do so. When I toured my constituency I found that the people did not complain about Government's mistakes, they complained about scarcity of cloth and sugar and about the distribution of them. During the next five years we shall have to arrange for adequate supply of cloth to the people and see that their grievances are redressed. Under the Five Year Plan, we have to build roads so that they may reach every polling station in the country and spread education so that the voters may be able to vote in the next elections with greater discrimination and competence. At the same time those people who have been defeated in the elections this time should not be discouraged. This is only the inauguration of democracy and we should not begin to criticize the Government by feeling disheartened at the results of just one election. This does not behove responsible people. Conditions demand that we should educate people in the use of the vote. We should so mould members and legislators from outside that our Republic, which is just a young child at present, is able to stand on its own feet and set an example before other countries which cannot be found fault with. Today you can see that clouds of gloom are hovering on the world horizon. Britain is ready to go to war with Egypt and war clouds are hovering over China. And, what is happening in Palestine? Capitalist America and Communist Russia are striking terror in our hearts. Shall we, at this time, show any sign of weakness? Shall we do anything which harms the nation? This is not the thing to do. Time demands that we should make the country powerful and strengthen the hands of the Government in power or the party which is fit for Government. Even a minor weakness can harm the entire nation. Our first duty should be to help the Government in every way. We have got a leader of the calibre of Pandit Nehru, who after Mahatma Gandhi led this National organisation to its crowning glory and set an example for the whole world by shouldering the responsibility of administration. Perhaps you will laugh at what I am saying, but truth must have its way in the end. I would say that there

is no leader who could hold his own against Pandit Jawaharlal, and lead us and shoulder the burden of responsibility. After all, why can't you produce such a leader, who like Pandit Nehru, could capture so many seats by his propaganda tours and at whose very name people could be ready to cast their votes? Today we are all proud of the fair and smooth elections held in our country. From many places independent candidates have been returned. Other parties have also won some seats. But even without waiting for the elections to finish, you have begun to level accusations. The things you ought to have stated before the Election Tribunal, you are saying in Parliament today in order to prove that there have been malpractices in the elections. Whether

right or wrong, you want to reach the public. But you should adopt the right method for your propaganda. Instead of levelling charges in the Debate over the President's Address, there are other ways open to you to ventilate your grievances. Complicated problems confront us today. You had better speak on the food problem and the cloth problem. This is not the time to speak on irrelevant or inappropriate things.

With these words I support the motion.

*The House then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 12th February, 1952.*