

Mr. Speaker: I think the hon. Member is coming to very hasty conclusion about it. The conditions necessary are not being observed by the Members. I am myself disturbed by these interferences. I distinctly hear some talk going on, here. Perhaps the microphones are working too powerfully.

NOTIFICATION UNDER CALCUTTA PORT ACT

The Minister of Railways and Transport (Shri L. B. Shastri): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of each of the following papers, in pursuance of subsection (1) of section 6 of the Calcutta Port Act, 1890:

- (i) Ministry of Transport's Notification No. 9-PI(1)/52, dated the 6th March, 1952; and
- (ii) Statement showing the redistribution of seats of elected commissioners on the Calcutta Port Commission.

(Placed in Library. See No. P-10/52).

DISPLACED PERSONS (CLAIMS) AMENDMENT BILL

The Minister of Rehabilitation (Shri A. P. Jain): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Displaced Persons (Claims) Act, 1950.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to amend the Displaced Persons (Claims) Act, 1950."

The motion was adopted.

Shri A. P. Jain: I introduce the Bill.

INDIAN TARIFF (SECOND AMENDMENT) BILL

The Minister of Commerce and Industry (Shri T. T. Krishnamachari): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1934.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1934."

The motion was adopted.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I introduce the Bill.

RESERVE AND AUXILIARY AIR FORCES BILL

The Minister of Defence (Shri Gopalaswami): I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the constitution and regulation of certain Air Force Reserves and also an Auxiliary Air Force and for matters connected therewith.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the constitution and regulation of certain Air Force Reserves and also an Auxiliary Air Force and for matters connected therewith."

The motion was adopted.

Shri Gopalaswami: I introduce the Bill.

MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT.—Contd.

Mr. Speaker: We shall now resume the debate on the Presidential Address. I need not, I think, read out the Motion of Thanks as it will only take time. I will now call upon speakers, and I will make a request in view of the large number of members who seem to be anxious to speak. It will be better if the hon. Members will stick to certain specific points if they can, and be as short as possible. Of course, I have set not more than 15 minutes, but it does not mean it should not be less than 15 minutes, and if Members observe a general rule of about ten minutes, it will be very much the better.

There is an announcement which I have to make, and that is, a request has been made to me and fairly supported by sections of this House, that instead of meeting from 10-45 A.M. to 5 P.M., we should have one sitting and the House may meet in the morning only from 8-15 a.m. to 1-0 p.m. I think that suits the convenience of Members. Now, this change will come into force from day after tomorrow. The point is that I do not like to disturb now the present timing arrangements about this debate; and therefore, after this debate is over by tomorrow, we will have the sitting at the changed timings from day after tomorrow. Of course, the question hour continues, unless it is the pleasure of the House to drop it.

An Hon. Member: May I know, Sir, whether Parliament Secretariat will arrange to supply papers in the afternoon so that we will have time to read them in the morning?

Mr. Speaker: We have fixed up certain arrangements consistent with the work of the House as also the strain of work on the Secretariat. They will be given due notice about the timings as they are changed. The distribution of tomorrow's Parliamentary Bulletin will take place by the evening or at night.

12 Noon

An Hon. Member: May I make a suggestion, Sir, for your consideration? Rather than sitting in the morning, it would be better to sit in the afternoon.

Hon. Members: No, no.

Mr. Speaker: I believe the House will appreciate the enthusiasm of the hon. Member, but then it will not be possible looking to the fact that our human energies are very much limited.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (Amravati East): I am glad to have this early opportunity of speaking in this new House. This House is new not in its walls or its benches. It is considerably new in its composition. I am therefore speaking to a different House from its predecessor, and if my speech is different from my old speeches, I hope, no uncharitable construction will be placed upon it. Without indulging in any detailed comparison between this House and its predecessor, I make bold to say that this House is the real representative House of the People elected by the People's direct vote without any intermediary. This was not a mere accident, but a deliberate choice and decision of the Congress Party that we have adult franchise in the country, and even if the Opposition is not prepared to accept the good points of the Congress Party in other respects, I put it to them that they owe it to the Congress Party that there is adult franchise and it is because of this that they have had this opportunity of coming to this House. My friends sitting opposite have been making various complaints. It is certainly their duty to do so. Yet I would like them always to keep in their hearts the realisation that the Congress has not only won the freedom of the country, has not only given to the country the most democratic

Constitution, but that it has main-trained peace and tranquillity in spite of some of the friends sitting opposite, and has done many good things for which everyone in the country ought to be genuinely thankful. The Congress and the country have been endowed with an inspiring leader who, amongst other qualities, enjoys one peculiar quality, of being able to see the other side of the question. He hardly ever hesitates to admit errors, mistakes or defects. With such a leader, I firmly believe that constructive suggestions emanating from the Opposition will go much further than sheer abuse or harangues. So, even at this very early stage, I must suggest to my friends opposite that they should not repeat their performances in the election campaign, but should try to adjust themselves to a parliamentary Opposition contenting themselves with making suggestions to this responsible Government established under the Constitution. Before this group of friends came to this House, some of us used to perform the duty of self-examination and self-criticism. We were in a way, and sometimes at any rate, almost performing the functions of an Opposition. That role we need not play any more, because a set of fairly large and youthful people and representatives have come to the House. They may not be so fair in their complexion, they may not be dominated by the fair sex to any great extent, but nonetheless, they have come here for the purpose of opposing the Government established by the Constitution.

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): Sir, I wish to raise a point of order. The hon. Member has cast an aspersion on the colour and complexion of those who have come from the South.

Mr. Speaker: I hope hon. Members of this House will cultivate a sense of good humour also. Let there be no tension of nerves, and things will be quite all right.

Dr. Deshmukh: I meant no offence, Sir.

An Hon. Member: Is it not the duty of an hon. Member to teach parliamentary practice and code of procedure to the hon. Members who have come here?

Mr. Speaker: Yes; if the hon. Members who have come afresh make it a point to hold their tongue at least for one session, I am sure they will learn much more. And it does not create a good impression on anyone

that hon. Members should butt in and try to raise flimsy points of order or points of information and all that. As I said yesterday, we are here engaged in a very solemn business. We are not here to cavil or even to blame each other. We may differ, we may be strong in our criticism but that does not justify this kind of an exhibition of tension of nerves. I would therefore only request my young friends, my new friends, not to be so much upset. In fact, it is the essence of Parliamentary debates that the atmosphere is a cordial one and the good mood of the House is kept not by a lower type of speech but good humour and sometimes this humour is permissible, it is enjoyable. At the same time, I would also say to hon. Members that, in view of the temperaments that we have noticed now and as a result of these objections, Members will restrain themselves and see that they do not joke at people who cannot appreciate these jokes.

An Hon. Member: As a point of information I would like to know....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. My point is to be as quiet as possible—non-interference. But if I find that any hon. Member persists in that sort of a thing it will be a painful duty to take serious notice of it. The hon. Member must give a patient hearing. He must not butt in every now and then as he did thrice yesterday—I noticed it—and he is doing it now. That is not a fair or proper way of conducting the proceedings of an assembly like the Sovereign Parliament of India. Therefore, I hope the hon. Members will appreciate that just as they want other people to control their humours and tempers they will start with their own side and set a good example. So let there be no disturbance now. If a Member speaks an unparliamentary expression, certainly, my attention may be invited to it—I myself am very alert on that point and do not allow such expressions. But let there be no interference every now and then.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: I would therefore, in the changed circumstances, take upon myself the role of instructing my friends opposite in the many good points contained in the Congress Party and the virtues of the present Government of India. This House is different from its predecessor. I feel safe in asserting that the present Government of India

is different from its predecessor in spite of the fact that many old Ministers still continue. It is new because there is, I feel certain, a realisation in the heart of every one of them that there is no room for complacency, there is no room for experiments, there is no room for platitudes any more. The present Government of India has to bend all its energies to deliver the goods and I am convinced that they are in a position to do so. It has been amply demonstrated to everyone in the whole wide world that however illiterate the Indian masses may be they are in no sense unwise. The average Indian knows what he is doing; he has known what he has done and he will know what to do in the future if people in whom he declared his faith are found wanting. I have said this deliberately in order to admonish ourselves, to give a befitting caution and a warning and our leader has never been slow to draw our attention to this very important fact. I do not wish to utilise this opportunity in referring to humdrum matters but would refer as briefly as possible to certain criticisms of the Government of India that have been levelled by some prominent Members of the Opposition. It is very wrong to suggest that we do not regard the scarcities and famine conditions—if the word famine is more attractive to my friend, Shri Gopalan—prevailing in various parts of India. Let me assure him and the other Members of the Opposition that none is more anxious to face the situation and to prevent the suffering of the people at the earliest possible moment. This is not a hollow assurance inasmuch as this is not the first time the Government of India has faced similar difficulties.

[SHRI M. A. AYYANGAR in the Chair]

A worse situation faced us last year not only in Bihar but in several other parts of India. I think it is no exaggeration to say that the Government of India came out of the ordeal with as much success as could have been ever possible for anyone. It is unfortunate—and I hope no offence will again be taken—that most of the Members of the Opposition happen to come from scarcity areas. There is also a twinkle of a hungry look in their eyes. I do not regard it as my very great fortune that I come from a surplus area and look somewhat more prosperous, but I feel certain that but for what the Government of India has done and is doing even at this very moment the situation in Rayalaseema would have

[Dr. P. S. Deshmukh]

never been what it was and I am sure if there are scarcities occurring and increasing in other parts the Government will soon draw its own attention to it and will rectify the position as best as possible.

In this world everybody wants more money from somebody else. It is natural, therefore, that there should be a hue and cry against the stoppage of subsidies. It may be that this step was taken at a wrong psychological moment, but if my friends can be taken by what they have said and if I can also presume that they dislike spoon-feeding from the top, they will have to admit that they cannot go on subsisting on the Government of India's subsidies for ever. Yet I urge that the question may be examined in all its bearings and if the stoppage of the subsidies alone is responsible for the hardships, I am sure the Government of India will appropriately modify their policy.

Some hon. members have ridiculed large irrigation and river valley projects. I do not think any sensible person can condemn the river valley projects. I however agree that if smaller projects would yield quicker results some priority may yet be yielded to these smaller irrigation projects and the whole investment may not be locked up in the larger projects alone. It is one thing to suggest this examination or modification and quite another vaguely to assert that crores of rupees are being squandered on the river valley projects. My hon. sister, Mrs. Kripalani complained that she did not discover any inspiration, any fire in the Address.

I would like to read only two sentences from the Address.

In paragraph 5, the President said:

"I earnestly trust that, in the great tasks that face us, you will remember this ancient and ever-new message of India—viz. of peace and non-violence—and will work in a spirit of cooperative endeavour, placing the cause of the nation and of humanity above all lesser objectives. We have to build up the unity of India, the unity of a free people working for the realisation of the high destiny that awaits them."

If such fine words do not find an echo in the hearts of any particular set of persons (*An Hon. Member*: Only words) then I think the blame lies somewhere else and not with the Address of the President.

Government has also been criticised so far as its foreign policy is concerned, and what is the foreign policy which my hon. friends have to recommend? There is one tenet by which they swear. We must wholeheartedly join the Communist bloc and be a part and parcel of it! On the one hand, they criticise the Government of India by saying that they are not pursuing an independent policy. Where will this independence be, I ask them, if the Government of India were to give up their own policy which is based on principle and join the Communist bloc? Is there any scope for an independent foreign policy once the Government of India joins the Communist bloc?

Then, it has also been urged that the Government of India suffers from many scandals. I am not sorry that there are so many scandals, because I know that it is the dislike of these scandals in the minds of the Ministers and the Congress Party that has enabled us to unearth them. If we were enamoured of them, or felt ashamed of them, or if we did not think that unearthing them would serve a great national purpose, it would have been quite easy to camouflage many of these affairs. So, instead of thanking the Government of India and appreciating what the Government of India is doing, they are throwing accusations when there is no basis for them.

Making this speech on this Address, I want to suggest a few things. The first thing is that the Backward Classes Commission provided for under article 340 of the Constitution should be appointed at the earliest possible moment. This matter was referred to more than once in previous speeches and the matter is such that I see no difficulty in the way of the early appointment of this Commission.

The second thing which I wish to urge with all the emphasis at my command is that the Government of India should give direct assistance and encouragement to cottage industry products, so that it would be possible in the course of a few years to purchase all the articles that the Government of India wants only from cottage industries. If the hand-spun yarn is not good enough, let the yarn come from the mills, but let the weavers of India have a chance to provide to the Government all the cloth that it needs.

There are, I am sure, many cottage industries which would, if given proper encouragement, be able to supply a very large number of articles which the Government needs for administration.

So far as the weavers are concerned, I want to enter a very special plea that the weavers of India have suffered very great hardships and persecution at the hands of the various policy makers of Government. It should not be beyond the capacity of the new Minister who has taken charge to find out a way by which this misery of theirs can be ended once and for all.

Then I would like to draw Government's pointed attention to the miserable condition of the cotton growers of my province. The Government invited them to grow more and more cotton and they grew this year nearly one-third of the cotton of the whole of India and yet within a few weeks the prices were reduced to less than half. If hon. Members of this House who came here with the expectation that their daily allowance would be Rs. 40 per day were to be paid Rs. 15 per day by the Parliament Secretariat, you can imagine what will happen to their financial condition. We would be hard hit and our daily allowance would not be sufficient to pay our expenses. We will have probably to sell our belongings to free ourselves from debts. The same condition is being faced by the cotton growers of Berar. It is the ill-considered policy of the Government which is responsible for these hardships to these people. I think it should be possible for the Government to rectify the situation and if circumstances justify it, to lift all control both on cotton as well as on cotton goods.

My time is up. Therefore, I cannot cover a few more points I had jotted down. If the Opposition were to throw their eyes at the figures of production given in the Address and also to enquire as to how the productive capacity of the country has been increased, they will have to admit that the Congress Party and the Congress Government have not done badly.

In the end I whole-heartedly support the Motion of Thanks moved by Shri Chanda.

Shri Meghnad Saha (Calcutta North-West): I beg to move:
That at the end of the motion the following be added:

"but regret to note in the Address absence of any reference to the problems of educational reform particularly in the sphere of university and professional education."

I understand that the Presidential Address generally gives a statement of the policy to be pursued by the Government during the coming year. It is therefore somewhat disconcerting to find that there is no reference in the Presidential Address to the state of education and to educational reform in India. Hon. Members are aware that education is in an extremely bad state in India. The percentage of literacy is only fifteen—taking the figures from a Government Report and speaking subject to correction. No democracy can act properly if 90 per cent. of the electorate is illiterate. Unfortunately, that is the case in this country. Many years ago, when democracy was first coming to England, John Stuart Mill said that universal suffrage without universal education would be a curse to the State. The working of democracy in the different parts of the world has proved the correctness of Mill's prophecy. The rule of democracy in America during the early days was really the rule of Tammany-Hall-party bosses ruling—because the electorate did not know for whom to vote. I think something like that has also happened during the last elections when votes were cast, not on the merits of the candidates, not even on the programme, but to the sacred bull.

The House is probably aware that this problem of illiteracy and this problem of education has been gone thoroughly into by different committees—by the National Planning Committee as early as 1939. Since independence, a large number of committees appointed by the Education Ministry have pondered over it and several measures have been proposed in order to deal with illiteracy. I refer particularly to the report of the Kher Committee. Mr. B. G. Kher, till recently Chief Minister of Bombay, was asked by the Ministry of Education to preside over a Committee for dealing with illiteracy in this country. He recommended quite a number of salutary measures. One of these was that State Governments should spend 20 per cent. of their budgetary income on education; and the Central Government ten per cent. of the Central Budget. This is not a

[Shri Meghnad Saha]

very large percentage. In the United States, in certain States nearly 30 per cent. and in the State of New York 40 per cent. of the State's budget is spent on education. I have been trying to find out what percentage is spent on education in the different States of India. I find that it is only Mr. Kher, till recently the Chief Minister of Bombay, who has tried to give effect to these recommendations. In every other State the percentage spent on education is very much lower. In the State of West Bengal—from which I come—the percentage spent on education till 1950 was less than ten. In many other States it is much lower.

An Hon. Member: What about Mysore; it is 25 per cent.

Shri Meghnad Saha: Mysore is an exception. I have not got the figures with me, so that I cannot speak individually of each State. But the House will agree with me that generally no effort has been made to give effect to the recommendations made by the Kher Committee, which were, I think, accepted by the Government of India. Therefore, this problem of illiteracy is not going to be solved in the near future.

I had expected that the President in his Address would have given some direction to the different States for dealing with this problem, but I am very sorry to find omission of such an important topic from his Address.

I have in this connection to speak also of higher education. Hon. Members are aware that higher education in this country is in a very bad state. The whole conception of higher education is wrong, because when the Britishers were here they wanted that this country should simply produce clerks and assistants. In the field of higher technical education and vocational education, the situation was much worse. We have got a number of engineering colleges; but the whole object was to produce engineers who can operate a machine, but not such as could design or plan anything. We all know that independent India has to rebuild the country—for that matter we require scientists and technicians; we require a better type of engineers; we require not only lawyers who can earn fabulous sums of money, but also such as would be competent to frame laws in accordance with the needs of a changing society. We also require linguists—people who would be able

to serve the country in the diplomatic field with effect.

The Government was aware that the whole educational system required complete overhauling and nearly three years ago a University Commission was appointed under the presidency of no less a personage than our distinguished countryman, Dr Radhakrishnan, who has worldwide reputation as a philosopher and as an educationist. He was assisted by a number of eminent educationists of this country and number of eminent educationists of England and America. The University Commission made a tour of all the Universities of India and other institutions. We were shocked to find the low standard which was prevalent throughout the country. Myself and my colleagues have the advantage of having had firsthand knowledge of the standards obtaining in the Universities in other parts of the world—in England, America, in Europe and even in Russia. But we found that the standard of our Universities has deteriorated to an extremely low level. We did not find a single Indian University functioning satisfactorily. Most of them were suffering from very acute lack of funds. The grants to the Universities have not been increased in spite of the fact that the cost of living has gone four times and the cost of equipment nearly five or six times. We found the teachers were underpaid. In some places—I think in Nagpur—we found that the teachers in some private colleges were being paid less than the unskilled labourers in the neighbouring Empress Mills. Teachers everywhere are an underpaid lot. They cannot make both ends meet. They cannot devote any serious attention to their work and I have known of college teachers who have been taken to peddling in order to make both ends meet!

In the professional institutions, for example in medical colleges, we found that practically no research work was being done. The teachers said that all their time was spent in teaching and professional work, which they had to do as they were not paid sufficiently to place them above want so that they could devote more time for research work. In engineering colleges, we found that the engineers that the colleges turned out were only operation and maintenance engineers; none of them was an engineer of a higher type who could un-

dertake work of designing except in civil engineering—say of the Damodar Valley, or other river valley projects which we are undertaking. We did not find any place where any research work was being done on the production of machinery or other articles which we very badly need for the reconstruction of this country.

India has undertaken many schemes of reconstruction and we have to import experts from foreign countries on fabulous salaries. I understand that recently an expert has been obtained for working at the Nangal Dam on a salary which is higher than the salary of the President—I think several times higher. The University Commission therefore recommended that the responsibility of running the Universities could not be left entirely to the provinces. The Central Government should take upon itself half the responsibility for University education in the sector of Post-Bachelor and professional training. The Commission, therefore, recommended the creation of an autonomous University Grants Commission which was to have a Budget of Rs. five or six crores, rising up to Rs. ten crores which will be distributed over the different Universities and professional institutions according to their needs and demands. Though two years have now passed, there is no indication that the Government of India intend to give effect to any of the recommendations of the University Commission.

Education at present in India is in a very neglected state. We can neither educate the electorate; nor produce the right type of men who can build up this country. We are, therefore, running to disaster. It will not be difficult to find the money, if we are really serious about it. But while we find that expenses in all other sections are going up, the educational budget of the Central Government has remained stationary at one per cent. of the total budget for a number of years. Our total budget is of the order of about Rs. 350 crores, and the amount which is spent for education is the meagre sum of Rs. 3½ crores (recurring). Of course, from year to year you have got some non-recurring grants. I have thought it fit that the House should be informed of this sad state of affairs in regard to education so that we can ask the Government to provide more liberally for education in the near future.

Mr. Chairman: Amendment moved:

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

“but regret to note in the Address absence of any reference to the problems of educational reform, particularly in the sphere of university and professional education.”

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Hooghly): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that no reference has been made to the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the recent speeches made by Sheikh Abdullah, the Chief Minister of that State, which are likely to embitter the relations between the citizens of India and the people of that State.”

I had been listening with great interest to the speeches which have been delivered from the Congress Benches. Some of the speeches gave a friendly admonition to the Opposition Benches, and we took it in that spirit. But I regret to notice that a different note was struck this morning by Dr. Deshmukh. I wish he had not spoken in the strain in which he spoke in this House of the People. Possibly he was badly briefed, because he was speaking to a brief. All that I can say is that he has overdone his part this morning. He said something in terms of adulation regarding the Congress. We can assure him that we are here, on the Opposition Benches, not due to the Congress but in spite of the Congress. Who would care for this House of the People, who would care for this Parliament, if there had been only the Congress Members sitting here without the Opposition and without any real, active and vigilant Opposition who would put them under surveillance? Dr. Deshmukh and men of his way of thinking should realize that a Parliament without any Opposition would mean a mockery of democracy. They should realize that the House of the People without a vigilant Opposition may develop fascist tendencies which would bring the country to disaster. There are millions of people who have sent us to this Parliament, and we claim that the party in office or the party in power does not really represent the majority of the electorate.

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

The President in his Address has asked us to remember that we are taking an oath of fidelity to the Constitution. What is this Constitution? It is the embodiment of certain cardinal principles which are cherished in every democratic and civilized country. This Constitution, as you know very well, embodies a Chapter on Fundamental Rights. What are these Fundamental Rights? They are meant to be justiciable, they are meant to be enforceable by the courts of law. As the present Chief Justice of India has said in the great Judgement, dealing with the liberty of Press in the *Organizer* and *Cross Roads* cases, the Constitution of India has imposed conscious limitations on the permissible abridgement of the Fundamental Rights. What has the Congress Government done? In Free India I regret to say that men have been put behind prison bars without trial, that men have been deprived in Independent India of liberty without any regular prosecution in a court of law or without the sanction of a magistrate. We are here to enter our caveat against that kind of thing.

This Parliament in the plenitude of its powers should remember that these Fundamental Rights mean a double limitation: it is a limitation on governmental action, and it is a limitation also on Parliament's power of legislation.

It is a matter of regret that the President's Address has not given any indication as to the Government's policy towards the much criticized Preventive Detention Act. India in bondage fought against the Rowlatt Act. India today, free from bondage, I say in all humility but with all the emphasis at my command, will not tolerate any lawless law. Our Constitution must be respected. In the words of a great American Judge, these declarations of Fundamental Rights say to arbitrary and autocratic power, from whatever quarter it may advance to invade the vital rights of personal liberty and private property, "Thus far thou shalt come and no further".

I must disabuse my friends opposite of their notions and I should tell them that I am not one of those who believe in opposition for the mere sake of opposition. Mere obstruction will lead us nowhere. As responsible citizens of India representing millions of our fellow citizens, it is our duty to strive our best to res-

cue the country from the double danger—the danger of a political dictatorship and the other danger of a totalitarian system which strives to control every aspect of economic and social life.

The time allotted is very short and I shall therefore draw the attention of the House only to some important matters. The last General Elections proved that there were serious impediments in the way of fair and free elections. These elections disclosed many gaps and loopholes which require serious consideration. Even, today in a bye-election in Central India serious allegations are being made of corrupt practices taking place with impunity. The executive in that area seems to be paralysed and even high police officers plead inability to stop the open defiance of the mandatory provisions of law. I wish there had been in the President's Address some indication as to the enactment of suitable legislation, and I submit that it should be tackled on an all-party basis.

There is one tragic omission in the President's Address. There is no reference to the refugee problem. It seems that there is complacency in high quarters. It seems that according to the Government the refugee problem has been satisfactorily solved and that all the displaced persons have been suitably rehabilitated. There is also no reference to corruption in the public services, and we get no indication of the Government's plans to eradicate the same.

The next point I would like to take up in the President's Address is that there is no mention regarding the State of Jammu and Kashmir. I must make my position clear that I am not anxious to say anything here which may compromise the stand of the Government of India on the Kashmir issue *vis-a-vis* Pakistan. But it is a matter of deep regret and shame that today portions of Kashmir are still occupied by the Pakistani troops. It is a matter of shame that the Security Council is still dilly-dallying with the Kashmir problem. The way the U.N. is behaving reminds us of the exploits of the Holy Alliance of the nineteenth century after the battle of Waterloo. It seems that the race of Bismarck, Castlereigh and Disraeli has not yet gone. Only they have changed colour and, possibly, their names. Through the

millennium, India and Kashmir have been tied together by bonds of friendship and amity, and Kashmir has always been an integral part of India through the ages. The aspiration of the people of the State of Kashmir to be one with India is quite natural. The existence of that State depends largely upon the continued support of India and upon supply of men, money and materials from India. The cherished ties that bind Kashmir and Jammu with the rest of India have been strengthened and cemented by the blood of hundreds of gallant Indian soldiers who have laid down their lives for the defence of Kashmir from the ruthless aggressors from Pakistan.

Some of the recent utterances of Sheikh Abdullah, Chief Minister of Kashmir, have deeply perturbed India. They have made the friends and well-wishers of the State of Kashmir and its present rulers uncomfortable. Even his best friend, the Prime Minister of India, found it necessary to publicly criticize some of his recent statements. Grave issues have been raised by Sheikh Abdullah's speeches which cannot be ignored by this Parliament. The so-called clarifications have ceased to clarify and have made the position confused.

I am sorry to say this but I am bound to say with the fullest sense of responsibility that the minority community in the State of Jammu and Kashmir is feeling unhappy and frustrated. One hon. Member of this Parliament, Mr. V. G. Deshpande, had visited Jammu recently and he had reported, on firsthand knowledge that there was a reign of terror for some time in part of Jammu. I need not go into details, but Sheikh Abdullah's stand has given a rude shock to many people. What is his stand? He definitely declares that he will not tolerate the application of the Indian Constitution to Jammu and Kashmir. He stands for one hundred per cent. sovereignty. He wants a Republic within the Republic. What is the offence of the Jammu leaders for which they are persecuted and for which they are criticised and maligned? They want to be full-fledged Indian citizens. They want those Fundamental Rights which we enjoy in the Republic of India. They want the Supreme Court as the palladium of Justice to enforce and vindicate their Fundamental Rights. They want complete integration with India. They want the fullest application of the Indian Constitution to that State. It is nothing but a cruel paradox that these leaders are dubbed as enemies

of India and friends of Pakistan. It is only a perverted mind which can attribute such a charge to the leaders or representatives of the minority community, who demand the fullest application of the Indian Constitution including the Fundamental Rights Chapter to the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

The Constitution of India has created certain anomalies which should be redressed. Article 1 of the Constitution makes Jammu and Kashmir a part of the territory of India. But article 5 of the Constitution which deals with citizenship does not apply to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. As a matter of fact the whole of Part II dealing with citizenship from article 5 to article 11, which confers on Parliament the power to regulate the right of citizenship by law, is not at all applicable to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Therefore, the question has been raised and may properly be raised whether the subjects of Jammu and Kashmir are citizens of India. Let the representatives of Jammu and Kashmir sitting in the House unequivocally declare that they are citizens of India. None will be happier than myself and Members of my way of thinking. But if they do not accept the position, if article 5 is not going to be applied to Jammu and Kashmir, if Part II of the Constitution is excluded, then it is to be seriously considered as to how far they are eligible for being chosen as Members of this House of the People. Both articles 84 and 102 clearly lay down that none but citizens of India can be qualified to become Members of Parliament and no one who is not a citizen of India automatically is disqualified. I have great respect for the hon. Minister of States who is a distinguished lawyer and I appeal to him to think over this problem seriously and give us his considered opinion.

In the name of humanity and international morality we demand that this Kashmir issue should be withdrawn from the U. N. O. The accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India must be accepted as final and should not be made to depend on a so-called plebiscite.

It is also a matter of regret that in the Presidential Address there is no mention of the unfortunate condition of the minority community in East Bengal. In spite of the Delhi Pact, the State of Pakistan is doing its best to make it a pure Islamic State. What they have done in West Pakistan, they are now trying to do

[Shri N. C. Chatterjee]

in East Pakistan. Over the Bengalee language issue the leaders of the Hindu community are being persecuted and tortured and so far as I know, our Government has yet taken no effective action nor entered an emphatic protest against this torturing of the minority community.

As you know, they are now going to introduce the passport system. Anyone who has rudimentary notions of international law will have to concede that every state has got the right to have a system of passport to exclude undesirable aliens; but the Pakistan State today is writing a new international law. They are trying to impose a system of passport there for the purpose of keeping out their own nationals, that is, the members of the Hindu community who happen to be in West Bengal or in other parts of India. We must change our attitude towards Pakistan and the policy of appeasement so far adopted should be dropped. Let us be firm. Let us change our policy of vacillation. Let us adopt the policy of reciprocity. Then and then only will Pakistan think twice before it behaves in this manner.

Mr. Chairman: Amendment moved:

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

"but regret that no reference has been made to the State of Jammu and Kashmir and the recent speeches made by Sheikh Abdullah, the Chief Minister of that State, which are likely to embitter the relations between the citizens of India and the people of that State."

Shrimati Chandrasekhar (Tiruvalur—Reserved—Sch. Castes): It is gratifying to note in the Address the intention of the Government to introduce fresh legislation on the Hindu Code Bill by having it split up into separate parts. This proposal of bringing the Bill in parts is welcomed as this will hasten the passage at least of such parts on which there is general agreement. The Hindu Code Bill is a pressing and vital social reform for which the women of India will be indebted to our Government and particularly to our Prime Minister, who has been ardently championing their cause.

Regarding the famine stricken areas, we find with gratification that

Government have come forward with relief measures to help the concerned State Governments. In Rayalaseema, the army is doing commendable work by deepening wells, carrying water and doing other things to redress the suffering of the people. This can be taken as an example and the work of the army extended to other parts of Tamil Nad, especially Chinglepet district where the water scarcity is very great. I should also like to suggest that the valuable work of the army may be utilised to assist the civil population in schemes such as the 'Grow More Food' and other projects.

Shri Dasaratha Deb (Tripura East): I beg to move:

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

"but regret that in spite of the urgent and universal demand for local Assemblies to be formed by the members of Electoral Colleges in the remaining Part C States of the First Schedule in Tripura, Manipur and Kutch, the Address does not assure the introduction of a democratic form of Government."

I wish particularly to draw the attention of the hon. Members of this House to the unbearable conditions of the people and the policy of the Government to perpetuate those conditions in the Part C States, especially in Tripura which I have the honour to represent. The people of Tripura have been demanding the democratic form of Government for two decades. Thousands of people at different meetings, in different ways, have expressed their demand for responsible Government. We find no mention in the Presidential Address to the Part C States and no assurance is given regarding the introduction of such responsible Government.

If you will forgive me, Sir I would like to refer to my case. For four long years, I have been hunted by the police and still a warrant is pending against me. I do not know whether at last Government have now got sense enough to withdraw the warrant. Warrants are pending against two members of the electoral college also. So also, one elected member in Tripura is still under detention. In spite of all this, the people of Tripura have exercised their civic sense fully during the period of election.

There was a lot of interference by the Government during the election period. Just of the eve of the election, one man Safar Ali, who was ploughing in the field was arrested and locked up. The next morning he was found dead in the police lock up. We do not know what the mystery was. Such are the conditions in the Part C States. The people demand responsible Government in order to be able to express their views. In the case of Tripura as in the case of Manipur and Kutch, the President has been pleased to exercise his discretion in an undemocratic manner. He could have, and I say, he should have, permitted the Tripura Electoral College to function as a Legislative Assembly. That would have been democratic. In the last Parliament, an hon. Member asked a question about responsible Government in Part C States. In reply to his question, the hon. Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar said that the Electoral Colleges which were going to be introduced in Part C States would be allowed to function as *ad hoc* Legislatures till full responsible Government was given. But, we find the quite opposite of that. Of course, I do not say that the people of Tripura will be satisfied with this. Their demand is full responsible Government. The existing Electoral College should be changed into a legislative Assembly.

We find one thing here. The Congressmen have suffered a severe defeat in Tripura. With all their pomp and authority they have got only nine seats out of 30 in the Electoral College. We, the Communists and the Democratic Party, got 19 seats and after this decisive defeat, in Tripura, no mention is made in the Address of democratic form of Government to be introduced in these Part C States.

Mr. Chairman: Is the hon. Member likely to take a long time?

Shri Dasaratha Deb: I would ask the House to look at what has happened in Tripura during the election period...

Mr. Chairman: He may continue after lunch.

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

The House reassembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock.

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

Shri Dasaratha Deb: The electors of Tripura behaved with a wonderful

sense of organisation and responsibility and with remarkable discipline voted in larger numbers than in most other parts of India. Of course, Communists have polled 62 per cent. of the votes cast, whereas the Congress polled only 26 per cent, but the President has chosen to penalise Tripura by refusing our Electoral College to function as a State Assembly. How the people of Tripura are anxious for democracy, only one instance will be sufficient to prove and to bring to the notice of our hon. Members. We held four big rallies in Tripura, three during election time, and one after the elections. Every rally we have had was nearly two lakhs strong and demanded that the Electoral College, which got through this election, should be allowed to function as a State Assembly.

An Hon. Member: Are we hearing an adjournment or is it party propaganda that our friend is doing?

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has his own way of saying it and if it serves party purposes, what can we do?

Shri Dasaratha Deb: But the President and his advisers are so deaf to our cry that they are behaving like this, because they do not belong to the people, and the Congress Government has now a Chinese wall separation itself from the people and can maintain itself in power only by cruel repression. At the same time it mumbles hypocritical words about non-violence and democracy while violent suppression of people's rights is going on in Tripura, and that is the rule of the Chief Commissioner which is the worst sort of undiluted medieval despotism. And the Congress Government, true to its policy, are supporting this feudal imperialist reaction. The cry of the people of Tripura for responsible Government has been put off on the plea of economic backwardness and also other conditions, but this argument is no argument because without the full co-operation of the people, defence cannot be maintained successfully. If the people are allowed to be ruled by the Chief Commissioners and the people have no right to choose their own people to participate in the Government, then how is it possible that this defence can be maintained properly. I suggest that if the people are allowed to participate in the Government, then the defence will be better than the now existing Tripura.

[Shri Dasaratha Deb]

The other point is this. Backwardness of course is not the point because at this election, the people of Tripura have shown their capacity how to utilise their civic rights, because in Tripura more than 60 per cent of the voters have cast their votes. Though the economic condition is backward now, we should not forget that Tripura is full of resources, minerals, timber etc.

An Hon. Member: It has already been decided in the Council of States by the Chairman that.....

Mr. Chairman: It has already been decided so far as this House is concerned that all matters, as near those as have been referred to in the Address, may also be referred to. We are not following what the Council of States might have decided. We are taking a more liberal view, and following the practice adopted by the House of Commons. That is what the Speaker has already decided, but I would urge upon hon. Members to be as near those points as possible.

Shri Dasaratha Deb: And if these issues be solved through proper supervision of the People's Government in the near future, there will be an immense possibility that Tripura can stand like any other province. So the whole point is that the Tripura people's cry for having a State Assembly is quite just and I think the House also will respond to it.

Another point is this: the refugee problem is one of the most important problems in the present-day India, but this we do not find in the Presidential Address, but I think that the millions of refugees should not be left to die of starvation or thrown out of employment. So, the cry for responsible Government of Tripura and the refugee rehabilitation should be dealt with as a very important problem.

Mr. Chairman: Amendment moved:

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

"but regret that in spite of the urgent and universal demand for local Assemblies to be formed by the members of Electoral Colleges in the remaining Part C States of the First Schedule in Tripura, Manipur and Kutch, the Address does not assure the introduction of a democratic form of Government."

सेठ गोविन्द बास : महोदय, भंगरेजी की इस लगातार झड़ी के पश्चात् में आशा करता हूँ कि हिन्दी का भी एक झला सुहावना जान पड़ेगा। मैंने आशा की थी कि जिस समय बालिग मताधिकार पर चुनी हुई यह संसद् आरम्भ होगी उस समय हमने जिस भाषा को राज्यभाषा माना है उसको कुछ अधिक स्थान प्राप्त होगा, परन्तु मुझे पिछले दो दिनों में बड़ी निराशा हुई। मैं देखता हूँ कि अब भी अंग्रेजी से हमारा मोह जा नहीं रहा है जो लोग हिन्दी जानते हैं वह भी अंग्रेजी में बोलने का प्रयत्न करते हैं और जो प्रश्न किये जाते हैं वह भी, उन मंत्रियों से भी, जो कि हिन्दी जानते हैं, अंग्रेजी में ही किये जाते हैं।

श्री एच० एन० शास्त्री : प्रश्नों के लिये तो माफ कर दीजिये।

Pandit K. C. Sharma (Mathura Distt. West): It does not come within the purview of article 87 because there is no mention of such a thing in the Presidential Address.

Mr. Chairman: Article 87 of the Constitution has been more liberally interpreted by the Speaker, and I do not want to take a different line. He felt the procedure of the House of Commons will prevail in this matter, and he thinks this is a matter of procedure, and therefore other matters also as far as near to these as possible, if they are important, will be allowed. I was told the hon. Member is not subscribing to the Hindi edition of our reports.

सेठ गोविन्द बास : ग़लत बात है। मैं प्रोटेस्ट (protest) करता हूँ कि ऐसी बात कही गई। मैं बराबर हिन्दी की प्रोसीडिंस ले रहा हूँ। हाँ, अंग्रेजी या उर्दू शब्दों का वहिष्कार करने की बहुत ज्यादा जरूरत नहीं है। हम तो अपनी राज्य भाषा ऐसी बना रहे हैं जिसमें अधिक से अधिक शब्दों का समावेश कर सकें।

Shri V. P. Nayar: On a point of information. Can the Member address his neighbours?

Mr. Chairman: No.

सेठ गोविन्द दास : अपनी इस संसद् के सदस्यों से राज्य भाषा के संबंध में इतना कहने के पश्चात् अपने राष्ट्रपति को मैं इस बात पर बघाई देना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने शपथ हिंदी में ली और उसके पश्चात् उन्होंने जो अपना प्रथम भाषण हमारी संसद् में दिया वह भी हिंदी में था। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि जो मार्ग हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी ने हमको बताया है हम उस मार्ग पर चलने का प्रयत्न करेंगे।

मुझे कल के कुछ भाषणों को सुनकर बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ। जब माननीय सदस्य श्री गोपालन ने यह कहा कि उन्हें तो देश में युद्ध की परिस्थिति दिखाई देती है, मेरी समझ में नहीं आया कि वह क्या कह रहे हैं।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : आंख खोल कर देखिये।

सेठ गोविन्द दास : आंख खोल कर देखने के पश्चात् भी मैं युद्ध की परिस्थिति नहीं देख रहा हूँ। कम से कम मेरे वयोवृद्ध मित्र रामनारायण सिंह जी को अब भी काफी दिखाई देता है, और उन्हें भी यदि युद्ध की परिस्थिति दिखाई देती है तो मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य होता है। मेरा ऐसा मत है कि शायद श्री गोपालन जी को जिस प्रकार का युद्ध चुनाव में हुआ था वह युद्ध याद आ गया और उस चुनाव के युद्ध के कारण उन को अभी भी सर्वत्र युद्ध ही युद्ध दिखाई दे रहा है।

फिर उन्होंने एक बात और कही कि ऐसी स्वतंत्रता भी हमारे काम की नहीं है। मैं यह बात मानता हूँ कि केवल स्वतंत्रता से हमारा काम नहीं चलन वाला है परन्तु इसी के साथ मैं एक बात और कह देना चाहता हूँ कि स्वतंत्रता को नून तेल लकड़ी की तखड़ी पर नहीं तोला

जा सकता। स्वतंत्रता परम पवित्र वस्तु है। स्वतंत्रता हमारे शताब्दियों के महान त्याग के पश्चात् प्राप्त हुई है। हमें स्वतंत्रता महात्मा गांधी के प्रताप के कारण मिली है। आज हमें जो थोड़े से कष्ट हैं यदि उस से अधिक कष्ट भी हो जाय तो भी हमें स्वतंत्रता को सर्वोपरि रखना है। हमें स्वतंत्रता को इस नून तेल लकड़ी की तखड़ी में नहीं तोलना है।

फिर कुछ बातें श्री गोपालन ने वैदेशिक नीति के बारे में कहीं। उन्होंने कहा कि उन की समझ में नहीं आता कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति अमरीका के प्रति एक प्रकार की और रूस तथा चीन के प्रति दूसरी प्रकार की कैसे है। मैं उन से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह भूल गये कि जब कोरिया का युद्ध चल रहा था उस समय अमरीका की नीति के विरुद्ध हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा था कि ३८वीं अक्षांश को पार नहीं करना चाहिये। क्या वह घोषणा अमरीका की नीति के विरुद्ध नहीं थी? क्या वह भूल गये कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने सब से पहले कहा था कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में चीन को भी सम्मिलित करना चाहिये। हमारी वैदेशिक नीति अमरीका के प्रति, रूस के प्रति, चीन के प्रति, सब के प्रति एक सी है। मैं ने देखा है कि न्यूजीलैंड में जब २८ देशों के कोई ७८ प्रतिनिधि सम्मिलित हुए, डेढ़ वर्ष पूर्व की बात है, तब इसी वैदेशिक नीति के कारण हमारे देश का कितना सम्मान था; आज यदि संसार में हमारी इतनी अधिक प्रतिष्ठा है तो महात्मा गांधी और स्वतंत्रता, इन दो बातों के सिवा हमारी वैदेशिक नीति के कारण है।

फिर श्री गोपालन ने भाषावार प्रांतों की रचना के संबंध में कहा। जहाँ तक भाषावार प्रांतों की रचना का संबंध है, मैं उन के साथ हूँ। मैं स्वयं चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में भाषावार प्रांतों की रचना हो। यदि हम इस देश में

[सेठ गोविन्द दास]

प्रत्येक प्रांत की भाषा को उचित स्थान देना चाहते हैं, प्रत्येक प्रांतीय भाषा के साहित्य को उचित स्थान देना चाहते हैं और प्रत्येक प्रांत की जो जो आन्तरिक इच्छायें हैं उन के अनुसार उस प्रांत के कार्य को चलाना चाहते हैं तो बिना भाषावार प्रांतों की रचना के यह संभव नहीं होगा। भाषावार प्रांतों की रचना के संबंध में कांग्रेस की नीति बिल्कुल स्पष्ट है और कांग्रेस की सरकार की नीति भी बिल्कुल स्पष्ट है। प्रश्न यह है कि भाषावार प्रांतों की रचना कब की जा सकती है। इस समय जब कि हमारे सामने अनेक महान् समस्यायें मौजूद हैं, जिन का हमें सामना करना पड़ रहा है, तो ऐसी बातें हमको कुछ देर के लिये स्थगित करनी होंगी और आज जैसी परिस्थिति है उस में भाषावार प्रांतों की रचना कदाचित् कुछ समय के लिये संभव नहीं होगी।

फिर मुझे डा० लंका सुन्दरम और एक सज्जन जो उस ओर से बोल रहे थे, मेरा ख्याल है उन का नाम चक्रवर्ती जी था या चटर्जी था.....

कुछ माननीय सदस्य : एन० सी० चटर्जी।

सेठ गोविन्द दास : उन की यह बात सुन कर बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ कि यह सरकार तो अल्पमत की सरकार है।

बाबू रामनारायण सिंह : ठीक है।

सेठ गोविन्द दास : बिल्कुल ठीक नहीं है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जितने अधिक मत कांग्रेस दल को मिले हैं उतने अधिक किस दल को मिले हैं और यदि कांग्रेस दल को पचास फ्री सदी से कम मत मिले तो यह कहना कि यदि कांग्रेस के उम्मेदवारों के विरुद्ध एक एक उम्मेदवार खड़ा होता तो कांग्रेस हार जाती

बड़ी गलत बात है। क्या जितने लोग कांग्रेस के उम्मीदवारों के विरुद्ध लड़े उन का यह ख्याल है कि यदि कांग्रेस के विरुद्ध केवल एक एक उम्मीदवार खड़ा होता तो वह सब के सब कांग्रेस के उम्मीदवार को हरा देते ? यदि वह ऐसा समझते हैं तो भूल करते हैं।

यदि इतने अधिक उम्मीदवार कांग्रेस उम्मीदवारों के खिलाफ खड़े न होते तो कांग्रेस को पचास प्रति शत से अधिक मत मिलने वाले थे, क्योंकि इस समय जो मत कांग्रेस उम्मीदवारों के खिलाफ गये उन में से भी कांग्रेस उम्मीदवारों को मिलते यह जो मत कांग्रेस उम्मीदवारों के विरुद्ध पड़े, इन के बारे में यह कहना कि यह सब कांग्रेस उम्मीदवारों के विरुद्ध पड़ते और जो लोग विरुद्ध लड़े होते वह लोग जीत जाते यह बिल्कुल गलत चीज है।

कुछ बातें मेरी बहिन श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी जी ने कही। उन की जिस बात पर मुझे सब से अधिक आश्चर्य हुआ वह यह थी कि राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में कोई नई बात नहीं है। यहां हम लोग कोई आतिशबाजी चलाने को या फुलझड़ियां चलाने को नहीं बैठे हैं कि हर बार नई नई बातें लाते रहें। किसी भी राष्ट्र का काम इस तरह की तमाशोबाजी से नहीं चल सकता। हर बार हमको यह आशा क्यों करनी चाहिये कि कोई न कोई नई बात कोई न कोई नया तोहफा हमारे सामने पेश किया जाया करे। इस की आवश्यकता नहीं है। हम एक नीति का अनुसरण कर रहे हैं। उस नीति पर चलते हुए हम को कुछ समय बीत गया है। हम उसी नीति का अनुसरण करना चाहते हैं और हम यह मानते हैं कि उस नीति का अनुसरण करने से ही देश का कल्याण है। तब हम नई नई बातें करने का क्यों प्रयत्न करें, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता।

उत्पादन बढ़ाने के संबंध में श्रीमती कृपलानी ने कुछ सुझाव दिये हैं और उन में से कुछ सुझाव ऐसे हैं कि जिन से मैं भी सहमत हूँ पर यहाँ पर बार बार जो यह कहा जाता है कि भूमि का पुनर्वितरण होने से ही उत्पादन बढ़ सकेगा यह गलत बात है। यदि हम को अपनी भूमि का उत्पादन बढ़ाना है तो कुछ आधुनिक साधनों का भी हमें उपयोग करना चाहिये। हमें सहकारी फ़ार्मों की आवश्यकता है यह मैं मानता हूँ, सहकारी फ़ार्म बड़े बड़े होते हैं, उन में आधुनिक साधनों का उपयोग किया जा सकता है। परन्तु यदि भूमि का वितरण कर दिया जाय और भूमि के छोटे छोटे टुकड़े सब लोगों को दे दिये जायें तो उस से हमारा उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ेगा।

श्री सारंगधर दास : सही है।

सेठ गोविन्द दास : इसलिये जहाँ तक भूमि के वितरण का प्रश्न है इस प्रश्न पर हम को वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि से विचार करना होगा। कहीं ऐसा न हो कि इस बात का प्रयत्न करते हुए हम चले कि सब लोगों को भूमि मिल जाये और उस का नतीजा यह निकले कि भूमि का उत्पादन जितना अभी होता है उस से भी अधिक घट जाय।

एक मिनट में मैं अपना कथन समाप्त करता हूँ, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय।

यह कहा गया है कि इन पांच वर्षों में हम ने क्या प्राप्त किया है। यदि कोई निष्पक्षता से विचार करे तो उस को मानना पड़ेगा कि हम जो कुछ इन पांच वर्षों में प्राप्त कर सके हैं, वह मानव इतिहास में किसी सरकार ने हमारी परिस्थिति के सदृश परिस्थिति में इतने थोड़े समय में प्राप्त नहीं किया है। क्या हम भूल गये इस बात को कि देश का एकीकरण सरदार बल्लभभाई पटेल के नेतृत्व में जिस प्रकार हुआ बिना एक बंद खून बहाये

ऐसा दुनिया में कहीं नहीं हुआ। क्या हम इस बात को कि आज तक एक देश से दूसरे देश को सत्तर लाख मानव कमी भी नहीं आये इन सत्तर लाख मानवों को, चाहे आज कुछ कष्ट ही क्यों न हो, हम ने बसाने का प्रयत्न किया। क्या यह छोटी बात है? हम मानते हैं कि आज हम को अन्न का कष्ट है, पर इसी के साथ हमें यह भी मानना होगा कि हम ने इतना कष्ट रहते हुए भी, जिस प्रकार ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य में बंगाल की दुर्घटना हुई उस प्रकार की किसी दुर्घटना को यहाँ पर नहीं होने दिया, और इतना कष्ट रहते हुए भी आज पूर्व से पश्चिम तक और उत्तर से दक्षिण तक एक आदमी भी इस देश में भूख से नहीं मरा। फिर इतनी बड़ी बड़ी योजनायें हमारे सामने हैं जिन को हम कार्य रूप में परिणत करना चाहते हैं। हाँ हाथ पर सरसों नहीं उगाई जा सकती। यदि कोई अन्य दल हमारे स्थान पर होता तो हम जो कुछ कर सके उतना उस के लिए करना संभव नहीं होता। आलोचना करना अलग बात है। जब कार्य करना पड़ता है तो दूसरी बात हो जाती है।

मुझे यह सुनकर आश्चर्य हुआ कि चुनाव निष्पक्षता से नहीं लड़े गये। अगर चुनाव निष्पक्षता से न लड़े जाते तो मेरे दायें ओर और आप के बायें ओर जो महानुभाव बैठे हैं वह दृष्टिगोचर नहीं होते।

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

हम सब बातों का विचार करें तो हम देखेंगे कि हम ने क्या क्या किया है।

हम यह मानते हैं कि हम से बहुत सी गलतियाँ हुई होंगी। हम यह मानते हैं कि हम ने जो कुछ किया है उस से अधिक किया जा सकता होगा। हम वह भी मानते हैं कि अगर कुछ विधायक मुझसे हमारे सामने रखे जायें तो यह हमारा सौभाग्य होगा और हम

[सेठ गोविन्द दास]

उन को कार्य रूप में परिणत करने का प्रयत्न करेंगे। लेकिन यह कहना कि इन पांच वर्षों में हम ने कुछ नहीं किया, हमारी विदेशी नीति खराब रही, देश के संबंध में भी हमारी नीति खराब है तो मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह केवल प्रचार है, इस में कोई सच्चा तथ्य नहीं है और यदि हम गांधी जी के बतलाये हुए सत्य का भी अवलम्बन छोड़ देना चाहते हैं तो हमारे देश का कल्याण होने वाला नहीं है।

मैं मूल प्रस्ताव का हृदय से समर्पण करना चाहता हूँ।

[English translation of the above speech]

Seth Govind Das (Mandla-Jabalpur South): I hope a Hindi speech which follows this continuous flow of English speeches would certainly prove exhilarating to this House. I had hoped that when the new Parliament elected on the basis or adult franchise met, Hindi which has been declared as the national language of India would find a prominent place in its deliberations. But I was disappointed during the last two days. I find we are still enthralled by the English language, and even those who are familiar with Hindi, try to express their ideas in English and whatever questions are being put to the hon. Ministers, who themselves know Hindi, they too are being asked in English.

Shri H. N. Shastri (Kanpur Distt.-Central): We stand to be excused so far as questions are concerned.

Pandit K. C. Sharma (Meerut Distt.—South): It does not come within the purview of article 87 because there is no mention of such a thing in the Presidential address.

Mr. Chairman: Article 87 of the Constitution has been more liberally interpreted by the Speaker, and I do not want to take a different line. He felt the procedure of the House of Commons will prevail in this matter, and he thinks this is a matter of procedure, and therefore other matters also as far as near to these as possible, if they are important, will be allowed. I was told the hon. Member is not subscribing to the Hindi edition of our reports.

Seth Govind Das: This is wrong. I protest against this remark. I am regularly subscribing to the Hindi edition of the proceedings. Of course, it is not necessary that English or Urdu words should be left out completely. We are making our State Language so flexible that it may accommodate the largest possible number of words.

Shri V. P. Nayar (Chirayinkil): On a point of information. Can the Member address his neighbours?

Mr. Chairman: No.

Shri Govind Das: After saying this much to the Members of Parliament about the state Language I congratulate our President who took oath of his office in Hindi and afterwards delivered his first address to Parliament in Hindi. I hope all of us too would try to follow the path shown by our President in this respect.

Sir, I was surprised to hear some of the speeches yesterday more especially when Sirri Gopalan said that war conditions seemed to be prevailing in the country. I could not follow what he exactly meant by saying that.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh (Hazari-bagh West): Please see with your eyes open.

Seth Govind Das: I cannot see any war conditions here even with my eyes quite open. But if my aged friend Babu Ramnarayan Singh, who still sees things clearly, feels that war conditions are prevailing, then it is, of course, a big surprise to me. I feel that Shri Gopalan's mind is perhaps occupied by the 'war' that we had in the recent elections and because of these election contests he might still be feeling war conditions prevailing all around him.

Again, he said that this sort of freedom was of no use to us. I agree that mere political freedom won't help us. But at the same time I would like to make it clear that we cannot measure our freedom by such a poor rod as availability of essential supplies etc. Freedom is a sacred thing. We achieved our freedom after great sacrifices which extended over centuries. We got freedom through the glorious leadership of Mahatma Gandhi,

and I want to submit that if, God forbid, our present difficulties were to increase, even then we should keep our freedom above all these things. We have not to measure our freedom by the quantities of essential supplies that we get.

Again, Shri Gopalan said some words about our foreign policy as well. He said that he failed to understand as to how one policy was being pursued with regard to America on the one hand and another policy with regard to Russia and China on the other. I would like to ask him whether he has forgotten that when the Korean war was in full swing, our Prime Minister had warned U. N. that their forces should not cross the 38th Parallel and this was quite against the line of action which America took at that time. Was not that declaration against America? Has he forgotten that our Prime Minister was the first person who advocated the admission of the People's Republic of China to the U. N. I submit that our foreign policy towards America, Russia, China and as a matter of fact towards all the other nations of the world, is one and the same. One and a half years ago, I saw in New Zealand, where 78 representatives of some 28 countries met in connection with some conference, how our country was acclaimed because of its foreign policy. We have to keep these things in mind. Our prestige is so high; and apart from Mahatma Gandhi and our freedom if there is anything which has raised us in the eyes of the world, it is our foreign policy and nothing else.

Then, again, Shri Gopalan referred to the formation of the linguistic provinces. I am quite in agreement with him on this issue. I am myself in favour of the formation of linguistic provinces. If we want to give the provincial languages their due place, and want to give their literatures also their due place and like to develop those states according to the aspiration of the people of those states, then all this cannot be done without the formation of linguistic provinces. Congress policy with regard to the formation of linguistic provinces is quite clear and so is the policy of the Congress Government. I submit that at present, when we are faced with a number of gigantic problems, these issues have to be postponed for some time and in the circumstances as they are today it would not be possible to proceed with the formation of linguistic provinces.

Then, on hearing Dr. Lanka Sundaram and also some other gentle-

men I think he was some Chakravarty or Chatterjee.....

Some Hon. Members: Shri N. C. Chatterjee.

Seth Govind Das: I was much surprised when I heard him say that it was a government of the minority.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Quite true.

Seth Govind Das: It is not quite true. I would like to know the name of the party which has secured greater number of votes than the Congress party. In spite of the fact that the Congress party has secured less than fifty per cent. of the total votes polled, it would not be correct to say that the Congress candidates would have been defeated had they been opposed by only one candidate in each case. Is it the opinion of all those people who opposed the Congress candidates, that they would have defeated the Congress nominees if one Congress candidate had been opposed by only one candidate? If they are of this opinion I say they are mistaken. I want to submit that had not so many candidates opposed the Congress nominees, the Congress party would have definitely scored more than fifty per cent. of the total votes polled; because in that case many would have preferred to vote for the Congress. To assume that the votes which have been polled against the Congress nominees at present would have gone against them had only one candidate opposed one Congress candidate is quite wrong.

My hon. sister Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani also made certain remarks. What surprised me most in her speech was that there was nothing new in the President's Address. Sir, I beg to submit that we are not here to see a show of fire-works or of crackers, as to always bring in new things. No nation can go ahead with that sort of 'tamashas'. Why should we expect to have a new thing every time we meet here, or that a new present should be offered. There is no necessity for doing that. We are following a certain policy; we have been pursuing that policy for some time. We want to follow that very policy and we believe that in pursuing that policy lies the welfare of the country.

Shrimati Kripalani gave a few suggestions for stepping up the production in the country, and I am in agreement with a few of her suggestions, but I think it is wrong to say that production would only increase by the redistribution of lands as has been repeatedly emphasised by certain persons. If

[Seth Govind Das]

we have to increase the productivity of our land we may have to use modern methods of cultivation and such other things. I agree that there is need for establishing co-operative farms. Co-operative farms naturally have to be big in size. Modern methods of cultivation can be used on them. But if redistribution of land takes place and small fragments of land are given to people for cultivation, that would not certainly help us in raising our food production.

Shri Sarangadhar Das: (Dhenkanal—West Cuttack): Quite so.

Seth Govind Das: So I beg to submit that so far as the question of redistribution of land is concerned it has to be examined scientifically, lest in our zeal to go ahead and distribute land among all people, the present standard of production may fall and we may incur an overall loss.

Sir, I would only take a minute or two to finish my speech.

We have been questioned as to what we have achieved during the last five years. I say if anybody, without taking a lop-sided view of the whole situation, would ponder over our achievements, he will have to admit that ~~what ever we have achieved during the last five years, has never been achieved in such a short period by any Government under the same circumstances in the history of the mankind.~~ Have we forgotten how the country has been integrated under the leadership of Sardar Patel without a single drop of blood being shed. There is no parallel to that in any part of the world. Have we forgotten that nowhere in the world except here ~~seventy lakh~~ persons have migrated from one country to the other and, whatever may still be their difficulties, we have done our level best to rehabilitate them? Is it in itself a small achievement? We admit that there is food scarcity in the country at present, but at the same time we shall have to admit that in spite of so much food shortage we did not allow conditions to drift to a catastrophe of the same magnitude that we had in Bengal during the British regime; and in spite of so much of food shortage in the country nobody has died of hunger in any part of the country. Besides that, we have a number of major plans under consideration and we want to implement them. But Rome was not built in a single day. I beg to submit that it would not have been possible for any party which might have been in our place to do as much work as we have done. It is one thing to criti-

cize and quite a different matter to do something tangible.

I was surprised when somebody said that elections were not conducted fairly and impartially. I submit that had elections not been fair, the gentlemen sitting on my right and those sitting on your left would not have been found occupying seats here.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Taking an overall picture of the whole situation we would find as to what have been our achievements.

We admit we must have committed many mistakes. We admit that possibly more could have been done than we actually did. We feel that had some suggestions been put forth we would have done our best to translate them into action. But to say that we have done nothing during the last five years, that our foreign policy has not come up to the mark and that we have not been able to do anything, is sheer propaganda and it bears no truth. And if we bid good-bye even to truth which has been taught to us by Gandhiji I say our country will be doomed.

Sir, with these words I wholeheartedly support the Motion of Thanks.

Shri U. C. Patnaik (Ghumsur): I beg to move:

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

“but regret—

- (a) that in spite of the urgent need for increasing India's defence strength, the Address does not disclose a policy of defence reorganisation, keeping in view modern methods whereby other countries have been increasing their striking-power and expanding their defence strength without a corresponding increase in the expenditure thereon;
- (b) that the Address gives no indication of concrete proposals for satisfying the aspirations of patriotic citizens to defend the country through a suitably organized territorial force which is to serve as an efficient second line of defence for the Army as well as for the Navy and the Air Force;
- (c) that the Address discloses no programme for the integration of national defence with nation-building activities, so that the expenditure

on defence, while increasing the size and efficiency of the defence forces, could be made to serve various constructive, socio-economic purposes;

- (d) that the Address has ignored the possibility of mobilising and training our vast civilian man-power, not only for the defence of our freedom in a war emergency but also for the implementation of our socio-economic plans;
- (e) that the Address has overlooked the importance of civil defence units and of semi-military civilian organisations which should be entitled to financial aid and training facilities from the concerned departments; and
- (f) that the Address makes no mention of any proposed measures for creating the necessary atmosphere required for all out national defence and all-round development of national resources."

It relates to the re-organisation and modernisation of the defence forces; to the organisation of territorial and civil defence units; to civilian semi-military organisations; and finally, it deals with the most important subject of the integration of defence with socio-economic plans and programme. In view of the vital need for strengthening our defences and for utilising the defence forces to effect improvements in socio-economic spheres; in view of the fact that we are spending every year about Rs. 200 crores on defence, that is, nearly 50 per cent. of our annual expenditure, the subject of defence is entitled to the highest priority. In fact, one of the reasons why there is so much frustration in the country is because the outlook of the administration has not changed during the last five years; and it is mostly so in the case of our defence organisation which costs the country so much and which provides so many disciplined personnel who could be utilised for socio-economic services to the country. It is therefore to be sincerely regretted that the President's Address does not make a reference to this important subject nor does it envisage any defence re-organisation; and particularly so when the President is, under Article 53(1) of the Constitution, the Executive Head of the Union and at the same time under Article 53(2), he is the Supreme Commander of its Defence Forces. That is why it is most

regrettable that the President's Address does not make any mention of the re-organisation of our defence structure.

With the highest admiration for the heroism of our fighting forces, for the adaptability with which a mercenary army of the British regime has become a patriotic national army, and for their work in Malayaseema and other places, it has to be admitted that our defence organisation is most antiquated from various points of view and that it suffers from so many obvious defects. For want of time, I may be permitted to refer only to one or two salient features of our defence organisation, comparing them with the defence organisation in other countries, in order to show how far we are lagging behind, despite the fact that we are spending nearly half of our total revenues on defence.

In the first place, during the last about one hundred years, other countries have adopted certain methods whereby they have increased their defence strength almost to nationwide proportions without, at the same time, a very great strain upon the exchequer. Other countries have also been utilising their defence organisations, not merely for all-out defence in war emergencies but also for all-round development of national resources during times of peace. These are the two salient features of western defence organisation modified and adopted by certain eastern countries too, during recent times. But during the last five years there has been no attempt to achieve the least re-organisation of India's defence forces or to modernise them or to utilise them not merely for the defence of the country but also for socio-economic development of national resources.

In the first place, I want to refer to the necessity of not merely confining the defence structure to a few standing forces but of expanding them to nation-wide proportions, providing the country with a nation-wide militia, making the country a Nation at Arms. It has been admitted by the highest authorities on military science that in these days of aerial bombardment, of A.B.C. warfare, that is, atomic, bacteriological and chemical warfare, it is no good depending only on standing or regular forces, but entire nations have to be trained, disciplined and organised for war. This envisages not only a balance between the three Services and the formation of suitable second-lines of defence for each of them, but also the mobilisation of the civilian population as the real bulwark of the defence.

[Shri U. C. Patnaik]

I may be excused for bringing to the notice of the House one single instance. Some time back, on the day fixed for the discussion of the Defence Budget, a foreign plane flew over Delhi. Its arrival was undetected by our defence machinery and its flight went unchecked.

3 P.M.

Just imagine if a bomb had been dropped by that plane, whether of the A, B or C type, what would have been our fate, not only in Delhi, where all the leaders were then assembled, but throughout the country? That shows the weakness of our defence organization, and indicates the urgency of mobilising the civilian population and of building up their morale.

Defence is not to be confined merely to the regular defence forces, but it has to be expanded to include within its scope the entire nation and from this point of view, our defence organisation is highly defective. Secondly, modern defence organisations envisage a proper integration of defence with nation-building activities. Of course in Rayalaseema our army has been doing it. But that has to be done as a common feature; and more than that. The defence personnel, during their short period of service should be so trained that at the end of such service they could be merged in the civilian life without a pension, to work out the nation's socio-economic plans and to furnish the Union and the States with the best possible disciplined machinery for working out all socio-economic programmes without relying upon *bhoomi senas* and the like. These are the two main trends of modern defence organisation which have been most unfortunately ignored by our defence experts, as also by the socio-economic planners.

I may be permitted to point out how western countries have achieved the envisaged integration. The time at my disposal is short; therefore I will simply indicate the main lines on which they have done so. The most important is the formation of what is called the Short Service System with its complimentary system of Reserves. That was started in mid-Europe when the socio-economic conditions there during the last century required some sort of productive use of the defence services; when it was realised that they must have entire Nations at Arms at minimum costs. The system was

later on adopted by other European countries. England was the last to adopt it in 1870-71 by the Army Enlistment Act and other Acts introduced by a civilian War Secretary, Lord Cardwell. Shortly after, it was adopted in all the colonies. In 1879, a Committee was appointed in India to examine whether the Short Service System which had been found very advantageous in Europe should or should not be adopted in India. This Eden Committee held that during the last few years the Britishers had so successfully demilitarised this country that to introduce the Short Service System would mean the infusing of a martial spirit into the nation which was undesirable. That is the reason why the Eden Committee in 1879 refused to adopt the Short Service System in India.

Time passed and in 1921 it was the privilege of a non-military person, a civilian with legal training, coming from a non-martial area, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Ayyar, to introduce in the Central Legislature 15 resolutions after the Esher Committee's Report. Resolution No. ten is very important and our military experts must today study its implications in order to introduce it in spirit. This resolution envisaged the reorganisation of the Indian Defence forces on a short service basis and the organisation of a Territorial Army. In fact, I must bring to your notice here that this non-military man has put to shame all the military experts of our country who should try to study from these resolutions what defence reorganisation should be. That resolution was accepted by the then Commander-in-Chief and it was adopted by the Central Legislative Assembly that there should be a Short Service System accompanied by a periodical training in the reserves. But, unfortunately, though the Government of India accepted the principle, it did not, in practice, implement it, with the result that today, so many years after Sivaswami Ayyar's resolution and so many decades after the system was adopted in western countries, we do not have that system at all, except in name.

The short service system simply means this: that instead of serving a long period in the army, navy or air force, the personnel serve for a short period in the Colours. In Switzerland it is only three months; in France it

is one year; in England it was about five years—now it has been increased to six. During this short period they are given training not merely in defence, but also for certain socio-economic purposes. Uneducated people, illiterates, are given education; and the personnel, in general, are given training in some trades and industries, so that at the end of the short period of service when they go back into civilian life without a pension, they bring into the service of the country all that they had learned during the short period. Thus, at the end of a short period of service, while they go on serving for some years more periodically in the reserves for getting refresher training, during rest of the time they are accelerating the country's industrial drive. The result is that you get rid of inflation which is due to the defence expenditure being non-productive and defence personnel being employed in non-productive work. Under the new system which has been adopted in Western countries during the last one hundred years, defence expenditure is utilised not merely for defence in time of war, but also for accelerating economic drive during times of peace. So, this system is a very important feature of modern defence organizations.

Another reason, as I submitted in the beginning, for the sense of frustration in the country is that our Territorial Army is most reactionary in organization. The last Congress Ministry changed the old Territorial Force Act of 1920 and introduced what is called the Territorial Army Scheme formulated by a Brigadier of the Indian army. Hitherto, under the British regime, civilians too, used to be consulted in army reorganisation. Our popular Government thought that a Brigadier was enough to reorganise the army, with the result that the Indian Territorial Army Act of 1947-48 framed by this Brigadier is more reactionary than anything else. It is not at all a Territorial Army; it is only an army reserve. The name Territorial Army has been borrowed by the army people to have merely a sort of army reserve. That has also got to be changed. If you study the Territorial Army Act of Australia framed at about the same time when the Territorial Army Act of India was passed you will find that their territorial army enables every patriotic citizen to fight for the country, whereas our Territorial Army Act deprives every patriotic citizen of this privilege. It only enables ex-service men, those who fought during the British regime, to join the territorial forces; the place

and period of training are also unsuitable.

The last point I want to touch upon is the civil defence organisations. We have absolutely no civil defence organisations in this country. Every western country has expanded its defence forces to nation-wide proportions by various methods: by having volunteer forces, national guards or home guards, scouts and other allied organizations, by helping rifle clubs, riding clubs, yachting clubs, and so on. They have been helping civil defence units not only to prepare the country to fight in any war emergency, but also to prepare the country for a socio-economic reorganisation drive. It is the duty of our Government to do likewise. Of course, you have to study those things to see how far they are applicable to Indian conditions and to modify them to our requirements and to see that our defence strength is expanded to its fullest, without a corresponding increase in expenditure. Our defence forces should be fully mobilised not merely for defence but also for a socio-economic reorganisation, for the production drive, for an anti-illiteracy drive, for better health and for a development-drive in the spheres of agriculture and industries.

Mr. Speaker: Amendment moved:

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

“but regret—

(a) that in spite of the urgent need for increasing India's defence strength, the Address does not disclose a policy of defence reorganization, keeping in view modern methods whereby other countries have been increasing their striking-power and expanding their defence strength without a corresponding increase in the expenditure thereon;

(b) that the Address gives no indication of concrete proposals for satisfying the aspirations of patriotic citizens to defend the country through a suitably organized territorial force which is to serve as an efficient second line of defence for the Army as well as for the Navy and the Air Force;

(c) that the Address discloses no programme for the integration of national defence with nation building activities, so that the expenditure on defence, while increasing the size and efficiency

[Mr. Speaker]

of the defence forces, could be made to serve various constructive socio-economic purposes;

(d) that the Address has ignored the possibility of mobilising and training our vast civilian man-power, not only for the defence of our freedom in a war emergency but also for the implementation of our socio-economic plans;

(e) that the Address has overlooked the importance of civil defence units and of semi-military civilian organizations which should be entitled to financial aid and training facilities from the concerned departments; and

(f) that the Address makes no mention of any proposed measures for creating the necessary atmosphere required for all-out national defence and all-round development of national resources."

Shri Kelappan (Ponnani): I am new to this business. I have a feeling that I walked into the wrong place. I joined the freedom fight in 1920 and till now I never attempted to go into the Legislatures. I now realise the wisdom of my keeping out so long.

There is so much of unreality in all these things. We are playing a drama here. If the whole world is a stage and we are all actors, then this is a drama within a drama. Some seven hundred odd people are meeting here in two Houses, and every month we are spending over rupees eight lakhs on these Members alone. How far we are qualified to rule over the destinies of the millions in the country, it is time each one of us thinks about—even though we passed our Constitution the other day.

Our President was speaking to the millions in this country, and it was perhaps being listened to by millions. I thought there would be at least a skeleton programme in it of what you were going to do in the next five years. I was disappointed. It contained nothing of the kind. We all swear by Mahatmaji. When the Father of the Nation is mentioned all of us tap at the back of the seats just to show our respect for that great man. The President wanted economic equality and social justice, and my friend Dr. Deshmukh who spoke this morning said that all those were inspiring words.

Really we want social justice, economic equality and equal opportunities for all. But, really are we having all these? It will do the Members here good if they listen to what Mahatmaji himself had to say about economic equality. Gandhiji said:

"Economic equality is the master-key to non-violent independence. Working for economic equality means abolishing the eternal conflict between capital and labour. It means the levelling down of the few rich, in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth, on the one hand, and levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions, on the other. A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists. The contrast between the palaces of New Delhi"—they are occupied by his own followers—"and the miserable hovels of the poor labouring class nearby cannot last one day in a Free India in which the poor will enjoy the same power as the richest in the land. A violent and a bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless....."

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I may suggest to the hon. Member that while there is not the least objection to his referring to his notes, if he is trying to read a written speech I am afraid it will not be permitted.

Shri Kelappan: I did not read a speech, nor am I reading one now. This is only a quotation from what Bapuji said.

Mr. Speaker: He may proceed.

Shri Kelappan:

"A violent and bloody revolution is a certainty one day unless there is a voluntary abdication of riches and the power that riches wield and share them for the common good."

These are prophetic words. Are we prepared to abdicate riches, or are we for the other alternative of a bloody revolution? Now, are we doing anything to put these ideas into practice?

There is the Karachi Resolution on fundamental rights. That says that

the highest pay in the country will be Rs. 500. We have from hundreds of platforms decried the top-heavy administration of the British in the country. Have we changed it now? Now, the President of the Republic is paid Rs. 10,000. Our Governors are paid Rs. 5,000 and odd. Probably the Ministers are getting about the same amount. The same top-heavy administration is there. The difference between the highest pay and the lowest should never be more than five times. Or, let us be a little indulgent to these people on account of the higher standard of life they have been leading. If the minimum that a family requires for its very existence is Rs. 100, let the maximum that we pay be Rs. 1,000—that is ten times that figure and not more. Unless we make up our mind to effect drastic cuts in the highest pay and considerably increase the lowest pay, we are not going to retain the confidence of the people of this country, even though by the sacrifices that we made during the last, say, thirty years in the freedom fight we had established ourselves in the minds of the people.

We have now sent a cultural mission to China. I do not know what that means. Is it to bring into contact the two great cultures of India and China? Are the twenty or thirty odd people that we have sent to China true representatives of the culture of India? Are the parties and feasts that they are holding in consonance with our own views about life that we ought to lead? We believe in simple life and the larger freedom of the soul. That is what the President says in his Address. All the reputation that we have in the world is certainly not due to the missions that we have sent or the extravagance that we have shown outside. If we have any reputation in the world, it is due to that great man, that half-clad fakir in the words of Churchill. The leaders of the world have gone to his hut and squatted on the floor and partaken of the fare which they serve among their own people there. No banquets, no parties were given and that did not in any way detract from the greatness of this country. These delegations, these cultural missions to the different parts of the world, probably serve to give a foreign holiday to a few favoured people who cannot remain at home. There is so much of canvassing about this business and perhaps even in the selection of the personnel there is favouritism and prejudice. I believe we have to curb this eagerness to send missions to foreign countries.

In the President's Address no mention was made about the foreign possessions in India. The India Government has followed a weak-kneed policy in regard to the foreign possessions so far. The French and the Portuguese have to realize that the days of empires are gone and we are not going to tolerate them any longer here. We fought and shed our blood to end the British domination. To allow these foreign possessions in India is not only a danger to our safety but it retards the working of the several reforms that we might introduce. For instance, there is prohibition. In Mahe, a small French possession in Malabar, there is anti-prohibition with a vengeance. There almost every house is a liquor shop and the people from the prohibition areas go there to drink and that is, in fact the market for all kinds of contraband goods also. We cannot tolerate these foreign possessions in this country any longer. My time is over and I do not wish to say anything more.

Our food policy has been a failure. It requires drastic overhauling. The community projects and other village projects, if they are to be successful, must have their roots in the country. It cannot be an exotic. They must take deep roots here. The intense *khadi* scheme of the Madras Government was a failure and the men who were lent by the A.I.C.C. to the Madras Government were withdrawn in disgust. Therefore, Government will do well to consider the matter and look to the villagers themselves to initiate and support these schemes and not to the foreigners or foreign capital.

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): Many hard things have been said about the economic situation, but on this occasion, I do not propose to say very much about that because I expect that during the Budget discussions opportunities of making observations will recur. There are one or two thoughts that have been expressed, which I think it would be wise on my part to counter, or take the earliest opportunity to counter. One of them is that the expenditure that we have incurred on importing foreign food has all been a waste. I must confess that I was surprised to hear this observation, although it is true that ultimately self-sufficiency in food is our objective. It should be remembered that India has been an importer of food even before the war and students of the subject might recall that our imports used to amount to a million tons

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh]

principally in rice from Burma. Since then, the country has been partitioned, an event which has involved a loss which may be placed at about 750,000 to one million tons. The population also has grown. As against this our average imports during the last few years might be of the order of 3½ million tons. I do not consider that any dispassionate observer will regard this order of imports as denoting extravagance.

The other observation which I should like to traverse at the earliest possible stage is that the expenditure being incurred on river valley works is all a waste. In the first place, it is not true to believe that we are entering upon the construction of these works to the exclusion of minor irrigation works. In our minds there is no clash between these two objectives. One is a short term objective and the other is a long term objective and there are limitations in practice on the number of minor irrigation works that can be undertaken. I believe, generally speaking, that the minor irrigation work is cheaper to execute but more expensive to maintain and a river valley work solves your problem in a more permanent fashion. It should also be remembered that these river valley works are called multi-purpose river valley works, that is to say, their objective is not merely to bring water to parched lands or lands which are protected only by a fitful rainfall but also to generate power and to save millions of acres which are devastated annually by floods. As a matter of fact, minor irrigation works have figured in the 'grow more food' campaign for the last three or four years and increasing stress is being laid on them from the point of view which seemed to appeal to some Members who spoke on the subject, namely, that they were the easiest way of securing local co-operation and, may be, local finance. In Madras, I believe, if one were to study the matter, there has been no lack of expenditure on minor irrigation works. But, the trouble has been that many of those tanks and many of those wells on which money has been spent, have not been filled because of the continuous drought for the last four or five years. This fact illustrates the difference in the degree of protection which is afforded by minor irrigation works as compared with the river valley projects.

I shall turn to the subject on which I was to speak on this occasion, namely, subsidies. In a sense, I cannot do so, at least I cannot do justice to the

subject, without anticipating the Budget. But, I find that there is so much misunderstanding about this that it is my duty to take steps to dispel it at the earliest opportunity. I propose therefore to pour a little oil of facts on the troubled waters of feelings, aroused by, undoubtedly, a certain degree of privation that has been brought about by the increase in issue prices, that has been the result of what is variously described as the withdrawal or abolition of the subsidies. As a matter of fact, here also, it is important to remember that what is complained against is not really the withdrawal of the subsidies on the scale on which they were being given last year, but also the failure to find additional money for subsidising the higher import prices. However, I shall return to that aspect of the subject a little later.

It would be useful if I gave a little historical background. In 1950, the scale of subsidy was as follows: We had to subsidise wheat at the rate of Rs. 1-11-0 per maund; coarse rice at the rate of Rs. 5-1-0 and millets at Rs. 1-8-0. The total imports were 2:1 million tons and our total expenditure from the Centre on subsidies was Rs. 15 crores. In 1951, the prices of imported grains had risen and the scale of subsidies which would have been necessary was as follows: wheat Rs. 4-1-0 per maund, coarse rice Rs. 7-4-0 per maund and milo Rs. 5-4-0. If we had given subsidies on the same scale and on the same pattern as in 1950, then we should have had to spend Rs. 58 crores, because, apart from the rise in prices, the total quantity imported had risen from 2:1 million tons to 4:7 million tons. Now this was the situation with which we were faced about 15 months ago. Conditions were highly inflationary. On the other hand, we did not have the wherewithal to give subsidies on that large scale. We were therefore driven to the conclusion that it would be best to apply whatever resources we had or we could raise to subsidising the cost of living in the industrial towns alone and a few other highly deficit areas like Travancore-Cochin. At the same time, we decided to subsidise milo, the poor man's food, for all areas, although again for economic reasons we still decided to give a higher subsidy for milo in the urban areas than in the rural rationed areas. As a result, we reduced our subsidy commitments to Rs. 36:56 crores. At the same time, fortunately we were able to borrow for the purpose of importing an additional two million

tons. We came to the conclusion that the grain that we imported could not be sold at its landed cost. We decided that on grain worth about Rs. 95 crores we might have to lose about Rs. 20 crores, and that of that, about Rs. nine crores of loss would have to be incurred during the year 1951. Therefore, the total subsidy was a little over Rs. 45 crores. The American wheat, the landed cost of which was Rs. 22-1-0 was distributed to the States at Rs. 18-6-0 per maund.

You will ask, Sir, how it was possible for us to find a sum of this order against Rs. 15 crores which was all that we could afford in the year 1950. The answer is furnished by the same inflationary trends which made it necessary for us to undertake the subsidy. As a result of those trends, our own income from export duties was phenomenally high, and, in a sense, one might say that the proceeds of export duties were applied towards subsidies. In other words, subsidies were a concomitant of inflation. That was in accordance with the best approved economic doctrines in regard to countering inflation. One result, however, of this change in the pattern of subsidies was the growing disparity in the issue prices between the industrialised towns and the rest of the rationed rural areas. Even as we were changing the system, we received violent protests from State Governments and, at one time, it looked as if there was going to be a very strong opposition to the introduction of the new system. As an instance of this disparity, I shall give two figures belonging to the State of Bombay. In Bombay city, the issue price of wheat as subsidised was Rs. 16 whereas in the unsubsidised areas it was Rs. 21-11-0.

Then, we come to the current year, beginning of 1952, when we took this decision. By that time, there had been a further rise in the international prices of grains and the subsidy rates, had we been able to give the subsidy, would have been as follows: wheat Rs. 6-10-0 per maund as against, you will recall, Sir, Rs. 1-11-0 per maund in 1950, barely two years ago; coarse rice Rs. 10-4-0 per maund and milo Rs. 10-5-0 per maund. Then, for the unsubsidised areas where milo was being subsidised, already, we should have had to pay Rs. 7-5-0 per maund. We found therefore by simple calculation that in order to subsidise or go on subsidising other than industrial towns would have cost us Rs. 44 crores plus Rs. 10 crores, representing a further loss on the loan wheat, and,

what is worse, the disparity between towns and villages to which I have referred would have increased as a result. Again, taking instances from the Bombay city, in Bombay the price would have remained at Rs. 16 and, in the rural areas, it would have been Rs. 23/8. And had we aimed at maintaining the same price both in the subsidised and in the unsubsidised areas, that is to say, if we had aimed at the price of Rs. 16 all over the country, then we found that we should have required Rs. 90 crores. Well, here was a dilemma. In the meanwhile, inflationary trends seemed to have disappeared in a way and the income that we were making from export duties was melting within our very sight, and we should have continued with a position which was proving to be more and more embarrassing. In other words, the vicious circle would have taken another turn. Anything that is acquired without any great effort always demoralises, no matter how high one's principles may be. It is almost an unconscious reaction and when reference was made in the President's speech, I do not believe it was intended to cast any aspersions on any State Governments. On the other hand, when the State Governments know it that grain at a cheap rate could be made available from the Centre, they are inclined to take one sort of view of their own powers of procurement. When the Food Ministers' Conference met in February this year, their aggregate of demands for imported grain amounted to 7.9 million tons. I might mention that there is no such surplus in the world today. Secondly, even if we could get hold of 7.9 million tons, our ports cannot handle that traffic. Their capacity is limited to between five and six million tons. In a way that was the figure that the demands of the State Governments added up to. They were asked to think again, which they did, and they reduced their demand to an aggregate of seven million tons. When it was pointed out that perhaps they might have made a mistake in estimating out-turns and that such simple surveys as we had been able to make pointed to a little better out-turn, they were finally persuaded to reduce their demands to 4.7 million tons. And since the subsidy had been withdrawn, even that figure is not being adhered to, and we have already been able to reduce our intended quantity of import by about half a million tons. It is not possible to reduce it further because orders had already been placed. I therefore think that the withdrawal of the subsidies or refraining from giving additional subsidies—and that must be

[Shri C. D. Deshmukh]

read into this every time that we talk of the withdrawal or the abolition of subsidies—was very well timed. We are at a juncture when we seem to be turning from the sellers' market to the buyers' market, and as one aspect of this phenomenon, the producer everywhere finds that he is overstocked, and is bringing out his wares to the market place. That seems to have happened also in regard to grain and I believe that in February and March, much of the grain which had been hoarded for over a year by the producer-hoarder has come out. So when we find that the demands of States have been abruptly contracted, it is not fair to assume that that is entirely due to people being unable to pay the price for food. The demand for food, within reason, is very inelastic. One might postpone purchase for a day or a week, but not much more, and if therefore the visible off-take so far as imported grain is concerned, has diminished, that must be due to other reasons besides what is characterised as consumer resistance, consumer in the real sense of the word, and those other causes are partly better procurement. I have figures, but I am afraid, I have nearly finished my allotted span of time, but it is an important subject...

Mr. Speaker: I am prepared to allow you more time, though the allotted time has been exceeded already.

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: I should like to say that the two reasons might be: (a) that there is better procurement; (b) that there has been a disappearance of certain ghost cards.

Now we come to the question of the impact of the disappearance of subsidies on the cost of living. Unfortunately, we got our figures a bit in arrear, and it is not possible for any one to say what the effect of the so-called withdrawal of subsidies has been on the cost of living. So far as March figures are concerned, the wholesale index is now back to what it was four years ago, that is to say, May 1948, and so far as the working class cost of living is concerned, also I believe we are very much near the figure that ruled at that time. The actual figure for Bombay, I think is 303 for the earlier date, and 298 for this last March. The 1949 figure for Bombay working class is 292. The figure for March is 298. During the best part of 1951, the figure ranged between 303 and 319—March 1951 was 316, April was 319, May 319, June 321, July 317, August and September 312

and 310 and so on. It is possible that the April figure will show an increase, but I should be very much surprised if the increase will take the index very much beyond the highest point which was reached in 1951, that is, 321. So, if for other reasons, and those other reasons are mainly financial, we had to withdraw the subsidy, and I say withdraw the subsidy—already there is a provision of Rs. 15 Crores for subsidy of milo, the poor man's food, all over the country for the rationed areas—although we have withdrawn the subsidy, I do not think that the consumer has been hit very badly so that as I was saying if for financial reasons, we have to take such action, this is the best time to take it.

Then there is the question of whether we could by any means have afforded either of these sums—either Rs. 90 crores or 60 crores or 45 crores, our provision as I said being Rs. 15 crores—that is to say, another Rs. 30 crores, 40 crores or 50 crores. And this is where now I shall have to impinge on the Budget figures. I am not at liberty to mention what the deficit in the current year is estimated to be but fortunately we have the figure given out in the interim Budget and for the purposes of my argument it would be enough if we regard that for the time being as the figure of deficit for this year—and that is between Rs. 40 and 50 crores. So, the proposition is that since we have no income out of which to pay subsidies we should by and large double this deficit in order to subsidise consumption. Now the main problem before Government is whether if we are to indulge in deficit financing that additional Rs. 50 crores should be expended on some productive effort or should be spent on consumption. I think any thoughtful person would come to the conclusion that it would be better from the near as well as the long term point of view for the country to suffer a certain amount of privation, if it might be called so, and to invest the money in some productive effort. To what extent we could have resorted to deficit financing is another and a far wider subject which involves the making of certain conjectures in regard to the trend of events in the near future, say, over the next six months or so. As far as I can see at the moment I cannot find many economists or many experts prognosticating with any degree of confidence. Even here during the speeches that we heard, while one hon. Member still referred to the inflationary spiral, other hon. Mem-

bers were blaming Government for not being ready with action to counter depression in their various territorial areas. So that is a problem which perhaps had better be dealt with during the Budget discussions if we are at all in a position to deal with that problem in a conclusive and definitive way.

One last word, and that is that there is a reference towards the end of paragraph 14 of the President's speech which says that wherever there is evidence of distress Government is anxious that no distress should be caused and it will do all in its power to prevent this from happening. Government stands by this assurance and the only reason why it is not possible to announce any figure is that we do not know exactly, we have no quantitative measure of the distress and I have no doubt that when we are in possession of some definite evidence in this matter then we should have to find the necessary resources for the mitigation of that distress.

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

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

"but regret that no reference or mention has been made in the Address of any intention to give effect to the provisions relating to the appointment of a Commission to investigate the conditions of backward classes."

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

"but regret that no policy has been envisaged or chalked out to resolve the issue regarding the liquidation of foreign pockets in India."

I do not propose to traverse the aspects and subjects which have been referred to in the President's Address in the way the previous speakers have been referring to. I propose saying only a few words as regards the educational policy and the programme that has been settled by the States and the Centre. We have been marching in our onward march towards democracy. The bulk of the population in India is not well educated. I therefore would suggest that unless some Central legislation is introduced in this behalf the onward march of democracy will not be realised. Towards that end I propose suggesting that every one of us here must take the responsibility of educating at least ten illiterate men and see that before a certain date they become literate.

The legislation which I suggest should lay down that within a period of five or ten years every one of us must take the responsibility of educating ten or fifteen illiterate persons and teach them reading and writing. Just as we have self-sufficiency in food we must have self-sufficiency in brain also. We cannot take our proper place in the comity of nations if many of our citizens are not educated. So far we have been marching headlong in the comity of nations with a great strain. Though our leader has made a name and fame for India in other fields, he has still to strive hard to see that India becomes as much forward as other nations of the West and the East. It is therefore that I say that there should be a programme wherein every educated person must co-operate with the Government in seeing that within a period of, say, ten years education is given to all our people.

Another aspect which I want to insist is that so far as the bulk of the people in Madras are concerned they are not educated and are backward. The backward communities in Madras are about three-fifths of the total population of the State and are not well provided for. They have been socially and educationally backward and no steps have so far been taken to implement the specific provisions made in the Constitution. This question has been agitated for a long time, that is the appointment of a commission, but the question has been given a step-motherly treatment all this time. I wish to insist that my amendments should be accepted and the appointment of the commission should be attended to forthwith before anything else is done.

As regards irrigation previous speakers have been saying that for want of rain we have not been able to achieve our object. Self-sufficiency in food has become a failure because of want of rain. If the rains come we will have all our projects working and our targets accordingly fulfilled. I wish to say that there are several projects...

Shri C. D. Deshmukh: On a point of personal explanation. I do not remember to have said that all our 'grow-more-food' campaign has failed because of want of rain. What I said was that in Madras although we spent a great deal of money on minor irrigation works those tanks and works have not been filled because of continuous drought for the last five years.

4 P.M.

Shri N. B. M. Swamy: I am much obliged for the explanation. Failure of rain has considerably helped in new projects being started. It is only in that sense I said those words.

There are so many projects proposed and they are awaiting implementation. These projects are varied. I suggest that there may be one very important and big project over which we may spend some crores of rupees and by having a network of channels starting from U.P. and going down South up to Cape Comorin, we may be able to take water from the perennial rivers of the North, especially the Ganges, to the South.

So far as the South is concerned, nothing has been done yet because all the projects are pending execution.

[SHRI M. A. AYYANGAR in the Chair]

The network of channels may be constructed by getting the necessary money from outside, if we do not find our resources to be enough.

The next point that I refer to in my amendments relates to foreign pockets. Pondicherry is a refuge for persons to smuggle goods to. This works havoc to our economic structure.

Unless severe steps are taken to remove those pockets and weld them into the Union, nothing would happen in regard to the elimination of smuggling. In spite of the steps taken by the Central Government to see that the smugglers are arrested, arrack, fine clothing etc. are being smuggled. Nothing has been said about this in the President's Address.

Now I advert to another subject. Speakers in this House have been saying that there are American spies all over the country. Let me say that I find also Russian spies here and there, watching the movements of our countrymen. We should not be partial towards one country and impartial towards another. Whoever it may be that indulges in spying, this evil must be checked. I am sorry that on this occasion, instead of joining in the Motion of Thanks, I have had to move some amendments. But since I find these aspects to be important and their omission from the Address to be deplorable, I have tabled these amendments.

So far as Madras is concerned, it is receiving a very step-motherly

treatment from the Centre. From the map of India Madras sometimes seems to have disappeared altogether. What I hope is this, that at least hereafter Madras will have priority in all respects and its grievances which are many will be attended to with greater care by the Centre.

Mr. Chairman: Amendments moved:

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

"but regret that no reference or mention has been made in the Address of any intention to give effect to the provisions relating to the appointment of a Commission to investigate the conditions of backward classes."

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

"but regret that no policy has been envisaged or chalked out to resolve the issue regarding the liquidation of foreign pockets in India."

Swami Ramananda Tirtha (Gulberga): I come from Hyderabad. Being a new-comer to this House, I would not have dared to catch the Speaker's eye but for certain remarks that fell from one of the hon. Members of this House who hails from the same State that I hail from. A plea has been put forth for the general amnesty of the prisoners, "political" as they are termed, on behalf of my hon. friend. Before I say anything about the correctness of the proposition, I would like to submit to this House a few facts of the past as also of the present. It is necessary to know the background of the armed struggle which was waged on the soil of Telengana.

May I be permitted to inform this House that the so-called armed struggle has its genesis in the Calcutta Resolution of the Congress of the Communist Party of India. It is not correct to say that the struggle or the movement carried on by the peasants of Telengana is an agrarian struggle. The struggle that was carried on—armed in its character—was in order to overthrow the Nehru Government established by law. It was not a peasant struggle. It was a political movement. I should draw the attention of this House to the fact that when the freedom struggle was being waged on the soil of Hyderabad, the Communist Party opposed the principle of accession of Hyderabad to India. There was no military then

posted on the soil of Hyderabad. The military came there when an armed struggle was carried on with all its relentlessness for the past so many months before the Police Action. I should remind the House that the area which is called Telengana was made a base for the establishment of a parallel Government, and if I am right, I would quote figures given by my hon. friends on the other side. "In our 2000 villages", they said, "we have our own government".

I would now like to submit to this House that the movement that was carried on was anti-national in its character. Had it been only a peasant movement, I can assure my hon. friend Shri Reddy that most of us would be with him. We are not reactionaries. We want agrarian problems to be squarely solved. But when under the garb of that peasant struggle an armed warfare is waged, it is but natural for the Government of India to march its armies into that area. It is not out of will but out of the force of circumstances created by my hon. friends that the Indian military marched into those areas after the trouble started.

I may be permitted to say that the Communist Party of Hyderabad which continued to be an unlawful organisation was legalised when we were in prison. Why? Had it not been for an advantage that the Government of Hyderabad could visualise, it would not have lifted the ban on the Communist Party of Hyderabad. Now, I would humbly submit that the armed struggle in Telengana was meant to create a separate armed pocket in the heart of India after the manner of Viet Nam and Malaya. I therefore cannot agree to the proposition put forth by my hon. friend that it was only a struggle for the attainment of the freedom.

It should be clearly remembered that the conditions that prevailed then were conditions of uncertainty. In those uncertain times, chaos and anarchy were being fomented in parts of Telengana. I just referred to the conditions after the Police Action. I have lived and roamed about those parts for five continuous months, when nobody without arms could dare to go into those areas. I would like to submit to this House that those villagers who had even in the remotest degree anything to do with my visit were harassed by the communists. I would submit to this House that in a certain case the house of a person who offered me some eatables was burnt. I submit to this House that hundreds and thousands of villagers were terrorised.

I do agree that there was an element of coercion and suppression on the part of the military also. But it was not a one-sided traffic and the terrorisation caused by the Communist struggle was also tremendous. I should in this connection mention the instance of a village wherein all the males—I am not saying these things from hearsay, it is my own personal experience—I have visited a village where all the males were forced to take shelter in the military camp for fear of losing their lives during the night time. I would submit to this House that during this armed struggle more than 250 Congress workers and Congress supporters have been killed. I would also submit to this House that in many of the villages innocent villagers have been massacred—not the zamindars. I would also submit to the House that cattle were made to roam from one place to another in thousands, simply to dislocate the economic life of the villagers. I, therefore, submit, that with this background if my friends on the other side say that it was a freedom struggle, well, here I am to object to it.

In this connection I would like to refer to one remark made by my friend, Mr. Ravi Narayan Reddi. He is a friend of mine and I have got all appreciation for the sacrifice that he has made. A reference to what the late Sardar Patel said in one of his speeches at Hyderabad has been made here. I was present at that meeting. If I remember aright, what the Sardar said was that he would root out this violent mentality from the soil of Telengana. Is there anything objectionable in it? Everyone of us who want a progressive social and economic order through democratic method should object to this mentality and try our best to root it out.

A reference was also made to the suppression of civil liberties. I do not know what more liberty my hon. friends want. The ban on the Communist Party of Hyderabad has been lifted unconditionally. We did not insist upon the surrender of arms and they can today—as anyone of us can do—go on propagating their ideas freely. But in all sincerity let me submit to my hon. friends that if we on this side had carried on the freedom struggle and if they had been in power, I think none of us would have been here to object to their actions. When more than 250 of us have been physically liquidated on the soil of Telengana, what civil liberties could we expect from them. But here a democratic Government, in the face of all these actions, is giving the fullest

[Swami Ramananda Tirtha]

freedom to the party to follow democratic methods and I think it would be uncharitable on the part of my friends to say that civil liberties have been crushed, that Communists are being hunted, that concentration camps are being spread over and so on and so forth.

Reference has also been made about the free and free nature of the elections. May I say that during the elections, there is ample evidence to show, that armed squads were wandering in the villages and people were terrorised. Women were threatened that their *kum kum* would be removed and their *mangalya sutra* would be snatched. I have no hesitation in saying that if my friends want an impartial enquiry to be made into these happenings I would be the last person to object to it.

Shri R. N. Reddy (Nalgonda): I too have no objection to an impartial enquiry.

Swami Ramananda Tirtha: This is so far as the past and the present are concerned. But what about the future? The future also has been amply illustrated by my friend Mr. A. K. Gopalan. In one of his speeches a few days back he said that he has no faith in the ballot box. I hope I am correct—at least that is what is reported in the Press. If it is wrong, let him contradict it. But I am not surprised at this statement. I know that the Communist Party of India has got a three-pronged strategy. One is United Democratic Fronts in the Legislatures; two, mass actions in the form of strikes and all that; three, armed guerilla squads. I am not prepared to believe that the Communist Party of India, as it is visualising the future today, is prepared to go the way of democratic methods in developing the country as all of us wish to do. I would submit that the arms are still in the possession of the Communists and a plea has been put forth that unless a guarantee or assurance is given that warrants against those who are still underground are withdrawn, all persons released and an assurance given that everything will be O.K., the arms will not be surrendered. I think it is a proposition which none of us can agree to. Arms cannot be retained by any citizens without licence—whether he belongs to the Communist Party of India or whether he does not belong to it. And I think with the arms in their possession, with this past background and with no reasonable assurance about the future a general amnesty,

if it is to be effected has to be effected with caution. As one of those who are intimately connected with the political trends in Hyderabad, I humbly suggest to my friends here that they should have no hesitation in surrendering the arms, in following the democratic methods, in offering their hand of cooperation to us, in effecting the socio-economic progress of the country and in raising the standard of the people of this great land.

One word about the external policy of the Government of India. I believe India's stature in the comity of nations has been considerably raised because of the policy of peace which we have followed. I am not one of those who are anxious to align either with the American bloc or the Russian bloc. Ours is a policy of a self-respecting nation, an independent foreign policy, and I should say in all humbleness that generations to come will be grateful to the Prime Minister of India for having raised his powerful voice against the forces of destruction. I am a believer in that policy, and I think that way lies the progress of the world.

I heartily support the motion for a vote of thanks to the President.

Shri Jaipal Singh (Ranchi West—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): I beg to move:

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

“but regret that no mention has been made about the implementation of the special provisions of the Constitution in regard to the Backward Classes and in particular of the Scheduled Tribes.”

I am grateful to you for enabling me to say what I could not on that happy day of the election of the Speaker when even the leaders of all the diminutive parties congratulated him on his election. I for sheer lack of time could not felicitate him on behalf of the jungle folk, on behalf of the Jharkhand Party, on behalf of Adibasis, the most ancient aristocracy of India. I have no doubt whatever, knowing you as I have done all these years and also the Speaker, that the Tribal representatives, the mere handful of them that are in this House, will receive generous and considerate guidance from you in their humble efforts. They represent the voice of the most backward people of this country.

I am in rather an awkward position this time because it was I who moved the Motion of Thanks the last time

when the President was pleased to address this House. But at that time as at other times also, I have always maintained, and I maintain this time again today in my amendment, that every Government—whether it was the British regime or the Provisional Government or even this popularly elected Government—has criminally neglected the most ancient and the original people of India. Not in one single Address—neither this time, nor before—has the Government ever made mention of the real inhabitants of this country; not once. Even in the present Address, to me it seems criminal negligence that not one word has been said about the most backward people of this country. They are not a small number. They should have been, according to the Indian Science Congress, not less than 30 million people. They are unrepresented on the Treasury Benches. And in the Cabinet that I see here, the pattern of the new Nehru régime, I see no change whatever—no change either for the better or the worse. Adibasis are just going to continue to be neglected. That is the picture of Adibasis. I have no desire whatever to be sectarian in what I say. When I am speaking of the Adibasi millions I am including of course all the backward classes. But I cannot but be sceptical because the Constitution accords the Adibasis, accords the Scheduled Tribes particular protection. There are special provisions to ensure that they shall be protected, that there shall be special schemes for their welfare and development, for which the President himself has a personal responsibility. Now, I expected that in this Address the President would have mentioned what his responsibility in regard to the backward classes was and what he proposed through his Government to do in regard to his particular, specific responsibility. Take, for example, article 275 wherein the Central Government is under an obligation to assist the States in carrying out such schemes for the welfare of Scheduled Tribes as may have been drawn up with its approval. Then again, coming to article 338, I know the President has appointed a Special Officer. But we want to know what the Special Officer is doing. Last year we agitated about the report the President is supposed to lay on the Table of Parliament. We were denied a report. We were only told that a bunch of letters had been collected and that they would be laid on the Table of the House. The Constitution enjoins that this Special Officer should report to the President and the President should lay that report on the Table of this House about

the development and welfare activities carried on in this country at the instance of the Central Government and that we should also have reports as to what the State Governments themselves are doing under the direction of the Central Government. This is obligatory. We should also have been told as to whether the President proposed to appoint the Commission to investigate whether the special provisions for the backward classes were being implemented, how they were being implemented and when they would be implemented, according to article 339. That also is completely missing in the President's Address. That much about the backward classes. We shall have ample opportunities at the time of the Budget discussion to take the Treasury Benches to task for their sins of omission and commission.

On this occasion I join hands with a friend who spoke today. I think it is the first time that any compliment has been given to our Armed Forces. I do not remember a single occasion during the last six years when the Army had been congratulated for anything, except perhaps when there was the Police Action when the Army were doing their rightful job. But this time it was really very satisfying to find Mr. Shiva Rao to my left and Mr. Patnaik on my right saying something good about the Army, taking the cue from what the President had said in his Address, "Our army is doing valuable work". Whenever the Defence budget has been discussed, the Army has been criticized for its extravagance, and it is gratifying that, at long last, the representatives in this House are beginning to recognize the vital work the Army has always done. Whenever the civilian administration has been in a tight corner it is the Army that has come to the rescue of a Province or the country. But while I say this, I would also like to stress—I think it is very urgent—that we should realize, all of us, that the Army is not getting altogether a fair deal. Most of us are under the impression that the men in the Army are highly paid. How many of us have been to the homes of the Army officers and other ranks to see how they are living, how they are just about managing to educate their children? Only the other day I heard that the moment the Nehru Cabinet was formed, the first rush was to get the biggest houses possible and it was discovered that some of our senior Generals were in nice bungalows. The senior Generals have been told to quit for our Cabinet Ministers to live there. Our Generals

[Shri Jaipal Singh]

do not mind quitting or going to other houses, because, after all, they are soldiers. The point here is the human one. We do not realize what it means for some of them to have to quit, to make way for civilian occupation. Of course, that is only a minor matter but if you go to Panagarh it would open your eyes to find the horrible conditions under which some of our officers and their men are living, in "crossed" hutments that have already been condemned and our Government has the temerity to charge rent for occupation from our Armed Forces. Let us, while we acknowledge the tremendous patriotic services of our Armed Services, also realize their needs and look after them because if there is any discipline in this country it is only in our wonderful Armed Services.

I do hope the Nehru Cabinet will not forget the commitment made on the floor of this House previously and it relates to the damage that had been done in the census by the massacring of tribal figures whereby, what was in 1941, 273 lakhs was reduced to 179 lakhs, whereby 100 lakhs of tribals were as it were denied the special protection the Constitution had promised them. We were promised that the *status quo* would be maintained. When Mr. Rajagopalachari was occupying the Treasury Benches there, he said he would issue directives to all the provinces to maintain the *status quo* but that has not been done. My friend, Dr. P. S. Deshmukh will bear me out that in the grant of the central scholarships, we were confronted with this difficulty, that whereas the Home Minister had given us a definite promise, that the *status quo* would be maintained, his directive had not been honoured. Now the damage, the terrible injustice about which Thakkar Bapa also protested to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and others, the terrible injustice of arbitrarily having reduced their numbers from, say, 273 to 179 lakhs, that can be remedied only by legislation. Now, I find in the Address that there is no mention whatever.

To end up, I would like to make a reference to something that has been said by my hon. friend, the Maharaja of Patna. He talked about linguistic provinces and in his talk he dragged in Saraikela. He said that the Ganatantra Parishad raised the issue of getting Saraikela to Orissa and he mentioned that blood had flowed on the 1st January 1948 just when we were rejoicing over our independence. He forgot to tell this House why there was the Kharswan firing. It was not because

the people of Kharswan and Saraikela waited that either Saraikela or Kharswan or both should go to Orissa but it was because they resisted the pushing of these two small states into the province of Orissa. Blood flowed at Kharswan and blood flowed later on in Mayurbhanj also and as many as nine firings were resorted to and as many as 250 people were killed and about 20 died in jail, because Mayurbhanj was integrated to Orissa against their wish. I wish to say no more. There will be other opportunities for fighting this out. If it is merely a question of elections, I would urge on my hon. friend and other friends also not to make too much of it. Many things have happened at the elections. This is the first round. Wait for a few more rounds and then you will know the real temper, the real wisdom of the electorate. The electorate is not to be taken unawares. Do not be sure of your own victory. Whether you have won rightly or wrongly, by honest means or foul means, you are here, but wait. Give the masses a chance to understand the power of the vote and then talk about linguistic provinces and see whether the masses are with you and against the other party. I am not so much for linguistic provinces as for administrative provinces. What this country needs is not a division into so many languages but we want to be administratively efficient, whereby the whole country can be unified and made stronger.

Mr. Chairman: Amendment moved:

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

"but regret that no mention has been made about the implementation of the special provisions of the Constitution in regard to the Backward Classes and in particular of the Scheduled Tribes."

Shri S. S. More (Sholapur): I have submitted several amendments to the Motion of Thanks to be presented to the President. I do not intend to travel over the whole field that is covered by all the amendments. I propose to emphasize two of my amendments regarding food problem and food subsidies.

I beg to move:

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

"but regret that the Address, when referring to the recent elections under the Constitution,

has failed to mention that in majority of constituencies the elections were neither free nor fair."

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

"but regret that the Address refers to the shortage of food problem in a very superficial manner and consequently grievously fails to note the grave food situation in many parts of the country which are in the grim grip of dire famines which are primarily caused by the system of British-brand administration still operating in this country; the Address has also failed to notice that the method of procurement and the ruinously unremunerative prices given to the producers of food-grains—particularly in the Bombay State—have substantially contributed to the shortage of food-grains and to the failure of the Grow More Food campaign."

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

"but regret that the reference in the Address to the withdrawal of Government subsidy and the consequent high rise in the prices of essential food-grains is erroneous and complacent and completely ignores the fact that the withdrawal of the subsidy, on very flimsy grounds, has enormously raised the prices of food-grains and thus reduced workers, peasants and middle classes to the lamentable level of actual starvation as will be evident from the different forms of agitation started in different parts of the country and especially of the Bombay State."

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

"but regret that the reference in the Address to the general economic situation in the country and the fall in the prices of several commodities reveals that the Government of India have failed to realise that the economic situation is rapidly worsening and that the collapse of prices is due partly to the general post-war depression heading towards a serious crisis and partly due to the complete sapping of the purchasing power of the peasantry, the workers have been suffering from several years and the middle classes who and serious economic ailments such as high cost of living, unemployment, heavy taxation and black marketing."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to refer specifically to the catastrophic fall in the prices of *gur*, cotton, groundnuts and similar other agricultural products which, if not stemmed in time, will completely ruin a large section of the peasantry and small traders and eventually seriously affect the whole economy of the country."

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

"but regret that the Address when referring to noble ideals of equality and social and economic justice does not indicate the concrete measures which the Government of India intend to pursue in their endeavour to reach this objective as speedily as possible."

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

"but regret that the Address has absolutely failed to point out the wide-spread corruption, inefficiency, neotism, and extravagance in expenditure in the administration of the Government of India and to emphasise the immediate necessity of taking urgent measures to remedy these very serious evils."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the urgent necessity of the general redistribution of States on linguistic basis, as repeatedly promised by the Congress, and particularly the desirability of forming Samyukta Maharashtra State composed of all the Marathi-speaking areas from Bombay—including city of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad States."

In the President's Address certain references have been made to the food situation prevailing in the country and I may say that these references are made in rolling periods and sonorous sentences. I may appreciate the English. I may appreciate the quality of the phrases that have been used but when we go to the contents of the Address we get nothing which would hearten the people. The Congress people are not ready at present to look into the past history because that is very inconvenient for them. As the way to hell is paved with good intentions, the way to power of the Congress people is paved with broken promises and violated pledges. Na-

[Shri S. S. More]

turally, every time that they get up, they tell the people that we have given so many promises and we are prepared to abide by these promises, but there are so many difficulties in our way which impede our progress and therefore, we cannot satisfy all the legitimate wants of the people nor remove their legitimate grievances. I know, being a student of history, to some extent, that such promises have always been made to the poor people of this great country from time to time. I can quote a historic instance in 1858. I can give this House a small quotation from the august pronouncement, the declaration made by the Queen of Great Britain and the Empress of India. What does it say?

Mr. Chairman: We have given up all that.

Shri Velayudhan (Quilon *cum* Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): But, we are in the Commonwealth.

Shri S. S. More: These promises which the Congress gave have gone out of time like promissory notes, they are not enforceable either.

This is what she said on the 1st November 1858:

‘It is Our earnest Desire to stimulate the peaceful Industry of India, to promote Works of Public Utility and Improvement.’

I would request this House to mark every line of the declaration made by her:

‘and to administer its Government for the benefit of Our subjects resident therein. In their Prosperity will be our strength; in their contentment Our security; and in their Gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all Power’

I believe God was napping all the time; He did not give all the power that she was praying for:

‘.....grant to Us and to those in authority under Us strength to carry out these Our wishes for the Good of our People.’

From 1858 till 15th August 1947, the British were ruling and if we are to characterise the rule of the British people, it was a gross flouting, a callous violation, of the sacred pledges, if they can be called sacred, by the Imperial power. Pledges of Imperial powers,

pledges of class rulers are not meant for the purpose of implementation; they are meant for the purpose of hoodwinking people. They are meant for the purpose of deceiving the people. Dadabhoi Naoroji had said many times that the Britishers promised to the ears of the people and broke those promises to the hearts of the people.

When I speak of the British, my blood gets boiling. When I start to speak about the Congress people, a sense of hesitation creeps on me because I was with the Congress. I joined the Congress with different slogans. I was a young kid. My voice grew hoarse shouting Nehru-ki-jai, Nehru-ki-jai. Because, all his writings and what he said were to me and to many others what the Vedas are to a Sanatani Brahmin: not Pandit Nehruji of 15th August 1947, not the post-independence Pandit Nehruji, but the Pandit Nehruji who was fighting for the national cause. The President, the other day, said, ‘I have affirmed my determination to dedicate myself to the service of this great country’. Yes: India. Of what composition? Constituted of what elements? Do we mean by India, the great mountains and the mighty rivers? Do we mean by India, Tatas, Birlas and the big business people who are bleeding the country every minute of the day. No, Sir. I believe, no. We mean by India the people of India, the common man of India. I want to quote Pandit Nehruji because I do not want to harm the grace of his language. If I use my own words, I will be doing greater damage to his language and therefore I shall quote what he means when we say India. In his *Glimpses of World History*—the letters that he was writing to his daughter—he says, after depicting the various hardships that the people had to suffer.

‘I wish you to appreciate that India means these millions of unhappy agriculturists and not a handful of middle-class folk who fill the picture.’

I entirely accent what Pandit Nehruji said and I underline that with all the emphasis that I possess, India thus means the unhappy millions of agriculturists who have been struggling, who have been labouring in their fields from morning till midnight. I do stand by that. But, my question is, are they being properly looked after now by Pandit Nehruji who was espousing so vehemently and so enthusiastically their cause.

He has said in one of his notes addressed to the National Planning Commission that the peasantry is a neglected creature. I would again take your permission to quote exactly his words.

Babu Ramnarayan Singh: Those are forgotten words.

Shri S. S. More: My hon. friend says, those are forgotten words. But, people who have a very convenient memory and develop the habit of forgetting uncomfortable things, are to be reminded time and again. I will take the classic instance of Dushyanta and Shakuntala. Dushyanta went to the Ashram of Kanwa and saw a beautiful girl going there with all her innocence and bewitching beauty. His passionate desire was excited, held out some promises and his wish was gratified. Then, he went to his palace and conveniently forgot that there was some creature like Shakuntala but Shakuntala could not afford to forget his promises. She went to his palace and did remind him. "This is the product of your efforts". If I have to carry the analogy, I may say that the people of India, the Janta so-called, has been placed in the position of Shakuntala and the Congress has all along played the role of Dushyanta. So many promises were made to the poor Shakuntala and the same thing has happened. Now we see that the Congress-Dushyanta is not prepared to keep his word. The hon. Minister of Food and Agriculture, in reply to a supplementary question by Shrimati A. Kale referring to the promises and pledges by the Congress said, "It is a matter of past history". Yes; I know past history is very uncomfortable, particularly to those who are sailing in the camp of the writer of *Glimpses of World History*. It is a strange paradox of history, I may say.

I wanted to read Pandit Nehruji's note:

"No social or economic structure which does not provide work and security to the people can endure. In India we have too long thought in terms of the upper groups and ignored the vast numbers of our peasantry. This can no longer be done, and this forgotten creature, the Indian peasant, who has borne so many grievous burdens for centuries must find relief and security and advancement in our plan."

I would in all seriousness at my disposal, ask the Congress people if they have done anything to implement this

serious promise, this solemn promise given by Pandit Nehruji who was then the worshipped idol of the people. Unfortunately, that promise has not been kept; not a single thing has been done to carry out what Pandit Nehruji directed to be done in his note quoted above. Why? It is not Pandit Nehruji's fault. I am not blaming the Congress people as individuals. It is the fault of the system. A young man, in the exuberance of his love, not only kissed the lady that he loved but also her lap dog. That is what has happened to the Congress. They got power from the Britisher. The white-skinned people transferred power to the white-clothed people. But along with the transfer of power came a particular system which the British had devised and developed for the purpose of exploiting the country. I may say that the real remnant who now represents the traditions of the old bureaucracy is the hon. Minister in charge of the Finance portfolio. I do not mean any offence to anybody. I have nothing to say against him personally. But, he does represent a particular mind: brought up and bred by former imperial powers and our imperial masters. It is not easy to give up our habit as it is easy to give up our dress. So when I heard his speech, when I heard his explanation for withdrawing the food subsidy, I thought that some Schuster or Grigg was speaking from that Bench. I do not mean any offence; my hon. friend will accept my apology. I am not against individuals, but I am against the system as a whole. What is the system? Dadabai Nauroji, in his presidential address in 1893, stated that we speak against the Britishers' system, we do not speak against the particular officers. What we attack is the system but the officers are in the habit of taking what we say against the system as said in their own personal reference. I again refer to Pandit Nehru who has described this particular system. My most important witness, my most important and damning witness against the present Nehru's regime, is Nehru himself. This is what he says. Sir, with your permission, I propose to read rather a lengthy extract.

Mr. Chairman: Long extracts will unnecessarily take the time of the House.

Shri S. S. More: But, Sir, my words will not carry conviction with the Members on the other side, and I am interested in convincing them. I know it is a futile attempt, but I have to try since I am here.

Mr. Chairman: I am afraid the hon. Member has completed his time.

Shri S. S. More: Then, I shall sit down, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: I will give him a minute more.

Shri S. S. More: I thank you, Sir. Of course, I submit to the time restrictions, but when we are here, sent to this House by lakhs of people, and when we have to give a complete list of their grievances, it is our duty and function, on occasions an unpleasant duty, an unwanted function, but we have to do it. But, when I am giving this catalogue of the many grievances of the people, the time factor should not come in. I think I will shortly summarise what Pandit Nehru has said: that it is the system established here by the British imperialists which is at fault and all of us must strive instead of speaking bitterly against a few Britishers, we must strive to smash the system itself. This capitalist system of administration must be smashed. That is the gist of Pandit Nehru's contention. I entirely go with him as far as that part is concerned, but, unfortunately, Sir, the man who took upon himself the sacred duty of smashing the imperialist machine has now become the first guardian and custodian of that machine.

I will proceed further in a very hit and run manner. I will speak rather in telegraphic language. But my submission is that this peasant, for whose solicitude has been expressed by Pandit Nehru, and particularly by the Congress—in the Karachi Resolution, in the Agrarian Programme resolution of April 1936, in the Faizpur resolution of December 1936, in the Congress manifestoes of 1936, and of 1946—all these promises have gone overboard. Just as I have stated, all these assurances have become promissory notes passed by insolvent persons and further which have gone out of time and therefore not enforceable. The promises were that Congress shall see that the interests of the peasantry are properly safeguarded, that he is not affected by the variations in prices, that he will get a fair price for his labours, fair price in the sense that the cost of production and the cost of living shall be taken into consideration and after taking those things into consideration, some margin will be left to him, so that he will be in a position to pay off the colossal load of indebtedness. But, unfortunately, these very things have been ignored completely, by the Con-

gress, by the party in power and the Government in power.

I am referring to certain decisions of the various Committees. In 1943—the Foodgrains Policy Committee presided by Mr. Gregory was appointed. It was appointed by an autocratic Government and was presided over by a bureaucrat, a genuine piece of the white bureaucracy, but even that Committee had the goodness to say: "When we are introducing a system of procurement, we must give fair prices to the peasantry", and they have definitely and specifically said "by fair price we mean the cost of living and the cost of production will be taken into consideration, and over and above that some margin will be given". Well, after that, the Prices Sub-Committee was appointed in 1946 presided over by Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, and this Committee went into very fuller details, took different aspects of the matter into account: they admitted that our peasantry never got a square deal, that our peasantry is all along robbed, and they further said that when we are out to fix prices, we shall take into consideration the cost of living and the cost of production. I need not refer to further committees, but I say that all these pledges and injunctions have been flouted by the present Government and prices have been fixed in a bureaucratic manner without taking into consideration the cost of production or the cost of living.

I will go nearer home to my State. I will give this House some instances. In my part, from the constituency from which I am returned, *bajra* and *jauar* are the staple crops which are grown. I have consulted a good many peasants. They say that for a bag of 2½ maunds their cost of production is about Rs. 40 and what is the price fixed by Government which is now headed by, in the words of Pandit Nehru Morarji, the victorious or defeated leader of a victorious party. What is the price that has been fixed for a bag of *jauar* Rs. 23/2/- per bag—that is the price fixed. So for every bag, the peasant has to suffer a net loss of Rs. 17, and in some cases, the bags have to be taken over to the godowns. I will refer to certain villages. I have got definite information in my possession. For instance, in Lasurna village in Indapur Taluk in Poona district, 2,000 bags were collected by the Procuring Officer. I do not say anything about the method of procurement. I may say in the Congress agrarian programme, Congress leaders have said to the peasant that he will be saved from the harassment of the petty official. But now you have

built up a grain monopoly for Government itself, and these very petty officials, from whose harassment you have promised to save the people, have now become your own instruments, not as the agents of Hudsons and Maxwells, but of Congressmen who now and then exploit the holy name of Mahatma Gandhi. That is my complaint. So from this Lasurna village 2,000 bags were collected by these procurement officers, and calculate the loss at the rate of Rs. 17 per bag—for 2,000 bags, the loss would come to about Rs. 34,000. I think even a batch of dacoits pouncing upon the village in the dead of night would not have robbed the village to such an extent. My submission is—I do not want to exploit your indulgence as the Congress people are exploiting the faith of the people—I will say with all the humility that I possess, I am not your critic for the sake of criticism. I think that you have committed so many blunders.

5 P.M.

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

Shri S. S. More: Yes, Sir. I may complete the sentence. I have been a student of their administration, I am comparing their administration with the administration which was practised here for 150 years by the Britishers. I am comparing your administration with the administration which prevails in other countries and I find that your administration is full of errors, full of blunders.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): The Speaker has no administration.

Shri S. S. More: No, Sir. I mean the Government, Sir. I would humbly request the Prime Minister to credit me with some sense to know that the Speaker has no administration of his own and it is he who dominates the whole administration. I do possess that much power of perception. So, I say that you have been blundering all along, Sir, I cannot apologise to you. I do admit that I am a new man to this House. I am not yet accustomed and I believe the Prime Minister will be tolerant when mistakenly I refer to the Speaker instead of the Prime Minister.

Mr. Chairman: It was said only in good humour.

Shri S. S. More: I appreciate the humour, Sir.

One sentence and I will conclude. You have been sufficiently kind to me. I say that the Government's administration all along has blundered. All along they have been blundering and just as I have mentioned all along they have been plundering the peasantry. They not only blunder, they not only plunder but whenever we have the courage to criticise they thunder at us. This sort of blundering, plundering and thundering cannot go on for ever.

Pandit A. R. Shastri (Azamgarh District—East cum Ballia District—West): This is poetry!

Shri S. S. More: This is not poetry. These are real facts and on certain occasions real facts do become poetry.

Mr. Chairman: Amendments moved:

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

“but regret that the Address, when referring to the recent elections under the Constitution, has failed to mention that in majority of constituencies the elections were neither free nor fair.”

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

“but regret that the Address refers to the shortage of food problem in a very superficial manner and consequently grievously fails to note the grave food situation in many parts of the country which are in the grim grip of dire famines which are primarily caused by the system of British-brand administration still operating in this country; the Address has also failed to notice that the method of procurement and the ruinously unremunerative prices given to the producers of food-grains—particularly in the Bombay State—have substantially contributed to the shortage of food-grains and to the failure of the Grow More Food campaign.”

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

“but regret that the reference in the Address to the withdrawal of Government subsidy and the consequent high rise in the prices of essential food-grains is erroneous and complacent and completely ignores the fact that the withdrawal of the subsidy, on very flimsy grounds, has enormously raised the prices of food grains and

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thus reduced workers, peasants and middle classes to the lamentable level of actual starvation as will be evident from the different forms of agitation started in different parts of the country and especially of the Bombay State."

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

"but regret that the reference in the Address to the general economic situation in the country and the fall in the prices of several commodities reveals that the Government of India have failed to realise that the economic situation is rapidly worsening and that the collapse of prices is due partly to the general post-war depression heading towards a serious crisis and partly due to the complete sapping of the purchasing power of the peasantry, the workers and the middle classes who have been suffering from several and serious economic ailments such as high cost of living, unemployment, heavy taxation and black marketing."

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

"but regret that the Address fails to refer specifically to the catastrophic fall in the prices of *gur*, cotton, groundnuts and similar other agricultural products which, if not stemmed in time, will completely ruin a large section of the peasantry and small traders and eventually seriously affect the whole economy of the country."

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

"but regret that the Address, when referring to noble ideals of equality and social and economic justice does not indicate the concrete measures which the Government of India intend to pursue in their endeavour to reach this objective as speedily as possible."

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

"but regret that the Address has absolutely failed to point out the wide-spread corruption, inefficiency, nepotism, and extravagance in expenditure in the administration of the Government of India and to emphasise the immediate necessity of taking urgent measures to remedy these very serious evils."

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

"but regret that the Address does not mention the urgent necessity of the general redistribution of States on linguistic basis, as repeatedly promised by the Congress, and particularly the desirability of forming Samyukta Maharashtra State composed of all the Marathi-speaking areas from Bombay—including city of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad States."

The House then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 21st May, 1952.