

Saturday  
26th March, 1949

# THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) DEBATES

(PART II—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

## Official Report

Volume III, 1949

(19th March, 1949 to 5th April, 1949)

Fourth Session  
OF THE  
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA  
(LEGISLATIVE)

1949



Chamber Fumigated. 18.11.1949. 1.7.3.....

## CONTENTS

*Volume III—19th March, 1949 to 5th April, 1949.*

SATURDAY, 19TH MARCH, 1949—	PAGE
General Budget—List of Demands . . . . .	1583—1638
Demand No. 9—Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department (Including Working Expenses) . . . . .	1583—99
Demand No. 24—Ministry of Communications . . . . .	1583—99
Proposed increase in Postal Rates. . . . .	1584—99
Demand No. 47—Meteorology . . . . .	1584—99
Demand No. 57—Overseas Communication Service . . . . .	1584—1600
Demand No. 59—Telephone Factory . . . . .	1584—1600
Demand No. 60—Aviation . . . . .	1584—1600
Demand No. 92—Capital Outlay on Indian Posts and Telegraphs (Not met from Revenue) . . . . .	1584—1600
Demand No. 93—Indian Posts and Telegraphs Stores Suspense (Not met from Revenue) . . . . .	1584—1600
Demand No. 95—Capital Outlay on Civil Aviation . . . . .	1584—1600
Demand No. 26—Ministry of Food . . . . .	1600—36
Stoppage of Food Grains Import from Foreign Countries . . . . .	1605—36
Food Shortage and Policy . . . . .	1606—36
Demand No. 7—Forest . . . . .	1601—36
Demand No. 17—Ministry of Agriculture . . . . .	1601—36
Co-ordination with Provinces and failure to meet shortage of food . . . . .	1606—36
Demand No. 41—Survey of India . . . . .	1601—36
Demand No. 42—Botanical Survey . . . . .	1601—36
Demand No. 43—Zoological Survey . . . . .	1601—36
Demand No. 53—Agriculture . . . . .	1601—36
Demand No. 54—Civil Veterinary Services . . . . .	1601—36
Demand No. 65—Indian Dairy Department . . . . .	1601—37
Demand No. 90—Capital Outlay on Forests . . . . .	1601—37
Demand No. 11—Constituent Assembly . . . . .	1637
Demand No. 12—Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) . . . . .	1637
Demand No. 14—Ministry of Information and Broadcasting . . . . .	1637
Demand No. 15—Ministry of Law . . . . .	1637
Demand No. 30—Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation . . . . .	1638
Demand No. 33—Administration of Justice . . . . .	1638
Demand No. 38—Ecclesiastical . . . . .	1638
Demand No. 48—Department of Scientific Research . . . . .	1638
Demand No. 61—Broadcasting . . . . .	1638
Demand No. 75—Expenditure on Refugees . . . . .	1638
Demand No. 96—Capital Outlay on Broadcasting . . . . .	1638
<b>MONDAY, 21ST MARCH, 1949—</b>	
Papers laid on the Table . . . . .	1639—41
Bombay Port Trust (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1641
Amor-Morwara Tenancy and Land Records Bill—Presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	1641
Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—(Amendment of sections 361, 375, etc.)—Presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	1641

	PAGES
<b>MONDAY, 31ST MARCH, 1949—contd.</b>	
Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Bill—Extension of time for presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	1641—42
Indian Finance Bill—Discussion on motion to refer to Select Committee—not concluded . . . . .	1642-1702
<b>TUESDAY, 22ND MARCH, 1949—</b>	
Papers laid on the Table . . . . .	1703
Banking Companies (Legal Practitioners' Clients' Accounts) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1703
Indian Finance Bill—Referred to Select Committee . . . . .	1703—50
<b>WEDNESDAY, 23RD MARCH, 1949—</b>	
Non-inclusion of Hindu Code in Order Paper . . . . .	1751
Papers laid on the Table . . . . .	1751—53
Motion <i>re</i> Elections to Standing Advisory Committees . . . . .	1753—67
Election to Standing Finance Committee . . . . .	1767
Election to Committee on Public Accounts . . . . .	1767—70
Elections to Standing Finance Committee for Railways and Central Advisory Council for Railways . . . . .	1770—71
Election to Central Committee of Tuberculosis Association of India . . . . .	1771
Railways (Transport of Goods) Amendment Bill—Passed . . . . .	1772—83
Industries (Development and Control) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1784
Resolution <i>re</i> Extension of period mentioned in Sections 2 and 3 of India (Central Government and Legislature) Act, 1946 as Adapted—Adopted . . . . .	1784—1805
<b>THURSDAY, 24TH MARCH, 1949—</b>	
Statement on Report of Cattle Protection and Preservation Committee . . . . .	1807—08
Protective Duties (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill—Discussion on motion to consider—not concluded . . . . .	1808—57
<b>FRIDAY, 25TH MARCH, 1949—</b>	
Elections to Standing Committees for Ministries of Commerce, Communications and Defence . . . . .	1859
Hindu Marriages Validity Bill—Presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	1859
Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Bills—Presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	1859—60
Indian Judicial Procedure Bill—Extension of time for presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	1860
Protective Duties (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	1860—72
Tea Committee for India Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	1872—1908
Indian Finance Bill—Presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	1875
Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Amendment Bill—Discussion on motion to consider—not concluded . . . . .	1908-09
<b>SATURDAY, 26TH MARCH, 1949—</b>	
Elections to Standing Committees for Ministries of External Affairs, Food and Health . . . . .	1911
<b>Motion <i>re</i>—</b>	
Relief and Rehabilitation Situation . . . . .	1911—61
Information and Broadcasting . . . . .	1961—96
Election to Standing Committee for Ministry of Agriculture . . . . .	1996
<b>MONDAY, 28TH MARCH, 1949—</b>	
Election to Standing Committee for Ministry of Agriculture . . . . .	1997
Election to Standing Committee for Ministry of Communications . . . . .	1997

<b>MONDAY, 28TH MARCH, 1949—contd.</b>	<b>PAGES</b>
Election to Standing Committees for Ministries of Information and Broadcasting and Labour . . . . .	1998
Delhi Hotels (Control of Accommodation) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	1998
Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	1998—2000
Governor-General's Salary (Exemption from Taxation) Bill—Passed . . . . .	2000—12
Criminal Law (Removal of Racial Discriminations) Bill—Passed . . . . .	2012—13
Motion re Report of Indian Railway Enquiry Committee—Talked out . . . . .	2013—38
Elections to Standing Committees for Ministries of Agriculture and Communications . . . . .	2038
<b>TUESDAY, 29TH MARCH, 1949—</b>	
Election to Standing Committees for Ministries of Education, Law, Relief and Rehabilitation and Transport (other than Roads) . . . . .	2039
Indian Finance Bill—Discussion on motion to consider as reported by Select Committee—not concluded . . . . .	2039—86
Statement re the proposed Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers in London . . . . .	2086—87
<b>WEDNESDAY, 30TH MARCH, 1949—</b>	
Elections to Standing Committees for Ministries of Home Affairs and Industry and Supply . . . . .	2089
Elections to Standing Committees for Ministries of States and Works, Mines and Power, Department of Scientific Research, Standing Finance Committee and Committee on Public Accounts . . . . .	2089—90
Fixation of Saturday, the 2nd April for Official Business . . . . .	2090
Indian Finance Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	2090—2102, 2103—33
Statement of Government Business . . . . .	2102—93
News re Safety of Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel after Air accident near Jaipur . . . . .	2133
<b>THURSDAY, 31ST MARCH, 1949—</b>	
Papers laid on the Table . . . . .	2135—38
Election to National Food and Agriculture Organisation Liaison Committee . . . . .	2138—39
Election to Standing Committee for Roads . . . . .	2140
Elections to Standing Finance Committee for Railways, Central Advisory Council for Railways and Central Committee of Tuberculosis Association of India . . . . .	2140
Displaced Persons (Legal Proceedings) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	2141
Estate Duty Bill—Presentation of Report of Select Committee . . . . .	2141
Demands for Supplementary Grants for 1948-49 . . . . .	2141—95
<b>FRIDAY, 1ST APRIL, 1949</b>	
Election to All India Council for Technical Education . . . . .	2197—2200
Election to Committee to review Conventions re separation of Railway from General Finance . . . . .	2200—11
Hindu Code—Motion to consider as reported by Select Committee—not concluded . . . . .	2211—43
<b>SATURDAY, 2ND APRIL, 1949—</b>	
Elections to National Food and Agriculture Organisation Liaison Committee and to Standing Committee for Roads . . . . .	2245
Taxation Laws Amendment Bill—Introduced . . . . .	2245
Indian Railways (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	2245—46
Influx from Pakistan (Control) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	2246
Hindu Code—Motions to consider as reported by Select Committee to re-circulate and to re-commit to Select Committee—not concluded . . . . .	2246—89.

**MONDAY, 4TH APRIL, 1949—****PAGES**

Elections to All India Council for Technical Education and to the Committee to review Working of Railway Convention . . . . .	2291
Disposal of the Business of the House . . . . .	2291—94
Indian Cattle Preservation Bill—Motion for continuation—Adopted . . . . .	2294
Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	2294—2334
Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	2334—36
Hindu Marriages Validity Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	2336—40

**TUESDAY, 5TH APRIL, 1949—**

Closing date of the Assembly Session . . . . .	2341
Papers laid on the Table . . . . .	2341
Election to Central Tea Board . . . . .	2342
Election to Central Advisory Board of Archaeology . . . . .	2342
West Godavari District (Assimilation of Laws on Federal Subjects) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	2343
Indian Succession (Amendment) Bill—Introduced . . . . .	2343
Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Amendment Bill—Passed as amended . . . . .	2343—76
Payment of Taxes (Transfer of Property) Bill—Motion to consider as reported by Select Committee—not concluded . . . . .	2377—84

# CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE) DEBATES

(PART II—PROCEEDINGS OTHER THAN QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

Saturday, 26th March, 1949.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(No Questions: Part I not published).

### ELECTIONS TO STANDING COMMITTEES FOR MINISTRIES OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, FOOD AND HEALTH.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have to inform the Assembly that upto the time fixed for receiving nominations for the Standing Committees for the Ministries of External Affairs, Food and Health, ten nominations in the case of each of these Committees were received. As the number of candidates is equal to the number of vacancies in each of these committees, I declare the following members to be duly elected:

*Standing Committee for the Ministry of External Affairs.*—Shri B. Shiva Rao, Shri U. Srinivasa Mallayya, Shri S. V. Krishnamurthy Rao, Prof. N. G. Ranga, Shrimati Renuka Ray, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, Shri M. Tirumala Rao, Seth Govind Das, Shri G. S. Guha, Begum Aizaz Rasul.

*Standing Committee for the Ministry of Food.*—Shri Kala Venkata Rao, Prof. N. G. Ranga, Master Nand Lal, Saiyid Jafar Imam, Shri Nandkishore Das, Shri K. Hanumanthaiya, Pandit Govind Malaviya, Shri Radhavallabh Vijaivergiya, Shri Ramprasad Potai, Dr. Mono Mohan Das.

*Standing Committee for the Ministry of Health.*—Dr. Mono Mohan Das, Shri Vinayak Rao B. Vaidya, Babu Ramnarayan Singh, Shrimati Kamala Chaudhri, Shri Sunder Lal, Dr. V. Subramaniam, Syed Abdur Rouf, Shrimati Dakshayani Velayudhan, Dr. P. K. Sen, Srijut Kuladhar Chaliha.

### MOTION RE RELIEF AND REHABILITATION SITUATION

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now proceed with the consideration of the motion which will be moved by the Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena. Before we take up this business we should be clear as to the allotment of time for this debate, because there is also the other motion by the Honourable Shri R. R. Diwakar.

**Shri B. L. Sondhi** (East Punjab General): It was agreed that the discussion on Relief and Rehabilitation should go on till 3-30.

**Mr. Speaker:** Then the last half an hour will be reserved for the honourable Minister to reply. Is he going to make a speech now?

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena** (Minister of State for Relief and Rehabilitation): Yes, Sir.

**Shri H. V. Kamath** (C.P. and Berar: General): Then is the time only one hour for Information and Broadcasting?

**Mr. Speaker:** I referred to the time that the Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation would require for replying on this particular motion. That means this motion would be discussed by the House up to 3 o'clock and at 3, I will call upon him to reply.

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava** (East Punjab: General): But it was decided that the time for this motion should be till 3-30.

**Mr. Speaker:** I think honourable Members have not heard me properly. I said this will go on till 3-30 but I will call upon the Minister to reply at 3. That means the discussion by honourable Members will be open up to 3. That is the position.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** Sir, I move:

"That the Relief and Rehabilitation situation in India be taken into consideration."

Sir, I am grateful to you and the honourable the Leader of the House for having found a day for discussing one of the burning problems of the day. I wish, in view of the large number of speakers who are desirous of taking part in the discussion of this question, that the whole day could have been reserved as had been originally decided. But, as you have just now announced, as the debate is to go on till 3-30 P.M. I have decided to cut short my opening speech. In fact, it was suggested to me that I should do away entirely with the opening speech, but I felt it would not be fair to the House if I did not give an overall picture of the problem with its enormity and multi-faceted aspects, the efforts that have been made by the Government to tackle it, the measure of success that we have achieved and the difficulties with which we are confronted. I, therefore, issued a statement yesterday, copies of which were circulated to the Members and I hope they must have taken the trouble to go through it. Still, with your permission, Sir, I would like to read out a few extracts from the statement dealing with the basic questions.

"The first phase of evacuation and relief is now practically over and we are concentrating all our efforts on rehabilitation..... Since April last the Government of India have repeatedly impressed upon the Provincial and State Governments the imperative need of settling the inmates of the camps and reducing to the minimum the number of able-bodied persons on free doles. I must confess that our efforts have not met with any great success..... I am sure if the Provincial Governments had to bear even a part of the expenditure on relief, things would have been different. Vested interests have grown round relief camps and have been responsible, in no small measure, for prolonging them and retarding the pace of rehabilitation. To meet this situation, the Government have decided to convert these camps into work centres and wherever possible to place them in charge of non-official organisations. It has also been decided to employ social workers to look after the displaced persons both in and outside camps..... Every effort will be made to see that within the next six months all able-bodied inmates find gainful occupations and become self-supporting.

Another important question which engaged the attention of the Government was the care of unattached women and children, and a women's Section was set up in the Ministry to meet this special problem..... There are at present as many as 5,000 women and children in the 'Homes' opened for them in different Provinces and States in addition to those in camps. The policy of the Government is to make the unattached women self-supporting as soon as possible and not to keep them permanently in these homes....."

In this connection I would like to mention the names of Shrimati Rameshwari Nebru and Mrs. Matthai who have been in charge of the Women's Section and to whose untiring efforts and those of their colleagues the success of the Women's Section has been chiefly due.

I will come to the question of Rehabilitation now. As honourable Members are aware this is a unique problem with which the Government of India has been faced and notwithstanding the administrative difficulties and other economic factors the Government of India have taken the responsibility of rehabilitating all the displaced persons. It may not be possible to rehabilitate them in the avocations in which they were previously engaged but still it will be the responsibility of the Government of India to find suitable occupation and employment besides a residence for them. The problem is no doubt enormous; but taking into consideration the fact that the Congress is committed to find food, clothing and employment not only for these few millions but also for the entire 300 million population of this country the problem of rehabilitation becomes only a part of a bigger programme. It is in this light that I look at this problem. I have no doubt that the degree of success we achieve in completing this task will be the measure of our capacity to tackle the bigger problem.

I must admit that the pace of rehabilitation has not been as satisfactory as we had wished it to be. There are certain factors which have been responsible for it. I might just mention them briefly. A certain amount of delay in the planning and formulation of rehabilitation schemes is inevitable, but I am quite clear in my mind that there are certain other factors which have retarded the progress of rehabilitation. The foremost among them have been the provincial politics and local vested interests coupled with a general antipathy to the settlement of the large number of persons from outside the Province. The second factor responsible for the delay in rehabilitation was the unwillingness of displaced persons themselves to go to distant towns and provinces and to take to professions and employments other than those in which they were previously engaged. Thirdly, the leaders of the displaced persons have been themselves responsible to a certain extent in delaying the process of rehabilitation. They have been preaching that it was the moral and legal responsibility of Government to give compensation for the property left behind in Pakistan; and further that loans should be given to every one of them for starting shops and business, little realising that 'Production' must necessarily precede 'Distribution', and that the scope for 'business' was strictly limited. There is to my mind no surer and quicker way of rehabilitation than the one shown by the Father of the Nation—the way of self-help and mutual co-operation, the way of more productive callings and vocations and less of parasitical professions and speculative trades and business, the way of cottage and small scale industries and self-sufficient towns and villages; in short the way of simple living and high thinking. The experiment at Nilokheri has practically confirmed my views in this respect. About 2,000 displaced persons from Kurukshetra Camp under the dynamic leadership of Mr. S. K. Dey, our Honorary Technical Adviser, have converted 500 acres of jungle into a model, self-sufficient colony buzzing with life and activity, producing their own requirements and working on principles of co-operation. While in other relief camps Rs. 30/- per mensem are being spent on free docks and management, the workers of this colony are self-supporting and are earning on an average Rs. 50 to 60 a month. Mention may also be made of a new experiment in collective farming at Neevali farm at Alwar. Here facilities have been provided for mechanical cultivation by tractors and the new settlers have been able to stand on their feet in less than six months. And I may inform the House that among the new settlers we have got lawyers and men who were in service and professions.



[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena]

In this connection, I should mention the name of Mr. S. K. Deo who is the author and organiser of our experiment at Nilokheri. He deserves all praise because not only did he give up his job of an electrical engineer in order to serve the country after the independence—he felt that while others had made sacrifices to win independence he had done nothing, and so he decided to sacrifice the job in order to serve the country—so not only did he sacrifice his job but when the problem of providing employment to displaced persons was before the Ministry, he came forward and we utilised his services. He has made a successful job of it. If the experiment at Nilokheri succeeds, we can multiply it and have many Nilokheries all over India. But it requires more organisers and we have made arrangements for the training of other organisers who may start similar colonies in other parts of India.

I might also mention here the amount of work which non-official organisations have done in carrying on relief all over India. Besides the names of well-known organisations like the United Council for Relief and Welfare, the Central Relief Committee of the Congress and the Marwari Relief Society, there were scores of other organisations which have been helping us in carrying on this great work. The Government is grateful to them for extending the helping hand. I must also express my thanks to all the non-official Members of the House who have co-operated with the Ministry as Members of the Advisory Committee, and others who have served on other different Advisory Committees which were set up from time to time in connection with relief and rehabilitation. There might have been complaints here and there, but still I have no doubt that they have worked at great inconvenience to themselves and have rendered service to the displaced persons.

I might also bring to the notice of the House the great deal of interest which the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister have taken in the work of relief and rehabilitation and the constant anxiety and care they have shown. I must state that to a great extent the progress of rehabilitation has been expedited because of their personal interest.

Coming to the debate today, I would like to say a few words on it. I am one of those who believe that informed criticism of the State and its multifarious activities by citizens and their representatives is the very essence of Democracy and there is nothing for a popular Government to fear from such criticism. But there are occasions when in the House or outside, if statements are made by responsible Members which are not fully justified or which are baseless, without serving any useful purpose or helping the common cause they provide a handle to our opponents to denounce us. I can cite only one instance just now. Honourable Members will remember that Acharya Kripalani made a statement in the House. I have got great respect for Acharya Kripalani. He said that not even five per cent of the displaced persons have been rehabilitated. He did not take care to get information from the Ministry or even to write to me. Honourable Members will remember that immediately after taking up the office, I had addressed a circular letter to them requesting them to ask me for all the information they wanted, and also soliciting their suggestions in regard to the working of the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry. I am sorry to say that as regards a question of my friend Babu Ramnarayan Singh I did not get even an acknowledgment and he even thought that by this method I was trying to take away the right of interpellations in the House, although it was not so. Sir, I was saying that my friend Acharya Kripalani could very well have referred the point to me and ascertained the exact position. But without doing so he made a statement here. I have got facts and figures to show that that is entirely incorrect and

wholly unjustified. We have figures which show the large number of displaced persons who have been rehabilitated either by their own efforts or by the Government's effort. Still his statement, was utilised by the propagandists of the Azad Kashmir Government. It was represented that while in Pakistan all the refugees had been rehabilitated, in India, not even five per cent. could be rehabilitated. I will read a broadcast address made by them:

"Recently Mr. Kripalani, Ex-President of the Congress while criticising the Indian Government Budget in the Indian Parliament revealed that the Indian Government could not so far rehabilitate even five per cent. of the refugees. He blamed the Government for its failure to solve the refugee problem and check black-marketing and profiteering in the country. But the drum beaters of India . . ."

Thereby meaning the National Conference of Kashmir,

"..... conduct false propaganda and say that India's finances and economic conditions are very good, very sound. When we take into consideration the statement of Mr. Kripalani, this propaganda carries no meaning."

Further on referring to Pakistan Government, it goes on to say:

"In spite of all these difficulties, the Pakistan Government resettled and rehabilitated all the refugees in Pakistan where they are living quite happily. Besides this, Pakistan has provided shelter to five lakhs of Kashmir Muslim refugees whom the oppression of the Indian forces, and the Abdulla Government forced to run away from Kashmir."

I was saying that any statement like that in the House which is baseless or unjustified, without serving any useful purpose, does a lot of harm.

Similarly, there was one statement made by my honourable friend Mr. Shiva Rao when he said that at the instance of the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry goods worth fifty or more crores of Rupees were held up with the Disposals and the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry made purchases during this period for a total value of a few thousands of rupees. This is entirely wrong. If the honourable Member had cared to refer to me, I would have given him the correct information. It was a different position when we were in the opposition and we had no opportunity to get the correct information and we had to depend upon the information supplied by some disgruntled officer or by some subordinate in the Ministry. Now, when there is an offer by every Ministry to supply information,—no, not an offer: it is the right of every member to have information from every Ministry—I think it is not proper to make a statement which is not confirmed or verified by the Ministry concerned. In regard to this, I may state that the Emergency Committee of the Cabinet had ordered the freezing of the stores in the Disposals for the rehabilitation of refugees towards the end of 1947. Even in November and December, certain categories of goods were released. During the period October 1947 to December 1948, this Ministry and the East Punjab Government took over goods worth 27 lakhs and 74 lakhs respectively consisting mainly of textile goods. The Technical Adviser also took over a lot of materials for the training centres for the refugees. Some time in January, certain other categories of goods were released. In the month of March, under the instructions of the Honourable Mr. Neogy, the ban imposed on the heavy machines and other things was lifted and the Industry and Supply Ministry was duly informed. The policy is to give preference to refugee indentors at the time of the disposal of stores which they may require for rehabilitation purposes. When statements of this kind are made they create a very erroneous impression and do not do any good to any one. I hope that this debate will enable me to know as to how honourable members feel about the policy and working of the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry. I hope not a word will be said here which is likely to irritate or excite our displaced countrymen outside. The work of rehabilitation has reached a critical stage; for, although a large number of

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena]

persons have been rehabilitated by their own efforts or by the efforts of Government and have reconciled themselves to the changed conditions, it must be acknowledged that there are large numbers of persons who are down and out and who have not been able to reconcile themselves to the changed conditions. Their slender resources have been nearly exhausted and they require careful handling and their feelings require to be assuaged. I hope the honourable Members, whose one object and one concern is to help them and to expedite their rehabilitation, will bear in mind this point of view.

With your permission, Sir, I would like to make a few observations which are more or less of a personal nature. Whether you read a story or see a picture, a tragedy is always depressing. You can well imagine the state of feelings of one whose job for the last nine months has been to listen to harrowing tales and sorrowful stories of dozens of people every day. To see and hear the victims in flesh and blood, you can visualise the amount of conflict of head and heart to which he must have been subjected. While the heart is out for help to the victims, there are considerations of finance and other limiting factors. When, with your best efforts, you find that things do not move and the conditions inside and outside the camps do not improve, one feels not only guilty, but also like running away. There have been many occasions when I have been subjected to that kind of feeling. Honourable Members who have known me rather intimately must naturally be wondering what is it that has kept me on to this job. I must tell them straightaway that it is not the lure of power or the glamour of office. For, office carries with it such a tremendous responsibility and constant care and anxiety of almost an unending nature. Power is hedged on all sides by red tape and many other limitations. It is not merely a sense of public duty or even a burning desire in me to serve the millions of my countrymen in their distress and hour of need; it is the shining and inspiring example of my leaders, the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister of India who for two and a half years have been toiling day in and day out to make the newly won freedom safe for generations to come, who have been toiling for building up a new India at this advanced age, with no little risk to their life and health.

Sir, I feel it a privilege to be with them, to be associated with them, to work with them and to share the responsibility. Not only that, I consider it my sacred duty to assist them to the best of my ability in the great task on their hands, the task of preventing the Ship of the State from being overwhelmed by the waves of Communism, Communalism and Provincialism and the task of making the Government of India a powerful instrument for promoting peace, progress and prosperity throughout the whole country, the task of resuscitating to normal life and to pristine glory Mother India, which had to undergo a terrible operation with so much bleeding. (*An honourable Member: 'It is amputation'*). Whatever you may call it, it is a great task to resuscitate Mother India and after its amputation the task becomes still more difficult. Sir, they are engaged in the task of banishing Imperialism and exploitation from the Continent of Asia; they are engaged in the great task of making India a stabilizing factor in the world peace, and lastly, in the task of propagating the message to our masses, the message of *Satya* and *Ahimsa* (*viz.*, truth and non-violence) and promoting the welfare and happiness of mankind.

Sir, there are occasions when I have not seen eye to eye with them and there are questions on which I hold different views, but not to extend to them the fullest co-operation or to think of running away from their side at this most critical juncture I consider, it will be nothing short of betrayal; betrayal of not only old colleagues and friends, of tried generals and trusted leaders, but of

all that our companions and comrades have suffered and died for during the last thirty years, and in short the best interests of the country. Sir, it is with that background and in that spirit that I have approached my task and I have tried to put in the best in me, not to spare myself in carrying on the task that I have undertaken. The task is no doubt gigantic and it requires patience; but I hope, God willing our efforts will bear fruit.

I will be glad and gratified if it is granted to me by the will of God to witness an early fruition of our labours and speedy progress of the rehabilitation work; but still more will I feel happy and relieved if I can hand over charge to someone with greater drive and energy, with more imagination and sympathy and resourcefulness, and knack, to obtain speedier and better results, or if that is not possible, if we can devise any other means by which the speedier and quicker rehabilitation of our displaced countrymen can be ensured.

Sir, I would like to say one word, about which I know there is a lot of feeling in the country. This is about the evacuees' property. The Government of India is as much concerned as any other person in getting a fair value for the properties left by our brethren in Pakistan. We have made every possible effort to arrive at some settlement with the Pakistan Government, but I must admit that our efforts have so far failed. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Pakistan Prime Minister has repeatedly urged for the promotion of good relations between India and Pakistan and to him the Kashmir problem is the only stumbling-block; but I have said again and again and I have impressed upon him that so long as the question of evacuee property is not solved to the satisfaction of all concerned, there will be a great deal of heart-burning and bitterness amongst the people on both sides. Every effort has therefore to be made by the statesmen on either side to bring about a just and fair solution of the evacuee property.

Lastly, Sir, I would like to pay my tribute to the strength, courage and fortitude of the displaced persons themselves. Any other people who had to meet with such a calamity would have broken down and it is indeed a matter of great pride for us that they have withstood all this for such a long time and they have borne it with cheer; they have tried to face the situation valiantly and I hope that very soon they will be out of the wood, although the effort and sympathy with which they were received at first has diminished to a great extent and this has added to their suffering and misery. Just as in a railway compartment when a person is standing outside there is always resistance to take him in, but once the man comes in, there is always an effort to accommodate him. Similarly, however much we may dislike to have more men in our villages, in our towns and in our provinces and so long as they are not absorbed in the economy of the town or city, they will be a burden on us, but once they are absorbed, they will become an asset. I have no doubt that our displaced countrymen who have come out have got great ability and if we can help them properly in the economy they will be a source of great strength and they will be an asset instead of a liability. With these words, Sir, I move.

**Shri R. K. Sidhva** (C.P. and Berar: General): Sir, I do not want to minimise the efforts that this Government and the Provincial Governments have put in to give relief and rehabilitation to these unfortunate persons who have come out from Pakistan. I do feel that a great deal still requires to be done. The work of evacuees is more or less complete, but the question of rehabilitation is of such a gigantic nature that unless the Governments with all their seriousness and with all their sincerity that they have all along shown put in some concrete war-like measure, I doubt, Sir, that the question of rehabilitation could be solved even after three or five years. I lay great stress upon the question of provision of houses for this class of people. That is the first thing. I consider, to be taken up in the work of rehabilitation. To what a pitiable position these persons have been placed for want of accommodation, not in

[Shri R. K. Sidhva]

Delhi alone but in the whole country, it is only those who have suffered can realise the magnitude of this question. I know that our Government have done a great deal to relieve the sufferings of the displaced persons. They have spent crores of rupees for the purpose and I know that schemes have been prepared for building houses for them and creating new towns in the different provinces. But all that is not enough. The paper schemes have to take concrete shape and the programmes should have a datum-line for their completion. Within a fixed number of years the new townships should grow up and the displaced person should be housed. Crores of rupees have been sanctioned for building these townships. The responsibility for their supervision and all that has been entrusted to the provincial Governments concerned. The question whether the provinces will also contribute something for the purpose is a different question. What I feel is that unless there is a central agency to look after this work, it cannot be expedited.

Out of the eight lakhs of displaced persons settled in different parts of India in various camps, one hundred thousand persons are in one camp alone in Kalyan, Bombay. The Government of Bombay have resolved to build a town for them and have appointed Major Bhonsle of the I.N.A. as Director of Relief and Rehabilitation, for carrying out their scheme. Major Bhonsle has served in the army and he has, during the war, been responsible for erecting so many permanent structures in the shortest possible time. He has agreed to complete this work also energetically. Even he feels that it will not be possible to build a township on a five-year programme, unless it is treated as war-time measure. I see no reason why the assistance of the Defence Ministry should not be taken in this matter and the houses completed within three years and the work started immediately. As the Government are importing steel from foreign country and cement is available here, there will be no difficulty with regard to the supply of the required materials. The only things lacking, I see, are push drive and vigour.

The honourable Minister referred to the fact that our Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister have been taking interest in this matter. With due deference to the honourable Minister, I must say that is exactly my complaint that when a minister cannot work he summons the help of the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister who have undoubtedly the necessary push and the drive. Why should not our Minister also have that push and drive? Our Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister have tremendous work to do in their own Ministries? Why should their assistance be sought by other Ministers? My honourable friend has been given ample power. In the early days of his assuming charge as a Minister he really showed good work and I was very hopeful. In fact he himself took up the pick-axe and shovel to build houses and called upon the refugees to do likewise. I was glad to see that. But I do not know why after six months the whole enthusiasm vanished and he had to seek the help of the Prime Minister. I heard that in a place which the Prime Minister visited, he found the roof broken up and issued an order saying that that place should be re-built in three months. After three months he quietly visited the place again and found that nothing had been done. It seems he then summoned the Minister, the Secretaries and others and expressed his dissatisfaction with the way things were being done. That seems to be the position even today. What has our Minister been doing, I am asking him. After this incident I understand that a Conference was called and a High-level Committee was appointed to set matters right. The honourable Minister has made a reference to this now. I cannot understand why such things should happen. Why should there not be enough drive and push in him? Why should he not fix a date-line for the construction of houses? Why should under his Administration the affairs should be such that even the Prime Minister's orders are not carried out? With due deference to my friend I must say that he must

put in more vigour and energy in getting things done. He is doing a thankless job. I do not dispute it. Nobody would thank his Ministry unless the refugees get 100 per cent. satisfaction of their demands. I quite realise that. But at the same time I am asking what is being done to settle these people? If a man is told that he will be settled definitely at a particular place he will be happy. A displaced person now does not know whether and where he will be settled. He does not know where his future lies, in Bombay, in Lucknow, in Allahabad or in Andamans. He wants to be settled down somewhere and there is nobody to guide him properly. This is the position as regards Government relief and rehabilitation and housing measures are concerned.

Now I want to know from the honourable Minister what he has done to render help to those who want to stand on their own legs. The other day I put a question as to whether any co-operative societies have been formed and whether the displaced persons have made any application to the Government to give them plots of land and the answer given to me was 'None'. When I quoted my own visit to him in that connection, he said: 'he had not the honour or pleasure of meeting Mr. Sidhva on this question'. That was the answer he gave me. Reading that answer in the papers a gentleman, who has formed such a society a year ago, wrote to me saying that he had written half a dozen letters to the Minister in regard to this matter asking whether he is prepared to give the required land and that no reply had been received by him. He has given me a copy of the representation which was dated as far back as March last (An honourable Member's 'Only twelve months!') and he has had no reply. Then I wrote to my honourable friend stating that in reply to my question he answered differently and I quoted him the instance. After some time, I received a reply that he would be pleased to see that gentleman. I asked the gentleman to go and see the Minister. He saw him only ten days ago and Sir, the honourable Minister told him, "Why have you come? I have not got the papers. I have not called you." Then that gentleman showed him my letter and the Minister's reply to that. Then the Minister talked to him and the gentleman placed his proposals before him. This society consists of nearly 28 Superintending Engineers and Executive Engineers and Chief Engineers of the Punjab who have been responsible for building a number of houses in the Punjab; they have retired and have come away. They say, "We are prepared to give you all the help. We will build the houses for 7,000 or 10,000 families there. You kindly give us plot and you only give us loan. We shall put our heart and soul and our energy into it. We shall concentrate ourselves on it. We do not want anything else from the Government." If people are prepared to work such a scheme on their accord, why cannot Government decide on a policy of giving lands?

My point is this: fortunately in Delhi there is ample space available for expansion. One who has planned New Delhi has foreseen things and made provision for expansion for fifty years. During war many houses having been built yet there is so much vacant space available. This gentleman told the Minister that there are so many plots for agricultural purpose which he could requisition and which are not used for any particular agricultural purpose. The reply was not forthcoming. The honourable Minister suggested some other place but water is not available there. At the site where these people want to construct colony, water and everything within a space of a few yards is available. This is a problem which somebody has to solve. If I want to build a house and I say I will pay the money and I will do everything, I do not want anything, kindly give me a piece of land—in such a case, if you have real sincerity, why not give at least a few acres of land mark it out and give it to these people? I therefore expect that the Honourable Minister will kindly bear this in mind and see that this scheme of giving plots to the various societies or individuals is taken up without delay, so that the work could be started simultaneously with the Government scheme.

[Shri R. K. Sidhva]

Then, I come to the Inter-Dominion Conference that took place recently. In the latest Conference at Karachi it was announced and people were jubilant that the evacuee property question would be solved. I can tell you that some people did go to Karachi thinking that they would be able to sell the property. They went there, and I know of instances where they had the certificate of income-tax also, and yet they were not registered even to this day. On the Board of the Registrar's office at Karachi it is written, "No property of Hindus or Sikhs will be registered." I want to know what Government has done in this direction. So many properties are lying there. I have no property of my own in Karachi, but I may tell you I had a considerable share in building many co-operative societies in Karachi. I shudder to think really what has happened to these poor people. Several small people, clerks getting salaries from Rs. 50 and 120 and peons, started co-operative societies and I got for them self-contained houses built. Every month, from their meagre salaries they used to pay Rs. 6 or 7 towards the loan. Now, those poor people had to come away after partition. All these houses are lying there in Karachi. I want to know what the Government has done about them. In Lahore, I have seen the Model Town, with what amount of effort the people had built it. Men who had whatever little savings from their salaries, they put it into those houses and built hundreds such. I shudder to think of them, because I was a party in getting them plots from the municipalities. I got money for them from the banks and these people built houses. Now, nothing is being done in this direction. I am very sorry about that. These people who have come here and are living hand to mouth for their existence, they say, What are we to do? We have neither a profession nor a business nor a house to live in. Something should be done in this direction. Why not the Pakistan Government be compelled to pay? When the last delegation went from here, I requested Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, who was leading the Delegation, "Please, when this question of these buildings comes in I can help you. I have some knowledge about it." There are plots which were sold by the municipality and one of the terms was that plots not built within two years, they will revert to the municipality. I was Chairman of the Standing Committee and I got extension for three years. After three years expiry, under the law, if the buildings were not built, automatically it reverts to the Corporation. But somehow by the time division came, everything was upset and the Pakistan people are now taking undue advantage of it. I told Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, "Will you please tell your Secretaries that when this question is discussed, I should be called, so that I could be present and discuss this question with the Pakistan officers and impress upon them the necessity of releasing these plots". Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar was good enough to make a note that I should be called, but after the Conference was over, I found I was not called and I was told that the office people forgot.

In Karachi alone there are Rs. 200 crores worth of property which non-Muslims have left. At least the property which Pakistan Government have taken, why do not they pay the value for them? When a man volunteers to come and help you, why should you not take him and take other friends who may be pleased to place their case before them? If the honourable Minister feels that he is above everybody, that is a different matter, but then you cannot say that members of this House are not responsible persons. You cannot blow hot and cold at one and the same time. I, therefore, suggest to him that at the next Conference which I am told is going to take place in New Delhi he should take assistance of all those who wish to give. I am personally not at all anxious to go, but I want to place these facts and impress upon them. Let me have the satisfaction that I have placed the case of these poor people who have lost immensely. Let me have the satisfaction, the consolation that the

case has been properly placed. I do not say the Minister will not place it, but it makes a little difference when one who knows something places it. I submit from that point of view. I do not say that he is not presenting ably. They are able men. They are presenting the case very well. But I feel that I could do a little better knowing the facts as I do. I therefore submit that this housing problem which has been agitating the minds of the refugees here should be the main topic of this Government, and unless this question is settled, the refugees will not be happy. Whatever else you may do for them, they cannot be happy. You can just imagine the feelings of a man with a wife and children roaming about from place to place. I have seen so many camps in Bombay, the C.P. and the U.P. I know the conditions under which these refugees live. But I am keeping my mouth shut. I have written letters to the Ministers concerned and their Secretaries and they have been kind enough to reply promptly. But that does not solve the problem. Therefore, when I cannot render any help to them, I keep quiet.

I am thankful to Government for giving us this day for ventilating our views. But it is only for half a day. Somehow Broadcasting has intervened. We would like this question to be discussed for two days. As such, I appeal to Prime Minister to give us another time.

Mr. Speaker, you are ringing the bell. I am sorry that I have repeatedly to go counter to your suggestion to sit down. But what am I to do when I have a number of points to touch on. I can not place my grievances in fifteen minutes.

**Mr. Speaker:** It is not a question of going counter at all. I am merely making a suggestion because others are anxious to speak. He can go on for any length of time.

**Shri R. K. Sidhva:** I know many others have good points to make and I shall not come in their way. I am sure that no other Government could have done better than our own Government. There are certain classes of people who are attacking this Government and the Provincial Governments for the sake of attacking. The honourable Minister has said in his speech that there are other reasons for their attack. Some persons, with their future political status in view are placing these refugees in a most confused condition. Several refugees—responsible people—have come to me and asked me to take over presidentship of this or that union. I have refused. I have told them that the circumstances under which they have selected their leaders precludes me from joining any of their organizations. But I will do my work in my humble way and that is what I am doing.

Therefore, while I appreciate that difficulty is there, I cannot get out of this fact that Government have been slow in providing houses for the refugees. I shall say something about the Custodian of Evacuee Property. So many people go to him for houses—doctors, lawyers, etc. with their families. There was one lady doctor from Lahore. I will mention her name. It is Dr. (Miss) Naoroji. She was a very well-known Parsi doctor in Lahore for a number of years and all the women used to go to her for aid. All her instruments were simply stolen and in this last trouble she lost instruments worth Rs. 10,000. She came to Delhi to practise. She wrote to the Custodian to give her a room so that she could do her bit of rendering aid to suffering humanity, especially for the people from Lahore. But there was no reply. She came to me about it. I went to the Custodian but he said that he had not received her application. She then quoted the registered number under which she had applied. He said he could not do anything. Up to date she has not got a house and I believe she has gone to Bombay. The policy has been that Doctors will get certain quota. This doctor has been in Delhi for 15 months but she has had



[Shri R. K. Sidhva]

nothing. Besides her, there are many other doctors, too, who have come to me for accommodation but with very poor result.

I submit, that there should be a definite policy with regard to this matter and it should be strictly followed. I maintain that if you are not going to follow a policy but just act haphazardly, then you will not be successful in solving this problem. It is a gigantic work. I do not deny it. But the point is that unless you put this relief work on a war-like measure this question cannot be solved. I would request the Minister to see that he is not guided by those who say that materials are not available. There may be insuperable difficulties in the way. Those difficulties are meant to be overcome. I must say that unless you are sincere, you cannot do this work. The honourable Minister says in his speech that "it is our intention to find a house for every displaced family and also the means and opportunities for keeping them gainfully employed." But how is he going to expedite this work of rehabilitation when he says: "I have been told repeatedly that rehabilitation is a slow process." Who has told him so? Probably it might be his officials! And then he refers to instances of the slow process of rehabilitation of European refugees in spite of the heavy expenditure sanctioned for them. With this before him, how can he expedite matters. But why must it be said that this rehabilitation should be a slow process? Have we not in London seen—I have stated this in questions and the honourable the Health Minister had to accept my contention at a later stage—that 1,60,000 houses, bombed and destroyed, were put up within a period of six months by the Government of Great Britain? They had the desire and the will to do so for their own people and they did it. In another six months another 2,15,000 houses were repaired and made fit for habitation by the same Government. So who has told you that this process of rehabilitation must be a slow one? Of course, if anybody does not want to do it, then it can take ten years. My point is that there is no push and drive in any one. If we can have this drive, I am confident that many of the difficulties now confronting us will be resolved.

In this connection I would like to remind the House that when the late Mr. Lloyd George was the Prime Minister during the first Great War, he had three guiding points in fighting the war. Those were: (a) We must decide our objective; (b) We must select the right type of men; and (c) Give the execution of the work to this right type of men. I am sure if we could have some such three points in our policy with regard to rehabilitation here.

**Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man** (East Punjab: Sikh): The list contains the names of thirteen speakers. May I know what is the time being allotted to each speaker so that we may know whether we will get a chance?

**Mr. Speaker:** I explained yesterday that sometimes I get the list and sometimes not. But I do not go by lists. I have had a lot of complaints from Members that, in ten minutes they are unable to make any point effectively. I have also expressed my own view that I prefer fewer speeches with points. I do not know how the House has been impressed by the present speaker, but I think he is making some points. So starting with the idea of having a fifteen minutes' time limit, I gave the first warning ring for the fifteen minutes' limit. The second ring was after twenty minutes, and then when the speaker felt that he was not getting sufficient time and he felt that perhaps he was going counter to my suggestions, I wanted to disillusion his mind of this feeling and I preferred that he should restrain himself from speaking further rather than that this restraint should come from the Chair. As it is he has now taken thirty minutes.

**Shri B. K. Sidhva:** I am thankful to you for whatever latitude you have given me. I close my speech.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra** (West Bengal; General): Just a few minutes before I came to this House, I received the statement issued by the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation. I have carefully read and scrutinised this document and I have also very carefully listened to the thirty-eight-minute speech delivered by my honourable friend, Mr. Mohan Lal Saksena. — If I tell him at the very outset something which may not be palatable to him, let him not think that I have got any feeling of bias against him, or that I am actuated by anything, in what I am going to say, but the best of motives and the sincerest of intentions, which I think should be the guiding principle in all speeches in connection with this motion. Mr. Saksena knows very well that we are old colleagues here and in the past we have both shared together all the frustration which we used to have during the days of the British regime. If today he is in the fortunate position of doing something to his country it is the duty of every one of his old colleagues to give him the best advice, help, guidance and assistance. Therefore I would beseech him not to take some of my remarks amiss.

The question of rehabilitation of the refugees has assumed such proportions of national importance that it is no mere idle rhetorical flourish to say that it is the one national problem at the moment. As to how this problem has been tackled during the course of the last 18 months this document gives in some measure the reply. Frankly speaking, the document is a disappointing one—disappointing because it has very little to point out by way of achievement, disappointing because it is not clear and categorical with regard to the policy and attitude which this Government is going to take concerning this vital and burning problem; it is disappointing, because it is interspersed with all manner of pious platitudes, which I do not very much like. But the speech also did not throw any further light on what is contained in this document. Let us try to see what this document contains and what the problem is like.

To begin with let us see what is the size or number of the refugees. Let me tell the House that the Government of India has not got any accurate figures whatsoever. If any painstaking member of this House would care to examine the replies to the various questions and supplementaries that have been put from time to time he will find a bewildering number of statements. Let us assume for the time being that the present strength of the refugees from West Pakistan comes to about 50 lakhs and that from Eastern Pakistan about 16 lakhs. Of course it is a great deal more, but I am not going to quarrel over that. I am going to deal with the figures as have been given by the honourable Minister himself. So the total is 66 lakhs of people. I find from the report that 14 lakhs of people have so far been rehabilitated. I will accept that statement at its face value, face value in the sense in which it has been given, namely, that they have been rehabilitated in evacuee property left in this country by the Muslims. In other words, though they have come to occupy evacuee property in this country they have mainly rehabilitated themselves on their own initiative, self-will and their own effort. Let not my honourable friend think that I am going to under-rate in the least the enormity or the magnitude of the problem which he has to tackle. I know another Minister before him, a very eminent parliamentarian and a seasoned veteran and he had to leave the Ministry. This does not mean that I am inviting my honourable friend to leave it. But let him not every time get up and throw the challenge that he is prepared to relieve himself of the burden. That does not help anybody. Why did he get into his predecessor's shoes at all? After eight or ten months of office he wants to sneak out of it. He must boldly face his task and the House will give him every possible help, assistance and advice. I perfectly agree with him that nothing should be done or said here which will exasperate the feelings of the refugees.

[Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra]

I appreciate the observations made by the honourable Minister that the problem of rehabilitation has been retarded due to a variety of causes but the most important cause, let me tell you, and the cause which he has slurred over in his speech, is that the Government of India did not know its own mind as to what to do with regard to this problem. There has been considerable delay in planning out what their administration is going to do. That is the main reason. Then other causes came in the train. The provincial governments did not co-operate—another dismal confession of failure. Today we have got provincial governments functioning, under one political system, under one political organisation, the Congress Party, from the Centre down to the Provinces, Municipalities, district boards and other local organisations. So whatever the honourable Minister has referred to has occurred under the Congress organisation. In the circumstances does it lie in the mouth of any one of us to say that the Central Government was their friend but the provincial governments did not come forward and co-operate. They are talking of all manner of excuses but those are poor explanations for not getting any thing done.

Sir, I shall be brief, because time is pressing and as one who is going to place the case of Eastern Pakistan in this House, I hope I will have your indulgence for a few minutes if I am making some general observations.

With regard to this problem no clear-cut policy has yet been evolved. Here is a pious platitude, their aim is to provide every man with a home and gainful occupation, just the kind of thing that is said in political speeches, every man should have a decent standard of living. But this kind of rhetoric does not help us. Cheap heroics should be done away with at the present moment. Let us see what are your resources. Let me tell you frankly and personally I do not feel that this Government is equal to the task of rehabilitating the number of refugees that we have and honestly I feel they cannot do it. The entire resources of the country will not be equal to the magnitude of the task but that does not mean that nothing should be done. Let me tell you that with the best of efforts and policy you can not rehabilitate more than 20 per cent. If you can rehabilitate even that 20 per cent. out of the total number of refugees that have come from both West and East Pakistan you can be proud of that achievement but you cannot do it, for the simple reason that you have no co-ordination, cohesion or anything of that kind. The Central Government makes one sort of declaration and the provincial government goes counter to it. On the question of the dispersal of the refugees in the different provinces the Central Government makes a decision that such and such provinces will receive such and such quotas of refugees from different parts of West Pakistan. Several lakhs of refugees were allotted to provinces like that. So far as Eastern Pakistan refugees are concerned Bihar, Assam, Orissa and the neighbouring states were set apart and they were not meant for the reception of refugees from West Pakistan. Lo! and behold, what happens there. The provincial governments refused to accept any refugees from Eastern Pakistan and the pity of it is that the Central Government cannot force the provincial governments to accept some of these displaced people from Eastern Pakistan. What a fine country and what fine arrangements we have got I do not understand. These unfortunate refugees from Eastern Pakistan are trekking in and apart from not doing anything tangible for them they are getting all manner of confusing statements. I will not quarrel over the figure but I think somehow or other they have come to some definite figure, 20 lakhs or so. I am not going to quarrel about that; let them stick to that. Now, these Provincial Governments, the Governments of Assam and Bihar, have declined to take anybody from Bengal.

**Babu Ramnarayan Singh** (Bihar: General): Did Bihar refuse?

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra**: Yes. They flatly refused.

There was a Conference convened by my honourable friend, Mr. Mehr Chand Khanna, Rehabilitation Adviser to the Government of India, at Calcutta. At his request I accompanied him to Calcutta at the end of February last. In my own humble way I have been doing something to alleviate the lot of these unfortunate people.

**Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri** (Assam: General): May I ask when did the Government of Assam refuse to take Bengal refugees?

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra**: I hope the answer to it will be given by the Minister concerned or by others in authority. All I know is that in the Calcutta Conference which I had the honour and privilege to attend, held in February last, the Assam Government said that they did not want anybody from Bengal. The Government of Bihar was also represented and their attitude too, was most unsympathetic. I am not going to quarrel about it. After all it is your concern; you may receive them or you may not receive them. My honourable friend, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava, asked me about that Corporation—he perhaps means the Rehabilitation Finance Administration of which my honourable friend, Dr. John Matthai, is the creator. It is meant to give loans to displaced persons settled in business. We do want to help them. But here again, to a certain extent, we are dependent on the Provincial Governments, in matters of enquiry, collection, etc. We have tried all these months in vain to get any response from the Assam Government.

Sir, this is the kind of co-operation we are getting. We for our part feel that we are having a shabby deal. The refugees from Eastern Pakistan feel that they have no place in the whole of India today. They are like the wandering Jews. If they are to get any shelter outside West Bengal, they have to go to the Andamans, the erstwhile penal settlement, and not an inch can be found for them anywhere in India. My honourable friend the Minister of State for Relief and Rehabilitation should see to it that this state of affairs is remedied. He must make an honest effort in that direction. Every Provincial Government is a unit for administrative convenience. Provinces are not the patrimony or the private property of anybody. It is the property of every single Indian and he should be entitled to every inch of space in any part of India.

It is rather unfortunate that in the matter of refugee rehabilitation party politics has come to play. It is most detestable. I agree with my honourable friends that this question of refugees has been a pawn on the chess board of our politics. We must now try to take the wind out of the sails of these political agitators who want to make political capital out of the miseries of the refugees. Of course, I know it is impossible to achieve anything spectacular in a short period. But if we set about this work of rehabilitation in a planned manner, I think we can make much headway.

Sir, I want to tell my honourable friend the Finance Minister that any money that is spent on the rehabilitation of refugees is ultimately going to be an investment. I do not say that the amount spent on relief is going to be very productive. But today in having to face the enormous task of feeding and rehabilitating 60 lakhs of people we have got this splendid opportunity of fashioning this uprooted mankind to suit the economy of the Indian Union. But a planned scheme is necessary. Mere verbiage, mere platitudes will not help us.

Sir, I will put one or two questions with regard to these unfortunate people from Eastern Pakistan. In reply to a supplementary question put by me the other day my honourable friend, Mr. Mohanlal Saksena, said that there was no difference in the treatment of refugees from Western Pakistan and Eastern Pakistan. The honourable the Prime Minister clarified that. He explained

[Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra]

that those who had already come and settled in the Indian Union would be treated on a footing of equality. In this statement my honourable friend says that there is slight difference in the treatment of East Pakistan refugees. I want him to categorically state as to what is the exact difference. I am not going to quarrel about the facts that he has given, because they are all debatable things. But even assuming the facts as they are, will he kindly state to the House, for the information of my people what are the differences in the matter of treatment of the refugees from Pakistan, East and West.

It is extremely unfortunate, Sir, that in the Special Employment Bureau which was set up for finding employment to the refugees, not one member from Eastern Pakistan was taken. Not even a branch of the Bureau was started in Calcutta. I am grateful to the honourable the Finance Minister that he has allotted Rupees five crores for the rehabilitation of East Bengal refugees. But if this object is to succeed, I would plead in all sincerity that an autonomous board should be set up free from all manner of political influences. This board should be charged with the duty of going on with the work of rehabilitation. If you do not do that political influences are bound to come in, and utilise the opportunity for their own ends. Therefore, I suggest that a board should be set up which should be charged with the duty of carrying on this work of rehabilitation.

While dealing with this question, I want to tell my honourable friends, Mr. Mohanlal Saksena and Dr. Matthai, that while I realise the importance of physical rehabilitation, I attach more importance to moral and intellectual rehabilitation. About sixty lakhs of people, about ten lakhs of whom are young, in the most formative stage of life, have come with bitter past experience, full of jealousy and hatred. Unless we set about actively to salvage this portion of humanity, unless we make adequate arrangements for the education of these people, what is going to be the future of this country? These people will be the riff-raff of society. You have to guard against that. Whatever might be the money we spend, we must take good care to see that a good percentage of it is set apart for the education of these refugees. In this document there are two self-contradictory statements. While on the one hand it is said that in the course of the next six months all the refugee camps will be disbanded—I want that they should be wound up—at the same time it is said, arrangements are being made in the camps for the education of boys in the primary stage. It is also said that steps are being taken for imparting secondary education in the camps. It passes my understanding how secondary education can be arranged in camps. I would, therefore, request my honourable friend, to earmark a special grant, in addition to the amount set apart for relief and rehabilitation, for the intellectual, mental and moral rehabilitation of these unfortunate people. Sir I had very great difficulty in dealing with educational institutions which we started for the education of refugee students. Let the Central Government make it a condition that a portion of the amount will be earmarked for the education of refugee boys and girls.

Sir, I do not propose to take any more time of the House. I sympathise with my honourable friend, Mr. Saksena in his plight. It is an enormous task. I do not blame him. All I say is, let him not feel despondent. Let him not throw out a hint now and then that he would resign. I do not want any resignation. We want you as a bold man to go forward with your task and harness all your energy to the service of the suffering humanity. That is a great task, that is an opportunity for us to rise equal to the occasion. Let us not falter now. Let the Central Government and the Provincial Governments all work together. The Central Government has got the lever in their hands—finances. They can compel every provincial government to tow the line with them; if

they do not do that the Centre has got adequate powers to make them do it. I have explained how the provincial governments are behaving, how they are not even caring to obey the directions of the Central Government in this respect. As I told you, my people are forced to go to the Andamans for shelter. Nothing can be more shameful, nothing can be more painful. I hope you realise the psychological effect of that. I therefore plead in all earnestness. Let all the heads of the provincial governments sit together under the leadership of the honourable the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, let them chalk out a plan that we will spend 300, 400 or 500 crores of rupees spread over a period of four or five years. Let it even be one hundred crores, but fix a target amount and the period over which this work should be spread out. Let us all work together, put our shoulder to the wheel. Let us see if we can do something for this unfortunate humanity.

लाला अचिन्तरोम : साहबे सदर, मैं सबसे पहले अपने आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर

श्री मोहनलाल सक्सेना को तारीफ़ करना चाहता हूँ। जिस तरह से उन्होंने इस काम को अपने हाथ में लिया मैं महसूस करता हूँ कि वह तारीफ़ के मुस्तहक़ हैं। उनकी मिशनरी Zeal प्रशंसा के लायक है और जिस तरह वह अपने हर काम में महात्मा गांधी के आदर्शों को अपने सामने रखते रहे हैं, काबिले तारीफ़ है। लेकिन पेश्तर इसके कि हम इस महकमे के काम पर कोई राय दें हम को यह सोचना चाहिये कि- जनता की इस महकमे के बारे में ठीक-ठीक राय क्या है। यह मसला हमारे सामने बीस महीने से है। इसके अलावा और भी मसले हमारे सामने रहे हैं। एक मसला हैदराबाद का और स्टेट्स का था। इसके अलावा संघ का मसला था, कम्युनिस्टों और अकालियों का मसला था। इसके अलावा काश्मीर का मसला भी था। तो जिस तरह यह और मसायल थे, उस तरह यह रिफ्यूजीज़ का भी एक मसला था। हम ख्याल करते हैं और लोगों का ख्याल है कि हमने तमाम मसायल को हल कर लिया है। लेकिन इस मसले के मुतल्लिक़ लोगों की क्या-क्या राय है। अगर आप गौर से देखें तो मैं इन तमाम मसायल को तीन हिस्सों पर तकसीम करता हूँ। पहला मसला हैदराबाद यानी स्टेट्स का मसला था। मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर जहाँ तक इस मसले का ताल्लुक़ है, सब के दिल में शान्ति है कि यह मसला अच्छी तरह से हल हो गया है। अब इस बारे में कोई कम्प्लेंट नहीं है। ऐसा ही संघ के मुतल्लिक़ ख्याल है और कम्युनिस्टों के मुतल्लिक़ और अकालियों के मुतल्लिक़ भी यही ख्याल है कि हमने इन मसायल पर काबू पा लिया है और उनको दबा छिया गया है। काश्मीर का जो मसला है मैं समझता हूँ कि इस का भी फिलहाल कुछ हल मिल गया है, आगे जो कुछ हो वह देखा जायगा।

लेकिन रिफ्यूजीज़ के बाबत लोगों का ख्याल क्या है, लोगों के तअसरात क्या हैं, जनता की क्या राय है? मैं जो कुछ महसूस कर सका हूँ वह यह है कि लोगों के अन्दर जो खलबली इन तमाम मसायल से मची हुई थी, वह शान्त हो गई लेकिन वह एहसास लोगों के दिल में रिफ्यूजीज़ के मसले के बाबत

[ लाला अचिन्त राम ]

नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि लोगों के दिलों में इस बात का एहसास है कि सरकार ने बड़ी फ़राखदिली से इसको हल किया। ज्यों ही यह मसला पैदा हुआ, २२ करोड़ रुपये इस काम के लिये अलहदा रख दिये गये। गो १४ करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया गया। इसी तरह लोन्स के लिये गवर्नमेंट ने २० करोड़ रुपये रख दिये हैं और जो स्पीचेज़ लीडर साहबान करते हैं उन से मालूम होता है कि गवर्नमेंट ने बहुत कुछ किया है। लेकिन इस के बावजूद भी यह फ़ैक्ट है कि इस वक़्त जो रिफ्यूज़ीज़ हैं उनके दिलों के अन्दर फ़स्टेशन है, मायूसी है। वह जहाँ कहीं जाते हैं तो उनको कोई रास्ता नज़र नहीं आता। यह तो मामूली बात है कि जिसका कोई रिश्तेदार मर गया है उसको वह नहीं भूल सकता, चाहे दस बरस बीत जायं या बीस बरस बीत जायं। जो लोग अपने रिश्तेदार वहाँ मरवा कर आये हैं, उन को वह नहीं भूल सकते और न वह हमारे वश की ही बात है। लेकिन इस वक़्त बहुत सारे आदमी यहाँ पर हैं, जिनके बच्चे वहाँ पाकिस्तान में हैं। जब उनके बच्चे वहाँ रहते हैं, तो उस दुःख को वह नहीं भूल सकते। इस वक़्त मेरे सामने कई केसेज़ हैं। पंजाब में पाकिस्तान में एक गाँव है वहाँ पर इस-समय १६ लड़कियाँ हैं। उनकी चिट्ठियाँ यहाँ पर आती हैं कि हमें आप किसी तरह निकाल कर ले जाइये। लेकिन हम सब हैल्प-लैस हैं। वह जिस दरवाजे पर जाते हैं कोई हल उनको वहाँ नहीं मिलता। तो यह दुःख वह किसी तरह नहीं भूल सकते।

अब प्रापर्टी के मूतल्लिक मिनिस्टर साहब ने फ़रमाया कि स्टेट लैवल पर यह मामला तय हो रहा है। हमारी सरकार ने जब यह तज़वीज़ की कि प्रापर्टी की सेल व एक्स्चेंज गवर्नमेंट लैवल पर हो, तो पाकिस्तान सरकार की तरफ़ से जवाब मिलता है कि वह इस तज़वीज़ को क़बूल नहीं कर सकते, एक दफ़ा यह जवाब मिलता है। दूसरी दफ़ा भी यही जवाब मिलता है। इस तरह की बातों से रिफ्यूज़ीज़ को मायूसी होती है। मैं जानता हूँ कि गवर्नमेंट ने करोड़ों रुपये खर्च किये हैं। लेकिन अब लोगों को जो शिकायतें होती हैं, उनको देखिये। लोग कैम्पों में पड़े हुये हैं और एक-दो नहीं, तीन-चार महीनों से कैम्पों में टहरे हुए हैं। क्या आप क्या कर सकते हैं कि कैम्पों में वह ठीक तरह से रह सकते हैं। वहाँ न कोई प्राइव्सी का इन्तज़ाम है और न ही कोई ज़रूरी चीज़ों का प्रबन्ध है तो वह वहाँ कैसे तीन तीन चार चार महीनों तक रह सकते हैं। आज इस हालत को २० महीने हो गये हैं। अब देखिये कि वहाँ क्या हालत है। गवर्नमेंट ने कुछ हालत को इम्प्रूव किया है। लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि ग्रिब से गरीब आदमी भी तेल का इस्तेमाल करते हैं। लेकिन आप वहाँ कैम्पों में छः माघे तेल का इन्तज़ाम नहीं देखेंगे। यह कहा जाता है इसमें पैसा खर्च होगा,

लेकिन जहां आप करोड़ों रुपये खर्च कर रहे हैं वहां कुछ लाख और खर्च हो जावेंगे तो कोई ऐसी बात नहीं है। लेकिन यह मामला फ्राइंस डिपार्टमेंट में जाता है और कहा जाता है कि तेल देने में ८ लाख रुपया खर्च होगा और प्रपोज़ल इसी तरह फिरती रहती है और उनको तेल नहीं मिल पाता। इस वजह से उन को मायूसी होती है। आप देखें कि छोटी-छोटी चीजों का मामला है। गुड़ का ही मामला लीजिये। आप देखेंगे कि इस मामले में बावजूद तमाम कोशिशों के जाई तोले के करीब उनको मिल पाता है। आप देखिये कि वह कैम्पों में अगस्त से और अक्टूबर से पड़े हैं और अब तक वहां उन के लिये न कोई नहाने का प्रोविज़न है न अच्छी तरह से ठहरने का इन्तज़ाम है। उन के लिये वहां न तेल का प्रोविज़न है। और न गुड़ का प्रोविज़न है तो ऐसी हालत में उनके दिल में मायूसी पैदा होती है। मैं समझता हूं कि हालांकि गवर्नमेंट बहुत रुपये खर्च कर रही है, लेकिन फिर भी उन के दिल में मायूसी पैदा होती है। यहां पर पगड़ी तो अलहदा रही गांधी टोपी तक का प्रोविज़न नहीं है। उनको न चादर दी जाती है, ताकि वह गर्मियों में मच्छरों से बचाव कर सकें। उनके पास न चादर है न परदा है, न लंगोटा है। यह हम नहीं कह सकते कि गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से रुपया नहीं दिया जाता। ऐसी हालत के होने का कारण Lack of imagination है। आज दिल्ली की हालत को मैं जानता हूं। यहां पर उन को आये हुए कोई साल-साल भर हो गया है, लेकिन उनके लिए न टट्टी जाने की जगह है न नहाने की जगह। वह दीवारों के साथ लगे बैठे हैं। वहां से वज़ीर साहिबान और बड़े-बड़े आदमी गुज़रते हैं, लेकिन किसी पर असर नहीं होता। दो-दो चार-चार और दस-दस महीने गुजर गये हैं, लेकिन अभी तक कोई इन्तज़ाम नहीं हो पाया है। उनकी हालत को कोई नहीं पूछता। जब ऐसी हालत है तो उन के दिलों का क्या हाल होगा। सिवाय मायूसी के और क्या हो सकता है। आप खुद इसको देख लीजिये। जब सक्सेना साहब जून में तशरीफ़ लाये थे तो उन्होंने कहा था कि अक्टूबर में प्लॉट्स मिल जावेंगे। हम को यह जान कर खुशी हुई कि अब प्लॉट्स मिल जावेंगे। लेकिन अक्टूबर का महीना गुज़र गया। फिर कहा गया कि दिसम्बर में मिल जावेंगे। वह भी गुज़र गया। फिर कहा गया कि मार्च में मिल जावेंगे। लेकिन वह भी गुज़र गया। जिस रिपोर्ट को देखो उसमें लिखा होता है—“we intend to provide houses.” पहिली रिपोर्ट में भी यही लिखा है। दूसरी में भी यही लिखा है। इन्टेंशन तो अच्छी बात है लेकिन इन्टेंशन से क्या होता है। मैंने यह दरख्वास्त की थी कि यह डिबेट कैमरा में हो तो अच्छा हो क्योंकि ऐसी बातें कहना अच्छा नहीं। इस से लोगों के दिलों के अन्दर बड़ा दुःख होता है।



[लाला अचिन्त राम ]

अब लोन्स की बात है। आपने इसके लिये बीस करोड़ रुपया रखा है। लेकिन लोन लेने के लिये चार-चार पांच-पांच महीने बीत जाते हैं। पहिले आपने कहा कि इंडिवीज्युअल्स को लोन देंगे। फिर आपने पालिसी बदल दी कि नहीं कोआपरेटिव सोसायटीज को देंगे। उसके बाद आपने फिर पालिसी बदली कि नहीं इंडिवीज्युअल्स को देंगे। तो एक बार आप एक तरफ़ जाते हैं फिर दूसरी तरफ़ और फिर तीसरी तरफ़। अब आप एजुकेशन का सवाल लीजिए। लुधियाने में गवर्नमेंट कालेज है। यहां से कहा गया कि वहां दाखिल होओ। वहां उन को कहा गया कि तुम्हारे पेरेंट्स यू० पी० में रहते हैं वहां से Loan मिलेगा। वहां वह गये तो कहा गया है कि तुम पंजाब में जाओ। फिर पंजाब में कहते हैं कि सेंटर में जाओ। तो इस तरह वह यहां से पंजाब, पंजाब से यू० पी० और यू० पी० से पंजाब में भटकते फिरते हैं। इस तरह से जो रिफ्यूजी students हैं उनको फ़स्ट्रेशन पैदा होता है।

आपने फ़रमाया था कि कैबिनेट लेवल पर एक कमेटी बनाई गई है, जिसके अन्दर प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब भी हैं और स्याल था कि रिफ्यूजीज का मसला हल हो जावेगा, लेकिन वह फिर भी हल न हुआ। मिनिस्टर साहब कहते हैं कि जब हम सूबों में इन आदमियों को भेजते हैं और उन से कहते हैं कि इन रिफ्यूजीज को ले लो तो वह कहते हैं कि हम बाहर के आदमियों को ले नहीं सकते, क्योंकि जगह नहीं है या कोटा अलाट नहीं किया गया है। तो इन तमाम बातों का असर रिफ्यूजीज पर सिवाय फ़स्ट्रेशन और मायूसी के क्या हो सकता है। आज रिफ्यूजीज के दिल में डर पैदा हो गया है। उन को बहुत तकलीफ़ उठानी पड़ रही है। एक बात और यह भी है कि जब वह पाकिस्तान से आये थे तो उन के पास थोड़ा बहुत रुपया था। लेकिन इस दस-दस, बीस-बीस महीनों के अन्दर वह भी खत्म हो गया है। उनके जो ज़ेवर थे वह बिक गये, कपड़े बिक गये, बरतन बिक गये हैं और अब उनके पास कुछ नहीं बचा है। इस से भी उनको बहुत तकलीफ़ होती है।

लेकिन अब सवाल यह है कि इन तमाम बातों के बाद हम क्या करें। यह स्ट्रैटेजिक फ़ैक्ट है कि रिफ्यूजीज के दिल में मायूसी है, फ़स्ट्रेशन है। गवर्नमेंट ने बहुत कुछ किया, सब कुछ किया। लेकिन अभी इस का कोई हल नहीं हुआ। हमारी गवर्नमेंट कहती है कि पाकिस्तान गवर्नमेंट मानती नहीं है। हम कहते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट लेवल पर बात हो रही है और फिर भी पाकिस्तान गवर्नमेंट नहीं मानती। लेकिन जो रिफ्यूजी है वह क्या करे। वह तो मिनिस्टर से ही कह सकता है। अगर हमारे कहे से पाकिस्तान गवर्नमेंट नहीं मानती तो वह किम के पास जाए। तो इस मामले पर गौर करना है कि गवर्नमेंट का कहना

पाकिस्तान गवर्नमेंट क्यों नहीं मानती। सारी रिपोर्ट को मैं ने बड़े गौर से पढ़ा है जो मिनिस्ट्री ने भेजी है। इन रिप्यूजीज का मामला हम को अच्छी तरह से मालूम है। और इस रिपोर्ट में भी इस से इतिफाक किया गया है कि दरअसल इस वक्त हालत ठीक नहीं है, और ठीक तौर पर काम नहीं हो रहा है।

मैं इस रिपोर्ट के बारे में महसूस करता हूँ कि सरदार पटेल ने जो अपनी पालिसी का इजहार किया वह बहुत अच्छा था। उन्होंने सबसे पहले कहा कि सरविसेज को कन्डैम मत करो क्यों कि आप उनको अच्छा कहने से उन से अच्छा काम ले सकते हैं। लेकिन इस रिपोर्ट को जो मैं ने देखा है तो इस में कोई पार्टी ऐसी नहीं है कि जिस को इनडायरेक्टली कन्डैम नहीं किया गया हो। प्रोविन्शियल (Provincial) गवर्नमेंट कन्डैम की गई है। उन की पेस जो है, वह बहुत स्लो है और उन से मिनिस्ट्री को बहुत कम कोओपरेशन मिल रहा है रिप्यूजीज के खिलाफ़ उन की शिकायत है कि वह कैम्पों से जाना नहीं चाहते। उन्होंने उनको मुखालिफ़ कर लिया है। साथ की मिनिस्ट्रीज ला मिनिस्ट्री फाइनेन्स मिनिस्ट्री आदि उनको respond नहीं करतीं। अगर कोओपरेशन बिल्कुल नहीं मिल रहा है, तो उस का इलाज क्या है। मैं इन तमाम बातों के बाद सोचता हूँ कि आखिर इसका क्या हल है। मेरा हल मामूली सा है, और बड़ा भी है और मुझे अफ़सोस है कि हमें ऐसा हल पेश करना पड़ता है। मुझे यह हल पेश करते हुए शरमिन्दगी आती है। सरदार पटेल जिन्होंने और तमाम मसले हल कर लिये, वह सिर्फ़ छः महीने के लिये इस मिनिस्ट्री पर अपना हाथ रख दें और इसका भार अपने उपर ले लें, तो वह काम ठीक बन सकता है। पिछले दिनों कैसी पबलिक में गड़बड़ी थी। इस्टर्न पाकिस्तान से लोग चले आ रहे थे बड़ी तादाद में और बड़ी बेचैनी और मुसीबत थी। लेकिन सरदार पटेल ने अपने वर्धा के एक बयान में सिर्फ़ यह कह दिया कि अगर यही हालत रही, तो वहां उन्हें जगह देनी पड़ेगी, और फ़ौरन वह मामला हल हो गया। मुंह से बात निकली नहीं और मामला यूँ हल हो गया। यह कहने से कि पाकिस्तान वाले हमारी बात मानते नहीं हैं, और हमारे जायज मतालिबात यह मिनिस्ट्री मानती नहीं है, काम नहीं चलेगा। लेकिन अगर सरदार पटेल इस को अपने हाथ में ले लें, हालांकि वह बहुत बूढ़े हो चले हैं और उन को इतने काम हैं, और मुझे ऐसा सजेशन देते शरमिन्दगी होती है, लेकिन इस के सिवाय कोई चारा नहीं है और जब तक सरदार साहिब हमारे सिर पर बैठे हैं: इस के अलावा और कोई बेहतर रास्ता नहीं दीखता। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर सरदार साहिब सिर्फ़ छः महीने के लिये इस वज़ारत को अपने हाथ में ले लें, तो ८ लाख आदमी जो कैम्पों के अन्दर पड़े हैं, उनका इन्तज़ाम हो जायेगा।

[ लाला अचिन्त राम ]

उनको बजाय यह कहने के कि हम एक रुपया पर हेड खर्च करते हैं, उनको प्लाट दे दिया जाय और एक हजार रुपया दे दिया जाय, तीन महीने के अन्दर वह प्लाट पर रहने लायक मकान बना सकते हैं, और यह हाउसिंग प्रोब्लम थोड़े अरसे ही में हल हो सकती है।

इसलिये मैं सरदार पटेल साहिब से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह यह थोड़ा सा बोझ सिर्फ़ छः महीने के लिये उठा लें, और गवर्नमेंट ने जिस तरह से फूड का मसला हल कर दिया यह एलान कर के कि सन् ५१ के बाद से फूड इम्पोर्ट नहीं होगा, इस मसले को हल कर दें। मैं आखीर में सक्सेना साहिब से प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि इस मसले का हल जल्द से जल्द किया जाय, नहीं तो इसका धब्बा हमेशा के लिये हमारे सिर पर रह जायेगा कि हम मसले को हल नहीं कर सके।

*(English translation of the above speech)*

**Lala Achint Ram** (East Punjab: General): At the very outset I wish to congratulate the honourable Minister Shri Mohan Lal Saksena for the manner in which he handled this job. I think he really deserves praise. His missionary zeal is worth praising and the manner in which he has always been keeping the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi before him is worth commendation. But before we pass any judgement on the achievements of the Ministry, we ought to ascertain as to what opinion the public holds about this department.

This problem has been before us for the last 20 months. Besides this many other problems have been before us. One was that of Hyderabad and other States. Besides this were the questions of Sangh, Communists and Akalis. Along with these questions the problem of Kashmir was also before us. This problem of refugees also was like the other problems. We think, and the people also think, that we have solved all the problems. But what opinion the people hold about this problem? If you were to look into the matter then I like to divide these problems in three parts. The first problem was of Hyderabad that is to say of the States. As far as this question is concerned, I feel that the people are fully satisfied that this problem has been successfully solved. Now there is no complaint about this matter. A similar opinion is held about the Sangh. About the problems of Akalis and Communists the people hold the opinion that the situation has been brought under control and they have been suppressed. As regards the Kashmir problem for the present some solution has been found out, what would happen in future would be seen.

But what opinion do the people hold about the refugee problem? How far the people have been affected by it? What is the opinion of the masses? As far as I have been able to ascertain I have come to know that the agitation that was in the hearts of the people as a result of these problems has been quelled but the people feel that the Government have solved this problem very magnificently. As soon as this problem came up a sum of 22 crores of rupees was set apart for this work, although only 14 crores of rupees have so far been spent. Similarly Government have set apart 20 crores of rupees for giving loans and from the speeches that our leaders have delivered it becomes quite clear that the Government have done quite a lot of work in this respect. But

In spite of all these things it is a fact that the refugees still bear a sense of frustration, a sense of hopelessness, in their heart of hearts. Wherever they go they do not see any way out. It is quite common that one cannot forget his relatives that are dead may ten years have elapsed or twenty. The people cannot forget their relatives they have lost there and this is beyond our control also. But at present here are a number of such persons whose families are still in Pakistan. When their families are there then they cannot forget this calamity. I know some such cases. In a West Punjab (Pakistan) village there are 16 girls at this time. We receive letters from them urging us to bring them away by any means but all of us are helpless. Whatever sources they tap they draw blank. For this reason they cannot forget this distress.

About the question of properties the honourable the Minister has said that this question is being settled at the State level. When our Government proposed that the sale or exchange of property should take place at Government level then the Pakistan Government gave a reply that they were not prepared to accept the proposal. This reply was given not once but twice. Such things give the refugees a sense of frustration. I know that the Government have spent crores of rupees. But now the Government ought to look into the present grievances of the refugees. People are still lying in camps and have been there for the last three or four months. Do you think they can live comfortably in camps? Neither there is any privacy in the camps nor there are any arrangements for the necessities of life. Then how can people live there for months together. Such conditions have been for the last 20 months. Now see what is the condition here. The Government have improved the conditions a bit but as you know even the poorest of the people use oil. But in the camps you will not find any arrangement for even six *mashas* of oil. It is said that this would involve an extra expenditure, but when you are spending crores of rupees and extra expenditure of a few *lakhs* will not at all matter much. But when this matter is referred to the Finance Department, then it is said that for providing oil a *lakh* of rupees will be spent. Thus the proposal keeps on circulating and they do not get oil. For this reason they feel disappointed. You see that the matter concerns small things. Take the case of *Gur*. You will find that in spite of all possible efforts they get only two and a half *tolas* of *Gur*. They have been in the camps since August and October and as yet there is no provision either for their taking both or for housing them in a better condition. There is no provision either of *Gur* or oil for them. Under these circumstances a sort of discontentment arises in them. Although the Government is spending a lot of money yet I think a sense of frustration is being created in them. Here what to say of *pugree* there is no provision of a Gandhi cap even. They do not get coverlets in order to protect themselves against mosquitoes in summer. They have neither coverlets nor screens nor waistcloths. We cannot say that money is not given by the Government. The cause of this state of affairs is simply lack of imagination. I know the conditions in Delhi today. It is since one year they came here but they have neither latrines nor baths. They are residing under the shelter of the walls. The honourable Ministers and other big people pass from there but nobody is moved by their condition. Months and months have passed but no arrangements have been made as yet. Nobody cares to look at their condition. When such conditions prevail then what effect will be produced on their minds. Except feeling helpless they cannot feel otherwise. You see it for yourself. When Shri Saksena paid a visit in June he had told that plots will be available by October. We were highly pleased to know that now we will get plots. But the month of October also passed. Then it was promised that the plots will be available in December. When December also passed, it was said that they will be available in March. But March also passed. In every report it is

[Lala Achint Ram]

mentioned "We intend to provide houses." In both the reports it is mentioned so. Intentions are however good but of what use are these intentions? I had made a request that it would be better to hold this debate *in camera* because it is not proper to say such things in the open session. In their heart of hearts the people feel much aggrieved by such things.

Now comes the question of loans. You have set apart 20 crores of rupees for this purpose. But four or even five months elapse before loans are granted. At first it was said that the loans will be given to the individuals. Then you changed your policy and said that co-operative societies will be given loans. Then you again changed your policy that instead of co-operative societies loans will be given to individuals. At first you say one thing then another thing and then still another thing.

Now you take the question of education. There is a Government College at Ludhiana. The students were asked to get admission there. There they were told that as their parents lived in U.P. so they would get loans from there. When they went to U.P. they were asked to go back to Punjab. Then the Punjab Government asks them to refer the matter to the Central Government. In this way they go on wandering about from here to Punjab, from Punjab to U.P., and from U.P. back to Punjab again. In this way a sense of frustration arises in the refugee students.

You had told us that a Committee on the Cabinet level has been formed which includes the honourable the Prime Minister also. It was presumed that this problem of the refugees will be solved but even then it could not be solved. The honourable the Minister says that when the Ministry sends those people to the provinces and ask the provinces to re-habilitate them, the provinces refuse to take them on the pleas that they cannot take outsiders due to shortage of living space or they have not been allotted a quota of refugees. Then can these things have any effect except frustration and despair on the refugees? Today the refugees have developed a sense of fear. They are facing great odds. Another thing is that when they had come from Pakistan they had some money with them. But all that money has been spent during these 20 months. Their ornaments have been sold, their cloths have been sold, their utensils have been sold and now they have nothing left with them. For this reason also they are much troubled.

Now the question is what should we do after all this. This is a glaring fact that the refugees are highly frustrated. The Government have done much for them. But the problem has not yet been solved. Our Government alleges that the Pakistan Government does not come to any compromise. We wonder why the Pakistan Government is not coming to any terms even when talks are going on Government level. But what the refugee is to do? He can only request the honourable the Minister. If the Pakistan Government does not pay heed to the request made by our Government then to whom should the refugee go? Now we have to consider why the Pakistan Government does not pay heed to our Government's requests. I have very carefully read all those reports that have been sent to me by the Ministry. We well know this problem of the refugees, and by chance in this report also it is mentioned that in fact the conditions now are far from satisfactory and the work is not proceeding smoothly.

As regards this report I feel that the policy that was declared by the honourable Sardar Patel was very good. At the every outset he asked not to condemn the services because best work can be taken from them. But in this

report, as far as I have seen, there is not a single party that has not been indirectly condemned, even the provincial Governments have been condemned. The pace of the provincial governments is slow and the Ministry is getting very little co-operation from them. The complaint against the refugees is that they do not want to leave the camps. The Ministry has made them opponents. The sister Ministries like the Ministry of Law, the Finance Ministry and others do not respond to the requests of this Ministry. If the Ministry is not getting any co-operation then what is the ultimate solution. After all this I try to think as to what the way out should be. My solution is quite common one, but at the same time very difficult as well, and I am sorry that I have to suggest this solution. I feel ashamed in suggesting this way out. If the Honourable Sardar Patel, who has squared up all other problems, were to patronize this Ministry only for six months and take its responsibility upon his shoulders then this matter can be very successfully accomplished. During the last days how much agitation there was among the public. Refugees from Eastern Pakistan were coming to India in large numbers and a great deal of misery and uneasiness was prevailing everywhere. But the Honourable Sardar Patel while giving a statement at Wardha said only so much that if the present state of affairs continued then they will have to give the refugees living place there and at once the affair was squared up. No sooner he said this thing the affair was settled in a jiffy. Such allegations, that the Pakistan does not agree to what we say, such and such Ministries do not acknowledge our lawful demands, will not work. But if Sardar Patel were to take up this matter then, although he is getting old and has so many duties to perform, and I also feel ashamed in giving such a suggestion, but there is no other alternative except this and till Sardar Sahib is at our back. I see no other way out except this. I think that if Sardar Sahib were to take up this Ministry even for six months then arrangements could be made for those eight lakhs of people who are living in the camps. Instead of saying that we spend one rupee per head, they may be given plots of land and one thousand rupees in cash, then within three months they can construct good houses on those plots and thus housing problem can very soon be solved.

Therefore I request the Honourable Sardar Patel to take up some additional work only for six months and solve this problem in the same way as the Government solved the food-problem by announcing that there would be no food-imports after 1951. In the end I request the Honourable Shri Saksena that this problem be solved at the earliest otherwise the stigma that we could not solve this problem will remain on our heads for ever.

**Dr. Bakhshi Tek Chand** (East Punjab: General): Sir, I am fully conscious of the fact that a great deal of time has already been taken and there are many honourable Members who have yet to speak. Therefore, I will take only a few minutes.

I wish to place only two or three facts before the House. After reading the statement that the honourable Minister has circulated and hearing his speech, I fully agree with what my honourable friend Mr. Sidhva has said that there is want of proper and co-ordinated planning as to the future rehabilitation of these people. That is what our past experience has been and what the present position is. It is now said that there are 800,000 refugees in the various camps and that the Government have decided that they should be dispersed. It is quite right to say that Government cannot keep these refugees indefinitely in these camps. But, what are the arrangements that you have made for their dispersal? Before you disperse them, you must make well-planned and proper arrangements where these people are to go. I will only give three instances to show how this dispersal is being made. Some months ago, it was

[Dr. Bakhshi Tek Chand]

decided to disperse refugees from the Karnal camp and the provincial and the Central Government Joint Rehabilitation Board decided that they should be sent to Bharatpur. About twenty families were so sent and they were despatched by the representatives of the East Punjab Government from Karnal with a note that they are being sent to Bharatpur, where land will be allotted to them. These persons arrived in Delhi where they were detained as before their arrival, a telegram had been received from the officer in charge of the Bharatpur camp saying that there was no room for them and that they should be detained at Delhi. They were accordingly detained at Delhi and brought to the Wavell Canteen which was already full and where there was not a single room where a single person from these twenty families could be accommodated. Bharatpur authorities refused to receive them, and yet the records of the Karnal camp showed that these persons had been discharged, having been permanently rehabilitated in Bharatpur. For three weeks, they remained in a verandah of the Canteen after which some of them got mixed in the crowd of refugees in Delhi and we do not know what happened to the rest. Some of the members of the House, Mr. Jaspal Roy Kapoor and myself actually went there and we saw their awful plight. This is one instance.

I shall give you another instance, where certain persons who were living in the Kurukshetra camp were sent to Fazalka in Ferozepur district where they were to be permanently settled on land. In this connection, I will refer to a Note which appeared in the *Statesman* some time ago from their Special Correspondent who had visited Kurukshetra. These refugees had lived in Kurukshetra for a year or so and Kurukshetra, as we know was the best managed of all camps. They had some comforts there they had shelter; they received rations regularly and some other amenities as could be given. These men and women came back to the Kurukshetra camp, after they had spent several days in a fruitless effort in Fazalka to find the land which had been promised to them. There is a very interesting account, and if I may say so, a very painful description given by the correspondent. I will not take up the time of the House in reading the whole of it, but will read only a few sentences:

"Shortly after I entered the camp office two hundred women, holding their dim-eyed babies, besieged it, making work impossible. They threatened to complaint to Pandit Nehru. Their faith in the Prime Minister was complete.

'For three nights we have slept in the open without shelter, without food, we cannot do it any more. Our children will die.' This is what the women said. The anger in their eyes, as they shouted in chorus, was frightening.

A younger officer emerged from a room and addressed the crowd. 'We can put you into tents, but we are not permitted to restore your rations. These are the orders. We cannot help it' he pleaded.

The incident revealed, as no briefing by officials could have done, an aspect of the problem facing the refugees as well as the administration. A large number of refugees who had been dispersed a few months ago are returning to the camp. It is filling up again. Reduced at one stage from 400,000, to 80,000 its population has now risen to about 130,000.

I talked to scores of refugees. They had come back mostly from camps in Ferozepur. They were given promises of land and houses when they were moved out two months ago, they said. They found neither. Nor were the arrangements for their stay as good as those in Kurukshetra, they alleged. But above all they complained of a feeling of insecurity."

This is the second instance.

The third instance is this. The report which the honourable Minister circulated indicates that Kurukshetra camp is going to be disbanded and a new township is going to be erected in Rajpura in Patiala State where the refugees

from Bahawalpur are to be sent. There are, I understand, 50,000 to 60,000 people from Bahawalpur in the Kurukshetra camp and they would not go. Some weeks ago, I was told that every effort was made to persuade them, but they did not want to go. Some of them saw me here including also a gentleman who was at one time a Minister of the Bahawalpur Government and who happens to be now in Delhi, a displaced person like most of us. He said that he tried his best to persuade these people but they would not go, as originally they had been sent from Bahawalpur to Patiala State about a year ago. But they found that the conditions were most difficult; they were unwelcome and the Patiala State officers subjected them to all kinds of harassments and ultimately they moved to Kurukshetra for these reasons they would not go back there. They were assured that these might be past history and now that the Centre is intervening and better arrangements were being made, and things were changing; it is not the old Patiala State and the Government of India are having Supervisory jurisdiction over it and they should go there. Day before yesterday some people from Rajpura came and they said: "In spite of our unwillingness to go about 5,000 persons have actually gone, but there are very unsatisfactory arrangements; there is unsatisfactory supply of water, insufficient food and very poor shelter. The tents supplied are very small in size and our rations are insufficient. What is the good of this dispersal?" In Kurukshetra your commandant will report that so many thousands of persons have been sent for rehabilitation at Rajpura but really there is no plan or proper arrangements to receive them. I say that if you are going to disperse all these men without a definite plan and without proper arrangement, then what is the good of all this? It will only create further disaffection and bad feeling. I ask the honourable Minister to see that no dispersal takes place until and unless you have a well thought out plan according to which the refugees should be properly housed, and properly fed. Do not be in a hurry to shut up these camps until suitable arrangements for their settlement are made.

Now come to Delhi itself, which is under the direct charge of the Centre. A refugee census, which was held in October last, disclosed that there are 8,82,000 displaced persons who have come from various provinces to Delhi. According to the honourable Minister, the Census report was defective, at least an under estimate of ten per cent. Other people say it is much more. That the census was defective is evident from the fact that even the honourable Minister's Secretary who is himself a displaced person; and his family and several other persons working in his own office and who also are displaced persons were not included in the census. But be that as it may, more than 4 lakhs of displaced persons are here. What is the present condition?

Day before yesterday, in anticipation of this debate, I went round and saw how some of the refugees were lodged in camps and other places. I first went along the City wall and I must say the position of persons who have found shelter there is bad and as appalling now as it was 20 months ago. A large number of persons, 500 to 700 families, who have not been able to find a room, or other decent place, have been living here during this period. They are too poor to pay *pugree* or are too honest or timid to take forcible possession of any house, and what is their condition?

In the old City wall, there are niches which measure 9 feet long and 4 feet wide; that is the only place where these families could find any shelter. What they have done is they have constructed projections, of about 3 to 4 feet in width, with tin-sheets or wooden planks or mats and gunny bags so that the niche of 9 ft. x 4 ft. has been extended and they have got a total accommodation of 9 ft. by 7 or 8 feet. We found this is the position near the Delhi gate where a number of Sindhi families are living. Then there is Nicholson



[Dr. Bakhshi Tek Chand]

Road which is the worst locality. I wish some of the honourable Members could go and see it for themselves. There are families of Punjabees, and from the Frontier province and other provinces in this locality. They have been living there since September or October 1947. In this small area, 9 ft. x 7 ft. a family with an average of eight or nine persons is living. There is no cooking place, no bathing place. They have got small earthen *choolas*, which they put on the road and there at 7 O'clock the ladies cook food. "How many members are you?" I asked a woman in one of these cells and she said "We are nine." I asked "How do you manage to sleep in this place?" The woman said: "Well the small children sleep on the *charpoy*, and we women, sleep on the floor." "What about the boys and elderly men?" I asked. She said: "Well, they go to the neighbouring bazaars and wherever they can find an open verandah which is not occupied, they sleep there. There is no fixed place; they sleep wherever they can find space."

These people are undergoing such sufferings under the very nose of the Centre. These things are happening here and we are doing nothing. In this House we wax eloquent over the lot of the Common Man and say that we must do this and we must do that to ameliorate his condition. Here are these people who have lost their relations, lost their livelihood; lost everything. They have been forced to come here but they have been quietly and patiently living there for twenty months. Now the hot weather is coming. What will happen to them? I ask the honourable Minister to reply. That is the position here.

I then went to another place in the vicinity. There was a gentleman from Hazara in the North West Frontier Province. He formerly had a handloom factory. He then came to Rawalpindi during the war and was earning Rs. 400 a month as a commission agent. He has a family of ten members. Two niches in the City wall comprise his house; his family lives in one and in the other he has managed to instal a handloom where he is making gold lace of the finest quality, and is earning about Rs. 5 a day. He said that if a proper place was given to him he could give employment to twenty persons. Then he showed me a receipt from the Municipal Committee for Rs. 20 which he had to pay as rent for four months. It seems that bailiff from the municipal committee went to him and demanded that amount for rent for his occupation of this niche. That is the position of these people and there are thousands like him in Delhi under the very nose of the Central Government. Is that relief and is it rehabilitation? I ask the honourable Minister what are you going to do for them and when?

In the beginning the Punjabi refugees were told that they would be sent back to their houses in Western Pakistan. Up to February 1948 that was the idea. By February 1948, it came to be known that that was not possible. Then they said that persons from West Punjab shall be settled in East Punjab where the new capital will be built and new townships constructed to accommodate several lakhs of persons. On 18th November, 1947 the honourable Mr. Neogy said in answer to a question that the capital was going to be constructed very soon and new townships were under contemplation. Now we are nearing the end of March 1949. Where is the capital? Is there any sign of it anywhere? And when are the new townships coming into existence?

The East Punjab Government estimates that there is at least 13 lakhs of urban displaced population which has to be accommodated in that province and that there are 1,10,000 Muslim evacuee houses which have all been occupied. According to the Punjab Census report of 1941 the average number of persons in a house was 4.8. Even if you put five or six persons in each evacuee house, it means that 6,50,000 persons can be settled in these and the

remaining have to be accommodated elsewhere besides those who have come to Delhi and whom it is intended to send back to East Punjab. What has been accomplished in this direction for 1½ years? What are the facts? They have a number of schemes for the carrying out of which they have deputed engineers and their architects and their Ministers have been flying from Simla to Delhi and back. But what has been achieved? According to the Report, 4,000 houses have been built and 6,600 plots have been sold. All these taken together can accommodate only 70,000 out of the 7,00,000 people who are homeless. In these circumstances how can you ask the Punjab refugees to go back from Delhi? Apart from internal troubles, apart from party politics and ministerial tangles, to which the honourable Minister has referred, what is the position? Where is the Capital, where are the townships?

On the 10th September, 1947, the East Punjab Government appointed a committee, with the Financial Commissioner as Chairman and with the Chief Engineers and other officers as members to suggest within 15 days possible sites for the Capital. That was the direction given. On 1st October 1947, an Emergency Committee of the Central Government said: 'Within ten days the provincial Government must submit a scheme for the capital'. But months passed without any tangible result. At last a site near Chandigarh was found suitable. An Engineer was sent to America and other places to see how the capital should be built. In the month of June 1948 we heard of a scheme for a new town with all the amenities of modern life, amenities which neither New York, nor London nor Berlin possess. We have not been told anything more about it so far. I do not say it is a bad scheme. But the East Punjab Government has got no money to spend on it. Money has to come from the Centre. The other day I asked the honourable the Finance Minister what priority was being given to this scheme. His answer was: "No. The question is under consideration." Now, the Punjab Government is a deficit Government. They can save nothing from their revenues. They cannot raise a loan. The Centre has to find the money for building the capital of that Province. But the Centre is still considering how much money is to be provided and when. Meanwhile where these homeless people are to go?

Now, in Delhi itself, for refugees there are resettlement schemes. Of these Northern Extension scheme alone has been executed. As to what sort of houses have been built there at a cost of over a crore of rupees I should ask the honourable Members to go and see for themselves. All that I can say is that I cannot congratulate the persons who designed these houses or those who constructed them. But still it is some relief to see that some sort of protection has been afforded to some persons.

When the honourable Minister took charge he started with great enthusiasm and vigour. Dressed in shorts and with spade in hand he used to go to Nizamuddin every morning with a large part of his Secretariat. The refugees saw a ray of hope when they saw in the newspapers photographs of this activity of the Minister and also the bulldozers at work and so on. For several months nothing more was heard of it. Nizamuddin has only 210 plots. They were levelled sometime in October. But upto this time no allotment has been made.

There is then the Shadipur scheme. The land in this area had been levelled and improved and arrangements for water-supply made by the Improvement Trust many years ago. Last year this was set apart for refugees. The Press Communique recently issued about it showed 3,000 plots in this area had been allotted. But a Member of the Allotment Committee told me yesterday that they met four days ago and that only 420 plots were ready for allotment. He also said that further allotments could not be made until five months. That is the information he gave me. How long are you going to wait? The other schemes are all in early stage.

One word more, Sir, I know my time is up.

[Dr. Bakhshi Tek Chand]

It has been decided that these plots will be leased out. What are the terms of the lease? Only those persons, who are in a position to build with their own money will be given the first preference. And what will they have to pay? In addition to annual rent, they will have to pay a minimum premium of Rs. 7,800 for a plot of about one-fifth of an acre in area. In addition they will be charged five per cent. upon this Rs. 7,800 as annual rent. Even this Rs. 7,800 is not a fixed amount. Tenders will be invited and the leases will be sold by auction. If Mr. Sondhi offers Rs. 7,800 and Mr. Maitra says he will pay Rs. 8,000 and I come and say I will pay Rs. 9,000 and Mr. Himatsinghka says he will pay Rs. 10,000; it will be given to him for he is offering Rs. 10,000. This is how the "common man" is going to be rehabilitated in Delhi under a scheme formulated by the Minister himself. (*Shri B. L. Sondhi*: 'Common man Minister!') Yes, "common man Minister." How will the common man come in at all? Will not the capitalist buy up all those plots. And why are you charging the premium when you are going to realise the annual rent? (*An honourable Member*: 'Betterment charges.') So that is the position. I asked the honourable Minister, and he said he has been trying his best, but the Finance Department does not agree and he has been forced to put these terms in the lease Agreement. I ask, Sir, are you not exploiting the misery of these people, who have left their property but were able to bring with them a few thousands of rupees,—with which they want to build a house here on land which is and will continue to be Government property? This is what you are doing. This is the example you are setting. You blame the provinces. You blame the politicians. But what are you doing here? I ask you in all humility, is this the way to rehabilitate displaced people? Is this the assistance you are giving? On the one hand, you are spending so many crores; on the other hand you charge these exorbitant premia for leases. The honourable Minister says the Finance Ministry insist on premia being charged. I do not know whether this is so or whether it is the Rehabilitation Ministry or it is the Works, Mines and Power Ministry. But this is the position. I am sorry that I have taken a good deal of time. I have only two minutes left.

**Mr. Speaker:** There are three minutes.

**Dr. Bakhshi Tek Chand:** If you will permit me, Sir, I will place one or two facts more before the House. I say that the whole policy requires a radical change. Now, we have been promised that every man will get either a plot of land or a house. An announcement was first made by the honourable Minister in the month of June 1948 that by October 1948 every displaced person in Delhi, at any rate, will be given either a plot or a house. October passed and nothing happened. We were told that rains had intervened and the survey parties and others could not get on with their work. After the rains stopped, another statement was made here that the plots will be given in the end of December next. 31st December was the target fixed. December also passed, no plots were allotted. Now, it is March 1949 and the honourable Minister has grown wiser. In his present statement he has not fixed any limit—he merely says "We intend to give a plot etc." Well, these good intentions are there. Nobody doubts them. But is this the way to rehabilitate people? I say, Sir, that unless you treat this matter as one of extreme emergency, treat it on footing of a "war measure" and set to work with all your energy and fix target dates for everything, you will not be able to solve this problem. Day before yesterday, one of the refugees living in the niches of City walls told me "I understand you are a member of the Constituent Assembly." I said, "Yes. I happen to be." He said, "Well, go and tell Pandit Nehru and go and tell others that they saved us from mass massacres in Western Pakistan, saved us from the knives and daggers of the

Muslim National Guards, saved us from the bullets of the Boundary Force which had been sent to protect us but which turned its rifles on our chests. We are thankful to the Government for all this, but go and tell Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel that we are now at the end of our tether; we cannot hold on much longer—and let it not be given to them to be present at the mass funeral of us all here in Delhi." That is his message. Sir, I have done.

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

*The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.*

**Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri:** I was greatly astounded to hear from Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra that the Assam Government had refused to take charge of the refugees of East Bengal or Western Pakistan.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** I never mentioned Western Pakistan.

**Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri:** So far as I am concerned, I claim to know something and I know that the Government is very sympathetic towards the refugees. As a matter of fact when there was an offer of certain refugees from Western Pakistan, the Assam Government only pointed out to the Government of India that there were certain difficulties. They were (1) food: we are a rice-growing province and not wheat; (2) climate: it was most unsuited to the people of the Punjab; and (3) safety of travelling from the Pakistan area.

At the end of 1947 and in the beginning of 1948, the House will remember how difficult it was for passengers to travel through Pakistan. These were the difficulties he pointed out. Nevertheless, he said if the Government of India rendered help, he would be prepared to take the refugees. As a matter of fact a place was selected for that purpose, so far as Eastern Bengal refugees are concerned. As will be admitted by the honourable Minister, we are now providing for no less than four lakhs of Eastern Bengal refugees and the Government of India has not paid a single penny to the Government of Assam for properly rehabilitating them.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** That is Muslim infiltration!

**Srijut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri:** Not only Muslims, but the Hindus also have gone over. In Cachar in Assam, from Dibrugarh right up, these refugees have started small shops called *mani hari* shops. These Hindu refugees are maintaining themselves like that. Now the Government of Assam is expected to take the responsibility of providing suitable steps for rehabilitating them, giving them proper accommodation and giving them food also whenever necessary and also provide them with sources of employment. But we have very limited sources of employment in Assam. We cannot undertake to employ them but the Government of India ought to be able to find means to employ them and ought to advance money and ought to help them in order to enable them to be on their legs. That responsibility, I am afraid the Government of India is shirking and on the other hand they are putting all the blame on the people and the Government of the province.

**Shri Jaspal Roy Kapoor (U.P.: General):** I am one of those who has very wide sympathies for the refugees. But I am afraid, I cannot agree with the previous speakers, excepting of course, my honourable friend, Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri, because the other honourable speakers have painted a very dark picture of the situation. They have tried to make out that nothing substantial has been done for the relief and rehabilitation of the refugees, that they have been neglected by the Government, that there is no imagination and planning, and therefore all that has to be said is to condemn the Government, but not say one word of praise for the work they have done so far for them.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** Everybody has paid a tribute.

**Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor:** Yes, I know in what way the praise has been given. But so much has been said in condemnation of the Government that the feeling is likely to go about that very little has really been done for their relief and rehabilitation.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** We should simply give undiluted praise!

**Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor:** I do not say that undiluted praise should be given. Government should be criticised but not uncharitably condemned and criticised. That sort of criticism is not helpful at all. I know, Sir, that this problem of relief and rehabilitation has been engaging our attention for the last one year and more and although admittedly, as the honourable Relief Minister himself said the problem has not yet been satisfactorily solved, yet we must admire the energy and the enthusiasm with which the honourable Minister has been applying himself to this difficult and great task. In this noble and humanitarian work he has been ably assisted by the devoted officers of his Ministry, and he has also had the advantage of the ripe judgment and the wide administrative experience of the Honourable Shri Gopaldaswami Ayyangar who has been carrying on difficult and delicate negotiations with the Pakistan Government. If only a fraction of this problem has been solved, the fault is not either of the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation or of the honourable Minister who is in charge of it. It is due to the vastness and the complexity of the problem, and it is also due to the fact that the third party, namely the Pakistan Government, has been adopting all along a very unfair and unjust attitude but for which many a difficult and delicate problem like the sale and exchange of property, payment of Income-tax and realisation of rent of evacuee properties etc. would have been satisfactorily solved long ago.

Sir, we have been circulated this pamphlet giving a review of relief and rehabilitation during the last year and more, and we have also been circulated late last evening another pamphlet on the subject. These pamphlets enumerate the various good things that the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry has been able to do so far. While I am glad to read all these achievements that they have claimed in these pamphlets I must submit that I did not feel happy when I came across the sentence at the very first page of this report which says that it has not been possible to include details about refugees from Eastern Pakistan. Sir, the problem of the refugees from Eastern Pakistan is assuming very large proportions. The number of these refugees has gone up to as much as 20 lakhs according to the information given by the Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation the other day on the floor of this House in reply to a supplementary question.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** May I know what this report or document is to which the honourable Member is referring?

**Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor:** This is from the Relief and Rehabilitation review which you have circulated, and I was referring to page 1. And when I say that the number of refugees from Eastern Pakistan is about 20 lakhs I am referring to the information which the honourable Minister gave the other day on the floor of this House in reply to a supplementary question. I was submitting that this number has been ever increasing. In the month of August last year this number was stated to be ten lakhs. In the month of November it was stated to be 15 lakhs. And now it is stated to be 20 lakhs. This shows that the exodus from East Bengal continues almost every month to the extent of about a lakh and fifty thousand. Nothing very substantial, I must admit here, has been done for the refugees who have come from East Bengal. In this matter I would submit that a complacent attitude is being adopted both by the

Central Government as also by the West Bengal Government. The situation in East Bengal is hardly satisfactory. Yet I find that the honourable Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation has stated on page 14 of the pamphlet circulated to us last evening that "fortunately, conditions have now stabilized and the exodus from East Bengal has stopped." I submit this is far from the fact. Those who are in the know of the situation say that the conditions there are very far from being satisfactory. In this connection I can do no better than draw the attention of this House to a recent statement made by Shri Satish Chandra Das Gupta, a very well known co-worker of Mahatma Gandhi which appeared on the 6th March in the *Hindustan Times*. The newspaper report reads:

"Mr. Das Gupta is carrying on the work initiated by Gandhiji there (that is in Noakhali). He said he expected improvement following the recent Inter-Dominion Agreement and the gradual implementation of its terms. As for Noakhali he was constrained to observe that the situation there had very much deteriorated during the past few months."

The report goes on to say:

"Mr. Das Gupta further revealed that Mr. Jeewan Singh, a worker, had been arrested about six months ago on the fantastic charge of abducting a Hindu woman for immoral purposes. Two weeks ago, one of the most trusted workers of the Gandhi camp, Mr. Viswaranjan Sen, and a co-worker were implicated in a murder case."

He goes on to say that the situation in East Bengal is so very bad for the Hindus that they cannot possibly be expected to stay there with any self-respect and security. That being the situation the question arises as to what must be done by the Central Government and the Provincial Government. So far as the Provincial Government of West Bengal is concerned, rather than taking extra measures to give more relief to the refugees who are coming in ever increasing number from East Bengal, this is what the West Bengal Government said in a communique which they issued in the month of November last. They said: "In case the exodus continues at the present rate, financial difficulties may compel the Government of West Bengal to discontinue giving doles to any person with effect from December, 13, 1948." I do not know whether they have carried out this threat or not. As a matter of fact, after November 1948, five more lakhs of refugees have come to West Bengal. If unfortunately they have carried out this threat into practice I am sure the condition of the refugees in West Bengal must be a very pitiable one. As regards the responsibility of the West Bengal Government to rehabilitate them, this is what they stated in the same communique: "Government are anxious that refugees find work for themselves to earn their living." What sort of anxiety is this which expects that the refugees must fall back on their own resources? Later on they say:

"It is the immigrant himself who can through his own efforts find work suitable for himself." Now that is the sort of relief they are giving to the refugees in West Bengal and that is the sort of help that the West Bengal Government is prepared to give to the refugees. I submit that both the Central Government and West Bengal Government must take a serious view of the situation and must make immediate efforts not only to see that better relief is given to the refugees but they must make also see that the exodus from East Pakistan now ceases. We must make it plain to the Pakistan Government that if they cannot create conditions there in which the Hindus can live with security and self-respect they must certainly give us more land, as was contended by the honourable Deputy Prime Minister some time back. It is no use mincing matters. It is no use always saying goody, goody things. Sometimes we must say things plainly and boldly because if we do not say things plainly and boldly when it is time to say so we are likely to suffer very heavily. The Communist menace in Calcutta is already a serious one and if the refugees from East Bengal are not taken care of we shall be simply throwing them into the fold of the Communists which will be a great menace.

Sir, I was under the impression that the time-limit has been relaxed today.

**Mr. Speaker:** Having seen the effects of the relaxation it has to be restricted now at least in the case of the other speakers.

**Shri Jaspal Roy Kapoor:** I will then appeal to you on another ground and that is that I rarely inflict myself on this House.

**Mr. Speaker:** I want to give chance to at least one more speaker. My eye is on the clock. He must be given at least ten minutes.

**Shri Jaspal Roy Kapoor:** I shall finish within another five minutes.

**Mr. Speaker:** Let the honourable Member conclude his sentence. His last point was that the Communists will be given a chance by neglecting the refugees.

**Shri Jaspal Roy Kapoor:** Sir, I will only mention two or three more points and I will not elaborate on them.

There are a few other points which I would like to mention. From the census operations conducted they say that there are about 45 lakhs of refugees from West Pakistan. Previously they said that there were about 61 lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs in West Pakistan. 45 lakhs have been accounted for but what has happened to the rest? I would suggest that an enquiry should be made into this.

Secondly, there is the question of the allotment of refugees to the provinces. Some provinces, particularly the U.P. and Delhi, have received more refugees than the number allotted to them and we must be grateful to these two provinces. So far as Bombay and C.P. are concerned they have not received so many refugees as were allotted to them. In addition they have imposed humiliating restrictions with regard to their movement. I submit that these two provinces should be requested to withdraw the restrictions imposed on the refugees and accommodate as many refugees as have been allotted to them.

The last point is with regard to loans granted to the refugees. I find from the statement circulated that the loans are given in a very dilatory manner and secondly, they are not adequate enough for the refugees to rehabilitate themselves. Loans given after a long delay and in very small sums lose their purpose. Therefore I would submit that if loans are to be given at all, as they must be, they must be given promptly and in such amounts as may be of use to the refugees. Otherwise the whole money will be wasted entirely.

There are many other things to say but in view of the shortness of time which of course has been extended in my case by the courtesy of the Chair (for which I am very grateful) I could not mention all those points. In the end I would only submit to the honourable Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation to go a little faster. I know he has been going as fast as he possibly can but we only want to give him a little push so that he may go faster still.

سرکار بھوپندر سنگھ مان : صاحب صدر ! ایک مصیبت کی لہری دامن ہے جسے میں عرض کرنا چاہتا تھا لیکن وقت کی قناری کے پیش نظر کچھ اس کے خاص پہلوؤں پر اشارتاً ہی عرض کر رہا ہوں۔ - اسمیں شک نہیں کہ تواریخ کی مثال میں ایسے کوئی وقت نہیں کہ جہاں پچاس لاکھ سے ساہ لاکھ آدمیوں پر ظلم و ستم ہوا ہو اور وہ اس سے متجاوز کر دیئے گئے ہوں اور گھر سے بے گھر کر دیئے گئے ہوں۔ مہرا خیال ہے کہ اس مسئلہ کو حل کرنے کے لئے اگر کوئی پلان (Plan) بناتا اور نکاس کوئی تہکیب سے ہوتا تو یہ مسئلہ آسانی سے حل ہو جاتا۔ - مجھکو اس کا افسوس

ہے اور اس چیز سے رنج پیدا ہوتا ہے اسلئے میں اس بات کے کہنے پر مجبور ہوں - کہ ہمارے پرائم منسٹر پلڈت نہرو نے یہ بات کہی ہے کہ جہاں تک Refugees کے نقصانات کا تعلق ہے اسکی Legal یا Moral Responsibility ہم پر نہیں ہے - میں کہتا ہوں کہ اسکی Responsibility آپ پر نہیں ہے تو کس پر ہے؟ ملک کی تقسیم کو کس نے مانا؟ مسالم لیگ کے سامنے کس نے یہ بات منظور کی اور ملک کے ساتھ بے انصافی کی؟ اور مسالم لیگ کی فرقہ پرستی کے سامنے اور مسالم لیگ کی چالوں کے سامنے گھٹنے کس نے تیکے؟ آزادی کا سودا شرنارتھیوں کی لاشوں پر کر کے اب اُن کو دفنانے کی ذمہ داری نہیں لی جاتی - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ ایک خطرناک مزان شرنارتھیوں سے ہو رہا ہے - اگر ملک کی کسی عدالت کے سامنے یہ مسئلہ رکھ دیا جائے تو مجھکو یقین ہے کہ اُسکا فیصلہ یہی ہوگا کہ اس کی ذمہ داری آپ پر ہے - اگر قانونی نہیں تو اس میں رتی بھر شک نہیں کہ اخلاقاً ضرور ہے - ہمنے سوچا تھا کہ پاکستان بن گیا اور فرقہ پرستی کو رچھانے کا جو خوفناک دور تھا وہ ختم ہو جائیگا - لیکن اب جبکہ پاکستان بن گیا تو پاکستان سے جو کچھہ سمجھوتہ ہوتا ہے تو اسمیں بھی مسلم فرقہ پرستی کی جیت ہوتی ہے اور ان سے ہر ایک سمجھوتہ بہت دب کر ہوتا ہے - اگر پاکستان کے ساتھ اسی طرح دب کر سمجھوتے ہوئے تو میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ کبھی اُن سمجھوتوں کا نتیجہ اچھا نہ نکلیگا - سنا تھا کہ غلڈوسٹان کے لوگ سودا کرنے میں بہت ہوشیار ہیں لیکن اب تو ایسا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ خسارے کے سودے کرنے میں بہت ماہر ہو چکے ہیں - آپ اگر غور کریں گے تو آپکو معلوم ہوگا کہ ابھی جائدادوں کے متعلق جو فیصلہ کرانچی انٹر ڈومینین کانفرنس میں ہوا ہے وہ صرف شہری جائدادوں کا فیصلہ ہوا ہے جسمیں پاکستان کا فائدہ ہے اور یقیناً وہی سمجھوتہ کر لینگے جسمیں انکا فائدہ ہو - وہ جانتے ہیں کہ انکی کامیابی اُس معاملے میں ضرور ہوگی جسپر وہ سمجھوتہ کرتے ہیں - پاکستان نے طے کیا ہے کہ جو لوگ پاکستان جا کر اپنی جائداد بیچیں وہ وہاں سے جائداد بیچ کر واپس نہیں آسکتے جب تک کہ انکم ٹیکس نہ ادا کریں یعنی جائیں اور وہیں قیدی بنکر رہ جائیں - جہاں تک مغربی پنجاب میں اچھی زمینوں کا تعلق ہے وہ زمینیں زیادہ تر سکھوں اور ہندوؤں کی تھیں - شہری جائداد کے متعلق تو آپے بات چیت کی لیکن جہانتک دیہاتی جائداد کا تعلق ہے اسکے متعلق آپ نے کوئی انٹر ڈومینین کانفرنس میں فیصلہ نہیں کیا - جہانتک دیہاتی جائداد اور زرعی زمینوں کا سوال ہے وہ سب مسلمان دیہاتیوں کی ہی بن گئی ہیں اور ہندوؤں اور سکھوں کا سیکڑوں بیگھوں کی شکل میں پاکستان کے اندر بے انداز سرمایہ پڑا ہوا ہے جسکا قطعی طور پر کرمی انٹر ڈومینین کانفرنس میں فیصلہ نہیں ہوا - لہذا ان سمجھوتوں اور معاہدوں جنکا میں ذکر کر رہا ہوں اُن سے وہی پرائم منسٹر نے چلی آ رہی ہے - جہانتک exchange of population کا تعلق ہے یہ سمجھ



[ سردار بھوپندر سنگھ مان ]

میں نہیں آتا کہ تبادلہ آبادی کیسے ہو سکتا ہے۔ جب تک تسلی بخش تبادلہ جائداد نہ ہو جہاں East Bengal کا تعلق ہے وہاں سے لاکھوں آدمی یہاں آئے ہیں اور کچھ واپس چلے گئے ہیں لیکن انکی تعداد بہت معمولی ہے۔

جو لوگ اپنی جائدادیں East Bengal میں چھوڑ کر آئے ہیں انکی جائداد کے لئے کوئی فیصلہ انٹر ڈومینین کانفرنس میں نہیں ہوا۔ ہم سے کہا جاتا ہے کہ وہاں کے حالات بہتر ہو رہے ہیں۔ اسکا معجزہ یقین نہیں کہ وہاں کے حالات بہتر ہو جائیں۔ اسلئے میری سمجھ میں نہیں آتا کہ آپ پاکستان سے ہر ایک سمجھوتہ اسقدر دب کر کیوں کرتے ہیں۔ سردار پتیل نے کہا تھا کہ اگر آبادی کا نکا س پاکستان سے جاری رہا تو پاکستان کو اتنی زمین ہندوستان کو دینی پڑے گی۔ باوجود اس بیان کے بنکال سے ۲۰ لاکھ آدمی دھکیل دئے گئے۔ کیا میں پوچھ سکتا ہوں کہ اُس مطالبہ کا کیا بنا؟

صاحب صدر! ابھی تک ایک بہت بڑی ہندوؤں اور سکھوں کی لڑکیوں کی تعداد پاکستان میں ہے جنکو ابھی تک وہاں سے نہیں نکلوایا گیا ہے۔ جب تک ہماری ماں - بہنیں - بیٹیاں - پاکستان میں ہیں اسوقت تک یہ بدنامی کا دھبہ ہمارے اوپر رہے گا۔ میں جناب صدر! آپکو بتا سکتا ہوں کہ میرے پاس خط آیا ہے کہ فرنٹیر پروانس میں ایک لڑکی تھی وہ وہاں سے بھاگ کر پنجاب آئی اسلئے بتایا ہے کہ فرنٹیر میں بہت سی لڑکیاں ہیں۔ اگر اس مسئلہ کیطرف غور کیا جائے اور اسکو اہمیت دی جائے تو بہت کچھ یہ خواہش دور ہو سکتی ہے۔ پاکستان اور ہندوستان کے تعلقات اتنی دیر تک خوشگوار نہیں ہو سکتے جب تک ان معصوم اہلاؤں کی بددعا ہمارے درمیان کھڑی ہے۔

صاحب صدر! مدراس گورنمنٹ نے کہا تھا کہ ہم دس ہزار Refugees اپنے صوبہ میں لے سکتے ہیں۔ لیکن وہاں زمینیں اچھی نہیں ہیں جس سے وہ کھیتی کر سکیں۔ کیا وہاں انکے لئے جگہیں Reserve نہیں کی جا سکتیں کہ ۵ سال تک صرف Refugees کو کچھ فیصاہ شدہ Services دی جائیںگی۔ اسطرح سے ۲۵ پرسینٹ سرورسز میں Refugees مدراس میں بسائے جا سکتے ہیں۔ مدراس کے لوگ مختلف صوبوں میں ہیں کیا وجہ ہے مدراس میں اور صوبوں کے لوگ نہیں جا سکتے۔ سارے ہندوستان نے آزادی کا فائدہ اٹھایا ہے کوئی وجہ نہیں کہ اسکی ذمہ داریوں کو بھی سارا ملک کیوں نہ اپنے کندھوں پر لے۔

صاحب صدر! آخری بات جو میں انریبل منسٹر صاحب سے کہوں گا انہوں نے پہلے ایک بیان میں کہا تھا کہ سب سے بہتر طریقہ جو ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ "Pure living and high thinking"۔ جو بات کی خدا کی قسم لاجواب کی۔

ہمارے پڑھے لکھے نوجوان تانگہ چلاتے ہیں چھوٹے چھوٹے Tea-stall رکھے ہوئے ہیں - سنگتوں کا رس نکال نکال کر بیچنے لگے۔ بڑے بڑے مکانوں کو کھو کر چھوٹی چھوٹی اور کچیوں میں پڑے ہوئے ہیں چھوٹی چھوٹی معصوم لڑکیاں شام کو اخبار بیچ کر گزارہ کرتی ہیں - اور پھر بھی آپ یہی کہتے رہیں گے کہ "Pure living and high thinking"

یہاں خاک تک نہ رہی لحد میں امیر باقی

انہیں مرنے کا ہی نہیں اعتبار آتا

حضور! مجھے یہ کہنے میں جھجک نہیں کہ ریلیف اور ریہیبیلیٹیشن کی وزارت کو اتنا کمزور طریقوں سے چلایا گیا ہے کہ اب یہ وزارت صرف ایک بنک کی صورت میں بن کر رہ گئی ہے اور اب اسکا فرض صرف قرضہ دینا رہ گیا ہے - تمام لیڈر شپ اور کنٹرول اس کے ہاتھوں سے نکل کر صوبوں اور ریاستوں کے ہاتھوں میں چلا گیا ہے - اور صوبے ریلیف کے کاموں میں محض پرائیویٹ اعداد و شمار دیتے ہیں - مجھے یقین ہے کہ پھر بسانے کا کام خیراتی سطح سے اُٹھا کر قومی سطح پر لایا جاوے اور معلم ملک کی اجتماعی ہمت اور کوشش سے ہی خوش اسلوبی سے حل ہوگا -

(English translation of the above speech)

**Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man:** Sir, I wanted to narrate a long woeful tale, but owing to lack of time, I will only make passing reference to its important aspects. There is no doubt in it that History does not record any such example when torture and repression had been inflicted upon fifty to sixty lakhs of people and they would have been compelled to leave their hearths and homes. I think that if any plan had been formulated to handle this problem and the evacuation carried out in a systematic manner, then it could have been easily tackled. I regret this and it pains me. I am, therefore, compelled to say that our honourable Prime Minister has stated that so far as the losses sustained by the refugees are concerned, the moral and legal responsibility therefore does not devolve on the Government. I would like to know who else is responsible for this? Who agreed to the partition of the country? Who accepted this in connivance with the Muslim League and did injustice towards the country? Who yielded before the fanaticism and tactics of the Muslim League? The bargain of freedom was struck on the corpses of the refugees, and now no responsibility is taken to cremate them. I feel that this is a dangerous joke which is being cut with the refugees. If this question is placed before any court in this country, I am sure it will give the verdict that the responsibility for this rests with you. If not legal, at least there is no iota of doubt in it that it is surely moral. We had thought that after Pakistan was established, the evil days during which the demon of communalism had been appeased would be over. But now when Pakistan has been set up, and whatever agreement is arrived at with the Pakistan Government it has the tinge of victory of the Muslim communalism and every agreement is made in a subdued tone. I feel that if agreements are continued to be made with Pakistan in such a manner, nothing good will come out of it. We had heard that the people in India are subtle bargainers; but now it so looks that they transact business at a loss. They have become very experts. If you look to this, you will find that the recent agreement arrived at the Inter-Dominion Conference held in Karachi relates to the urban property only which is definitely advantageous to Pakistan. They will certainly make that very agreement which is beneficial to their

[Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man]

interests. They know that they are sure to gain on whatever point they enter into an agreement. The Pakistan Government have decided that those people who come to Pakistan for selling their properties cannot return until they clear of their Income-tax dues. It means that they should go there and remain there as prisoners.

So far as the rich lands in the West Punjab are concerned, these were mostly owned by the Hindus and Sikhs. You negotiated in respect of urban property; but you did not conclude any agreement in any of the Inter-Dominion Conferences with regard to the rural properties. So far as the rural property and agricultural lands are concerned, these have become the property of the Muslims living in the rural areas. Several hundreds of *bighas* of land belonging to Hindus and Sikhs—the value of which cannot be estimated—is lying in Pakistan and in respect of which no decision has been made at all in the Inter-Dominion Conference. Therefore, these agreements and compromises to which I am alluding to, manifest the same old weakness. So far as the exchange of population is concerned, I fail to understand how can this be practicable so long as satisfactory exchange of property is not agreed upon.

So far as East Bengal is concerned, lakhs of people have come over here and some have gone back; but their number is very small. Moreover, no decision could be arrived at in the Inter-Dominion Conference in respect of those persons who have migrated from East Bengal after having left their properties there. We are told that the conditions there are improving. I am not quite sure if the conditions there can improve. Therefore, I fail to understand as to why you enter into every agreement with Pakistan in such a subdued tone. The Honourable Sardar Patel had stated that if the mass exodus of population continues from Pakistan, then Pakistan shall have to cede to India a proportionate tract of land. Despite this statement, twenty lakhs of people have been driven out of Bengal. May I know as to what happened to that demand?

Sir, even upto now a very large number of Hindu and Sikh girls are in Pakistan and they have not as yet been recovered. So long as our mothers, sisters and daughters are in the captivity of Pakistan, this shall ever remain as a blot on our honour. Sir, I may tell you that I have received a letter that a girl from N.-W.F.P. who managed to escape and come to Punjab has told that there is a very large number of girls detained in the Frontier. If this matter is considered and some importance attached to it, then a lot of existing friction can be removed. The relations of India and Pakistan cannot become pleasant so long as the curses of these innocent afflicted girls hover over us.

Sir, the Government of Madras had stated that they can absorb ten thousand refugees in their province. But there the lands are not good which they can cultivate. Why cannot some reservation of posts be made for the sake of refugees there so that for five years to come they shall be provided with certain specific posts? In this manner, refugees can be rehabilitated in Madras by absorbing them against 25 per cent. of the services. The people of Madras are living in different provinces. What is the reason that people from other Provinces cannot be settled in Madras? The whole of India has derived benefit from independence. There is no reason why its responsibilities should also not be shouldered by the entire country?

Sir, lastly, I would like to tell the honourable Minister that he had previously stated that the best way out is "Pure living and high thinking". What a unique counsel! Our educated youngmen are plying *tongas*; they are

running petty tea stalls; they have started to sell orange juice. After having lost magnificent houses, small girls are living in camps and huts and earn their livelihood by selling newspapers in the evening. And even then you will go on saying, "Pure living and high thinking".

*"Yahan khak tak na rahi lahad men amir baqi  
unhein marne ka hi nahin aitbar ata"*

("That even the dust of my grave does not remain behind, but he is not assured of my death"):

Sir I will not hesitate to say that the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation has been run in such a weak manner that it has now assumed the form of a bank only; its duty being confined to give loans. The entire leadership and control has gone out of its hands and vested in the Provincial Governments and States. The Provinces merely furnish statistics of the propaganda and relief work done by them. I would urge that the rehabilitation work should be raised from the charitable to the national level and a satisfactory solution of the problem achieved by concerted action and endeavours of the whole country.

**Mr. Speaker:** I may call upon the honourable Minister of State for Rehabilitation at 3-30. He wants about half an hour. We may sit up to 5-30, if necessary, but not beyond that, because as I have very often said, we have to take into account the strain thrown on the Assembly Office staff.

**Sardar Hukam Singh (East Punjab: Sikh):** Sir, I am grateful to you for having given me this opportunity. Though I will not be able to dilate on all the points at any great length, it will certainly give me an opportunity to touch certain points on which I feel very earnestly.

The honourable Minister of State for Rehabilitation has got circulated a statement to us. I got it this morning and I have studied it as other Members have done. It certainly give us some consolation. Some of us felt rather perturbed over the statement of the honourable the Prime Minister that there was no legal or moral responsibility on Government to rehabilitate these refugees who have come to this side. But it does give us some consolation when we read this statement that the Government concedes that it takes upon itself to provide shelter and gainful occupation for every refugee family. That is all that the refugees want. The refugees insist that there is responsibility, moral as well as legal, on the part of this Government because as has been stressed by my honourable friend Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man, this refugee problem is the direct outcome of partition and when you have taken the responsibility for partition, you have necessarily to take responsibility for the refugee problem as well.

Now this statement says that it is the policy of Government to provide shelter as well as gainful occupation for every refugee family. If any statement was needed, we have got it, and we have no complaint. But such statements have already been made before, but not much has been done up to this time.

I now come to the question of rehabilitation, and let me take rural rehabilitation first. I will only make a passing reference to it. It has been said that no agreement has been arrived at so far with Pakistan. I must say at the outset that in all these agreements, as has already been said, the initiative lies with the Pakistan Government. If they choose they come to an agreement; if they do not there it remains. And why should they choose to come to an agreement and why should they implement it, because we are the sufferers. As far as lands are concerned, we have got here 17 lakhs acres less

[Sardar Hukam Singh]

than what we have left there. Therefore, it does not pay them to come to an agreement so soon. They would avoid it; they would evade it. The question is whether we can force them to come to an agreement and pay us compensation. My humble submission is that this Government is in duty bound either to force the Pakistan Government to make up this loss of the displaced persons or to compensate them from its own funds. If this loss is not made good, imagine the extent to which the refugees would suffer. Just imagine these refugees in distress. I can only quote a very proverbial saying in Punjabi, though it may look vulgar: A buffalo fell into a well; they thought as it was troublesome, let us emasculate that. The refugees are in distress; now a 95 per cent. cut is being applied on them.

My second point is urban rehabilitation. We have been told that it is rather complicated. What has been done there? We have been told that 4,000 houses have been built in East Punjab, 2,000 in Delhi, and 6,000 plots have been allotted. I would suggest in this way it would take years to rehabilitate these refugees. If this continues, as it has been allowed to continue in the past 18 months, I can assure you this problem would solve itself in another year, and there would be no refugee problem left. The practical step that I can suggest at this moment is that the Government should allot a plot to every refugee family immediately, or say up to the 15th of August. There are enough vacant sites lying. Convince them that it belongs to these refugees and that they have the ownership in it. It must be given free; no cost should be charged from the refugee. Then, see what initiative he has got. Let him make one room for himself. Half the refugee problem will be solved if you could just give him a plot and some assistance to build something on it. Then, there are the loans. Ten crores have been intended to be advanced to the refugees. One crore has been sanctioned; but 40 lakhs have actually been advanced. Sixty lakhs of refugees getting forty lakhs of rupees, that means ten annas a man to rehabilitate and to start new industries. You can very well judge what benefit they must have derived and what occupation they must have taken up with this amount. Then, we are told that the Government has done much for the education of the children. The number is there. If you take that into consideration, about 5,000 of them, certainly you would be alarmed to see how infinitesimal a figure that is. Is it not a mockery that out of such a large number, so few have been given assistance?

There is another thing that I can suggest. Instead of advancing loans like that, if the Government had taken it into its head to rehabilitate those Banks which were working in Western Pakistan and had given advances to them much good would have come out of it. Now all these banks are under liquidation, most of them; they have paid 40 per cent. of the money and another 30 per cent. is to be paid over a number of years—they would be able to stand on their legs with some assistance. By thus being revived, they may be able to help the refugees to start some other industries. My submission is that by reviving these banks, the Government would be reviving certain industries which would help in rehabilitation of these refugees.

Then, there is one point that I want to stress about the teachers. It was definitely told here that the length of their service and their experience would be taken into consideration and that the pay that they were getting in Pakistan would be given to them. That has been agreed and even stated on the floor of this House in reply to a question; but in practice it has not been done. They are getting much less. About the orphans, minors and widows, the less

said, the better; nothing has been done about them. I may say that the refugees have suffered privations; but they have not debased humanity so far. They had not extended their begging hand towards other citizens. But, I am afraid there is a limit to everything. Already, instances are there where young girls are selling their bodies and their honour to get two meals. If nothing is done for another six months, certainly, this demoralisation would have its effects on the whole country. I must submit that we should be ashamed of the outcome of this catastrophe.

Now, the future policy is laid down in this statement. My honourable friend Mr. Jaspat Roy Kapoor complained that there was criticism against the Minister. But, the Minister says in his own statement that there are handicaps. What are those? He says that there are provincial politics and vested interests; non-cooperation of Ministers is also hinted there. Then there is the antipathy of the provinces and the refusal of some of the States to place houses at the disposal of the refugees. If everybody is non-cooperating with the Minister, I do not think that the Minister can succeed with all this policy and professions that he has laid down. He has given us the programme that he wants to follow. But, he has not indicated what are the fresh steps he is taking so that he could succeed where the Government has failed in the past. There is nothing new in the statement that would help him in removing those handicaps.

Then, the honourable Minister has taken exception to the statement of Acharya Kripalani that only five per cent. of the refugees had been rehabilitated. This is all right. It may be wrong. But, when we come to his own statement, he says 14½ lakhs have been housed. I wonder how he has come on this figure. I must certainly tell him this. Certain instances have been already revealed how these people have been housed, how they are living in small rooms of eight feet by ten feet and how they fare in them. I may give him one instance of which I had to take notice. A respectable family, I found living in a room six feet by eight feet. There were seven or eight members. What had they done there? That is most interesting. They had one cot (*palang*); they had raised it on earthen pillars two or three feet high. They had placed all their things on this *palang* and they used to lie below that on the floor. This is how they have been housed and they are living in this hut, I should say. I must say one thing. There are some Government servants who are having certain relations of theirs in their quarters. There are some other persons who are living with their relatives. Such persons cannot be said to have been rehabilitated at all. The figure given by the honourable Minister is not correct, I might say.

I must point out one thing, that is, the absence in the statement itself of any recovery of abducted women. Certainly, I think this is a closed chapter now. As my honourable friend the previous speaker has pointed out—that is a matter for shame for us. Refugees whose sisters are there cannot have a life of peace, however you may rehabilitate them. We may say that there were at least 30,000 women that were abducted. On 6th December 1947, at Lahore an agreement was reached for the recovery of these women and it was said that they would be returned. Then, there was a joint recovery appeal. Restore Women and Children Week was celebrated from the 16th to the 22nd February 1949. What was the result? Out of these 30,000 women, we have got 5,648. That is the result. This report says plaintively that the Pakistan Government's attitude was not helpful. Five districts, Rawalpindi, Jhelum, etc., were declared closed and no recovery could be undertaken. Then there is an apology that follows that it was reported that a large number of non-muslim women were removed to N.-W.F.P. and trans-border area. This closes the sad chapter. Therefore, I think that it has

[Sardar Hukam Singh]

not been mentioned in the present statement at all. The Government has no other programme to follow so far as the recovery of these abducted women are concerned.

**Shri Basanta Kumar Das** (West Bengal: General): Sir, I shall confine my remarks to the refugees of East Bengal only. Owing to shortness of time, I cannot do further than that. I wish only to refer to the report that has been circulated amongst us by the honourable Minister. It is said in the report that conditions in East Bengal are now stabilized and the exodus from East Bengal has stopped. It is now estimated that there are about 16 lakhs of refugees from East Bengal. I find there is some confusion about the figures and I wish to quote some figures from the reply given by the honourable Minister on the 11th of February and it will be clear to the House how the figures regarding East Bengal refugees stand.

In his reply to a question on the 11th of February, the honourable Minister stated that the number of refugees that arrived from East Bengal are as follows:

Assam	2,50,000
West Bengal	15,60,000
C.P.	591
Bihar	2,234
U.P.	2,000
Orissa	542
Ajmere	3
Tripura	45,000
Cooch-Bihar	10,165
	<hr/>
	18,70,535.

I think these are all guess figures and no census figures have been taken, because in the most recent report that I have already referred to, the figure has been quoted as 16 lakhs. But the honourable Minister gave this figure as 18,70,535 on the 11th of February last.

I only wish to refer to a letter from the West Bengal Government, in reply to certain queries that I made. This question of the problem of refugees of East Bengal was never discussed in the Standing Committee, and I had, therefore, no course left, but to write to the West Bengal Government for certain information. I shall only read, because of shortness of time, certain of my queries and their replies thereto. Whether any estimate has been placed before the Central Government informing them of the requirements regarding money, materials or other things for carrying out the relief and rehabilitation work according to the plan of West Bengal Government? What has been the response from the Central Government? The reply is: Estimates of expenditure on a five year basis amounting to nearly Rs. 300 million was sent to the Conference called by honourable Minister Finance (Central) at New Delhi in July last.

As for the response they say: Ways and means advance of 40 lakhs have been made. Subsequently a loan of five crores have been advanced. Of course, this is not mentioned in the letter. We have come to know of it later on.

The next query was: Have any employments been secured for refugees

in the Central Government or in the Provincial Governments through the intervention of the Central Government or otherwise? The reply is: The Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation was requested in our No. 2400 F.K. dated the 29th May 1948 and in subsequent reminders. No favourable response has been received.

The next query was: Is there any difficulty for finding space for refugees in the neighbouring provinces and is the intervention of the Central Government necessary in the matter? The answer is: Yes, there is difficulty. The Central Government's intervention is necessary in the matter of allocation of refugees to neighbouring provinces and allotment of funds for rehabilitation in these provinces.

Government of India have agreed to settle 200 Bengali refugee families in the Andaman Islands.

This is the situation about the allocation of refugees to neighbouring provinces. My honourable friend Mr. Maitra referred to this matter this morning very eloquently and I need hardly say that the Central Government should override any opposition that the Provincial Governments may offer in order to make their allocations go on in their own way.

The next query was: What is the present situation regarding the influx of refugees from East Bengal? What number has gone back to Pakistan and is there a tendency of further movement? The answer is: Fresh arrival during the week under 5th February, 1949—900.

The exodus is still going on, I think, because the figure that was given was for the week under the 5th February, 1949.

Some people (number not definitely known) have gone back. Many refugees have maintained contact with East Bengal and visit their homes periodically. Some have gone for collection of dues and crop during harvesting. No steady homeward flow noticeable.

I wanted to know about their requirements for building materials and other things. They have appended a report to this. They wanted cement, steel, C.I. sheets, etc., Tubewell pipes, A.C. sheets, tents, tarpaulins, blankets, Mazri Garments, tailoring materials, shirtings, etc., milk powder, sewing machines, asbestos Cement Ridging, C.I. Ridgings. The materials that have been supplied to them are: Cement up to week under the 5th February, 1949 was nil. This letter is dated the 12th March. Subsequently cement has been given for West Bengal, but up to the 12th March, they received nothing. Some C.I. sheets were granted. Tubewell pipes received is 1,34,190 rft. As regards blankets they got 1,00,000 pieces. They got nothing regarding milk powder, sewing machines, asbestos cement ridging and C.I. Ridgings.

I think these figures will give an indication of the situation about the rehabilitation of refugees. It has to be noted, Sir, that only the money that is going to be advanced as loan will not be enough. Without the building materials, those refugees cannot be rehabilitated. The question of rehabilitation should be dealt with in a manner in which the West Bengal Government can find themselves in a ready way to fulfil their promises and the Central Government should fulfil their promises to the refugees also.

There are other things to which I might have referred, but I would only point out that the speed and the manner in which the work has so far been carried is clear from the answers to my queries that I have received from the West Bengal Government. I would submit, Sir, that the Central Government should take up this matter more urgently and with greater vigour;



[Sardar Hukam Singh]

otherwise, this problem cannot be solved by the efforts of the West Bengal Government alone and after so many months if this is the situation there and only this amount has been advanced recently, I think, the speed has been extremely slow and therefore it is that the situation there in West Bengal has been so bad.

**Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man:** Sir, in the course of my speech this morning I forgot to refer to two points. Since the honourable Minister is going to reply, with your permission I will state those two points so that he can give information in regard to them also. The first point is that the principles governing the transfer, etc. of evacuee property may be extended so as to cover all parts of India. The second point is that the vast property of Muslims who have migrated to Pakistan from any part of India such as Choudhari Khaliquzaman, Liaquat Ali and the late Mr. Jinnah himself have not been declared evacuee property. I want to know why.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** I am sure many Members who desired to speak at length have been disappointed by the comparatively short time allowed to them. But I hope the points they wanted to make have been adequately stressed. I will try to reply to them one by one, leaving the general points to be dealt with at the end, if time permits.

Mr. Sidhva, in the course of his 35 minutes' speech raised certain points which I will dispose of in 5 minutes. The most important point made by him was that we have to do a lot of rehabilitation work. Nobody disputes it. It is common ground between us. He then made reference to a co-operative society. The other day he complained that I had not granted an interview to a certain individual in this connection. When he came to see me, I found that he was a person who had seen me five or six times. In regard to this man, Mr. Sidhva told the House that he wants nothing but land. That is not the case. This person wants 2,000 acres of land, 75 per cent. of which is agricultural land, to be acquired by Government at the rate of Rs. 1,000 per acre. If this agricultural land is now placed at the disposal of this person, Mr. Sidhva himself will rise in this House and ask: 'Why, when there is shortage of food, this agricultural land has been given for non-agricultural purposes?' My honourable friend then said that there is any amount of land available in Delhi. He forgot the fact that Delhi is the capital city and that there is a plan about its future development. Certain areas are reserved for certain Ministries such as Health and Education for the expansion of the Medical College, for the construction of a College for Nurses and so on and certain areas have been earmarked for the Foreign Enclave and similar purposes. Therefore, the Ministry for Relief and Rehabilitation has no easy task in finding lands suitable for the purpose in view. It is not as if any land that can be seen can be occupied and given over to displaced persons.

In regard to the Housing Society I may also mention that they wanted the Government to provide water-supply and lay-out roads.

**Dr. Bakhshi Tek Chand:** No. Only road development they wanted.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** They want the Government to acquire lands at Rs. 1,000 per acre and...

**Dr. Bakhshi Tek Chand:** May I just point out.....

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** I have only been given half an hour for the reply.

**Dr. Bakhshi Tek Chand:** They have agreed to pay for the water-works and other things themselves.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** I do not know what the honourable Member is referring to. My information is that they want everything to be done by the Government. (*Interruption*)

**Mr. Speaker:** Let the honourable Minister proceed.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** This money is to be given to them by way of loan. They want bungalow-plots of the size of half an acre while we are not able to give house-plots one-eighth of an acre in extent to others. They are most of them retired persons. If they want big plots they can have as much as they want 20 miles outside Delhi.

There is another reason why the request of these people should not be granted. The East Punjab Government has been telling us that if we granted such facilities to displaced persons here in Delhi, they would not go to Punjab and settle there. We have to take that point of view also into consideration. Delhi can at best provide for 2½ lakhs of displaced persons. But there are four lakhs of them. Some of them have, therefore, to go out. We shall have done a great job if we are able to find land for 2½ lakhs of them. Therefore it is not possible for us to give lands to the Co-operative Society *en bloc*. We are prepared to give loans to members of the co-operative Societies individually. (*Interruption*) It is not as if this Ministry has got special powers and can carry on independently of other Ministries. It has to function through the other Ministries. If any matter concerning Health has to be disposed of, we have to consult the Health Ministry and if any matter relating to construction of buildings, etc. has to be finalised, the C.P.W.D. has to be consulted. Then, as every step taken involves the expenditure of money, the Finance Ministry has in all cases to be consulted. So if there is any delay in expediting matters the reasons are these and not want of earnestness on the part of the Ministry of Rehabilitation.

My honourable friend Mr. Achint Ram suggested that if the work of this Ministry could be taken over by the Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, things could be done quickly. That is so. As a matter of fact, before this Ministry was created, this work was being done by the Home Ministry. This Ministry was created only when it was found that this involved too much work on the Home Ministry

**Shri R. K. Sidhva:** That was only for service.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** Mr. Sidhva was saying that he would be able to influence the Pakistan officials to do things in a more helpful way.

**Shri R. K. Sidhva:** I never said 'influence the Pakistan Officials'.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** I understood it like that.

Mr. Sidhva wanted that they should be helpful in seeing that ownership of municipal plots left behind by evacuees should not be disturbed. That was the chief object of the agreement.

**Shri R. K. Sidhva:** That is what I wanted.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** What about requisitioned plots? If any of these plots are requisitioned, there is provision for determination of compensation by a Board in which our representatives have a voice. It was unfortunate that Mr. Sidhva could not be invited to it. One of the Members is a displaced person, Mr. Bhimsen Sachar. At the next Conference there may be other representatives.

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena]

Then, Mr. Sidhva said that there was a sign board in the Karachi Registrar's office that no registration of Hindu or Sikh properties will be made. Perhaps, he is aware that under the Evacuee Property Act no such property can be recognised without being confirmed by the Custodian. It appears that in Pakistan the Custodian for Karachi was appointed only lately and he was not functioning, and therefore pending that, I do not know whether there is still the sign board or not, but this had been brought to our notice and we took up the matter and arrangements have been made. A Deputy Custodian will be appointed by the Pakistan Government who will look into those cases and registration will be made.

Mr. Lakshmi Kanta Maitra referred to the slight difference in treatment in regard to displaced persons from East Pakistan and West Pakistan. I have said in my statement that there has to be made some difference. Just now Mr. Das pointed out that there are displaced persons in West Bengal who are coming and going, who are still managing their property. It is not like West Pakistan where the management of those properties of displaced persons who have come this side has ceased and it is vested in the Custodian.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** There are some people like that. They are not all.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** Never mind. Therefore, they can, if they want to go. Just now, in the recent agreement between the two Dominions, Minority Property Management Boards have been established both in West Bengal and in East Bengal. Therefore, we have to make some difference. It is not as if any displaced person has come away from East Bengal and we cannot take the responsibility of rehabilitating him.

As regards Andamans, I may point out that the Andamans are not what they were represented to us. As a matter of fact, we have had two or three reports about the possibilities of Andamans. We are having our timber supply from the Andamans and he may remember that a deputation consisting of representatives from different provinces, led by the Minister of Relief and Rehabilitation, West Bengal, visited Andamans and their report was that to begin with we can rehabilitate at least two hundred families straightaway, and he wanted that they should be sent immediately.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** You could not catch the spirit of my observation. I did not say it in that spirit.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** After all, the Andamans is a good colonisation project and if we can rehabilitate them by sending them there, I do not think it should be treated in the way or referred to in the way that has been referred to by my friend.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** You can find out other islands in the Indian Ocean to rehabilitate them.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** There is no question of finding. The possibilities of Andamans as a colonisation project are great and we have received applications not only from representatives of West Bengal for sending their displaced persons, but there are other persons who are not displaced persons, who have also applied for being sent there. Therefore, we are examining the possibilities of the development of the Andamans and we have yet to decide whether it has to be developed on an agricultural basis or industrial basis, and we hope that full advantage of the possibilities of Andamans would be taken.

Then, he said that there was a contradiction for arrangements being for primary and secondary education only in camps and not in other places. As a matter of fact, wherever displaced persons have settled down in towns and other places, they are supposed to be reading in the local municipal or district board schools and we help the municipality or district boards. In regard to these camps it is not proposed to liquidate them altogether. They will be converted into work centres or self-supporting colonies and as such there will be schools and even after these persons are removed from one place to another for rehabilitation, these schools will be re-started there and arrangements will be made for primary and secondary education.

As regards secondary education, we were just considering this question. He must be aware that we are already giving help to students reading in 9th and 10th classes. We are also giving help to college students, but there is no provision for students from the 5th to the 8th. We have examined what will be the cost. It comes to about Rs. 66 lakhs a year. Then there was difficulty about finding buildings, etc. Therefore, the idea was that even if we could not make arrangements for regular schools, we might make provision in the camps themselves, where there are teachers and we can make arrangements for imparting education for these four or five classes. He must be aware that twenty or twenty five years ago we were advocating night schools, when we used to impart training to those persons who could not afford to go into regular schools. If that could be done there, why not do it in the case of these young men, if we are not able to make arrangements for reason of finance or paucity of buildings.

As regards Assam and Bihar, I am sorry that I have to confess that there is some difficulty. I propose to go there and settle things, but I am told on the one hand that this question should be treated on a national basis. At the same time the question is raised about provincial basis on ground of language. I know that there is a feeling in Assam that if a large number of Bengalis come there, Assam will cease to be an Assamese province and will become a Bengali province. Similar fears there may be in the minds of Biharis. We have to overcome them and persuade them. All the same, I would beg of my Bengali friends not to raise any controversy about Bengali and Bengali speaking areas. It is not as Mr. Kohini Kumar Chaudhuri has said that the Government of India has been reluctant to provide funds. We have offered the funds. We have asked them to start camps and they have refused to do so. They say, "In other places you have started camps and have wasted so much money. We have not started camps and they have been rehabilitated on their own". We are not sure of the exact position there, and therefore, very soon my officers and I will be going there to see as to what schemes of rehabilitation are there for displaced persons from East Bengal and how they are implemented. Money will be made available for that purpose as has been done in other cases.

Then there has been some controversy raised about the number of displaced persons from East Bengal. The fact is, as I stated in my question, that in West Bengal there are about 16 lakhs and therefore, this figure has been given as the number of displaced persons from East Bengal who have come to West Bengal. There is a slight mistake, I admit, because you know there are displaced persons from East Bengal who are in U.P., C.P. and other places; so while preparing this scheme account was taken only of those persons who were in West Bengal and I think that will satisfy my friend.

**Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra:** We do not quarrel about that.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** Mr. Achint Ram pointed out certain difficulties about the loans. He said that the policy was changed from time to time. I may make it clear once again that loans by themselves cannot rehabilitate people. After all, it is not every man who gets a loan will be

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena]

rehabilitated. Cases are brought to my notices every day where people have received money and they are utilising it otherwise. Therefore, by simply giving loans, you do not rehabilitate people. So we decided at first that we should give loans on a co-operative or collective basis, that is, instead of providing a shop for each person and leaving him to decide as to what kind of trade or profession he has to carry on, we thought that this may be done on a collective or co-operative basis. Even so provision was made in this scheme for granting loans to individuals for the purchase of machinery, tools and equipment. There was also a provision that co-operative credit societies should be started and persons engaged in different professions could take money from these societies. But it was brought to our notice that in certain Provinces and States there was no co-operative societies' law, or there were other difficulties. It was also brought to our notice that there were certain professions, the members of which could not work on a co-operative basis. Therefore, in their cases, we have relaxed the original directive. Still the idea is that loans should be given to rehabilitate people where it is found that people are being rehabilitated in this way.

Then Bakhshi Tek Chand pointed out that we lacked a plan. I do not know what he means by a plan. He knows there is a plan for rural rehabilitation. The West Punjab Government has prepared such a plan and they are proceeding on that basis.

**Dr. Bakhshi Tek Chand:** West Punjab Government?

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** I am sorry. I mean the East Punjab Government.

My friend, Sardar Hukam Singh pointed out that they were going to get only 5 per cent of the land that they had in West Punjab. He must bear in mind that we have to divide the land that we have got and a formula has been worked out: if however the land were to be given to big landlords, say 50 per cent of what they had, then there would be no land left for the smaller people, who constitute 76 per cent of the people affected; and if these 76 per cent of the people can be satisfied it would be a great achievement. It is not that we want to deprive people of their land; but it is not possible to give them more land. This basis is being examined by a Committee as permanent settlement is to be made in a few weeks time. I hope that whatever objections have been made against that scheme will be considered and disposed of.

**Sardar Hukam Singh:** Why not extend that basis to the whole of India?

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** Bakhshiji again referred to the census of Delhi. In Delhi our difficulty is that we have about 3,70,000 refugees according to the census. This is no doubt an under-count and allowing for this I agree that we must take the number of refugees to be four lakhs. But he knows that in all our schemes we cannot provide for more than 2,50,000. He has also referred to the delays in the execution of different schemes, especially about Shahdipura and other such schemes. Again, we have provided for 3,000 or more plots in Shahdipura. But now we have been informed by the Defence Ministry that a part of the land which is adjoining the military barracks cannot be made available to us and therefore we have to reduce the number of plots there. On the other hand, another big plot of 800 acres under the Agriculture Ministry has been released to us and we hope to have more plots there, and whatever land we have lost here, we hope to make good there.

Bakhshiji has also spoken of those persons on the roads. Delhi is the only province where people have been coming and there has been no check. I have ascertained from the officers of my Ministry and they inform me that after November or December, at the instance of Gandhiji, a census was taken of those persons on the roads and efforts were made to put them into tents and other places, and as a result of that there was no one on the road. After that many more people have come. This is our difficulty. If we cater for the displaced persons here and we provide greater facilities, more people flock here. Now we have to be more careful and we have to proceed in a special way. If people want help we must take them out and put them somewhere where there is plenty of land.

On the other hand, the Ministry of Health has been complaining that the health conditions in Delhi are getting from bad to worse and we have to take immediate measures to do something to improve them. Therefore, it is not that we are not desirous of helping every refugee who is here. When a person comes to my house and makes a complaint either about his family or some other difficulty, I feel like making some provision somewhere. But I am helpless. I am not denying that there are no cases. If honourable Members will only go round, they will find that there are such cases. If you decide that you have to provide for all, then as one of the previous speakers said, we will have to take the capital somewhere else. You cannot provide for the capital and four lakhs of people at the same time. All the same, we do assure them that we do not want to send out people if they can be rehabilitated here by themselves, or if they can find a house for themselves here. But we cannot take the responsibility for rehabilitating more than a limited number of persons in Delhi.

I now take up the question of our unfortunate sisters, about whom a Member said that the chapter is closed. It is not so. We have an organization called 'Enquiry and Search Service.' They have been functioning for the last six months. The recovery of abducted women is under External Affairs Ministry. My information is that even last month there were recoveries in Pakistan and in India.

As regards the closed districts, honourable Members are aware that these were closed because of the Kashmir operations. Now that those operations have ceased, we hope that these districts will also be declared open and that we will be able to have more recoveries now than before.

**Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena** (U.P.: General): What is the result?

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena**: Result of what? •

**Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena**: Of this organisation for the recovery of women.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena**: We are recovering women.

**Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena**: When do you hope to recover all?

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena**: I have given the figures for the last month and the figures for the previous month.

**Sardar Hukam Singh**: There is no agency now.

**Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena**: The feeling is that the matter has been put into the background.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena**: Social workers are still working, but we have no liaison officers and now the police of the two Dominions are supposed to help, and if any information is supplied to Mr. Gopalaawami Ayyangar, I am sure immediate steps will be taken to do all that can be done to help the recovery of such women.

[Shri Mohan Lal Saksena]

My friend pointed out that practically nothing has been done in the matter of unattached women and children. I am sorry to know that according to him or someone else there are some of our sisters going about selling their bodies. I do not know why that should be when in Delhi we have three homes, and every girl or woman who wants to be trained and given board and lodging can be sent to these homes. Mrs. Matthai and other social workers are looking after them. If my honourable friend has got any such cases in view I would beg of him to get into touch with them or at least send the names and addresses to these social workers. They will go and persuade them to join these homes. (An honourable Member: 'Is it possible?') If it is not possible what can we do? We cannot provide for them wherever they are or want to stay.

Reference was made to compensation for the property left on the other side. It has been pointed out that it is because of the Partition that they had to leave their properties. I do not want to enter into a controversy over this but the honourable Members are aware of the facts. We were forced to accept the partition, because of the trouble that was there. People were already leaving homes and hearths and coming away. It was thought that by accepting partition favourable conditions would be created to enable them to stay there with safety and honour. It is possible that our calculations have gone wrong but to say that because we accepted partition and therefore all this trouble, will not be entirely correct. So far as the Government of India is concerned we feel that we have a moral duty to do all that we can for those persons who have come from Pakistan and to resettle them. But, it is not possible to rehabilitate them in the same professions or give them the standard of life that they were used to. Sardar Man was taking objection to my using the words "simple living and high thinking." What was the context in which this expression was used? I was referring to the way shown by Gandhiji. Gandhiji's way of life was 'simple living and high thinking'. My friend will not deny.....

**Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man:** A person getting a salary of Rs. 2,000 should not quote Gandhiji in that context.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** I may not be able to follow Gandhiji but I can certainly always keep his ideal before me and try to follow it as far as possible. I know that many of the refugees have been used to a higher standard of living both in Sind and in the Punjab. Our friends were certainly used to a standard of life which was higher than that in U. P., Orissa, Bihar or Madras, where the standard is comparatively, much lower. I only wanted to say that every body desiring to be provided with service cannot be provided with jobs, or everybody wishing to get a shop cannot get a shop. After all if we want to distribute anything we must produce it. Even if all the shopkeepers were to be collected in old Lahore they will not be able to rehabilitate themselves. The problem is not only of money but of finding suitable occupations or vocations. The unfortunate part of it is that the Muslims who have gone away were living a life which could not at all be compared with the standard of life enjoyed by our friends there.

In the end I would like to assure the House that I do not propose to shirk my duty. It was suggested by Pandit Maitra that I was threatening of sneaking away or running away. I am the last man to threaten or to sneak away. During the last thirty years I have learnt one thing, stick to my job and hold on to it. What I said was that I would approach the task in all humility, earnestness, devotion and determination. I will be very glad and gratified if by the grace of God it is granted to me to see the early fruition of

my labours and see the liquidation of this problem. But I should be happier to be relieved earlier, if by some arrangement the speedier rehabilitation of the displaced persons could be assured. This is what I have said and I will continue to discharge the duties which I have undertaken with all the earnestness I can command.

**Sardar Bhopinder Singh Man:** The honourable Minister has forgotten to reply to the point relating to the extension to the whole of India of the Evacuee Property Act and why it has not been extended.

**Lala Achint Ram:** The honourable Minister has not also mentioned the condition of the refugee camps.

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** That was because of lack of time. As regards the extension of the Evacuee Property Act we have been advised that so far as the Government of India is concerned we could extend it only to the areas included in the Inter-Dominion Agreement. As regards the provinces we have already written to them to extend it. As regards camps.....

**Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** The honourable Minister told us that his Ministry wants to provide a plot of a house to every displaced family. The land is not to be created in the coming months or year. Will he assure us that before the 15th August every family will get either a house, a plot or a rented house in Delhi and elsewhere?

**The Honourable Shri Mohan Lal Saksena:** All I can say is that I will make an earnest effort. The honourable Member is our Regional Adviser for East Punjab and if he can assure me that he will be able to persuade the East Punjab Government to allot plots of land there even by September next I can assure him that before August next I will be able to persuade other Governments to make arrangements for providing the plots.

[At this stage Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Mr. Deputy Speaker (Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar)]

#### MOTION RE INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING

**Shri Mahavir Tyagi (U. P.: General):** Till what time will the House sit, Sir.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The House will sit till 5-30 P.M. but since the time allotted for the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry has been exceeded by a few minutes, the House might sit till 5-40 P.M.

**Shri Mahavir Tyagi:** How do you propose to distribute the time between the speakers, Sir?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The honourable Minister will take half an hour to reply and Members will take ten minutes and in extraordinary cases 15 minutes.

**The Honourable Shri Satyanarayan Sinha (Minister of State):** Till 5-30 P.M. let the speakers go on, Sir, and then the Ministry may be called upon to reply.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** If the House agrees I have no objection.

**The Honourable Shri E. R. Diwakar (Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting):** Sir, as we are sitting late today, I know that I should take as little time as possible. I propose that in the beginning I will take about



[Shri R. R. Diwakar]

seven minutes and in the end if it is possible for me to finish in 15 minutes, I shall try my best to do so.

Sir, I move:

- "That the working of Information and Broadcasting be taken into consideration."

Sir, though the House has been generous in granting the Demands of this Ministry even without a debate and has thus evinced complete confidence, I thought it necessary that the working of this Ministry should be reviewed by the honourable Members before this Session ends. That is the reason for my making this Motion. I look upon this occasion as a co-operative attempt on the part of the Ministry and the honourable Members together, to find out as to how we can progress all along the line in the light of the scrutiny made and the criticism offered here. It is no doubt difficult for a developing Ministry of this kind to expand its activities without more money. For instance it may be easy to say that much cannot be done without better finances. But after all we have to work under conditions and limitations, and I think, where for want of funds, we cannot increase the quantity, we should address ourselves to improving the quality of our work.

I am equally conscious, Sir, that we have very little time on hand today. I, therefore, propose to take as little time as possible in order to give the most of it to honourable Members who, I am sure, will approach the subject in the same spirit in which I have proposed to do.

Sir, a fairly exhaustive note has already been circulated to the honourable Members a few days ago explaining the functions and organisation of this Ministry.

I now take this opportunity to make only a few points. I am fortunate that I had as my predecessor in office our distinguished Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Out of his experience as a great administrator he had already laid down sound and healthy traditions. Thus the path has been easy for me. One of the first steps that I took on assuming charge a few months ago was to examine the various publicity problems and arrange for a conference with Ministers of Information from the Provinces and States, to discuss matters of common interest, with a view to better co-ordination as between the Centre and the Provinces and between the Provinces themselves. There are various subjects in which not only the Centre but also the Provinces are equally interested, subjects such as nation-building, all-round development and re-construction.

One of the important things that we did in the Conference was to decide upon a common approach to this subject and the objectives of planned publicity. With the attainment of independence, India has been set on the road to peace, progress and prosperity. But these things can follow only if the people as a whole address themselves to the tasks ahead with intelligence and with due diligence. In this context, it is the primary duty of Government to help develop enlightened opinion on all matters of public interest. The fundamental principles which must inspire all publicity on behalf of a free, democratic country like India are a profound regard for truth and utmost respect for the opinions of its people. From this alone can arise that public opinion and that public support without which no democratic Government can function properly and efficiently. It is in this order of ideas that we have to think of publicity and the main objectives that must inspire it.

For the proper and efficient functioning of a progressive democracy, wide and planned publicity which would educate the people and make them conscious of their responsibilities as citizens, is absolutely necessary. Every popular Government must keep in touch with its masters, the people. It is today a function of Government to see that the people at large have the widest possible opportunity to form their own opinions based upon a fair and accurate presentation of facts. The work of this Ministry, therefore, is concerned with the presentation to the people of our country, of facts and information about the policies and activities of Government and to focus attention on what the Government is trying to do in the interests of the people and what it expects the people to do on their part and in their own interests. While I do not wish to repeat the contents of the note referred to. I should in this connection like to draw the attention of honourable Members here to some of the services rendered by the different media units of this Ministry.

The Broadcasting organisation today has 14 A.I.R. Stations and two services, Home and External. The Home Services are broadcast in 15 languages and there are 200 programme hours per day including 40 news bulletins. The External Services use eight more languages and broadcast 13 hours 20 minutes including 25 news bulletins. Today, according to licence figures, there are 2,81,046 domestic receivers, 21,679 commercial receivers, 1,870 community receivers and 505 school receivers, a total of 3,05,100. But as compared with other countries, we are rather low in listening sets. There are, however, encouraging signs of growth of listening interest. During the last 15 months the number of receiver sets has increased by a lakh. Whereas previously the average rate of increase in new licenses was only about 2,000 per month, it is now 9,000 per month.

Since the Radio is potentially a mighty medium for information, education as well as entertainment, efforts are being made not only to improve our services but also to increase the use of receivers both in the urban as well as in rural areas in the country.

Another important organisation is the Press Information Bureau which supplies news and other material to the Press and all other media of publicity. Though it is responsible for the publicity of all departments of Government, it is itself the most unassuming and the least publicised. It supplies material to 105 Indian and foreign correspondents. 1,100 newspapers get material direct from it. There are in all 2,500 recipients.

There is also the analysis section in this Department. It scrutinises about 100 important newspapers and supplies relevant cuttings to the respective Ministries.

There is then the Photographic Section which distributes about 6,000 prints a month to different journals. Progress is being made in planning better services to our language papers and also in the matter of supplying ebionoids to newspapers.

There are today four Regional Offices of the Bureau working in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Lucknow with Headquarters at Delhi.

The Films Division has been resuscitated recently and is aiming at producing 52 newsreels and 36 documentaries during the year. Distribution arrangements are being perfected and by May 1949 it is hoped to cover all

[Shri R. R. Diwakar]

cinemas numbering about 2,200, in India. Today, films are released only in English and Hindustani. But the plan is to dub them in Bengali, Tamil and Telugu as well. There would be further extension in dubbing in other languages later.

As regards the film industry as a whole, a thorough enquiry in this country is over-due—the last enquiry being held in 1928. A committee would be set up early to go into all the various aspects of the question.

Regarding censorship on account of an amendment of the Government of India Act in the last session of the Constituent Assembly, the way is now clear for legislation in this Parliament to establish central censorship of films.

As an immediate and important reform, a Bill is already pending in Parliament to enable censors to issue restricted Certificates so that certain films may not be open for children below 18.

There is a proposal to restrict the length of feature films to a maximum of 11,000 feet and also a proposal that all cinemas ought to show compulsorily some documentaries as a part of the country's programme to educate the people. These proposals are being examined and finalised in consultation with the industry as well as the Provincial Governments.

The Publications Division also has a record of service which is very useful though improvement is necessary and possible and is already being planned. Here too, this Section produces publications both for external circulation and internal consumption.

There are journals, one in English, three in Hindi and three in Urdu.

For external distribution, there are two magazines one in English and one in Arabic.

In addition to journals, 34 books, booklets and pamphlets were issued during 1948 and six are in the press, while 15 more are under preparation. Most of our publications are priced and those who have seen them have appreciated them.

One of our many difficulties today is the want of a quality printing press. Negotiations are afoot to secure such a good press for use. If they are successful, this Department will be capable not only of printing all its own publications, but would also be able to help other Ministries in bringing out quality publications in time and in addition save several lakhs in printing charges alone.

The Advertising Consultant's Branch deals only with display advertisements of different Ministries through Press, posters, folders, calendars, etc. It is the Advertising Consultant for other Ministries. Planning, preparing estimates, designing and production of plates are some of the functions of this Section. During 1948, 7,840 insertions covering 1,78,961 column inches were given to the Press. 89 posters were designed and 6,87,000 copies of the same were issued. 1,080 slides were prepared and shown. The print order of folders, brochures, etc. was to the tune of over five crores.

There are certain smaller sections, such as the Reference and Research Section, the Army Publicity Section, etc., which have definite assignments of their own. The former of these shall have to develop early enough if more efficient service is our aim.

Now I may refer in a few words to our relations with the Press in this country. I am gratified to say that, with the steadily expanding press of this country, especially the language press which is fast progressing in stature and influence, our relations have been very cordial and close. I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, whose advice we have frequently sought and whose response has been generous in all problems connected with Government's relations with the Press. In addition, at the Headquarters, we have endeavoured to ascertain and to meet the requirements of the numerous accredited correspondents of both the Indian and the world Press. Similarly, the assistance of the various Advisory Committees that are there to assist the various stations of All-India Radio have been most helpful. The task of a new Government which has only recently come into its own, and had had to pass through numerous ordeals, and has yet to face many more, is not easy. The task of interpreting its policies and of carrying its message to the masses is not less difficult. But there is no doubt that with the support and assistance of the Press in the country, the task has been easier and was made lighter.

I shall be failing in my duty if I close without a word of appreciation for the band of workers in this Ministry whose loyalty and devotion has been instrumental in carrying out successfully its plans and programmes. It is my constant hope that, armed with the sympathy and support of this House, assured of the hearty co-operation of the Press and helped by the loyal workers in this Ministry, we shall be able to succeed in our primary duty of providing basic and factual information, of stimulating thought and of promoting unity and solidarity among our people with a view to build up the strong democratic secular State for which we all stand.

With these few words, Sir, I commend the Motion to the House.

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

"That the working of Information and Broadcasting be taken into consideration."

**Pandit Balkrishna Sharma (U.P.: General):** Sir, I have heard the opening remarks of the honourable Minister for Information and Broadcasting with rapt attention, and I wish to congratulate him on the future programme which he has set before him for completion, and on possible developments that he wants to effect in the various branches of this Ministry.

Today, with paucity of time, it is not possible for me to do justice to more than one or two of the departments of which the honourable Minister for Information and Broadcasting is in charge. I would first like to take up the Department of Broadcasting, and would like to offer certain criticisms and certain suggestions for the consideration of the honourable Minister. When we take an overall picture of what is known as the All-India Radio, we have to take into consideration its chequered career. We must not forget that the All-India Radio was once a private concern subsidized by the then Government of India. Slowly it developed into a full-fledged Government Department. Now, the very history of it, the very process of development of the Department, is enough to convince us that the sort of men, whose services were required to further the task to which either the Director of the private concern or the Government which took it over, set themselves, were men of a special, peculiar type. The only consideration before them, when broadcasting was a private concern, was nothing except to amuse the people and thereby create in them a desire for possessing radio sets and make the concern a success in

[Pandit Balkrishna Sharma]

a commercial way. When it was taken over by the Government of India, they were not very greatly concerned with anything as to how this Department affected the people of this country culturally, educationally, ethically or spiritually. They were not concerned with that. The only consideration before them was to have, here and outside, propaganda about India which would paint John Bull in the best possible colours, and therefore that peculiar type of cadre was recruited for that Department. That is the history of it.

Sir, if today the Honourable Mr. Diwakar feels any difficulty in carrying out his ideas into practice, then it is not he who is responsible for it—it is unfortunately the history of the Department. One may say it is true of every Department. It is true of the Home Department, of the Foreign Department, of the Education Department, of every Department because after all we have taken over the administration of the country in all its details as it was left by the British, and therefore it can also be said that it is no use falling foul of one particular department. But to me it appears that there is a great deal of difference between what we may call the Broadcasting Department and other Departments. The Broadcasting Department directly comes in touch with the people and if that Department is not working efficiently and with those ends in view which such a Department should have before it, and if we find difficulties in working it on proper lines, then the very fact that it is a historical mistake cannot absolve us from the responsibility of correcting that mistake. Somehow it has been a conviction with me that the men who organised this Department, men like Fielden, for instance, had very little of Indian national feeling in them. They were anti-national and naturally they used the Information and Broadcasting Department for the purpose of carrying on anti-Indian and imperialist propaganda. That tradition, I beg to say, still persists. There was that tendency at that time to exclude every young man who had the least possible nationalistic feelings in him, however capable he might be. I know of so many cases where men who were approved by the Public Service Commission were chucked off by the Department because the police reported that they were men who had nationalistic leanings; thus they were not considered desirable at that time and were chucked off. The tendency of excluding from the services capable young men who were in the least suspected of nationalistic feelings continued till very late in the day and, in a way, continues even till today. You will be surprised to know this; this continues even till today. The powers that were holding sway over the department at that time have so created the situation that even if we want to get away from the tentacles that they have spread, we will find it difficult. I think my honourable friend the Minister in charge of this department will have to do that work. It is a herculean task; but that task he will have to do. I have often dinned into his ears,—I have been in correspondence with him on these matters,—I have told him, that nothing short of cleaning the Augean stables will meet the situation. I hope he will rise to the occasion and clear this Augean stable. The disease from which this department of Broadcasting has been suffering in the past can be called the disease of denationalitis. There was denationalising influence all round; every one of the officers and men of the Department suffered from that, so that, the men in charge of that department had nothing absolutely in common with the man in the street or with the sentiments of the people in this country.

Now, the question is, should we permit such a condition to continue. I think if we permit this to continue, we will do so at our own peril. Because, after all, this Information and Broadcasting Department can, and should,

be a very great instrument or propaganda of all that is good, of all that is true, of all that is of permanent value. If we really wish to give to this country and to the world that which is best in our Indian thought, in our Indian culture, in our Indian tradition, in our Indian philosophy, if we really want that we should use this department for the moral regeneration of this country, then, I say, we will have to bring about a change in the personnel of the department without which you cannot do that. Today, Sir, you as a Congress leader, and through you I can say, the honourable Minister for Information and Broadcasting as a Congress leader, could appreciate that our country is passing actually through a moral and spiritual crisis. This filthy lucre has made men's minds absolutely corrupt. Mammon has corrupted our souls. One great danger which is as pernicious and as ferocious as this, is what I may call the so-called scientific socialism which is stalking in the land. That with all its materialistic philosophy is also eating into our very vitals in the name of bringing about the regeneration of the under-dog, and giving him economic emancipation. Now, are you going to make the All-India Radio an instrument in fighting this disease, which has spread its tentacles in our country? You may say that you as a political party cannot permit your department of broadcasting to be used for the purpose of carrying on propaganda against one particular political party in the country. But, I say, Sir, it is not against any one particular political party that I ask you to carry on propaganda. I want that we must carry on propaganda of the right type of fundamentals and principles in our people and therefore if I ask you to make use of this Information and Broadcasting Department for the purpose of setting the whole country ablaze with Gandhi, with his spiritual glory and with his moral loftiness, I am sure, I am not asking you to do anything which is against the principles on which the foundations of a democratic secular state have been laid here.

Sir, I crave your indulgence for giving me a few minutes more. Because, as I said, the subject is vast and the honourable Minister while reading his statement took about more than 20 minutes and with my halting speed, I cannot be expected to cover even half the ground that the honourable Minister has covered, within the short time of ten minutes allotted to me.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Fifteen minutes have already been taken by the honourable Member from 4.20 to 4.35.

**Pandit Balkrishna Sharma:** When I say that the honourable Minister has to see to it that this Department is put to its proper use, then, it also means that in the future, in the matter of recruitment, in the matter of promotions, in the matter of appointment of the high officials of the department he has to adopt a different course from the one which has been followed so far. Because, I think that is the sort of thing that would help. If I begin here giving some instances as to how this blessed department is being worked, the honourable Minister will be surprised. All sorts and manner of bastard music is given by this All-India Radio. Times without number we in the Advisory Committees have said and passed resolutions that this sort of monstrosity should not be inflicted upon our people and that in its stead, there should be something by way of giving to the people some ethical, moral, philosophical instructions. They would not hear it. I said, have something of the Gita, have something of the Upanishads, have something of Koran, if you like. But, they said, no; ours is a secular state. I was informed that, when the resolutions passed by our committee were sent round for opinion to the Station Directors, one very great Station Director wrote back: this is a secular state, we can have nothing to do with the Gita. For-

[Pandit-Balkrishna Sharma]

in the life of me, I cannot understand the meaning of secularism. Every proposal which the Committee makes is turned down by the upholders of the secular state over there. We are the people who did something for the establishment of the secular state in this blessed land; but now there are those people who pose themselves to be the sole guardians of this new secular state. Now, as I said, look at your music that you are giving. Look at the way you are training your artistes and the way you are treating them. From top to bottom, Sir, everything is rotten and you have to change it. Look at your External Services? What are they after all? You give in your External Services those third-rate musical records which you borrow from the B.B.C. Indian External Services giving the records borrowed from the B.B.C. or English music—where is the fun, I say? Are we projecting Indian culture? What is this? Do we want India's soul, India's traditions India's culture, to be reflected in our External programmes and if we want it, then certainly we cannot have anybody in charge of that programme which is neither Indian nor Pakistani nor anything. That individual, who was prepared to go to Pakistan, is now the Director of our External Services. One another gentleman recently recruited—I think my honourable friend did not know him while recruiting,—was used by the former British Government as its stooge and he has been made a very high official in the Department. I am not going to name him. Sir, but the fact remains. Then there are people who have been promoted because the Advisory Committee.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** May I suggest to the honourable Member that all these facts regarding individual appointments can be brought to the notice of the Minister and discussed with him before they are raised in this House. A number of such matters can be raised, but it is impossible for the honourable Minister to answer or do justice to them. Further, it would not be right to discuss individual cases before they are brought to the honourable Minister, if possible.

**Pandit Balkrishna Sharma:** I thank you very much, Sir, for just warning me in regard to this and I accept your warning. I am not going to place any instances of individual nature before the House. What I wanted to impress upon the honourable Minister is that now has come the time when we shall have to bring about a change in the policy of the governance of this Department and that policy cannot be changed unless we learn the habit of just jumping the hedges, the departmental hedges, for instance. "We cannot simply do anything and the Secretary writes like this and therefore the thing has to be sanctioned." That sort of thing has to go. I consider that on this Department depends the making or marring of the future of this country and of this Government and therefore, I think that we must be very careful in running this Department and all sorts of departmental hedges have to be either finished or have to be jumped over. That is what I wanted to impress on the honourable Minister.

As I said, there is this question of language and we have a circular so far in vogue in various stations. We have got the percentage of language programmes fixed in Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani and Lucknow, Delhi, Bombay and I think even Calcutta, all these stations have got a fixed programme and that language circular is there. For instance in Delhi the proportion of the language is 40 Hindi, 40 Urdu and 20 Hindustani. (*An Honourable Member:* "What is this Hindustani, Hindi, Urdu?") Well, I myself have not been able to understand it. The difficulty before me has been all along as to what this Hindustani is; I am not going to enter into this bigger question as to whether

Hindustani is a language or not. I will refer the honourable Minister to look to the meaning of the word Hindustani in the Oxford Dictionary. Hindustani is defined as a language which our masters created with a sprinkling of Persian and Arabic words and which is nothing but Persianized Hindi. That is what the Oxford Dictionary gives as the meaning of Hindustani. It is thus that the Hindustani language is defined over there, so that Hindustani is nothing but Urdu. Now this Circular has become absolutely outmoded and absolutely useless. I would beg of you to do away with that circular and to do away also with this name. It is absolutely no language. Of course I can accept that Urdu is a great language and Hindi is a language, but Hindustani is no language. At that time Hindustani was devised to be that thin end of the wedge through which Urdu-e-Mualla will get on and that is what Hindustani is to us today and therefore, I request you to get this circular changed. It is no use our department working under this handicap and the name also must go. There is no reason why when Pakistan has adopted Urdu as its national language we should fight shy of the word Hindi. Though formally we have not adopted Hindi as our National language, yet with the help of our South Indian friends, with the help of our Bengalee friends and with the help of our Punjabee friends, we will have Hindi adopted in our Constitution and, therefore, we will only thank you if you adopt the name a little before the Constituent Assembly adopts it. These are some of the suggestions which I wanted to place before you and I thank you very much, Sir, that you have been so indulgent to me for allowing me so much time for placing my views before the House.

**Shrimati G. Durgabai (Madras: General):** Sir, this Ministry of Information and educated people. Sir, in the new set up of things, we are supposed to this is a Department which was very much exploited in the regime of the British and it was mostly used for the recreational activities of the wealthy and educated people. Sir, in the new set up of things, we are supposed to have made a radical change in the policy of this Ministry. This department is charged with a very heavy responsibility that responsibility being the liquidation of illiteracy and also to prepare the common man to be a better type of citizen.

Now, as I have already said, it has got a duty to instruct, educate and guide the people. Therefore, naturally, it has got also a duty of being advised and also guided by the people in the country. Firstly, I suggest, that the Standing Committee which is associated with the working of this Ministry should be made a real committee and also we should give it a few more powers, not only to advise, but also to see that the recommendations and the proposals made by the Standing Committee are implemented. Of course, though the honourable Minister in his first introductory remarks has not sought the co-operation of the Standing Committee, the members of the Standing Committee, I am sure, are quite anxious to extend their help and also guidance to the working of his Ministry.

Sir, I wish to deal with one of the Division's work under this Ministry, that is the Films Division. Sir, this Division was revised with great hopes during the year 1947-48 with an annual budget grant of Rs. 34 lakhs. Month after month advertisements appeared calling for applications for technicians, controllers, distributors, directors, deputy directors and what not. A host of people were recruited. Technical staff was recruited and accommodation was found for them at a cost of nearly Rs. 74,000 per annum. Equipment worth four to five lakhs was purchased. We do not mind spending



[Shrimati G. Durgabai]

money on objects that give good results. I am sure this House would never grudge similar appropriations this year also if it is assured of success in its efforts. Now what have we got in return for this huge expenditure? Only a few documentary films and news-reels have been produced by this Division to justify this enormous expenditure. In spite of the great facilities and the privileges which this Division enjoys the success that it has achieved compared to what has been spent on it is practically nil. I am of opinion that this huge paraphernalia has not produced any satisfactory results.

Now may I ask what is the policy of the Government with regard to this Division? Is it intended that this Division should devote itself exclusively to Government's publicity? Or is it intended that it should produce educational and cultural films? To a question which, you Mr. Deputy-Speaker, put to the Education Minister last year, as to whether this Division was producing educational and cultural films.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I do not remember to have put that question.

**Shrimati G. Durgabai:** I am sorry it was a question put by the present Minister himself. This morning I read a report of a speech delivered by the Health Minister complaining that the activities of her Ministry were neglected. She wanted to give publicity to health activities, but no films were supplied to her and she was forced to get nine films from foreign countries and some were also lent to her. Therefore it is a matter for shame that, having our own Film Division, we were not able to supply the required films to the Ministry of Health. I have heard that the Education Minister also to extend the activities of his Ministry by providing visual education. I do not know whether any such films are available with this Film Division. I suggest that an Advisory Committee should be associated with this Division to constantly advise it on the subjects it has to deal with and also to supervise the work of this Division in the matter of the release of films in the quickest possible time and also to keep the Branch in touch with the public reactions with regard to the particular films exhibited. I hope the Government would constitute such a committee and give it adequate powers to deal with the subject. As I said, we are poor people and cannot waste a single rupee. We want to realise full value of every rupee that we spend. If this Division is a failure I do not know whether I should attribute it to natural causes and if so I should be sympathetic. But if its failure is due to inefficiency, indecision and clumsy management I should ask the honourable Minister to set right matters and not give room for complaints of this kind.

I am glad that the provincial Governments are restricting the length of films. It is good, but the Government should impose on the exhibitors a condition that they should exhibit also the shorts produced by the Film Division. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I would request you to see that I am not interrupted.

Next, Sir, I want to suggest that the setting up of a Central Board of Film Censors and a Committee to enquire into the film industry are very welcome.

I find that for the News Service Section there is a proposal that news correspondents should be sent to foreign countries in order to have a better and wider coverage of news. This proposal is made in the interests of improving our external publicity. In the beginning there was a proposal to have a few correspondents in particular countries to publicise our national activities in the

capitals of Europe and America. I do not think that that expenditure is a fruitful one. We have got the *Press Trust of India* now in partnership with *Reuters*. Why not we utilise this organisation for our purpose? The Ministry may devise ways and means of controlling and also nationalising it if necessary.

In this connection may I remind the House of what I said last year on this matter? "With the inauguration of Regional Stations at Vijayawada and other places, the need for catering local news is all the more great." Without perfecting the internal news organisation there is no good in our aiming at external publicity, though I realise that there is necessity to simultaneously improve our external publicity also. But, as I have already said, this is already under the general management of the *Press Trust of India* and also with the *Reuters*. We are extending rural broadcasting, but we have not devised ways and means of gathering news of local importance. The news of a co-operative started in a village on the anniversary of an educational institution in a taluk centre will be of greater educational value than any number of radio talks. The provincial papers do not carry these news because of its restrictive nature. The All India Radio should step in here and come forward with broadcast and coverage news. Very little time is allowed for local or provincial news. The greater part of the time allowed is taken for broadcasting *verbatim* the speeches of Ministers. Not even mention is made of either the work done by any particular institution or group of workers. I feel that the All India Radio should become the instrument for popularising constructive work done by institutions and groups of workers. Its policy has to be changed in this regard. We are having more regional stations, but correspondingly there is no increase in the community radio-sets. I agree with the proposal of the Economy Committee that before starting a medium wave station the Government should take an assurance from the province concerned that it would be responsible to instal the full quota of community sets in that area. The Economy Committee has complained.....

**The Honourable Shri R. R. Diwakar:** We are not supposed to have seen the report of the Economy Committee as yet.

**Shrimati G. Durgabai:** I have got only one point to refer to. There is a good deal of criticism with the way in which patronage is distributed through appointments. This is a very serious matter. I wish that all I have heard in regard to this is not true. But really, if it is true, it is high time that the Government realised its responsibility and tried to take every step necessary to dispel that kind of criticism which is widespread. It is said that provincialism, nepotism and other 'isms' come into play in the matter of these appointments and that the appointments are not properly made at all. Therefore, I urge upon the Minister that he should unequivocally declare that the appointments for the gazetted posts would be made only on the recommendations of the F.P.S.C. In this connection, the Standing Committee has made certain proposals with regard to the other appointments and those proposals also should be adhered to. The Standing Committee has made a proposal that these Selection Boards which are hitherto associated only with the official element should hereafter be made more representative and also include non-official elements, preferably with a non-official as its Chairman. These proposals should be adhered to by the honourable Minister.

**Shri Ramnath Goenka (Madras: General):** Sir, before I deal with the subject I would like to clear one doubt in the mind of my sister who has just

[Shri Ramnath Goenka]

spoken. She said that *P.T.I.* was an organisation in partnership with *Reuters*. Far from it. She said, if necessary, Government will control it. She further added, if necessary, it will be nationalised. It is a hundred per cent. national institution owned by the newspapers of this country. It is hundred per cent. controlled by Indians and the Press of India.

**Shri B. K. Sidhva** (C. P. and Berar: General): Where does *Reuters* come in?

**Shri Ramnath Goenka**: I will come to *Reuters* very soon. It is controlled by the Press of India.

**The Honourable Shri B. B. Diwakar**: But that is not nationalisation.

**Shri Ramnath Goenka**: There is no question of the Press of India or any of its news agencies being controlled by any Government, whatever the Government of the day may be. The Press will keep their independence in spite of the Government. It has kept so in the past and it will try its best to do so in the future.

Now, so far as the *Press Trust of India* is concerned, Mr. Sidhva asked, "Where does *Reuters* come in?" *Reuters* come in only to the extent to which we get their news in London. We have our own desk—our own office—in London and it is that office which control the import and export of news in and out of India. It is the news which we gather from *Reuters* and other sources such as our own Special Correspondents in the various parts of the world, and when such news is got in London, it is we who send out news to India and see that it is what is required for India and what is suitable to be exported out of India. That is the function of the *Press Trust of India*. *Reuters* only come into the picture to the extent to which we get their news in bulk in our London office for our use. We use such news as we want and we reject such as we do not want, and we use the *Reuters* organisation in all parts of the world for the dissemination of Indian news in the various parts of the world. This *P. T. I.* organisation, although it has formally come into existence, it has not yet established its various correspondents in the various parts of the world. They have not yet established correspondents in the India zone. In fact, they have not yet opened their London desk.

**Shri B. L. Sondhi** (East Punjab: General): Are we discussing *P.T.I.*?

**Shri Ramnath Goenka**: The *P.T.I.* is a very important subject for Information and Broadcasting Ministry and therefore, you better know something about it.

**Shri B. L. Sondhi**: I am trying to learn.

**Shri Ramnath Goenka**: Having said that, I must pay my humble tribute to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, whose guidance and assistance has brought about the establishment of this *Press Trust of India*. Two and a half or three years ago, when the Indian Press wanted to negotiate with *Reuters* in regard to the internal service only—because there is no part of the world where the internal news service of any country is managed by a foreign news agency; it was only this unfortunate country in which the internal service in the country was managed by a foreign agency—when at that time, we wanted to negotiate with *Reuters* for the internal service only, it was Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel—he was not then a Minister—it was his advice which stopped us from encumbering our future for several years to come. It is his advice which has brought about the existence of the *Press Trust of India* and I may say that this country is very proud to have their own news agency, not only for this country but for all parts of the world.

Now, I will first take Broadcasting. I entirely agree with what all has been said by my friend Mr. Sharma. May I cite a simple example to corroborate what Mr. Sharma said? In 1946 November—I want you to mark the date—in 1946 November, a Selection Board was established.

**Shri B. L. Sondhi:** Is it a capitalist venture?

**Shri Ramnath Goenka:** You wait. You are an agent of the capitalists and you know better.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** I would not like this interruption at all. I would ask the honourable Member to be a little more patient.

**Shri B. L. Sondhi:** But I only wanted to know whether it is a capitalist venture.

**Shri Ramnath Goenka:** What do you mean by "capitalist"? You know more about capitalism than anybody else in this House.

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

**Shri Ramnath Goenka:** Excuse me.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** There is no need for heat. This is a very interesting subject—Information and Broadcasting. It must be full of information and interest. There is no need to lose temper.

**Shri B. L. Sondhi:** I only want information, whether it is a capitalist venture or not. He is losing his temper.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** The honourable Member is provoking the honourable Member.

**Shri Ramnath Goenka:** Sir, I do not want to go into that aspect. I will just refer to the Selection Board. In November 1946 a Selection Board was appointed by the Government of India in which one of the members was my friend Mr. Deshbandhu Gupta. In June 1947 a meeting of this Board was called for the selection of the candidates for posts in the All India Radio. When they came to the meeting, they were told that no meeting is going to be held. During the whole of the year 1947 no meeting was held. In 1948 July, twenty months after the Board was constituted, they got a letter that their services were no longer required. Without having a single meeting of the Selection Board the Selection Board ended. And what happened in the meantime? Several persons—very high appointments—were made by the officers in charge of the All-India Radio or by the Ministry, I cannot say who. Now, when we took up this matter in the Standing Committee, after it was brought to our notice that there was so much of favouritism, nepotism and the like, we begged of our honourable Minister and we unanimously decided, that a Selection Board should be appointed and in that Selection Board three should be non-officials and two should be officials. If there were three officials, and two non-officials, one of the non-officials should be the Chairman. But if it was two officials and three non-officials, then an official may be Chairman. (*An Honourable Member:* "So it was a bargain"). It is not question of bargain. It is the balance of power between each one of them. The result was that no such Board has been appointed so far. It has been referred to the Home Department. I do not know how that Board was constituted in 1946 and why it was dissolved and why this Board cannot be reconstituted. Are we to take the permission of the Home Department at every step? Unfortunately there is a lacuna and that lacuna is fully taken advantage of by this Ministry. The lacuna is this, that contract appointments can be made by the Ministry without going before the Public Service Commission. Although in the normal course of things they are supposed to go before the Public Service Commission, if they appoint anybody on contract basis, they can do so with impunity. Then, Sir, temporary

[Shri Ramnath Goenka]

appointments can be filled in by this Ministry or any other Ministry without consulting anybody. Hence what they do is this. They go on filling up temporary appointments and go on extending it year after year and after one and a half years or two years of service, for which period they extend unnecessarily, they put in an advertisement and when that advertisement appears, hundreds of people from all over India apply for the job and this gentleman who is a temporary employee in the All India Radio also applies for the same job. The representative of the All India Radio is before the Service Commission at the time of the selection of this candidate. He naturally says that this man has been working for the last two years. He is an angel on earth and they would like this man to be selected. I am not suggesting that the Public Services Commission do not use their discretion in the matter. I am not casting a reflection on them. But if I were a member of the Commission, and if first-hand information is given to me by the Department that requires that person and it is said that the man is completely O.K., it will be something very foreign to expect from that Public Services Commission that they should select someone else rather than this person who has been recommended by All India Radio.

**Dr. P. S. Deshmukh** (C. P. and Berar: General): Is that not a well-established method of recruitment in almost every department and Ministry?

**Shri Ramnath Goenka**: I cannot speak with any authority in regard to any other department of this Government. But so far as this Department is concerned, I have made enquiries and I stand by every word of what I have said.

**Shri Mahavir Tyagi**: We also stand by you.

**The Honourable Shri B. R. Diwakar**: I stand by you!

**Shri Ramnath Goenka**: Thank you. I would not have referred to this matter in the House because we had taken up this matter in the Standing Committee of Information and Broadcasting but for the fact that the Minister himself did not agree to our proposal though it was a unanimous one. He said he would have to refer this matter to the Home Department. But if we were prepared to agree to there being three officials, including the Chairman, then there would have been no difficulty.

We have come to a point of time when this officialdom should not haunt us all the time. This bureaucracy must not dictate to us all the time. It is unfortunate that we are carried away by the dictates of this bureaucracy. This is not a subject in which one would like to say very much except that I would expect the honourable Minister to make a statement here and now, that this selection system will be arranged for and no further appointments in Information and Broadcasting will be made unless the names of the candidates are first submitted to the proposed Selection Board.

One thing more I would like to say about Broadcasting. It is in connection with the central news organization. This collects news for the dissemination to the public in the four broadcasts which they give during the day and night time—one at 8 A.M., one at 1 P.M., another at 6 P.M. and the fourth at 9 P.M. for ten to fifteen minutes each time. You will have noticed yourself, Sir, that a lot of this time is spent upon disseminating the speeches of the Ministers. I have personal knowledge of the fact that even the sub-editors and editors in the All-India Radio are afraid to cut down the speeches of Ministers because usually the Secretary to the Minister telephones and says, 'Look, the Minister has spoken. Give full publicity.' So a lot of time is taken over by these speeches.

But the point is: How many people do they employ for this news collection? Forty-three persons! Who are they? They are a Director, an Assistant Senior Director, a Chief News Editor, eight News Editors, twenty-five Assistant News Editors and seven Sub-Editors: this is apart from the vernacular translators for the vernacular broadcasts: forty-three in all! Newspapers which give more than 100,000 words of fresh news day in and day out—and as a matter of fact even the best newspaper office—have not more than 20 to 25 newsmen. So, just for 40 to 45 minutes broadcasts the All India Radio have as many as forty-three persons.

So far as foreign news is concerned, the All India Radio takes no initiative because they relay what is given to them or doled out to them by the B.B.C., and whether it is national or not, whether it injures the interest of my country or not, the All India Radio does not seem to worry.

During the Hyderabad agitation the B.B.C. were doling out some of the anti-National news and that news All India Radio used to broadcast. It is at the most concerned with internal news, most of which is taken up with the speeches of Ministers and for that they have 43 persons employed.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Is not the speech also news?

**Shri Ramnath Goenka:** It is very much of news, but.....

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

**The Honourable Shri R. E. Diwakar:** That is news!

**Shri Ramnath Goenka:** That is news inside the House!

I want to say something else in regard to broadcasting. Powerful stations are being established by the U.S.A. in Manila and by the British in Singapore. Those powerful stations are going to broadcast all over the Middle East, the Far East and the Near East and once those stations are established and if we do not change our policy in regard to the dissemination of news and give all types of news through the All India Radio, you can take it from me that we will be squeezed out of existence so far as the All India Radio and the nearer countries are concerned. This is a warning which I would like to give to the Minister.

I must say a few words in regard to the Press. The Press has always been co-operating with the Government, and particularly with our National Government. But there are certain grievances of the Press which I would like to express on this occasion. Ministers make speeches on matters of policy but copies of those speeches are not given in time to Press correspondents. Hence what actually happens is that some scrappy report is sent out and when that is published the whole effect of the total speech delivered on a matter of policy is lost. I would like to see that the honourable Minister does everything in his power to put this right. He should either see that the Minister concerned hands out an advance copy of his speech on matters of policy, or if there is no advance copy steps should be taken to see that immediately the full text of the speech is made available to the Press; for once a scrappy report is published, people do not take any interest in the long and full record of the same.

**Shri K. M. Munshi (Bombay: General):** Sir, I do not want to compare my friend, the honourable Minister, with the devil, but even he must, like the devil, have his due paid, and if not he, his department. I completely disagree with my honourable friend who spoke last that the All India Radio, particularly the Delhi Station, did not render sufficient service in the cause of Hyderabad; I take this opportunity to place on record my deep appreciation of the great services which the Delhi Radio did in respect of the Hyderabad affair. And

[Shri K. M. Munshi]

if it was true of ancient Greek heroes that their battle cry was sufficient to bring down the battlement of Troy, I can equally say with truth that the voice of the Delhi radio did more than bring down the battlements of Hyderabad long before the police action.

I confess, Sir, I am not a radio fan. I have little time and no inclination to sit down before a machine and let it talk to me. But during those days it was my only companion in the solitary grandeur in which I lived in the Agent General's house at Bolarum and therefore I know the Delhi radio fairly well.

There is another due which I think ought to be paid to the department. On the 15th August the man who for several years was the dictator of the Broadcasting Department walked away to Pakistan with many of his artists in his pocket. I know, because I was in contact with this Department since the days of Sir Akbar Hydari, the whole Broadcasting Department was if I may say so, in a mess. The experts had gone, the Director was gone and there were only a few experts left. This dislocated the service and it was then that the present department, as we know it today, was built up. I know it was a task, a very difficult task and they have done it well.

The only question on which I would like to make a couple of suggestions is with regard to the language problem. I am closely associated with this problem since the days of Sir Akbar Hydari, when as President of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan I was in constant contact with him. I have been on the Hindustani Committee too. I share the views of my honourable friend Pandit Balkrishna Sharma that the old ratio of 40 per cent Hindi, 40 per cent Urdu and 20 per cent Hindustani requires to be revised. In what manner or what shape that is for the Ministry with its experts to decide. It is an anti-deluvian ratio and the sooner it disappears the better. No doubt the language of the news has considerably improved during the last two years. There was a time two years ago when the news relay was entirely foreign to the bulk of India. On our side few people ever turned on the radio to hear the news in what was then called Hindustani. Today it is in a language which can be understood largely. But happening to be a literary man, I do humbly protest against the jolting, martistic and what I may call un-literary shape in which the news is broadcast. It seems to be thought by the persons concerned that if you put a Persian word and paraphrase it by a Sanskrit word, or if you just jumble up one line which is Hindi-ised with another line which is Urdu-ised they have done their duty. News is not merely news but it is also propaganda; it is very subtle in its psychological influence on the man who hears it; and it is essential that the news should be redrafted or re-written by somebody who has the touch of a creative literary artist to make it an appealing thing. It should not appeal merely to your curiosity but also to your sub-conscious self. In that respect I should therefore request my honourable friend to give directions or take steps to see that the news is purveyed in a much more artistic fashion than is done at the present moment.

There is one thing to which I should like to draw the attention of my honourable friend. I am always sorry when I have to differ from my honourable friend Pandit Balkrishna Sharma, who I find is not-here. That is regarding what he said about the Bhagvat-Gita and the *Bhajans*. Now as a solitary man living under the strain of Hyderabad I had occasion to hear the radio more often than I normally would. I want to tell the honourable Minister that if a man listens to the radio he listens not merely for things that would save his soul or enable him to go to heaven through constant repetition of devotional songs sung in a highly acrobatic voice. He also wants to be entertained, and I do hope and trust that the radio will be made the instrument not merely of carrying us

to heaven but also making a heaven in this life by making it attractive. Therefore I do ask him to consider this point of view. Let us have some more of life, if you like in the music that is broadcast. The overloading of the musical programme with classical music may appeal to the experts, but I do wish that it is more human, because I look upon broadcasting as a nation-making agency. The songs which it sends out would go round like some of the popular songs of the cinema, to all people of all classes of society and in all places. Take some of the popular cinema songs. They have gone round the whole country. I have heard some of the songs of the cinema in Kashmir as well as in Madras. Similarly the songs broadcast should be such as to capture the imagination and the sub-conscious self of the whole nation, so that they co-ordinate the nationalistic impulses of the whole country. Therefore I think they ought to be broadcast by persons who are human and whose desire to go to the other world is less emphatic. Let us have a little more earthly music, music with a zip, music with a lilt.

There is one thing which I want to say and if the honourable Minister has got the information he may give us. When I last presided over the Gujarati Parishad last December there was in my part of the country considerable agitation why the Ahmedabad radio station had not been set up. I should like to point out that there is considerable amount of agitation over this.

On the question of publication I have only one remark to make. I have been seeing some of the publications. Two of them are absolutely first rate. One is the *March of India*. It is wrong to believe that it is only intended for consumption in foreign countries. I would suggest that there should be an Indian edition, may be on cheaper paper. It is one of the finest magazines that the Department has produced and there is no reason why it should not be circulated in India also, if the subscription is lower. I am sure a large number of people will be able to take it: there will be much advertising and possibly it will pay for itself.

Then there is the other Hindi paper, *Aj Kal*. It is conducted extraordinarily well and it has got a very large circulation. There is only one suggestion I want to make. It is conducted no doubt in Hindi and Urdu. I am concerned more with the Hindi edition. Perhaps the honourable Minister will remember that with the blessings of Gandhiji the late Prem Chand, the great novelist of U. P. and myself started a paper, a monthly, in which in Hindi we gave the current literature of all the provinces in India—from Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, etc. That magazine had a short career but it did extraordinarily well. *Aj Kal* has tremendous possibilities and if its size is enlarged and if it publishes in Hindi the latest literature current in the different provinces, it will become a forum and a pool of all-India literatures and thus pave the way for a national institution. Luckily the honourable Minister has got a well known folk lore expert, a Punjabi by birth, whom I know very well. Under the inspiration of Gandhiji he went on foot to almost all the provinces and collected folk songs of practically all the languages in India. He knows, I think, many languages too and it would not be difficult to convert the *Aj Kal* into a national institution, where the very best in current literature of the country, not merely in Hindi, is reflected. In this way we would be creating a great institution for nation-making.

Sir, these are the only suggestions I have to make.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** If the House is agreeable I will extend the time till



**Shri Mahavir Tyagi:** Sir, the importance of the Department of Information and Broadcasting is analogous to the importance of the tongue in the human-body. Just as a man speaks through the tongue so also the nation speaks through this Information and Broadcasting department.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** I may remind honourable Members that the rule definitely says that as soon as quorum is wanting the House shall adjourn.

**Shri K. M. Munshi:** We should really adjourn at half past five and take this up on another day.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** There is no other day fixed. I would request honourable Members to be in their seats.

**Shri Mahavir Tyagi:** I was saying that just as in the physical plane the body requires violet rays to grow, in the same manner in the intellectual plane the mind also wants some rays of good thinking and some healthy ideas to grow. And it has to get these rays from those persons who are better developed. So the Information and Broadcasting Department is not to broadcast things objectively alone; it has some subjectiveness in it. Without that the Department to me would lose all its charm. It has to lead and it is through the microphone that it has to lead the nation one way or the other. I want to know whether in this Department of Broadcasting there has been any healthy lead and if so what it has been. What are the objectives for which the Department stands? That has never been clarified. Are we only to provide the nation with a source of recreation or are we to lead them and if so where to? What are the principles, economic or social, to which we are leading our nation? What is our goal? That has to be clarified.

*[At this stage Mr. Deputy Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Shrimati G. Durgabai (one of the Panel of Chairmen).]*

I will take these questions one by one and as the time is short I will only narrate my points. The first point is about Information. There are, as you will see, about 62 Hindi dailies in India and 28 English dailies; and Hindustani papers in all are about 1,100 and English about 180. But the Information Department has got a personnel in which there are 95 English knowing officers and only just a few about nine Hindi knowing officers. It was the high policy of the British Empire to demoralise and Anglicise us, so to say, and to ruin our culture in Asia and foist their's on us. After *Swaraj* it is for us now to develop our own culture, but what we see is that we are following the same old process of emphasising the foreign values of morals and culture, and we are being fast Anglicised. What is there of our culture that is preached through the radio or the Information department? I am afraid on this point we are failing. I am not surprised over my honourable friend Mr. Munshi—he is coming from Hyderabad and it seems that despite his advanced age he has become more colourful and now wants that life must have some colour and not be confined and to going to heaven: he now wants heaven to come to him. Shall I tell him the kinds of song that are relayed? I am sure the honourable Minister will deliver the goods within one year as he is brave enough and will be able to tackle the Department properly. But will the House have the indulgence in knowing in what manner they are singing to us? The men in charge are in fact spoiling our songs. If a nation loses its standard of music if we lose ours—Eastern and Indian music—what is to happen? We have preserved it from times of yore and even during the time of the Muhammadan rule in this country we had great court singers. But now the artist has gone under. It is the clerk who has gone up and the artist has been laid low. There is no artist in the whole Department. Will you be surprised, Madam, to know that there is not a single artist in the whole Radio Department? Artists are not

government servants. They are borrowed and hired on daily or monthly wages, and it is the hired music which we are giving to the nation. How can art thrive? I am opposed to the whole set up of the Radio Department and its organisation. Because even in a daily paper or other press agencies it is the editorial staff which is supreme in the matter of policy. But here it is not so. In the Broadcasting it is the clerk who is supreme. It is the man who manages the secretariat who is supreme, and art has no place. Who gives the ideas is the under-dog. You want artists to be paid Rs. 50 or Rs. 60 a month on a contract basis from year to year. In artists I include all journalists, story writers, singers, dancers, actors, etc. But a clerk who goes there raw from the college, because he is a first divisioner in something which the British thought proper for him to be trained in, gets the job of a Programme Assistant or something like that. And he calls the tune to be sung and dictates how it is to be sung, though he has never sung a song in his life. This is the music that comes from the radio. His taste is gandy and vulgar. How can one who does not know music know what is the high standard of music? It is these clerks who direct our artists. And they are also paid higher pays. Art will go down in *Swaraj* if it is not revived and encouraged. Surely this is not the way to encourage art. Artists have no place here; even journalists are not there in control. They are also under-dogs. Look at the content of and the manner in which the songs are sung over the radio. I have taken one instance. This is what my honourable friend Mr. Munshi will be pleased to hear in this old age—it is colourful.

बहार आई रे कोयल कूक उठी दिल में हूक उठी

बहार . . . ॥ १ ॥

गोरे गोरे गाल मोरे, गालों पे लालियां,  
नैन काजर वाले, मदिरा की प्यालियां,

जोबन बालियां, हो मतबालियां गीये हूक उठी

बहार . . . ॥ २ ॥

आजा तोहें जोबनवा की सैर करा दूं, नैना के बीच तोहें बंगला बना दूं  
रंगबिरंगी दुनियां दिखला दूं आजा हूक उठी

बहार . . . ॥ ३ ॥

**Shri K. M. Munshi:** What is wrong with it? It is quite all right.

**Shri Mahavir Tyagi:** It may be all right for my friend (his cheeks are red;) mine are brown; I resent colour. It is obscene. You will find hundreds of letters being received in the Radio Office from parents of small children who have protested against the sort of songs which they could not tolerate in the company of their daughters and sisters. The artists must be put together and they must have the upper hand and not the clerks. Let them be free to express and develop their genius. Creative art requires freedom. From the Director General down to the lowest clerk it is the clerk who is having the upper hand. There is not one among the bosses who is a dancer or a singer or who knows music. There is none even a journalist.

**Shri K. M. Munshi:** What about the Minister?

**Shri Mahavir Tyagi:** The Minister is a Minister and he ministers. I am sure he knows more about dancing than his Director-General.

As regards expenditure, the capital outlay sanctioned at present is 96 lakhs. I oppose this expenditure. I think no more expansion of the Department is necessary now. The present size is enough for us. On account of the financial stringency I am opposed to any further expansion. It is enough if we improve our quality.

[Shri Mahavir Tyagi]

The total expenditure of Broadcasting is 1,82,82,000 out of which only 32 lakhs is spent on artists; the rest goes to clerks and other managerial hands. There is one staff training unit which spends Rs. 1,70,000 per year. This has been newly opened. It is used for these first-divisioners who do not know the ABC of programmes. They will now be taught the tastes. I do not want to name, but the principal of this Staff Training Unit is one who knows some theory of Western Music, but he does not know Hindi, neither does he know Indian culture, nor Shastras, nor our music, nor our journalism; all the same he is a principle of the training unit. Then there are instructors in this unit. There is one—I do not want to name him—but he is the son of a Member of the Federal Public Service Commission, who was engaged previously on Rs. 50 but is now one of the Instructors.

**Shri Ramnath Goenka:** Madam, is he right in referring to individual cases?

**Shri Mahavir Tyagi:** No, Madam, I am only saying that the staff is not up to the requirements.

**Shri Ramnath Goenka:** But his reference to "the son of a Member of the Federal Public Service Commission" is hardly fair.

**Shri Mahavir Tyagi:** Do you mean to say I shall be bound by courtesies? You must face facts. The nation wants you to face the facts and face them squarely. If you can face them properly they must be expressed. Where else shall I go and express myself? This is the place where I can have my say and I must have my say.

**Mr. Chairman:** The honourable Member is requested not to refer to individuals.

**Shri Mahavir Tyagi:** Thank you, Madam, I will not refer to individuals and I withdraw that reference.

I must submit that the staff of the training unit has no talent of the nature of which you want them to have; therefore this unit must be scrapped; it is only newly created just to preserve and maintain a few friends who have been taken in without the consent of the Federal Public Service Commission. About 200 of them were taken in that manner and afterwards consent was canvassed. This is the manner in which the administration is being run.

Madam, in the days of Bokhari, in 1942, we had one Station Director, now there are two Station Directors. Then there was one Assistant Station Director, now we have three. I am speaking of Delhi alone. Then there was one Programme Executive, now we have five. There were four Programme Assistants now there are 16 each getting Rs. 400. Transmission Assistants we had none, now we have six. Programme Secretaries there were none, now there are eight. The artists who give performances are about 200. The biggest pay which is given to your arch-artist—I must name him. Thakur the remark being—complimentary. An artist who had given an exhibition to all artists who come here from abroad, he was enrolled with Mr. Bokhari at Rs. 50 a month! Mr. Bokhari is now the Director General of Radio Pakistan but the biggest artist, whom you have, is being controlled by clerks and he gets only Rs. 370 a month on contract basis! In this way the other artists generally get hardly Rs. 50, 60 or 70 a month. They are not Government servants. They are engaged on contract basis, they are hired; it is all hired art. This is the position in which the artists work, then how can they give their best? If you want me to laugh, you pay me four annas and ask me to laugh. How can I? Laughing is no such an easy thing. If I laugh it all artificial. So also these hired artists' music is all artificial. Emotions also must go in

waves with your broadcasts and these wooden people cannot do it unless they have the power to invent quality. The men responsible for the department have no creative genius.

Now about language; six Information Officers have been sent to U.P. The editor of a Hindi paper *The Bharat* wanted some information and addressed a letter to the Information Officer Lucknow. That letter was sent to Delhi to be translated because none of the men sent to U.P. could reply. That is the position. There is also a radio station in Lucknow. May I know how many of your staff people know Hindi? Men who do not know the local languages are posted to various provinces. In how many stations are there Directors who do not know the language of the Province? There are so many instances, but I will not burden the honourable Minister with all of them. I will give one instance of the ignorance of Hindustani. Lady Mountbatten was here—a respectable lady—and when she left India she broadcast a message, a very good message. She was very good to us all. She broadcast a message and it was translated into Hindi as follows:—

*"Men apna adha badan yahin chore jati hun"*.

It means I am leaving half of my body behind. She must have said I am leaving half hearted or something like that, but in Hindi it was translated as I stated. This is the manner in which things are being translated. I submit an overhaul from top to bottom is the urgent necessity of this Department.

One complaint which is a standing complaint is that in the matter of giving advertisements, three-fourths of the paper-reading public in India, that is the Hindustani-knowing people, do not get these advertisements. They are mostly given in English papers and among them also in selected ones. The advertisements are from the Public Service Commission but people knowing Hindi have, it seems, no place there. Villagers are never informed that there is any post for a candidate. It is only a few people in towns who get information about advertisements. People and press are very much dissatisfied on this account.

Madam, I know the honourable Minister is not fully aware of what is really happening. This is the occasion when we will bring to his notice how we feel. I am sure he will do the needful. I congratulate him for the first part of his speech, but I am rather disappointed at the latter part in which he said he was grateful to his staff—he did not know what actually they were doing.

**Shri Kusum Kant Jain** (Madhya Bharat): I wish to draw the attention of the House, first of all, to the policy of the All-India Radio in establishing new broadcasting stations. From this report, I find that at present 14 stations are working in India and the Government of India intend to establish a few more pilot stations in India. I come from a States Union and I am disappointed to find that none of the pilot stations are going to be established in any of the States or States Unions. The House knows very well that after the independence of India, the differences of 'Indian India' and 'British India' are no more and gradually the word 'State' is, I think, going to be removed from the history of India. So, I would like to draw the attention of the honourable Minister for Information and Broadcasting to this fact: when he plans any scheme for establishing new radio stations, the Indian States and States Unions should in the future be treated in the same way as Provinces and they must be given preference. The Government perhaps is aware that so many States Unions have already requested the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting that a broadcasting station must be opened in their regions. I would cite the case of Madhya Bharat. Our Prime Minister, Pandit Liladhar Joshi, the other day requested the honourable Minister for Information and Broadcasting to open

{Shri Kusum Kant Jain}

even a pilot station in Madhya Bharat. I do not want to go into the details of the geographical position of Madhya Bharat. I would simply request the honourable Minister to see that Madhya Bharat is a place where a Broadcasting station must be established as early as possible. In the meanwhile, I would request the honourable Minister that during this interim period till a new broadcasting station is established, opportunities must be given to the people from such areas where there are no radio stations, to speak from the Delhi Radio station or somewhere near about. I am glad to know that last month, the honourable Prime Minister of Madhya Bharat was given a chance to speak on the All-India Radio at Delhi and I know that his talk was liked very much by those people who are interested in the recent constitutional developments in the Indian States, and specially in Madhya Bharat.

Then, I would like to draw the attention of this House and specially of the honourable Minister for Information and Broadcasting to the treatment which is being meted out to language journalists. During the British regime, the language journalists were always treated very badly; but when we are now living in an independent India, I do not see any reason why the language journalists should be given step motherly treatment. I have been told reliably that in the matter of accreditation, language journalists have to suffer much and that their cases are kept pending for a very long time. I would request the honourable Minister to see that during his regime no language journalist suffers like that.

I would like to give one more instance regarding the treatment that is given to the language journalists in respect of translations which are being sent to language newspapers daily. They are always out of date, because, I learn that there is not adequate staff in the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to arrange simultaneously the release of English as well as language matters and when it reaches the correspondents of the papers concerned, it is always out of date. I would urge upon the Minister to make proper arrangements in that respect. As regards the photo publicity section, I do not know much, but I have a complaint about a paper *Nai Duniya* which is being published from Madhya Bharat Union. It is an accredited paper now. Since very long, the application of *Nai Duniya* is pending before the department up till now, it has not been taken on the mailing list.

As regards the Press Information Bureau, of which I have personal experience, that Bureau is not well equipped. I would like to draw the attention of the honourable Minister that the Bureau of the United States here at Queensway, or in Bombay are rather much better than the Press Room of the Information Department. Looking to the stature of our Government, and looking to the dignity of our Government, the Press Room must be quite up to date.

In respect of the advertisements also the language journalists suffer. Just now, our honourable Minister has given us some idea of advertisements released last year. But I reliably know that Indian language papers are not treated on a par with English papers in respect of advertisements and I am sorry to say that the agencies through which the Government of India release their advertisements, give a rough treatment to the language papers' representatives. I would therefore submit that the lion's share of the advertisements should be given to the language papers and specially Hindi papers should be given priority.

In respect of accommodation, I have been told that journalists have to suffer much in Delhi. When we think of building a diplomatic colony in Delhi, when we think of building so many other colonies, why not our Ministries think of building a Fleet Street in Delhi where our fellow journalists may live comfortably and do justice to their profession. It is not necessary to go into details, because our honourable Minister who is in charge of this department was once a journalist himself and I hope he will give priority to such schemes.

One other example of the treatment meted out to language journalists. Recently the Government of India sent an Inter-Dominion delegation to Karachi wherein only two representatives were selected, one from the *Hindustan Times* and the other from *Amrit Bazar Patrika*. Why was not a language journalist chosen to go to Karachi? The honourable Minister might say that it was the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference which selected the representatives. But, the honourable Minister might very well instruct the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference that out of the two at least one must be a Hindi journalist or a Hindi editor. These are a few of the examples which I wanted to enumerate. I hope the honourable Minister will look into it so that next year, we need not complain about the difficulties of the language journalists.

I shall say one thing more regarding the Central News Organisation of the All India Radio. Just now, there was the Hyderabad question. We were all very anxious to know the result of the application of Hyderabad to the UNO. It was the BBC that gave us the news first; the All-India Radio then followed the suit. These are some of the points that I wanted to bring to the notice of the House.

आनरेबिल श्री० आर० आर० दिवाकर : में हिन्दुस्तानी में बात करूंगा और मुझ से कहा गया है कि मैं हिन्दुस्तानी में अपना भाषण दूँ। अगर मैं हिन्दुस्तानी में भाषण दूंगा तो इस हाउस को भी फायदा होगा। २० मिनट तक भी बैठने की जरूरत नहीं होगी। मैं हिन्दी में अपना भाषण दे रहा हूँ तो कुछ लिमिटेशन हो सकेगा क्योंकि मैं इतनी साफ हिन्दी नहीं बोल सकता हूँ।

मैं आनरेबिल मੈम्बरों को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि मैंने जिस स्पिरिट से सब बातों को लिया है और कहा है, उसी स्पिरिट से उन्होंने भी इन सब बातों को लिया है। उन्होंने जो सूचना दी है और बातें बतलाई हैं मैंने उनको सब अच्छी तरह से सुन लिया है। जब तक मैं हूँ और जो मेरे डिपार्टमेंट के वरकर्स हैं उनके सहकार से मैं जितना काम कर सकता हूँ उतना मैं काम करने की उम्मीद रखता हूँ। जैसा मैं आनरेबिल मੈम्बरों का सहकार चाहता हूँ उसी तरह से मैं अपने विभाग-वालों से भी चाहता हूँ। इसलिये जैसा कि मेरे मित्र श्री० महावीर त्यागी ने कहा है उस दृष्टि से मैं उनके साथ बर्ताव नहीं कर सकता हूँ। वह तो बुरा बर्ताव है। मैं समझता हूँ असहकारी बर्ताव अच्छा नहीं होता और मैं इसको पसंद नहीं करता। मैं सहकारी बर्ताव चाहता हूँ। मैं किसी को लौटा देना नहीं चाहता।

[श्री आर० आर० दिवाकर]

मेरे मित्रों ने इस हाउस के सामने जो विचार रखे हैं उन में कोई कोई बातें कुछ गलतफहमी की वजह से कही गई हैं उन बातों पर ही ज्यादा गौर कर के दो बातों में यहां पर कहना चाहता हूं। यहां पर जितनी बहसें हुई हैं उन सब पर मैं बहस नहीं कर सकता हूं क्योंकि मैं समझता हूं कि रिप्लाइ में आरग्यूमेन्ट के लिये बहुत कुछ गुंजाइश नहीं है। तो इस दृष्टि से मैं डिपार्टमेंटों की एक-एक बात लेकर जो मेरे मित्रों ने कही है उनके बारे में मोटी मोटी बातें बतलाने की कोशिश करूंगा। ए० आई० आर० के बारे में दो तीन बातें हमारे सामने आईं और परसनेल के बारे में कही गई। परसनेल के बारे में ठीक कहा गया है कि सु-संस्कृतता जिसको कि इन्डियन-संस्कृति कहते हैं, उस क्वालीफिकेशन होने से वहां पर काम अच्छी तरह से चल सकता है। लेकिन हमें यह सोचना है कि इन्डियन-संस्कृति भी एक ऐसी चीज है जिसके लिये हमको मापदण्ड चाहिये। जहां तक मैं जानता हूं इन्डियन संस्कृति इतनी विशाल है, इतनी विस्तृत और गहरे पैमाने पर खड़ी हुई है कि वह किसी को बाहर नहीं भगा सकती है, हमें यह देखना है और सोचना है कि हमारी जी पोलिसी है, हमारा जो प्रोग्राम है वह ठीक तरह से हम जब तक चला सकते हैं और चलाने में कामयाब हो सकते हैं तब तक हम को जो उसमें काम करते हैं उन का काम करने में सहकार मिल रहा है। हम किसी को संस्कृति का मानदण्ड लेकर जज करेंगे यह बहुत कठिन बात है। इसका अर्थ यह नहीं कि जो एन्टी इन्डियन हैं, एन्टी नेशनल हैं उन के लिये ब्राडकास्ट में ही क्यों, मैं तो समझता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान सरकार के किसी भी डिपार्टमेंट में उन के लिये जगह है ऐसा मैं नहीं मानता।

दूसरी बात ऐम्पाइन्टमेन्ट के बारे में आती है। ऐम्पाइन्टमेन्ट करने का जो तरीका है वह तरीका सब डिपार्टमेंटों के लिये एक सा ही है। मैं नहीं समझता कि खास कर इस डिपार्टमेंट और आल-इण्डिया रेडियो में कोई खास दूसरा तरीका है। इन डिपार्टमेंटों में कोई भिन्न तरीका ऐम्पाइन्टमेंट करने का है, यह मैं नहीं मानता हूं। लेकिन हो सकता है कि कभी-कभी कोई-कोई बात ऐसी हुई हो कि आज ठीक तरह से नहीं चल रही है। मैं आप को इस बात का विश्वास दिलाता हूं कि मैं वहां पर हूं और जो मेरे डिपार्टमेंट के सेक्रेटरी वगैरह हैं वह जरूर इन कामों में मेरी मदद करेंगे कि कहीं भी कोई अय्याय हुआ हो, कोई बात अन्डर-हैण्ड डीलिंग से की गई हो, कोई फेवरिटिज्म किया गया हो या किसी प्रकार का नैपीटिज्म किया गया हो तो उसको दूर करने के लिये, उसको हटाने के लिये मैं समझता हूं सब लोग मेरी सहायता करेंगे। इस बात के लिये मुझे पूरा विश्वास है।

तीसरी बात यह कही गई कि गीता और उपनिषद वगैरा जो कुछ हैं उनका प्रचार नहीं होता। जहां तक मुझे ख्याल है गीता का बहुत कुछ पाठ चलता है। हां, हो सकता है कि वह रोषमर्दा नहीं होता हो। लेकिन इस बारे में हमें यह भी सोचना चाहिये कि जहां तक हो वहां तक वह ब्रॉडकास्ट नीति की दृष्टि से, संस्कृति की दृष्टि से ठीक हो और उस में एक रिलिजस कलर न आ जाय। रिलिजस कलर आ जाय तो बहुत कुछ दिक्कत पैदा हो जायगी। रिलिजन के लिये फिर एक तरह से कम्पीटीशन हो जाती है और उस में फिर टाइम देने की तकलीफ होती है। इस लिये जहां तक हो सकता है शुद्ध संस्कृति की दृष्टि से और नैतिक दृष्टि से जो कुछ कहा जा सकता है वह धार्मिक ग्रन्थों से क्यों न हो, में समझता हूं वह कहने के लिये अच्छी तरह से कोशिश हो सकती है। अगर इस नीति को सब लोग मान लें तो इसमें कोई दिक्कत नहीं हो सकती। अभी जो प्रोग्राम हैं वह तो टेस्ट लेने से मालूम हो सकता है। कोई कहते हैं कि उस में ज्यादा एन्टरटेनमेन्ट नहीं है। दूसरे कहेंगे कि उसमें क्लासिकल-म्यूजिक नहीं है। तीसरे कहेंगे कि शब्द और भाषा सब कुछ है मगर ट्यून ठीक नहीं है। इस तरह की टीका-टिप्पणी हो सकती है। लेकिन यह सोचना चाहिये कि रेडियो तो रोज ८ घंटे, १० घंटे काम देता रहता है। साल भर में हम सिर्फ १० रुपया लाइसेंस फी दें और चाहें कि ८ घंटे और १० घंटे हमें जो होना वही चीज सुन लें। यह बात तो ठीक नहीं है। तो मैं समझता हूं कि मान लेना चाहिये कि दूसरों के लिये भी रेडियो में बहुत से प्रोग्राम होते हैं। यही अपने लिये प्रोग्राम नहीं होता तो दूसरों के लिये वह एन्टरटेनमेन्ट हो सकता है। अगर आप खुशी से उस को सुनना चाहते हैं तो अच्छा है लेकिन कोई मजबूरी नहीं है। मैं जब बगवई गया था तो मुझ से कहा गया कि अब भी हिन्दुस्तानी में न्यूज रिले करते हैं तो वह हिन्दुस्तानी में नहीं होनी चाहिये। तो मैं ने कहा कि हिन्दी सुनें, हिन्दुस्तानी क्यों सुनते हो हिन्दुस्तानी म्यूजिक हिन्दुस्तानियों के लिये है और हिन्दी में जो कुछ होता है वह हिन्दी वालों के लिये है तो इस तरह से हम अभी भाषा के ऊपर आते हैं।

भाषा का जो सवाल है वह काफी जटिल है। वह यहां के मेम्बरान अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। तो मुझ उस पर कुछ बहस करने की जरूरत नहीं है। मेरे दिल में तो यही है कि हिन्दुस्तान में एक ही राष्ट्र भाषा हो जिसको हम राष्ट्रीय भाषा कह सकें और हमारे यहां की जो और बारह पंद्रह भाषायें पढ़ी हैं उनके साथ मिली जुली हो और संस्कृत से



[ श्री आर० आर० दिवाकर ]

जो कि हमारी मातृक भाषा है, उस से भी हम कुछ स्फूर्ति ले सकें। यह तो मैं एक नागरिक के तौर पर मानता हूँ और मैं इसका बिल्कुल समर्थन करता हूँ। लेकिन आज होता क्या है कि कांस्टीट्यूट असेंबली जैसी हमारी कांस्टीट्यूशन बनाने वाली बाड़ी ने भी उस का अभी कुछ निश्चय नहीं किया। यह निश्चय नहीं होने से क्या हुआ है? आल इंडिया रेडियो जैसा एक गवर्नमेंट डिपार्टमेंट है उसके लिये इस विषय में कुछ नीति तय करने का बोझा अपने सिर पर लेना मैं समझता हूँ कुछ ठीक नहीं हो सकेगा। हाँ, हो सकता है कि आप कहें कि उन्होंने लीड क्यों नहीं ली। लीड लेने की बात नहीं है। आल इंडिया रेडियो हो या ब्राडकास्टिंग और इन्फोरमेशन डिपार्टमेंट हो वह लीडरों से बनी हुई चीज नहीं है। लीड तो दूसरों को देनी है। जब लीड दी जायेगी, जब अच्छे अच्छे काम किये जावेंगे और अच्छे अच्छे इन्वेन्ट्स होंगे। तब इन्फोरमेशन देने की और ब्राडकास्ट करने की बात आती है। तो लीड देने का बोझा इस डिपार्टमेंट पर डालना मुझे अच्छा नहीं लगता और वह गवर्नमेंट को भी नहीं जंचेगा। तो इतना हो सकता है कि जो कुछ नीति एक बार बनी है उस नीति पर चलना चाहिये। और उस नीति में कुछ फ़र्क यहाँ तहाँ हो तो उसको रोकना, यह बात जरूर इन्फोरमेशन और ब्राडकास्टिंग से हो सकती है। लेकिन लीड देने की बात बड़ी जिम्मेवारी की चीज है और खास करके जो चीज बहुत कंट्रोवर्शियल हो उसके बारे में लीड देना थोड़ी कठिनाई की बात है।

दूसरी बात डीक्यूमेंटरी फिल्म सेक्शन के बारे में आई है। यह सही है कि अगले वर्ष ३४ लाख रुपये उसके लिये सैंक्शन हुये, लेकिन ऐसा नहीं समझना चाहिये कि वह ३४ लाख सब ख़लास हो गये और काम तो कुछ नहीं हुआ। ऐसी बात नहीं है। खास करके वह काम १९४८ के नवम्बर में शुरू हुआ। यह काम पहले क्यों नहीं हुआ इसके लिये कुछ ज्यादा ग्रहण बताने की जरूरत नहीं है। यह एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव बात है, और एडवाइजरी कमेटी में इसके बारे में कुछ ज्यादा बातचीत हो सकती है। लेकिन नवम्बर में वह काम शुरू हुआ और केवल ७ लाख रुपया खर्च हुआ है। परमोनल और एकोमोडेशन की जो बात है वह सब यूनिट इकट्ठा करने की इस में जरूरत होती है। हम ऐसा नहीं कह सकते हैं कि घर में किचन बना और एकदम आर्डर कर देने से हमारे टेबुल पर खाना आ गया। केवल किचन बन जाने से ऐसा नहीं हो सकता, किचन के साथ और दूसरी कई चीजें बनानी पड़ती हैं। उसी तरह इस डीक्यूमेंटरी

फ़िल्म में भी बहुत कुछ चीज़ें इकट्ठी होनी चाहियें। जब वह सब इकट्ठी होती है तब उस से काम निकलता है। इस डिपार्टमेंट में जितने काम करने वाले सहकारी हैं वह इस बात की कोशिश कर रहे हैं और उन को मालूम है कि यह काम जल्दी-जल्दी करना चाहिये। लेकिन कुछ डिफिकल्टीज़ आने से यह काम थोड़ा रुक गया था।

अब फ़िल्म्स के बारे में जो दो तीन बातें और हैं उन के लिये मैंने पहिल ही बता दिया है और वह रिपोर्ट में भी आ गया है। वह बातें हैं फ़िल्म इंडस्ट्री की इन्फ्रास्ट्रक्चर, सेंसरशिप और रेस्ट्रिक्टेड लाइसेंसिंग और चौथी बात थी एजुकेशनल फ़िल्म्स की। अभी जो डीक्यूमेंटरी फ़िल्म्स सेक्शन है वह दो बातें अपने सिर पर लिये है, एक न्यूज़ फ़िल्म्स और दूसरी डीक्यूमेंटरी फ़िल्म्स। यहां जो भिन्न-भिन्न मिनिस्ट्रियां हैं वह जो काम हमारे पास भेजती हैं वह काम हम लेते हैं और कर डालते हैं। अब खास करके एजुकेशनल फ़िल्म्स के ऊपर कुछ एम्फेसिस दें यह बहुत कठिन है क्योंकि हमारे पास जो छः यूनिट्स हैं उन सिक्स यूनिट्स से ही हमें काम लेना पड़ता है। तो वह काम कुछ ढंग से लिया जाता है। कुछ यूनिट एक्सटरनल पब्लिसिटी के बारे में काम करती हैं और जो कुछ रहता है वह जो पंद्रह सॉल्व मिनिस्ट्रियां हैं उनका काम करता है। कुछ खास तौर पर कल्चरल काम भी रहता है जैसे टैम्पिल्स के बारे में और स्कल्पचर के बारे में। तो इस तरह वह सब काम करना होता है। लेकिन यदि एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री भी कुछ काम दे या हेल्थ मिनिस्ट्री भी कुछ काम दे तो वह भी ज़रूर होगा इसमें मुझे कोई शक नहीं है।

अब उसके डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन की भी बात आती है तो डिस्ट्रीब्यूशन कुछ अच्छी तरह से पहले नहीं चला क्योंकि डिस्ट्रीब्यूटर्स और डिस्ट्रीब्यूटिंग सेंटर्स हमारे तय नहीं हुये थे। जब वह काम पूरा होगा तब मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान में जो आजकल २२०० सिनेमा थियेटर्स हैं उन सब थियेटरों में हमारी फ़िल्म जायेगी। आज हम सिनेमा थियेटरों को मजबूर करें कि तुम डीक्यूमेंटरी फ़िल्म दिखा दो तो वह कहाँ से हो सकता है। क्योंकि हमारे पास डीक्यूमेंटरी फ़िल्म इतनी नहीं है। उनको सब को भेजना मुश्किल है। हम उनको भेज नहीं सकते। जो फ़िल्म हैं वह हम भेज रहे हैं। बाहर के देशों में भी कुछ भेज रहे हैं। दस पंद्रह देशों को या कुछ ज्यादा देशों को वह भेजी गई है और भी भेज रहे हैं। यह मसाला डाल कर यहां रखने के लिये तो बनी नहीं है। तो बात यह है कि जब हमारे यहां फ़िल्म्स ज्यादा होंगी तब हम सबको मजबूर कर सकते हैं और इसके लिये कुछ रेट्स, टाइम यह सब बातें भी प्रोबिंशियल गवर्नमेंटों

[श्री आर० आर० दिवाकार]

के साथ और इंडस्ट्री के साथ बोलचाल करके तय करनी होती हैं। तो इस तरह यह काम चला है और मैं समझता हूँ कि आगे बढ़ कर यह अच्छी तरह से चलेगा। अभी इसमें एडवाइजरी कमेटी की भी बात आयी। हमने विचार किया है कि वह जो कहें वह करें, वह तो जरूर होगा ही लेकिन और डीक्यूमेंटरी फिल्म्स जितनी निकलेंगी उनके बारे में भी न केवल उनके प्रोज़ल लिये जायेंगे बल्कि जो कुछ प्रोग्राम होगा उस प्रोग्राम के बारे में भी जो कुछ सजेशनस आवेंगे उन के अमल के बारे में जितना अमल कर सकते हैं उतना अमल इस डिपार्टमेंट से होगा, ऐसा मैं समझता हूँ।

ए०-आई० आर० न्यूज़ कारेसपोण्डेंट्स के बारे में जो कुछ कहा गया उसके बारे में काफी चर्चा हमारी एडवाइजरी कमेटी में हुई है। वहाँ यह बता दिया गया है कि जहाँ तक पी० टी० आई० से काम ले सकते हैं तो कुछ ऐसी जरूरी नहीं है कि दूसरे भी लोग हम एडवाइन्ट करें ही। लेकिन चूँकि खास कुछ रिक्वायरमेंट्स हैं और वह रिक्वायरमेंट्स अभी पूरी नहीं होतीं तो दूसरी बातें करनी पड़ेंगी। अब न्यूज़ में आनरेबिल मिनिस्टर्स की स्पीचेस् बहुत दी जाती हैं यह भी कुछ फ्रैंड्स ने बताया। यह हो सकता है। लेकिन इसके लिये केवल जो न्यूज़ देने वाले गवर्नमेंट की ओर से हैं वह ही जिम्मेवार हैं ऐसी बात नहीं है। मैं ने इसके बारे में कुछ सोचा है और कुछ आबज़र्व भी किया है। वह यह है कि अभी हमारी गवर्नमेंट का जो फोटोग्राफ़िक यूनिट किसी फ़ंक्शन में जाता है तो वहाँ दूसरे भी न्यूज़पेपर वाले आठ दस आदमी रहते हैं। अब बात यह होती है कि जो वह दूसरे आठ दस आदमी रहते हैं वह भी वही काम करते हैं। वह प्राइम मिनिस्टर का या और किसी मिनिस्टर का कोई फ़ोटो लेते हैं तो वह उन का फ़ोटो न्यूज़ वैंल्यू के लिये लेते हैं न कि केवल मिनिस्टर का फ़ोटो है इस दृष्टि से। जो ऐसा समझते हैं वह भूल करते हैं।

केवल गवर्नमेंट की यूनिट ने वह फ़ोटो लिया तो वह पाप है, ऐसा नहीं हो सकता। जो कुछ न्यूज़ वैंल्यू या तो जजमेन्ट जो है, वहाँ जो ऐसे दूसरे आते हैं, न्यूज़पेपर वाले, वह जो कुछ काम करते हैं, वह जिस दृष्टि से देखते हैं, उसी दृष्टि से हमारी यूनिट ने भी देखा तो उसमें कुछ पाप है, ऐसा समझना ठीक नहीं होगा। हाँ हमारे सब लोगों की यह राय हो कि मिनिस्टर्स का ब्लैकआउट करें, तो यह भी हो सकता है।

**Pandit Balkrishna Sharma:** Even the newspapers are partial. I do not think they will publish my or Shri Sidhva's speech but they will certainly publish Shri Diwakarji's speech.

आनरेबिल श्री आर० आर० दिवाकार! Because the readers want it. Ultimately we are the sinners.

अब नान् आफ्रिशियल् बोर्ड और ऐप्वान्टमेन्ट इस बारे में बहुत कहा गया है और बहुत सा तो हमने स्वीकार कर लिया है और एडवाइज़री बोर्ड में अभी बात चली है। तो इसके बारे में यहां बहस करना और एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के बारे में वाद-विवाद करना यहां मुझे अच्छा नहीं लगता। फ़ेडरल पब्लिक सर्विस् कमीशन और उनके ऐप्वान्टमेन्टस् के बारे में मैं समझता हूँ कि उस पर यहां बहस करना कुछ ठीक नहीं है और अब टाईम भी नहीं है और उससे कुछ फ़ायदा भी नहीं होगा। और मेरा ख्याल है कि उसके बारे में हमारी स्टैन्डिंग एडवाइज़री कमेटी जो है, वहां ही उसके संबंध में बात करें।

श्रीमान् गुंशी जी ने जो दो चार बातें कही हैं और उस में ब्रिकबैटस तो काफ़ी दिये हैं मुझे, लेकिन साथ ही साथ बुकेज भी दिये हैं। मैं उनको ज्यादा टाईम दे रहा हूँ सिर्फ़ इसलिये कि उन्होंने मेरी तारीफ़ की है, ऐसी बात नहीं है। बल्कि एक ऐक्सपीरियेंसड और वेटरन लिटरेरी आर्टिस्ट होने के नाते उनकी बात काफ़ी महत्व रखती है। जैसा उन्होंने कहा कि हम रेडियो के पास केवल धर्म सीखने और आत्मा को शांति देने के वास्ते नहीं जाते। मनोरंजन भी आवश्यक है। वह हमारे जीवन का एक अंश है। यह सही है।

अभी अहमदाबाद स्टेशन के लिये मैं समझता हूँ कि अप्रैल के बीच में बहुत कुछ इन्तज़ाम हो जायेगा। ख़ास तौर से दिक्कत जो थी, वह वहां की बिल्डिंग के लिये थी और उस के डिटेल्स के बारे में यहां और ज्यादा कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

अभी त्यागी जी ने आर्टिस्टस और उनके राईटस् की बात कही और दो तीन बातें उन्होंने बड़े जोर के साथ कहीं। उनपर विचार करना है। उन्होंने ब्राडकास्ट एक्सटेंशन के बारे में भी कहा है और वह भी हमारे ध्यान में रखना है। हमें आगे बढ़ना है, और केवल इतने मौजूदा ब्राडकास्टिंग स्टेशनों से काम नहीं चलेगा। यदि दुनिया में हमें आगे अपना क़दम बढ़ाना है तो ब्राडकास्टिंग की उन्नति के बिना किसी क्षेत्र में भी हम आगे नहीं बढ़ सकेंगे। अब आर्टिस्ट और क्लर्क का कन्ट्रास्ट उन्होंने बतलाया है और आर्टिस्ट को ब्रेनट्रस्ट की ज़रूरत होती है ऐसा कहा है। उस का लिटरेरी ब्रेन होता है और उस के हाथ में सारा मैनेजमेंट दे दिया जाय, ऐसा भी कुछ सुझाव दिया है। यह कुछ हद तक सही है, लेकिन यह ज़रूरी नहीं है कि हमेशा स्टेशन डायरेक्टर एक आर्टिस्ट ही हो। यह मुमकिन है कि कोई शख्स आर्टिस्ट न होते हुए भी ठीक तरह से आर्गेनाइज़ कर सके। मैं खुद आर्टिस्ट नहीं हूँ, लेकिन आर्ट चीज़ क्या है और उस को कैसे बढ़ाया जाता है और उस को कैसे उत्तेजन दिया जाता है, वह मैं आर्टिस्ट न होते हुए भी बोझा बहुत समझ सकता हूँ। मैं इस बारे

[ श्री आर० आर० दिवाकर ]

में कोई दावा नहीं करता और जो आर्टिस्ट मेम्बरान इस हाउस में मौजूद हैं, उन से मैं इस बारे में कम्पीट नहीं करता, लेकिन ताहम में आर्ट क्या है, यह थोड़ा थोड़ा जानता हूँ और इसको ठीक तरह से आर्गनाइज़ कर सकता हूँ। मैं यह समझ सकता हूँ कि फ़लानी चीज़ बुरी है क्यों कि इस में आर्ट नहीं है और फ़लानी चीज़ अच्छी है, क्यों कि उस में आर्ट मौजूद है। सब से अच्छा तो यह हो सकता है कि आर्टिस्ट में आर्गनाइज़र के भी गुण हों। दूध में शक्कर डालने से अच्छा ही होगा। उस को कौन बुरा कहेगा। अच्छा जो यह कहा गया कि किसी रेडियो स्टेशन से रिप्लाइ के लिए पत्र दिल्ली भेजा गया, उस में यह हो सकता है कि वहाँ के आफ़ीसर उसका रिप्लाइ देने को काम्पिटेंट नहीं थे।

जहाँ तक हिन्दी भाषा का प्रश्न है मैं समझता हूँ कि हिन्दी भाषा की अच्छी प्रगति होने की जो इच्छा रखते हैं उन को उस हिन्दी को सुनने को तैयार रहना चाहिये जो कि अहिन्दी लोग बोलते हैं। अगर ऐसा नहीं होगा तो हिन्दी अच्छी तरह नहीं बढ़ेगी। ऐसा कहने से काम नहीं चल सकता कि यह तो हिन्दी प्रोग्राम है, इसको आर्गनाइज़ करने के लिए अहिन्दी आदमी क्यों रखा गया है। वह खुद हिन्दी अच्छी तरह से, व्याकरण के अनुसार शुद्ध हिन्दी, जैसी कि हमारे बालकृष्ण शर्मा जी बोलते हैं वैसी नहीं बोल सकेगा, लेकिन जैसी मैं टूटी फ़ूटी बोल सकता हूँ वैसी बोल सकेगा। देखना यह है कि वह आर्गनाइज़ अच्छी तरह कर सकता है या नहीं न कि उसकी मातृभाषा हिन्दी है या नहीं। यह देखना ठीक नहीं है।

अभी जैन साहब ने स्टेट्स के बारे में दो चार बातें कहीं। स्टेट्स मिनिस्ट्री का कुछ निश्चय हो जाय तब उस के बाद हम कुछ काम कर सकते हैं। हम यहाँ वहाँ थोड़ा थोड़ा पीसमील काम नहीं करना चाहते। हमें थोड़ा रुकना होगा।

उन्होंने फ़ोटो पब्लिसिटी, एकोमोडेशन वगैरह छोटी छोटी बातों के बारे में कहा, लेकिन एक बड़ी बात लेंग्वेज प्रेस के बारे में कही। जैसा कि मैं ने अपने भाषण में कहा है, लेंग्वेज प्रेस का स्टैचर, उसका इन्फ्ल्यूंस, बढ़ रहा है और मेरा दिल भी चाहता है कि उसको रिहैबिलिटेड किया जाय। वह तो स्वयं एक रिफ्यूजी प्रोब्लेम् सा है। "They were foreigners in their own country, but fortunately now I think the time for complete rehabilitation has come." खुश किस्मती से यह भी हो रहा है और उन का स्थान भी बन रहा है।

**Mr. Chairman:** There is no quorum in the House, the bell will be rung.

**The Honourable Shri R. R. Diwakar:** So, shall I sit down?

**Mr. Chairman:** Just for a few minutes.

*(The bell was rung and quorum obtained)*

**आनरेबिल श्री आर० आर० दिवाकर:** तो मुझे कुछ ज्यादा कहना नहीं है। मैं ने आप को पहले ही कहा था कि मैं हिन्दी में बोलने लगूंगा तो मुझे कुछ ज्यादा समय लग जायगा। तो मैं अभी कह रहा था कि न्यूज, फोटो और एडवर्टाइजमेंट इन तीनों के बारे में जो कुछ न्याय्य हो वह करने की आवश्यकता भी है और उसकी कोशिश जरूर की जायेगी ऐसा मैं आप को कह सकता हूँ।

यह बातें कह कर, आप ने जो टीका टिप्पणियां कीं और जो सूचना दी उस के लिए फिर एक बार धन्यवाद देकर मैं अपना स्थान ग्रहण करता हूँ।

*(English translation of the above speech.)*

**The Honourable Shri R. R. Diwakar** (Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting): I will speak in Hindustani as I have been asked to deliver my speech in Hindustani. If I would deliver my speech in Hindustani then the House also will be benefited. It would not be necessary to sit for 20 minutes even. As I am delivering my speech in Hindustani there would be some limitations because I cannot speak Hindi fluently.

I wish to thank the honourable Members that they have also taken these things in the same spirit in which I have taken them and made references to them. I have heard very carefully whatever information they have given and the suggestions they have made. So long as I am here I with the co-operation of the workers of my department hope to do as much work as I can possibly do. As I desire to have the co-operation of the honourable Members of

6 P.M. the House in the same way I seek the co-operation of the workers of my department. Therefore, I cannot treat them in the manner as has been suggested by my honourable friend Shri Mahavir Tyagi. That treatment is a bad one. I think that the non-co-operative attitude is not a proper one and I do not like it. I want the spirit of co-operation. I do not want to send back anyone.

The views that the honourable Members have put before the House contain some statements that have been made out of some misunderstanding. Mainly concentrating my observations only to those items that have been misunderstood I wish to say a few things here. I cannot discuss here all the points on which discussions have already taken place because I think there is not much scope for arguments in reply to these allegations. With this point of view I will try to give out the salient points taking into account one by one those departmental matters that have been referred to by my honourable friends. About the A.I.R. some two or three things came before us and they pertain to certain personnel of the department. About the personnel

[Shri R. R. Diwakar]

it has been rightly said that by prescribing a qualification of a good cultural background that is to say of Indian culture the work there can be carried on quite satisfactorily. But we have to think that even the Indian culture is such a thing for which we require a measuring rod. As far as I know the Indian culture is so vast and has been developed on such an extensive and deep foundation that it cannot drive out any body from its folds. We have to think and see that we can properly work out and can be successful in bringing into effect our policy and our programme only so long as we are getting in our work the co-operation of the people working in the department. It would be very difficult for us to judge anybody with the measuring rod of cultural achievement. It does not mean that such people who are anti-Indian have any place in the department of Broadcasting, or, I think, in any other department of the Government of India. I do not think so.

The second thing that arises is about the appointments. The method of making appointments is similar for all the departments. I do not think there is some other special method particularly for this department and the All-India Radio. I do not accept that for these departments there is some different method of making appointments. But it is just possible that ever and anon some such things may have happened that may not be working properly today. I assure you that I am there and I think the Secretaries and other persons of my department will surely help me to remove any injustice that might have been done in an underhand manner, and eliminate any case of favouritism or nepotism. I am fully confident of this thing.

The third point that has been put forth is that texts from Gita, Upanishads and other religious books are not broadcast. As far as I remember some broadcasts from Gita are made. But it is possible that this may not be done everyday. But in this connection we have to consider this point also that the broadcasts must be suitable from the cultural as well as political view-point so that they may not get any religious colour. If religious colour were to come in the broadcasts then many difficulties would crop up. As a result a sort of competition among the religions is set agoing and then arises the difficulty in apportioning time for them. Therefore, all that is possible from the cultural and moral point of view, be it from the religious books, can be broadcast. I think efforts can be made to broadcast that in a better manner. If every one were to accept this policy then there can be no difficulty. The programmes can be set after ascertaining the taste of the people.— Some say that the programmes lack entertainment, some would say that they are wanting in classical music while some would say that voice and language are quite all right but the tune is not what it ought to have been. Such comments can be made. But this should be kept in mind that radio works from eight to ten hours per day. It is not proper for us to wish that for eight to ten hours per day we may go on hearing such thing as we like simply by paying rupees ten per year as licence fee. I think that you should acknowledge the fact that radio also caters for other people's tastes as well. A programme may not appeal to us but for others it can be a piece of entertainment. If you like to hear it with pleasure, so far so good, else there is no compulsion. When I had gone to Bombay there the people told me that the news are still relayed in Hindustani; they ought not to be relayed in Hindustani. There I asked them to hear Hindi and not Hindustani. The Hindustani music is meant for the Hindustani speaking people and whatever is broadcast in Hindi is for the Hindi speaking people. And so now we come to the question of language.

The question of language is an intricate one. The honourable Members here very well know this fact. Hence it is not necessary for me to discuss the question here. In my heart of hearts I desire that there should be only one national language in India, a language which we may call our national language, which may be in harmony to the numerous languages that are found in this country and for which we may be able to get some inspiration from Sanskrit as well, which is our parental language. As a loyal citizen I not only accept this view but fully support it. But what the position today is that our Constitution making body i.e. our Constituent Assembly has not yet arrived at any definite decision. What is the result of this indecision? I think it would not be proper for the All-India Radio, which is a Government Department, to take upon itself the responsibility of defining the policy. But no doubt this can be asked as to why the All-India Radio has not taken any initiative and lead in this matter. It is not a question of taking any lead or initiative. The All-India Radio or the Information and Broadcasting Departments cannot become leaders. The lead is to be given by others. When a proper lead will be given, when good works will be undertaken, when good events will come to pass, only then the question of giving information or broadcasting them arises. I do not think it proper to lay the burden of giving a lead upon the shoulders of this department and this will not appear good to the Government also. Therefore, only so much can be done that the policy that has already been laid down should be followed. Any deviation that might occur here and there in the policy can of course be checked through the departments of Information and Broadcasting. But the question of giving a lead is a matter of great responsibility, and it is particularly very difficult to give a lead in such a matter that might be very controversial.

The other thing has been said about the Documentary Film Section. It is a fact that 84 lakhs of rupees were sanctioned for this thing last year. But it must not be taken for granted that all those 84 lakhs of rupees have been spent and no work has been done. The things are not so. The work was actually begun in November 1948. It is not necessary to give here reasons as to why the work was not begun earlier. This is an administrative affair and this matter can be discussed in detail in the Advisory Committee. The work was begun in November and only seven lakhs of rupees have so far been spent. As far as the question of personnel and accommodation goes a grouping of all the units for this purpose is felt necessary. You cannot expect your meals to be served on the table at your order by simply constructing a kitchen. This thing cannot be achieved only by making a kitchen. Besides the kitchen several other things have got to be constructed. In the same way for these documentary films a number of things have to be collected. When all these things are gathered together only then the purpose can be served. All the personnel that are working in this department are trying for this and they know that they should do this work in the quickest possible manner. But due to the cropping up of some difficulties the work was somewhat impeded.

I have already explained the few other points that have been raised about Films, and the reply has also been included in the report. These points related to the enquiry of the film industry, the question of Central Censorship, restricted licences and Educational Films. The present Documentary Film Section has to bear two responsibilities, one of news films and the other of Documentary Films. We undertake and do all that work which is sent to us by the different Ministries. So it is quite difficult for us to give more emphasis on educational films only, because we have to take work from all those six units that we have. They are made to work on certain lines. One unit does



[Shri R. R. Diwakar]

/ .

the external publicity work and the rest cater to the needs of the 15-16 Ministries of the Government. Particularly some cultural work concerning temples and sculpture is also undertaken. So in this manner the work is to be done. But if the Education Ministry or the Health Ministry were to give some work then, I have not the least doubt, that also will be performed.

Now comes the question regarding the distribution of these Films. The distribution work did not proceed satisfactorily in the beginning because our distributors and the distributing centres had not been settled. When this will be decided then I think our films will be exhibited in all the 2200 cinema theatres that are in our country. If today we were to force the cinema theatres to exhibit our films then how can the scheme work because we have not got so many documentary films with us. It is difficult to send films to all of them. We cannot send films to them. Whatever films we have we are sending. We are sending some films to the foreign countries as well. These films have been sent to some 10-15 or more foreign countries and we are sending more also. They have not been made in order to keep them here like pickles. Now the thing is that when we will have more films we can get them exhibited in Cinemas. The rates, time and other things have to be settled with the provincial Governments and the people in the film industry after lengthy discussions. In this way the work has been started and in future it will proceed satisfactorily. The name of the advisory committee has also been mentioned here. We have decided to act upon its suggestions. The suggestions will no doubt be followed. But as regards those documentary films that will be made not only its proposals will be invited but whatever suggestions will come forward about the future programme, I think we will try to give those suggestions, as far as it would be possible for this department, a practical shape.

The advisory committee has discussed in details all that has been said about the A.I.R. correspondents. It has been told there that for as much work we can take from the P.T.I. it is not even obligatory for us to appoint some other person. But as there are some particular requirements and when they are not met with then we will have to resort to other means. Some friends suggested that at present in the news broadcasts an undue bias is given to speeches delivered by the honourable Ministers. It may be so. But it is not at all proper to think that only the personnel of the Government News Department alone are responsible for this. I have thought over this problem a great deal and have made certain observations as well. I have observed at present if the photographic unit of our Government goes to some function then eight to ten photographers of the other news-papers also are found there. Now the thing is that those eight to ten persons also do the same work. If they take a photo of the honourable the Prime Minister or any other Ministers, then they do so for its news-value only and not merely with the view-point that it is a photo of some Minister. If somebody thinks so then he is mistaken. If only the Government unit takes that photograph then it is a sin. It cannot be so. It will not be proper to think that it is well nigh a sin if our unit also were to form judgment on the news-value of any thing as the news paper people do, or else our unit also were to see all those things from the view point of the newspaper men. But of course if all of us hold the opinion that a black out of the Ministers should be done then this can also be done.

**Pandit Balkrishna Sharma** (U.P.: General): Even the newspapers are partial I do not think they will publish my or Shri Sidhva's speech but they will certainly publish Shri Diwakar Ji's speech.

**The Honourable Shri R. R. Diwakar:** Because the readers want it. Ultimately we are the sinners. Now much has been said about non-official boards and appointments. Much of it I have accepted and as the matter has now come before the Advisory Board, so it does not look nice for me to discuss this point here or to raise a debate on the administration issue. I do not think it proper to discuss here at this stage the question of the Federal Public Service Commission and the appointments made by it. There is also no time and the discussion will be of no use. I think this matter may be discussed in our Standing Advisory Committee.

My honourable friend, Shri Munshi, has said a few things. Along with numerous brick-bats he has given me bouquets as well. It is not correct to think that I am devoting more attention to his speech because he has praised me. But being an experienced and veteran literary artist his opinion carries much weight. As he has said we do not hear radio simply to learn something about *Dharma* or to give peace and tranquility to our soul. It is also important to have some entertainment as well. It is true that entertainment is an important part of our life.

As regards the Ahmedabad station I think some arrangements would be made by the middle of April. The main difficulty there was that of some suitable building and so it is not necessary, to give more details here. Just now Shri Tyagi ji made a mention about the artists and their rights. On a few points he laid an extra emphasis. We have to consider over those points. He has said something about the extension of broadcasting and we have to keep that also in our minds. We have to progress and only so many broadcasting stations will not keep the work going. If we have to make progress in this world then without developing our broadcasting system we will not be able to make any progress in any sphere of action. He has drawn a contrast between an artist and a clerk and has said that the artists require some brain—trust. He has said that as the artists have literary brains, therefore, he has suggested that the management also be placed in their hands. This is correct to some extent but it is not essential that always an artist be appointed as Station Director. It is possible that some one without being an artist may be able to organise the department properly. I am not an artist, but without being an artist I, to some extent, can understand what art is, how it is promoted, and how it is stimulated. I do not lay a claim in this respect and I do not compete with the artist members of this House. But still I, to some extent, know what art is and can organise it properly. I can understand that a certain thing is bad as it does not contain any art and that thing is good because it is artistic. The best would be if the artists possessed the qualities of a good organiser as well. The milk will of course be sweetened by mixing sugar with it. Who would speak ill of it? It has been said that a letter was sent from some Radio station to Delhi station for a reply. Possibly the officers there were not competent to give a reply.

As far as the question of Hindi language goes I think that they, who desire on all round development of the Hindi language, must be prepared to hear that Hindi which the non-Hindi speaking people speak. If it would not be so then Hindi will not spread far and wide. Such allegations that this being a Hindi programme, why a non-Hindi knowing man has been appointed to organise it, will not work. He would not be able to speak good Hindi or grammatically correct Hindi as my honourable friend Pandit Balkrishna Sharma speaks, but he will be able to speak dis-connected Hindi as I can. We have to see whether he can organise the department efficiently or not. It is not proper to see whether his mother tongue is Hindi or not.

Just now Shri Jain said a few things about the States. When the States Ministry would come to any definite decision only then we can do some work. We do not want to do piece meal work here and there. We will have to wait.

[Shri R. R. Diwakar]

He made a mention of small things like photo-publicity, accommodation and other things, but he said some important things about the language press. As I have made a mention in my speech the stature and the influence of the language press is increasing and I also wish that it may be rehabilitated. But this problem itself is a refugee one. "They were foreigners in their own country, but fortunately now I think the time for complete rehabilitation has come." Rather fortunately this also is being done and their place is also being made.

**Mr. Chairman:** There is no quorum in the House, the bell will be rung.

**The Honourable Shri R. R. Diwakar:** So shall I sit down?

**Mr. Chairman:** Just for a few minutes.

*(The bell was rung and quorum obtained)*

**The Honourable Shri R. R. Diwakar:** I have not to say much. I had told you in the beginning that when I would begin to speak in Hindi then it would take more time. As I was just saying that it is also necessary to do whatever is proper and legitimate as regards photo, news and advertisement and efforts will surely be made. I can assure you on this point.

After saying so much and thanking you once more for the information given by you and for your criticism I beg to resume my seat.

#### ELECTION TO STANDING COMMITTEE FOR MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE

**Mr. Chairman:** I have to inform the Assembly that upto 12 Noon on Thursday, the 24th March, 1949 the time fixed for receiving nominations for the Standing Committee for the Ministry of Agriculture, 11 nominations were received. Subsequently one member withdrew his candidature. As the number of remaining candidates is thus equal to the number of vacancies, I declare the following members to be duly elected: Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi, Shri Upendranath Barman, Babu Ramnarayan Singh, Ch. Ranbir Singh, Shri A. K. Menon, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh, Shri H. Siddaveerappa, Shri Satis Chandra Samanta, Mr. Mohd. Tahir, Shri C. Subramaniam.

*The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 28th March, 1949.*