

Nathwani, Shri N. P.
 Nehru, Shri Jawaharlal
 Nehru, Shrimati Uma
 Palchoudhury, Shrimati Ila
 Pande, Shri C. D.
 Pannalal, Shri
 Paragi Lal, Ch.
 Perakh, Dr. J. N.
 Parikh, Shri S. G.
 Pataskar, Shri
 Patel, Shri B. K.
 Patel, Shri Rajeshwar
 Patel, Shrimati Maniben
 Pathrikar, Dr.
 Patil, Shri Kanavade
 Patil, Shri Shankargauda
 Pawar, Shri V. P.
 Prabhakar, Shri Naval
 Prasad, Shri H. S.
 Rachiah, Shri N.
 Radha Raman, Shri
 Raghbir Sahai, Shri
 Raghbir Singh, Ch.
 Raghunath Singh, Shri
 Raghuramaiah, Shri
 Rahman, Shri M. H.
 Raj Bahadur, Shri
 Ram Das, Shri
 Ram Saran, Shri
 Ram Subbag Singh, Dr.
 Ramanand Shastri, Swami
 Ramaswamy, Shri P.
 Ramaswamy, Shri S. V.
 Rane, Shri
 Rao, Shri Seeshagiri
 Raut, Shri Bhola
 Reddy, Shri Janardha

Reddy, Shri Viswanatha
 Richardson, Bishop
 Roy, Shri Bishwa Nath
 Sahaya, Shri Syamnandan
 Sahu, Shri Bhagbat
 Sahu, Shri Rameshwar
 Saigal, Sardar A. S.
 Samanta, Shri S. C.
 Sanganna, Shri
 Sarmah, Shri Debeswar
 Satish Chandra, Shri
 Sen, Shri P. G.
 Sen, Shrimati Sushama
 Sewal, Shri A. R.
 Shah, Shri C. C.
 Shah, Shri R. N.
 Sharma, Pandit Balkrishna
 Sharma, Pandit K. C.
 Sharma, Shri D. C.
 Sharma, Shri K. R.
 Sharma, Shri R. C.
 Shivananjappa, Shri
 Shobha Ram, Shri
 Shukla, Pandit B.
 Siddananjappa, Shri
 Singh, Shri D. N.
 Singh, Shri H. P.
 Singh, Shri L. Jogeswar
 Singh, Shri M. N.
 Singh, Shri T. N.
 Sinha, Dr. S. N.
 Sinha, Shri A. P.
 Sinha, Shri Anirudha
 Sinha, Shri G. P.
 Sinha, Shri Jhulan
 Sinha, Shri Nageshwar Prasad
 Sinha, Shri Satya Narayan

Sinha, Shri Satyendra Narayan
 Sinhasan Singh, Shri
 Snatak, Shri
 Sodhia, Shri K. C.
 Somana, Shri N.
 Subrahmanysam, Shri T.
 Sunder Lal, Shri
 Suresh Chandra, Dr.
 Swaminadhan, Shrimati Ammu
 Syed Ahmed, Shri
 Syed Mahmud, Dr.
 Tandon, Shri
 Telikar, Shri
 Tewari, Sardar R. B. S.
 Thimmajah, Shri
 Tivary, Shri V. N.
 Tiwari, Pandit B. L.
 Tiwari, Shri R. S.
 Tiwary, Pandit D. N.
 Tripathi, Shri H. V.
 Tripathi, Shri V. D.
 Tyagi, Shri
 Uikey, Shri
 Upadhyay, Pandit Munishwar Datt
 Upadhyay, Shri Shiva Dayal
 Upadhyay, Shri S. D.
 Vaishnav, Shri H. G.
 Vaishya, Shri M. B.
 Varma, Shri B. B.
 Varma, Shri B. R.
 Verma, Shri M. L.
 Vijaya Lakshmi, Shrimati
 Vyas, Shri Radhelal
 Wilson, Shri J. N.
 Wodeyar, Shri
 Zaidi, Col.

The Motion was negatived

MOTION ON ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT—Contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now proceed with the debate on the President's Address.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: I am purposely waiting, so that when the turmoil subsides I shall begin. (*Interruption.*)

I was trying to convince this House that it has become a patent fact that the Communist Party of India tries to fish in troubled waters. Perhaps I am under-estimating them. They have made it their profession to indulge in violence—and what is worse—at the

instigation and instruction of a foreign Power. Recently what they have decided in Madura and what is going to come true and the spectacle which we are seeing in Calcutta as well in this House is sufficient to prove which line they are going to adopt now. They have seen that parliamentary methods are not for them. That is not the way they can achieve their purpose. In that way they do not fit in in this atmosphere of democracy. They do not fit in in this atmosphere of peace and non-violence. They have a different philosophy and that is why there is a demand in the whole country today, as to why, when these people instigate violence, when so many innocent lives are lost as they are being lost even today in Calcutta, this party should not

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be banned. Some Members have decided to leave Parliament and to begin their subversive work with more energy and to devote all their time to that. Before they are going to leave this House, they want to create a spectacle which is going to lower the prestige, honour and dignity, not only of the Speaker, but of the House and the country as a whole. But, we should not allow them to do so. As I have said from the very beginning, the abusive language they use whenever they have to obey the Speaker cannot be tolerated even in a wild country. I think, perhaps, in a wild atmosphere, the behaviour would be much better than what they have shown here. The most eloquent was Mr. H. N. Mukerjee, the professor of abusive languages, when he referred to certain matters about this Pentagon-Pakistan Pact. Sir, in this case we have to see and we have to study them correctly and dialectically according to their method. According to that method, very often when they say 'yes' that means 'no' and whenever they say 'no' that means 'yes'. In their vocabulary, whenever they speak about peace the whole world knows it definitely that they mean war. When they speak about war-mongers, it is certainly known that it is something which is going to check trouble. When we see it in this light, we also find that they have definite reasons to be joyous, to be very glad about this Pentagon-Pakistan Pact, and they are actually very glad about it. We do not care for their crocodile tears or their hypocrisy in talking. The party of the same people instigated violence in Calcutta, committed murders and they have the cheek to come to this House and to talk on behalf of the People of Bengal.

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

Dr. Ram Rao (Kakinada): On a point of order, Sir. (*Interruption.*)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members whenever they speak and make any reference to Members of this House, will kindly dissociate themselves from any other thing that may be alleged

against any party in general. Therefore, hon. Members need not say that Members who committed murders come to this House. Persons who committed murders are different from Members who come to this House.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: When I refer to Members, I mean their party.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is all right. But hon. Members must be careful in saying that the very same Persons who committed murders have come to this House.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: I mean members of the same party. They go to Calcutta, indulge in violence and people of the same party come here and they talk about peace.

Dr. Rama Rao: A point of order, Sir. (*Interruption.*)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. I am anticipating the point of order. It is not necessary for the hon. Member to say that the very same persons who go and instigate violence come back here in this House. Is not that party big enough and some members of that party may indulge in violence?

Dr. S. N. Sinha: Let it be that way. Let it be 'belonging to the same party'. That is what I intended to emphasise.

Dr. Rama Rao: The hon. Member made a defamatory statement against a party which is represented here and continues to make further defamatory statements. (*Interruption.*)

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. A point of order has been raised. Why don't you observe the Rules of Procedure here? The point of order is that no defamatory statements must be made on the floor of the House. Now, any hon. Member who makes a defamatory statement is not punishable for defamation, but he should not make such statements unless he has sufficient reasons. I am sure all parties in the country are represented in this House. Therefore, defamatory statements should not be made unless there is some reasonable grounds for making those statements.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: Yes. Not only reasonable grounds, but I have definite documents in my hands. Perhaps I will read them because I read certain portions from those documents when I began my speech, and since no Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party is here, perhaps the other Members are not aware of that document because this document was sent to the Central Committee only.

Shri R. N. Reddy (Nalgonda): A point of order, Sir.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: You are a member, then you must have received this document.

Shri R. N. Reddy: Sir, I want to make it clear that it is a tissue of lies.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: Then, perhaps, your name will also be here.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members will look at me and speak.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: Sir, whatever time is lost on this point of order, I will request you to give me as extra time because it is not due to my fault that I lost this much time.

What I am expressing here is the voice of the country as a whole. *(Interruption.)*

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. We are hearing both America and Russia here. Let there be no interruption.

Dr. Rama Rao: He is making a defamatory statement against the Communist party. *(Interruption.)*

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No, no, no. I am afraid, hon. Members are losing patience when something which is not to their taste is said on one side of the House. In this House both sides are represented, otherwise all of them would have been on the left or right. Therefore, hon. Members must be a little more 'thick-skinned' when they make accusations. They should not only give but take also.

So far as the document is concerned, there is no good again and again say-

ing that it is a forgery or otherwise. The hon. Member has got a printed paper. I will allow hon. Members to say what they did at Madurai. It is a democratic Constitution where we can convert the majority into a minority. Therefore, crying out or interrupting while an hon. Member is speaking will only make me give more and more time to the hon. Member. Therefore, I expect both sides of the House to observe this decorum and not interrupt when other Members are speaking except in cases where they use language unparliamentary or absolutely defamatory without any foundation. Such matters can be brought before me and I am here to check all that. Otherwise the smoothness of the debate must be allowed to proceed.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: Thank you, Sir. What I was going to drive at is this. Here in my hand I have a document which speaks about the tactical line of the party. These instructions were sent just before the Madurai conference of the Communists from Moscow.

Dr. Rama Rao: A point of order, Sir. How is this relevant to the President's Address?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. Every hon. Member must sit down when I am standing. This is quite relevant. In the President's Address many things have been said. He wants to say that there are unsociable elements in this country and they must be put down. That is what he exactly means.
6 P.M.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: I realise my responsibility and I am speaking on the President's Address. The President has justly and correctly warned us against a certain danger and a very important danger—that is the Communist menace to this country and in that connection I am speaking. I am reading from this document. It definitely says:

"These objectives can be realised only through a revolution, through the overthrow of the present Indian State and its replacement by a People's Democratic State."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He must place it on the Table of the House.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: I shall do so after reading it.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It may be a bloodless revolution.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: No. It must be a bloody one. I shall read the second part where it says:

"It is necessary that while utilising all legal possibilities..."

i.e. Parliament etc.—

"...the existing illegal apparatus of the Party is strengthened enormously."

The third part refers to violence. It says:

"Partisan war must be one of the major weapons in our armoury as in the case of all colonial countries."

I do not think people here understand the expression "partisan war". It comes from Russian. It really means guerilla warfare. The use of this expression also indicates that this whole thing is directed from Moscow and from nowhere else. This word is not used in the English Army. It is used in the Russian Army.

Dr. Jaisoorya (Medak): And the Chinese Army.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: Yes. The document continues:

"But this weapon alone cannot ensure victory. It has to be combined with the other major weapons—that of strikes of the working class, general strike and uprising in the cities led by armed detachment of the working class."

This is what is happening in Calcutta. The document continues:

"Therefore, in order to win victory of the popular democratic

revolution, it is absolutely essential to combine two basic factors—the partisan war of the peasants workers uprising in the cities."

The next point deals with the results expected. You must read this statement minutely. It says:—

"With hundreds of streams of partisan struggles merging with the general strikes and uprising of the workers in the cities, the enemy will find it impossible to concentrate his forces anywhere and defeat the revolutionary forces but will himself face defeat and annihilation. Even inside the armed forces of the Government the crisis will grow and big sections will join the forces of revolution."

I now place this document on the Table of the House.

I have got some other documents also. This is a very important question. There is a menace. There is a change of tactics at Madura. It is at a very significant point, because the Communist Party always adjusts itself according to the dictates of Soviet foreign policy. Since last summer when I myself visited Berlin, Poland and several other East European countries, I saw that the Soviets were facing a very dangerous threat from the West, from the NATO forces, because there was turmoil throughout Eastern Europe. Even a beginner in strategy knows that if there is any threat to Moscow from a military point of view, it can only be from Berlin or from Eastern Europe. There is no other way. This has been the lesson of the Second World War, and a great lesson. But in order to divert the forces of the Western Powers to other sectors, Moscow always tries that they disintegrate and shift their forces from one sector to another. In this connection, they have been trying their best to shift those forces or to force the Western bloc to shift their forces from the West towards the Asiatic sector with which we are definitely concerned, and which is our home.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Is that the reason for the U.S. Pact with Pakistan?

Dr. S. N. Sinha: Yes, Sir. I will read it. The Soviets have been working and trying to lure the Western bloc forces as far as possible from Western Europe towards the Asiatic sector. Here, as a proof I have a document published in Moscow. It is published in nine very important languages of the world. Since this House understands English well, I have an English copy in my hand. This was published in June 1951.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Where?

Dr. S. N. Sinha: In Moscow. I shall read it. Dated 12 Kalashny Pereulek, Arbat, Moscow, U.S.S.R. Editor: V Berezin. It is a very important document. If we want to understand from a military point of view the implications of the Pentagon-Pakistan pact, we have to go to the very root of it. In that connection, this document is very valuable. It reads:

".....penetration of American agents in Northern Kashmir, particularly in Gilgit.....an American military mission had arrived in the northern areas of Kashmir to study the locality and meteorological conditions with a view to building air bases there. The mission which included some 50 experts on air field construction in mountainous regions, arrived in the middle of March and set to work at once. Its chief purpose was to survey and chart the Gilgit area. It had three air planes with Pakistan identification marks at its disposal. The members of the mission had been given permission to fly freely over any part of Pakistan territory, and the Pakistan Government had given secret instructions to the military authorities to render it every assistance."

In this connection, a letter recently received by *New Times* from one of its readers in Gilgit merits attention.

And that document says:

"Gilgit lies in close proximity to the borders of the Soviet Union

and that is why the Pakistan Government has started to build military roads, air fields and other military objectives in the valley. A host of army engineers and diverse specialists have been dispatched to Gilgit for the purpose. In some places, forced labour is being used for the construction of air fields and roads, which are being built at the cost of tens of millions of rupees."

Our Gilgit reader notes that the local authorities gladly welcome the Americans who intend to use the area as a base for their aggression.

I lay it on the Table of the House. This is a document which has been published in the summer of June 1951.

At that time, our country did not know, in fact no country knew, that there is a base in Gilgit or that the Americans are going to build one there. We must scrutinise it, as I myself did. I tried to reach as far as possible nearer to Gilgit to see with my own eyes how far this statement is correct, because it affected our country and I came to this conclusion that this report was grossly exaggerated. If it was true, as it says, that in 1951 a base was going to be established, it does not take very long, with modern methods, to build a base. How long will it take in Gilgit? With tens of millions of rupees and forced labour, I think, today it would have been a *fait accompli*, an accomplished fact. We know definitely that Pakistan and, so far, United States also were vehemently denying all talks about bases. The Soviet Union was the first country which attracted our attention towards it. It is in a very exaggerated form. That proves that they were very much interested in diverting the NATO forces which were being concentrated in Western Europe from Europe to the Asiatic regions.

This is not the whole picture. What we read in foreign papers and we do not find in our papers correctly is what is happening in the North East sector. It is always secret. Whenever you

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read a Russian document, of military value or of foreign office value, you will always find, from their own designs, whether there is something hidden behind it or not. In this connection, one of our professors from Madras University wrote very recently in the *Foreign Affairs* that the Chinese penetration of all the previous dependencies of the Chinese Emperors is likely to increase. "Communist pressure in Sikkim, Bhutan and Darjeeling is increasing." He says it is certain "that the Chinese are building a strategic road from Lhasa to the frontier of India and Sikkim. This is the same track along which Colonel Francis Younghusband's army pushed in more primitive conditions in 1904 from India to Lhasa, and there is no reason why it could not be used for aggressive purposes in the other direction. The Chinese are reported to be building near the old fort a modern fort located in Galingk'a. They are also reported to be building, with the help of Soviet experts, several air bases all over Tibet, one at Lhasa and one on the plain between Lake Manasarowar and Lake Rukas, which is only 300 miles from New Delhi. It has been officially admitted by Indian politicians that there are Chinese military detachments stationed all along the Indian frontier. There are also rumours of atomic experts conducting investigations in uranium deposits in southern Tibet."

If the North-west base is dangerous for our country, then in the same light, the North-east bases are equally dangerous to us. The Americans have this pretext that since the Chinese are building a base there in the North-east, to counteract it they must build a base in Gilgit. But strategically it is not sound. Even if it is possible to fly over the Himalayas, where are the targets? I do not find any. I have myself been to Kazhakistan and other places and I do not find any targets which the Americans can bomb. They must violate our territory. For the Chinese also there is no target to bomb from their base in the North-east. They cannot jump upon the Western forces

unless they violate our country, which in no case will we allow to the last drop of our blood. We will try to maintain our neutrality.

In this perspective, the role of the Communist Party is just to help the plan of the southward drive of the Chinese towards Sikkim and Calcutta, and the Communist Party always helps them. If they can have a base in Calcutta, they will be very, very glad about it. They will hand over the country if they can, because they are interested always in that direction.

Therefore, what I am driving at is that even if this Pentagon-Pakistan Pact materialises, there will still be a great deal of difficulty. As the latest information shows, perhaps there is talk of about 250 million dollars or 13 divisions, or in terms of manpower, 250,000 men. Let us say Pakistan will have 13 divisions, but where are these divisions going to fight? There is no target. There is no way to jump over the Himalayas even for the planes. It is technically impossible. Just the other day, I went on the Himalaya-Tibet Road and I saw how difficult it is to cross in winter. Technically and strategically it is wrong.

If the Pact materialises in spite of our endeavours and we are not successful in stopping this aid to Pakistan, in that case what we have to do is to judge correctly the real position as to where we stand from the point of view of strategy, manpower, armaments and everything. If we judge that correctly and not in an exaggerated way as Moscow shows us, our Army is capable of counteracting the Western as well as the Eastern bases. There is no doubt about it, because what mainly counts in the country is the enthusiasm of the people. The enthusiasm of the people takes us a long way, and this enthusiasm today we find in our country.

The Communists want to take shelter under us and they also want us to carry on hate-America propaganda. They want to exploit the present situation for their own benefits which they must not be allowed to do. Since it is

a very critical time for our country, we have to see that the more we fight this Communist danger, the more we strengthen our country and our defences.

If I am allowed to disclose before the House, the communists keep in touch in open daylight with diplomats of many foreign Powers. I have never seen such a spectacle in the whole world; although I was in the diplomatic service of our country in foreign countries for a number of years. I have never seen that a foreign diplomat degrades himself to such an extent that he invites also the traitors of the country at the same time when he invites our Prime Minister and others to a dinner or a party. It is never in the diplomatic protocol. I have never heard of such a thing. Only a couple of months ago, it became a very big question when they invited one of the Communists to the same dinner party to which the Prime Minister, M. Peti-pierre, who is also the Foreign Minister of Switzerland had been invited. But in our country, the rules are different, and we are more democratic than any other country in the world, we tolerate much more than any other country, but this toleration should not weaken us any further. We have to strengthen ourselves in every way and to see that all our sectors, whether on the Calcutta side or on the Sikkim side etc., are properly guarded, and we should see that every atom of our energy is concentrated on this matter, so that we fight more this Communist menace, because the Communists, though by themselves are not very important, are still instruments of a foreign Power, they have certain bases. That is the important point here.

The Communists do not carry weight in the public sector. The public hate them like poison; they know that they are being cheated, and the Communists are nobody. The Communists will be defeated everywhere, unless they cheat the people and mislead them.

If we have to achieve in a short time, what we cherish most in the world today, we have to organise ourselves and

take cognizance of this party. They are going to leave Parliament—and we should see that they do not create any spectacle or scene while leaving this House. We should also see that what we are going to achieve, and what our aim is to achieve, must be achieved definitely through all our energies united—I mean peace.

Shri R. N. S. Deo (Kalahandi—Bolangir): The Address of the President indicates the awareness on the part of our Government, of the dangers, the difficulties and the grave problems facing our country. But unfortunately it does not leave on us the impression that there is the necessary determination on the part of our Government to solve the problems or meet the difficulties and dangers with imagination and boldness and in time. If the great Kumbh Mela had been organised a little more imaginatively and timely action had been taken, a great tragedy might have been averted. But what is more distressing is the fact that our greatest leaders have lost that Gandhian touch, and instead of following the footsteps of the Father of the Nation, who had the courage to admit even Himalayan blunders, today our Government are not prepared to admit their shortcomings, their lack of imagination and planning. Instead of undertaking repentance—I do not suggest that they should have undertaken a fast in expiation of their sin—at least—we should have expected—they should have cancelled the feasts and festivities. The same callous and indifferent attitude, we can see in other respects also, as we bring to the notice of the House, the other grave problems that have arisen in certain parts of the country. The President has been pleased to refer to the appointment of a high-powered Commission for the purpose of reorganization of States, and he has been pleased to say that "this is a task of high and historic importance, which has to be dealt with in an objective and dispassionate manner so as to promote the welfare of the people of the areas concerned as well as of the nation as a whole." But I ask whether the Government have actually approached this question of

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reorganization of States with the boldness that is required. The terms of reference of this Commission have been left beautifully vague. The purpose of this Commission itself is rather doubtful, for, there was no need for a fact-finding Commission to go into the question of what the map of India should be. Once the principle of linguistic reorganization is accepted, the Government themselves could have drawn up the broad outlines of the picture and then straightaway they could have appointed Boundary Commissions to go into specific issues. But there has been this hesitancy, this indecision and this desire to shelve this problem. The result is that the more you delay in solving this issue, the bitterness and tension between the different States go on increasing.

Now, I will draw your attention to what is happening in the disputed areas of Bihar. I have personally been the victim of rowdiness at a meeting held in Seraikela on the 7th of this month. If it had been only an isolated instance, it would not have been so distressing, but the fact is that it is not an isolated instance. It is a deliberate and planned attempt on the part of the Bihar authorities to suppress the cultural and linguistic minorities not only in Singbhum, Seraikela and Kharsawan but also in Manbhum and other Bengali-speaking areas. This is a regular plan. If it is a mad thing, there is a plan in the madness, and this has been going on for years, and it has become more accentuated soon after the appointment of this Commission. I hold the Centre entirely responsible for this unfortunate state of affairs, because, time and again, we have brought this wrong attitude, this inhuman treatment meted out to the minorities in Bihar, to the notice of the Central Government and the Ministers, but they have always shirked their responsibility.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Purnea cum Santal Parganas): It is a lie; it is a total lie.

Shri R. N. S. Deo: I would ask my hon. friend from Bihar to have some patience, because he did not happen to be in that place.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: I have been there and I have also seen your place.

Shri R. N. S. Deo: But he was not present at the meeting. I speak with personal knowledge, and I would like to make it clear here that I have got no quarrel with my Bihari friends.

Shri R. C. Das (Ganjam South): Is it Parliamentary to say 'lie'?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member may change the 'lie' into 'incorrect statement.'

Shri R. N. S. Deo: I have got some Bihar friends here. I know there are high-minded persons, there are good persons; I know that if they themselves knew the true facts about what is going on and what is being done under the very nose of their administration there, their conscience will also be touched and they will be the first persons to join with us in strongly condemning these things. (Interruptions). I will just place before you the facts. Sir, on the 7th of this month we were having a meeting in Seraikela. According to the admission of the Chief Minister of Bihar himself, he anticipated that there might be some trouble there. He had arranged for 1 First-Class Magistrate, 1 Inspector of Police, 1 Sub-Inspector of Police, 3 ASIs and 22 armed constables to preserve peace there. And, strangely enough, he himself admits that on the request of the sponsors of the meeting who also anticipated rowdiness there, the police removed walking sticks from nine persons from the audience. Then suddenly where did the huge lathis appear from? The heads, arms and legs of people were broken. Sir, it is a shame that the Deputy Leader of Opposition of the Orissa Assembly, Shri Partap Keshari Deo, had his head and arm broken and is now lying in Calcutta

for treatment. Is this the sort of freedom of expression and freedom of association guaranteed under our Constitution that the linguistic minorities are going to have in Bihar? Is it not a condemnation of his own saying? Can the Chief Minister justify this? If he had made those arrangements for preservation of peace, then why did these police do nothing? I have got photographs here and I have shown them to some of my friends. If anybody else wants to see them, I am prepared to lay them on the Table of this House. You will see the huge *lathis* that were brought. All these people were brought in a truck, imported from outside, from Jamshedpur mostly, and they raided the meeting...

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: They were borrowed by the organisers of the meeting.

Shri R. N. S. Deo: This is not the first time that we have had experience of this rowdyism. We have had experience of black flags being shown, and all that. We have always seen that the purpose of all that is to disturb the meeting and to create confusion. Here at the very beginning I wanted to explain the purpose of the meeting.

An Hon. Member: What was the purpose?

Shri R. N. S. Deo: This was not a new incident. On the 15th December last, the same thing was done and there were telegrams received when this House was in session. We brought them to the notice of the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and there were statements and other things appearing in the papers also. Therefore, this is not a new thing. This is a repetition. We also anticipated this thing. Therefore, I was making an appeal. As the president at that meeting, I was explaining to people that Biharis are our brothers, we are all Indians and there is no reason why we should break each other's heads. The very purpose of the meeting was to explain to the people how they should put forth their claims before the Commission. Now, before I had concluded...

An Hon. Member: How did you go there?

Shri R. N. S. Deo:..... those preliminary remarks, they attacked and cut the wires of the loudspeaker. That is understandable. The purpose was to disturb the meeting. Then immediately without any provocation these hired *goondas* came through one side of the road.....

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: Led by you!

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya (Muzaffarpur Central): Led by whom?

Shri R. N. S. Deo:...I say with the connivance of...

Shri Jajwara (Santal parganas *cum* Hazaribagh): How is all this relevant? (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: So far I allowed some remarks to be made regarding this matter because it relates to the Commission that has been appointed by the Central Government. True, till the Commission goes round, takes evidence and sends in its report, normal peace conditions must be maintained and the State Governments are in charge of law and order. But inasmuch as this may be a matter where there may be differences of opinion—and I allowed certain remarks to be made to some extent—to go further into details when the State Government is not here and we have no opportunity to know the details, is not proper.

Shri Syamnandan Sahaya: He said 'hired *goondas*'.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I think the hon. Member may pass on to other subject with some general remarks that one or two such things have happened—without going into too many details which cannot be refuted. Otherwise, they will go unchallenged and there is no opportunity here to know the facts.

Shri R. N. S. Deo: I shall not go further into details. But, the purpose for which I refer to this incident is to show that this is nothing new and that this is according to a pattern. Sir, in

[Shri R. N. S. Deo]

1949, a reign of terror was let loose on the people of Seraikela. On the 31st July, 1949, we had an indication of what was brewing. I was present there on that day and I tried to give a warning to the Central Government. I sent a telegram to the Governor-General, to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and also to the Governor and Chief Minister of Bihar and the Governor and Chief Minister of Orrisa. But, you will be surprised to know, Sir, that we could not send a telegram from Bihar territory. Not only that day; but we had to send a man to Bengal to send the telegram. We could not send the telegram from Bihar.

Shri Jajwara: How is it relevant?

Shri R. N. S. Deo: I am saying that this is not a new thing.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order. We must stop at a particular stage so far as this particular matter is concerned. Now, there are the Bengal Government, the Bihar Government and the Orrisa Government. If the hon. Member does not get redress from one Government, according to him, he could make representation to another Government. What has the Centre to do? It is helpless unless an emergency is declared on account of the fact that the meeting at which the Maharaja of Patna was addressing was disturbed. These matters need not be pursued except generally. There is no State Government here to refute the allegations that are being made. I would appeal to the hon. Members to bear this in mind. We seem to be under the impression that this is a unitary government. The remarks that are made are more fitting to a unitary government and to a unitary Assembly, where all the States are subordinate to the Centre and we can give directions. Fortunately, the States have got the State Assemblies, and they should take up the matter in the State Assemblies. Under these circumstances, I would like to avoid a conflict, as far as possible and no aspersions are cast on the State

Governments. There are State Assemblies and it is for the State Governments to take up the matter with the Centre or the President and suitable directions taken from them. The hon. Member promised not to go into details any further but he is diving deep into them.

Shri R. N. S. Deo: I wish to bring to your notice what happened.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: May be; but this is not the forum.

Shri R. N. S. Deo: Telegraph is a Central subject.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: Two maharajas in the meeting took up their pistols against each other.

Shri R. N. S. Deo: I am not yielding to him.

We have asked the Centre to institute an enquiry and I would be the first person to welcome such an enquiry. Is the Bihar Government prepared to accept such an enquiry? But, our charge is that the whole civilised government has come to a standstill there. (*Interruption*). It is impossible for the minority even to carry on their ordinary life. Therefore, it has become a matter serious enough for the Centre to intervene.

Sir, I was referring to the telegram being refused. That is a Central subject. How has this come about that in 1949, no telegram could be sent about the reign of terror in Bihar? In spite of the facts being brought to the notice of the Centre, nothing was done. Again, the same thing happened on the 7th. We tried to send a telegram to the President, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister of India and that telegram also was refused on the plea that the line was out of order and only the next morning were we able to send it. Sir, I have already drawn your attention to the fact that this is not an isolated or a new instance. The same thing had happened on the 15th December last and the matter had been brought to the notice of the Central

Government. With reference to that the Prime Minister had written to me—

“I should like to express my regret at the violence and conflicts that have recently taken place in regard to Seraikela. I hope all concerned will put an end to this for it did little credit to anyone and did not advance any cause.”

My point is that the Centre is aware of all these conflicts. But, simple awareness is not sufficient. What is happening in Manbhum or in Singhbhum or Seraikela has become such an important matter. The tension and bitterness that these things are creating and the terrorism that is going on is the seed for chaos in this country. Are we to leave these inter-State disputes to be settled by civil war or are we to see that these things are solved by the Centre taking a strong hand in the matter? Indifference is my charge against the Centre. The Home Minister says that because it is a Part A State, they are helpless. Then the question arises—are these things to be left to be decided in a civil war? Are we to leave the fate of the country to chaos? If there is terrorism from one side, it is inviting terrorism and chaos in the country. That is why I plead that the Centre must take a strong attitude. It is not enough to utter some platitude, or to utter some advice and sermons. Simply by wishful thinking everything will not turn out all right. Therefore, the Centre has got to be strict and take timely action to prevent further trouble in the country.

Shrimati Ila Palchoudhury (Nabadwip): As a very new Member, I submit a few points that occur to me after the President's Address. The world is full of tension and there are various conflicts of ideologies, interests, cultures and the age-old conflict of the races, but India has taken and assumed the lead. We have been following the path shown to us by Mahatmaj and it is India's own path. I do not think we need be frightened by anybody, because India's ideology does not need armaments. Nearer home, there are problems that need to be solved more urgently. The President's Address

refers to a sum of Rs. 72 crores having been given as subsidy to the displaced people for housing purposes. I speak for West Bengal particularly because I come from that part of the country. Pakistan, nursed and reared by the same mother, can never be separated from our minds. The terrible tale of woe in West Bengal, if it could only be seen would be fully realised. It is a two-fold tale of woe. Thousands of people came from Pakistan on the one side, and on the other side, thousands that went away from Bengal have again come back. They find their houses occupied, their lands cultivated by others, their fruit gathered by others, while they starve and wait outside. They need the speedy help of the Rs. 72 crores or whatever sum is granted, so that some solution may be found to their problem. Could not the machinery that arranges for these grants move more speedily? If the grants are given in small lots—as they were in the beginning—they were not utilised for housing. Before you could say—Jack Robinson—it was really eaten up—because immediate wants were acute. Now the grants are being given in one lot, and it is more satisfactory, but quicker distribution is needed. The housing problem must be solved, for there is great frustration. It is amongst such people that the hot-bed of dissenting ideas flourish.

The President's Address refers to the providing of more employment under the revised efforts of the Planning Commission on the Five Year Plan. In the sphere of education, I think, there is a great channel where employment can be given to hundreds. Teachers are the illest-paid workers in India. It is a great dis-orientation from the ancient ideas of India, because teachers in ancient India were regarded with love; they were our guides, philosophers and friends. There was never any question of having to pay them, they were given what was known as their *marjada* or *sanman*—honorarium if you like and it was always gladly given. Today teachers are fighting for their very existence with their lives. If they are not heard

[Shrimati Ila Palchoudhury]

today, they must be heard tomorrow for in their hands lie the minds of the future generations of India. The lot of the Sanskrit professors is still worse, yet they are the guardians of our ancient heritage—*sanskriti*. They live on a mere pittance, that is hardly enough to hold their body and soul together. There are yet to this day professors of Sanskrit in Mithila and Nawadwip who are eking out an existence, who are great scholars and who can hand down the heritage of ancient India. Could not the Centre do something to give encouragement for the founding of a Sanskrit University? Nawadwip and Mithila are the homes of Hindu Law, philosophy and Sanskrit. A University here does not mean large sums of money, because it need not be housed in big houses with elaborate paraphernalia. It need be only a rural cottage university, but it would form the nucleus of a centre from which thought could go out of India to the whole world.

De-Centralised cottage industries are channels where again employment could be found, and there I would again point out for the consideration of this House that rural unemployment, particularly amongst displaced people—I speak with special reference to West Bengal—is a terrible thing. It applies particularly to those who have come back from Pakistan, because they have no lands to till; their homes are occupied, there are no industries to absorb them, and anyway, they have no technical training. The only way that one can alleviate their condition is by affording employment through cottage industries. Adult female employment is a solution here. It would employ people who teach the handicrafts—it would employ those who learn—for they could earn while they learn. The target of earning need not be high. Anything from ten to fifteen rupees a month for each adult female member of the family would be something for them. To popularise their products—could not exhibition trains be promulgated again? These trains used to exist before, could they not

be used now, to show the village handicrafts of different parts of India—and thus create a demand for them.

While speaking of channels of employment I would like to bring to the notice of this House that financial aid to artists, poets, musicians and authors are singularly lacking. To this day, talent wastes its sweetness in the desert air in India. If sufficient help could be given to them they could be really employed in a suitable sphere. Even now, the parents are not much concerned about a girl who is really talented. They think that she will be married and she will be all right. If a boy, on the other hand, is talented, he is advised to take to some technical training! Thus India loses much of her cultural richness and people are not placed in surroundings really congenial to them. As the hon. Member on the opposite side has so aptly written in a little book of mine:

“The doctor's fees are heavy,
And the lawyer's fees are high.
But the artist—he is just supposed
To entertain—and die.”

In regard to external publicity of Indian culture, may I submit that it could be tackled more effectively. There are various delegations that come to India and there are numerous delegations that go out. But they should be composed of personnel that are really able to carry over to foreign countries the thought and culture of India in the right way so that enthusiasm is fostered in foreign countries, to come in contact with India and to really study her thoughts and understand them. I do not know if any of the Members here know that there is a scholarship in the Calcutta University existing to this day for foreign students to come and study Indian culture. Even last year they had to call a meeting to decide what was going to be done to the scholarship because there was no foreign student available to take advantage of this. If Indian culture could really be publicised in the right way there would be no dearth of students. India's culture would be known to the world and

these delegations which go out to foreign countries are the real ambassadors of India. The ever widening circle of contacts of her cultural efforts would really be more important than political contacts, because cultural friendships would create a greater India that is not confined within the bounds of the Himachal and the blue seas but extends to the whole world through her thoughts.

Coming to more practical things, I would like the indulgence of the Centre about roads. A number of roads are made in West Bengal, for Test Relief. The money is used, as it is supposed to be used,—by giving relief to people but a very temporary kind of road is made. That is really a waste. You waste the money; you waste the labour. Could not a more permanent kind of road, even for smaller distances be made with the money available? Then, there are the national highways which come directly under the Centre. I have one thing to suggest about these which would also create channels of employment. India has the most beautiful flowering trees that you can find anywhere in the world. There is the flaming red and gold flowers of the Flame of the Forest. The pink and white flowers of the prunus Japanica, that strew the ground with their soft petals, the exotic beauty of the simul-flowers, whose pods could also yield revenue for Government and the delicate mauve trellises of the Jaquaranda. All these could be planted besides the national highways. It would bring such spectacular beauty to the country-side of India that not only Indians, from all parts of India would come to see their own land, but it would attract tourists from all over the world as people are attracted to Japan, to see the cherry-blossom and the chrysanthemum. It may be frivolous to talk of this in the midst of the very serious discussions here, but the planned planting of trees would, I am convinced, give employment and create beauty at the same time.

I regret to say that there is no mention of medical facilities whatsoever

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in the towns, or, particularly villages, in the President's Address. The condition in the villages, if one travels through them, is really disheartening. There is, I believe some four crores of rupees in the hands of the Social Welfare Board. Would it not be possible to use some of this money in the villages of India before they are used anywhere else? It is in her villages that India lives, it is in her villages that the heart of India pulsates; it is with the simple folk of her villages that India will march to prosperity.

Food, of course, is the burning question everywhere. It will always remain so. We are told that we are well out of the woods now. Let us hope that this is more and more true. There are yet shortages; there is yet rationing, and dissatisfaction in many places over this rationing. Some of this dissatisfaction is created. Why it should be so, I do not know. But, if India is to advance as a whole and to achieve her goal, there must be absolute co-operation from everybody. This absolute co-operation cannot be only brought out and aired during a great crisis. It reminds me of the story of a husband who always proclaimed that he loved his wife but never showed it, he would be ready, he said to risk his life for her in case of a fire or drowning to save her. But, since none of these major tragedies happened in her life time the wife never knew that her husband loved her! So there it is. If only a very great emergency is going to unite us, let us hope that a great emergency does not occur. But I want to know what further emergency are we waiting for? Are we not in the midst of a crisis now? Do we not want many things urgently? It is surely time to be united already. If India is to march on to the goal that she has set for herself, surely constructive criticism, which is helpful, can help, but destructive aloofness can never help at any time. Let us learn by all means from the U. S. S. R., China, America, wherever you will, but let us apply it, in a unified way to India to create the India that we all visualise, irrespective of party politics or creeds.

Shri Pocker Saheb (Malappuram): Sir, I would like to speak a few words on this occasion particularly with reference to the amendment which I have moved. That amendment relates to the proposed military alliance between Pakistan and the United States of America. Well, it was shocking to me when I first read in the papers about this proposed military alliance. It is really very surprising that gentlemen who were reputed for keen intelligence and farsightedness should have fallen into this grave, suicidal policy of entering into this kind of alliance. It does not require much deep thought to realise where it will lead that country to. It is very surprising that the authorities of Pakistan should have forgotten recent history which has shown what the result of such an action will be. We all know how the East India Company came to India first, namely for purposes of trade, and how they developed into an imperial power and ruled this subcontinent. As Mr. Pataskar put the other day, this proposed alliance will lead to the annihilation of that State and they will be bartering away the freedom which was gained for them not by themselves but by the people of the whole of undivided India. It does not require much foresight to see where it will lead to and how these Western Powers, when they get more opportunities, have availed themselves of those opportunities and enslaved the nation to their best advantage.

Now, if any military aid is required for a country it must be either for its internal purposes or for external purposes. If they are entering into this alliance for military aid for internal purposes, it is most reprehensible. I do not think any people with self-respect will tolerate such a step for a moment. So it must be for external purposes, that is to defend themselves against foreign aggression.

Well, looking at it from this point of view, if at all there is any external danger, it will be a common danger for India and Pakistan, and not one separately or exclusively for them. So in that state of affairs they should have acted in co-operation with India. And

it is really very surprising that while negotiations were going on in the most cordial manner between the two Prime Ministers on various matters facing them, they should have gone behind the back of India to make a proposal to enter into a military alliance with a State like the United States of America. I do not want to dwell at length on the aims of the United States and the kind of trap they have laid for Pakistan. That has been given in detail by some of the previous speakers, particularly Mr. Pataskar. Therefore it is only—I should say—blind on the part of Pakistan to enter into an alliance like this. It is not only dangerous and suicidal for themselves, but it is, probably, dangerous to the neighbouring countries like India to give such a foothold for the United States. I am sure if such an alliance is entered into, they will make the best use of it to their own advantage and they do not care what happens to the country with which they have come into alliance. In fact that country would be enslaved. We know that the United States of America was observing a policy of isolation before the previous war. But, all that has disappeared and now they are on the aggressive and it will not be wrong to call them warmongers. Therefore, I hope that in view of the fact that there are so many outstanding disputes between India and Pakistan, and cordial negotiations are going between the two countries, Pakistan will even now desist from pursuing this suicidal policy. I must also warn this Government against falling a prey to this kind of conduct on the part of Pakistan. It has been suggested, I find from some of the amendments given, that if Pakistan enters into a kind of military alliance with the United States, then certainly India must enter into such an alliance with Russia and China. There cannot be a greater folly than that. As a matter of fact, if at all there is any common danger to Pakistan and India, it must be from these quarters. That is why I said that the common interest of both Pakistan and India lies in their acting together and relying on themselves and themselves alone to ward off any such

dangers. Both these countries have sufficient manpower and natural resources. They have only to be organised and if there is any common danger it is only from these quarters, from the Communist countries like Russia and China. It is a danger that is common to both India and Pakistan and therefore Pakistan should have acted unitedly with India and entered into proper pacts with India instead of going too far off to the United States of America who belongs to that category of Powers who have enslaved with their imperialistic policies over the countries in the East all along in the past. Pakistan ought to have taken their lesson from the past and desisted from this policy. I hope that better sense will prevail and they will refrain from taking this false step.

It has also been suggested that in view of this development, it is necessary that India should at once organise her defence and get ready for any contingency. Certainly, not only for this contingency, but for any contingency, India should always be ready to fight against any aggressor, whether on account of this alliance or from other quarters. Therefore, in that matter, it is for the Government to take such steps as they deem fit in order to see that India gets ready.

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I have only to say one word about another subject about which there has been so much controversy here and that is about the tragedy of Kumbh Mela. Here a Committee has been appointed and that Committee will go into the matter. We will have to wait for an impartial report about the matter and then it will be time for us to consider where the responsibility lay. In the meanwhile, I would say only one thing. From what I heard from one of the Congress Members, he said that he had occasion to go to London and stay there at the time of the Coronation and he was comparing the arrangements there, with the arrangements here, and he said that he found that the arrangements were satisfactory. Even he was suggesting that some steps ought to have been

taken to prevent such a kind of occurrence. Anyhow, we shall withhold our views until the Committee has submitted its report. But, there is one aspect of the matter to which I should draw the attention of the Government. This tragedy, which shocked the whole of India, happened in the forenoon and it is stated by responsible men like the Prime Minister and the Chief Minister of U. P. that the matter was not brought to their notice even in the afternoon when they had assembled for tea. This is a very very unsatisfactory state of affairs. This is a matter about which we do expect some explanation from the Government and we expect the Government to take very serious action in the matter. I do not know whether this also is the subject matter of the reference to the Committee.

There is only one other point about which I would like to say a few words. We have got freedom and we have got adult franchise to be exercised by all the adults in India. The last General Elections showed that our people, even very illiterate people were realising the sacredness and importance of the franchise that they had to exercise, and both men and women, particularly women, exercised it in a very satisfactory manner. In view of the fact that we have got adult franchise and our future depends upon the way in which that franchise is exercised, it is very necessary that the Central Government should take note of the fact that it is highly necessary that free and compulsory elementary education should be given in all the States alike. Unless some step is taken in that direction. I do not think that the right which we have secured, the right which the Constitution has given to the common people can be properly exercised. No doubt, it involves financial responsibility and it is a very high responsibility. But, I hope that the Central Government will take it upon themselves and solve the problem.

The House then adjourned till Two of the Clock on Friday, the 19th February, 1954.