

steps should be taken to check these Naga rebels and without any discrimination or compassion they should be dealt with severely to save the lives and property of the people.

As I have already said, the completion of the road I have referred to should be given top priority. Another thing that should be given top priority is the taking of security measures for the border of Cachar and Khasi-Jaintia Hills and Tripura.

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#### **SITUATION IN ORISSA**

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT) : Sir, with your permission I would like to submit that yesterday some question was raised in this House about the reports that had appeared about certain matters from Orissa. I crave indulgence of the House to make a statement later regarding these matters. I have called for information.

#### **THE APPROPRIATION (No. 2) BILL, 1958—continued**

' RAJKUMARI AMRITKAUR (Punjab): Sir, in this House we can only make our views known where money bills are concerned and I sometimes wonder whether much or any attention is paid to what we say. But nevertheless, one does speak out one's mind in the hope that every good seed sown does not always fall on stony ground. Many hard^ perennials have been raised in the debate by many speakers but I do not wish to detain the House for ■more than a very few minutes in order to draw the attention of the Minister to points which I would like to stress even though they have been stressed by other speakers. I think the time has come for a very serious review of the amount of money spent on administration. True, offices have increased, new work has to be done and new schemes have come into being, but I have often wondered whether the

i expenditure is not heavily weighted on the side of administration as against the benefits derived by the ■ public. I know how difficult i it is to change the existing ' modes. I will give one example of what I had to struggle against for years in the Ministry in which I was privileged to serve for ten years. I wanted that notings on files by the technical side and then, again notings on the same question by the non-technical side should be abolished. There were prejudices on both sides but I have no doubt that the two sections could and should be merged and money thereby saved. Indeed, now that local self-Government is no longer in the hands of the Health Ministry, I believe the technical side can take over most of the functions and the Director-General of Health Services can be the Secretary to the Ministry also. Indeed, I tried this out when Dr. Jivraj Mehta was the first Director-General of Health Services after independence and he was Secretary as well. The success we had was quite remarkable. Prejudices and traditions, I know, die hard but I do submit that 25 per cent, of our expenditure on administration is too heavy a toll for us to pay in our straitened circumstances especially when standards of efficiency in administration are deteriorating all the time. In this connection I would like to bring to the notice of the Minister that as against Rs. 51 crores spent on administration in 1950, the best part of Rs. 200 crores was spent in 1957. Clerks to the extent of 98,000 in number have been employed within a very short space of time. Multiplication of this category goes on and multiplication too of a category of some poor calibre and I submit that this is a heavy drain on our resources.

Then, Sir, I would like to plead for the social services. The expenditure on these is not rising, does not rise and there seems- to be no hope of its rising *pari pasu* with the growing and crying needs of the people. With Defence taking 35 per cent, of our expenditure and administration 25 per cent., very

[Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.] little is left for constructive activity and yet Education and Health Services are really the core of the mental and physical prosperity of a nation. I would also like to stress the point that the schemes that have already been taken in hand should not be held up for lack of funds and funds that should feed these allotted for new ones. I will specifically draw the attention of the Health Minister to the commitments of the Government towards the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences, which is in dire need of a hospital. Surely, a scheme which is of national and even international importance should receive precedence over the starting of a new medical college in Delhi. The Ministry's original scheme for a composite college which meant very little extra expenditure should never have yielded place to a new institution simply because some old-fashioned women objected to co-education.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No woman is old-fashioned.

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR: They should not be; I am not. There is no room for out-moded thought if we are to progress and I think there is room for a reconsideration of this matter. I am very glad that the Home Minister is here this morning to listen to my plea. I have always found him eminently reasonable. In this connection, I would also like to draw the attention of the Health Ministry to the once again repeated warning by the President of the Medical Council that new medical colleges must not spring up because the personnel to man them is just not there. We Cannot even employ the existing number of doctors however great the need for such personnel is and I think this matter should be looked into before we produce more doctors to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Surely and primarily, we must feed the institutions that are going to meet the lack of teaching personnel.

I am distressed to learn from the World Health Organisation that a model T.B. scheme for training personnel, a scheme which was considered by experts to be a model not only for India but for the whole of Asia, has been dropped. The W.H.O, and the U.N.L.C.E.F. were participating in it but because it has been dropped, valuable international aid to combat what the Minister of Health himself has repeated on more than one occasion recently—about combating the menace of T.B.—has been lost. Why, I wonder? Has the Medical Directorate disapproved of the scheme or has it been turned down by the Ministry without any reference to the technical advisers? I do submit that where technical advice is concerned, we should rely on our technical advisers and not on the non-technical side of our Ministries. I have a feeling that technical advice has been overlooked.

Now, I have spoken of new schemes and expenditure on those. I believe that a fair amount of expenditure is to be spent on a Zoo for New Delhi. I suggest that this kind of thing can surely wait and in our straitened financial circumstances strict priorities should be maintained and far more supervision undertaken over moneys given to the States by the Centre so that every bit of wasteful expenditure is curtailed. May I also suggest that there should be far stricter audit over the help given to voluntary organisations like the Bharat Sevak Samaj and others, to the tune of lakhs of rupees?

Now, what are we doing for the unemployed? This is a matter of growing concern and I suggest that the private employer may be brought more efficaciously into the purview of the employment exchanges. That might be one way of getting employment for our people. We hear a great deal about the need for rousing the enthusiasm of the people but I wonder whether the moneys spent on *melas* and the like will yield the dividends that they are expected to yield. In this regard, I think we have

to be very careful of the money that we spend and there should be much more thought given to ways and means of doing what we all want to do. The poor man wants food, he wants clothing, he wants shelter and he wants schooling for his children, medical aid and relief. We are giving him nothing. Our taxation is very high. I believe in a welfare state, as well as anybody else does, but that means we must cater to the welfare of the public. We have no health insurance, we have no old-age pensions and yet we are saying that we want to bring in a welfare state' and that we want to rouse the interest and win the co-operation of the public.

Now, Sir, one word about food production. That is the keynote of our well-being. I spoke on it when we had the food debate in the last Session but it is sad to think that our self-sufficiency targets seem to be receding further and further into the background. There must, I submit, be far greater contacts than there are today between the Centre and the States in this regard. I agree with the suggestion thrown out by one speaker in this House as to why all our Deputy Ministers and Ministers in the Food Ministry remain at the Centre. They should be far more in the States seeing what is going wrong and advising the people as to what should be done. They should be maintaining contacts with the States without which our food production can never exceed the target. I do want to lay stress once again on a point that I raised when I spoke last during the food debate that pests and wild and useless cattle must be eliminated. Here, too, I do not know how many crores worth we are losing in the matter of food where pests are concerned, and nothing seems to be done. In the matter of useless and wild cattle, I submit, Sir, that in this as in so many other matters we must not be guided by sentimental slogans. Strong action is needed if we are not only to increase but also to preserve our food production.

Lastly, Sir, on every side one hears of corruption and nepotism. Stern measures, here too, are required. There can be no prosperity for the masses if we do not stress at all times the moral values of life, and standards in this regard have to be set at the highest level and stern measures taken against offenders. Thank you.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Chairman, I propose to refer briefly to two or three Ministries, the Education Ministry, the Food Ministry, which is always in my thoughts, and possibly the Defence Ministry. No apology is needed for referring to the system of education as it prevails in our country at the present time because of its vital importance to our future. I have tried to interest myself in the different branches of education, particularly in higher education and in secondary education. I wish I could say that I see definite signs of progress in the achievement of better standards, but I am sorry that the facts in regard to this question do not enable me to be complimentary either to the Central Government or to the State Govern<sup>1</sup>-ments.

I shall take first the branch of education which was formerly known as elementary education but which it is more fashionable to call basic education now. What is basic education? I found a pamphlet called "The Concept of Basic Education" very helpful to me in understanding what basic education meant. This pamphlet, or rather this statement, has been published by the Ministry of Education with a foreword from Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. It says, 'Basic education as conceived and explained by Mahatma Gandhi is essentially an education for life and, what is more an education through life. It aims at creating eventually a social order free from exploitation and violence. That is why productive, creative and socially useful work in which all boys and girls may participate irrespective of any distinction of caste or creed or

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.] class is placed at the very centre of "basic education." Sir, your experience in educational matters, and indeed in all matters, is much greater than mine, but I have never heard of children in elementary schools being expected to do socially useful work. I have heard on more than one occasion that the object of elementary education is to teach the boys and girls in "such a way as to make them interested in knowing more and in developing all their capacities, both intellectual and manual. But I have never heard that children between the ages of 7 and 11 were expected to do socially useful work. They are not tools for "the doing of any work; they are at that stage, and indeed throughout the whole period of education, ends in themselves and we can ask them only to do such work as is consistent with this proposition. We may ask them to do manual work or any other work; we may ask them to work in villages, not in order to have any work done; we can ask them to do this solely from the educational point of view in order to develop them fully. Now, it is further stated in this pamphlet that the effective teaching of a basic craft does become an essential part of education at this stage, and later on, the statement says: "It is also to be clearly understood that the sale of products of craftwork may be expected to contribute towards part of the expenditure on running the school or that the products will be used by the school children for getting a midday meal or a school uniform or help to provide some of the school furniture and equipment." The warning is given that the productive aspect should never be allowed to take precedence over the educational aspect. But, Sir, we expect the teachers so to teach the boys a craft that the things produced by the children may be saleable. We can easily understand what the natural result of this expectation will be. This statement to which I have referred was brought out in the year 1956. In the same year the Government of India published a handbook for basic

school teachers in which the first article is from the pen of the present Minister of Education. I need not say that it is exceedingly well written. The Education Minister, I know, is a real educationist. He has avoided saying anything about the saleability of the things produced by children; nevertheless I must point out that the statement to which I have drawn the attention of the House is still in the field. It has not been repudiated by the Education Ministry yet.

Now, Sir, having explained how Government has defined basic education I should like to know what their general attitude towards this question of education is. Do parents even in rural areas like schools in which stress is laid on a craft which is generally spinning? So far as I know—I cannot speak for the whole of India but I can speak for one or two States—what appeals to the Government in regard to elementary education does not appeal to the village people. Another thing is that although in theory the basic craft to be taught in basic schools is not limited to spinning, yet we find in practice that the equipment possessed by the basic schools is very limited. And in most cases you will find that the teachers are trying to teach spinning to the children. Even this, I understand, is not well taught. The teachers themselves have received hardly any training in basic education. How can we expect, when the teachers themselves are inefficient, and there is lack of adequate material, that the schools which must depend for their success on these two factors, can be regarded as efficient? Whatever may be said at public meetings or at times in conferences, to the best of my belief, the system that the Government of India is enamoured of is appreciated by hardly any State. I know that some are definitely opposed to this system and think that the old elementary schools were, on the whole, doing better than the basic schools are doing now. I should further like

to say that you can introduce any kind of manual work in schools without upsetting, without altering completely the system of education or trying to extend the scope of the schools so that education not merely at the primary stage but also at the secondary stage should be modelled on the basic pattern. I shudder to think what our education will be in a few years if the place of the present secondary schools, which are none too efficient, is taken by basic secondary schools or as they are called senior basic schools.

I should now like to refer, briefly, to secondary education. From the national point of view, the spread of elementary education is of the utmost importance, but it will take the Government a fairly long time to spread education throughout the land and place it within the reach of all children, boys and girls alike. If we want, therefore, results in the near future, it is the secondary schools whose condition we should try to improve. That should be an object of special care to us. The Government of India appointed a Commission, of which the present Education Minister was a member, to consider the entire system of secondary education and to make recommendations with regard to various matters with the object of making it more efficient and more conducive to the promotion of the national purpose. Now, Sir, anybody who has had anything to do with secondary schools in any part of the country realises that secondary education, however inadequate it may have been, say, fifteen years ago, has deteriorated and that students passing through it have been found, in many cases, totally unfit for higher education. I say this with some confidence, because as the Chairman of a Committee appointed by the University Grants Commission to look into the question of teaching of English in the Universities of the Country, the Committee and I went to a number of States and everywhere we heard the same sorry tale. It is not merely

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that the students did not know English as well as they did before. The complaint is that the quality of education imparted in the schools has declined and that the standard of attainment of the pupils also has gone down. As regards the syllabus, which possibly has been adopted on the recommendation of the Secondary Education Commission, it is such as to enable a boy to complete his secondary education without taking up English or history or geography. This, at least, is the state of affairs in one State, the U.P., to which I belong.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): What about the main part, mathematics?

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Mathematics is compulsory now in the U.P., but I understand from headmasters and principals of secondary schools that it is of an elementary kind.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh). No, not mathematics but only arithmetic.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: I do not know what the content of mathematics in the secondary schools is, because I have frankly taken much more interest in the teaching of history and geography than in that of any other subject.

[MR. DEPUTY ^CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

Now, however good the syllabus may be, however desirable it may be to learn such subjects as civics, politics and economics, can we, when we are thinking of basic education, of fundamental education, deny the importance of history and geography in a sound system of education? Can we allow with complacency our boys to complete their secondary education without knowing anything about the history or geography even of their own country? I know of boys who are now in Universities and who cannot tell you where Cuttack is or where Trivandrum is.

THE MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS (SHRI B. GOPALA REDDI) : They know where Lucknow is.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: The U.P. boys may know where Lucknow is, but boys from other States, I am sure, will not always be able to say where it is.

Now, Sir, wherever I have gone. I have tried to meet the principals and headmasters of the higher secondary schools and high schools and I have tried dispassionately to find out what the present system is leading to. The Government of India is giving substantial assistance now for the improvement of various aspects of secondary education. I think, according to the report of the Education Ministry, the Government of India had agreed to give assistance of the order of Rs. 7 crores to the States for various projects connected with secondary education.

I should like to know how much of **this** money has been spent and how much has been used really for the improvement and development of the secondary schools.

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There is one more point which I should like to refer before I deal with another question relating to secondary schools. The testimony wherever I went was unanimous that the standard in English had deteriorated alarmingly. I tried to find out whether there was any compensation for it in the shape of a much better knowledge of the mother tongue through which all subjects are taught at the present time. **In some** States, for instance in Calcutta and in Mysore, I was told that the students possessed a better knowledge of their mother tongue now and that ■ they could express themselves better than they could in English. But in the Uttar Pradesh itself every Headmaster and Principal whom I had met said that the standard in Hindi, instead of improving, had deteriorat-

ed. Now, Sir, we cannot consider with equanimity the decline in the knowledge of English on the part of our students, because their capacity to receive higher education and to be in touch with modern ideas and with new scientific development will depend entirely on the knowledge that they can obtain through books and magazines written in English. But it is a serious matter if along with English there is deterioration in the mother tongue also. I should like really, definitely to know from the Education Minister whether the Education Ministry is as keen on the improvement of secondary education and understands every aspect of it as well as any educationist can. I therefore want to ask him really what steps he has taken or he means to take in order to stop this rot and to be able to say to us in the near future that he sees signs at last of an upward movement.

Sir, sometime ago, I think last year or the year before last, a Council called the All-India Council of Secondary Education was established. From what the present Minister of Education told us at the time, I think last year, we thought that it would perform the same functions in the field of secondary education that the University Grants Commission does in the field of higher education. But I understand that it is now no more than an advisory body. All the executive work that has to be done for the improvement of secondary education must therefore be done by the State Governments and the Central Government.

**Then**, Sir, I should like to refer to the Conference of Education Ministers which was held here in August 1956. My hon. friend, Shri Gopala Reddi, was present at that conference which was presided over by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Shri Gopala Reddi will, I am sure, bear me out that the Education Ministers, probably with one exception, agreed that English should be taught in the

secondary schools for a period of six years, that it should be taught well, and that every effort should be made to see that the standard attain\* \*d by the students in it was adequate for their future progress, particularly in order to enable them to receive higher education. I should like to know what the State Governments have done so far to translate their agreement into practice.

I shall say now a word about Public Schools before I come to the Food and Agriculture Ministry whose well-wisher I consider myself to be. The other day, Sir, an Indian Public Schools Conference was held in New Delhi which was inaugurated by or presided over by the Minister of Education. The Minister, addressing the conference, said "I would like these schools to continue and flourish and I am convinced that there is a great need for such schools," but he added that the Government could give them no grants. I think he said that the Parliament would oppose the giving of grants to such schools. I should like to know, Sir, the total amount of grants given to such schools at the present time. Does the total run into thousands or into a lakh or two? In any case the sum is not so large as to affect the resources at the disposal of the Government for the improvement either of elementary education or of secondary education. The Minister of Education knows that the standards in these schools are better than in other secondary schools. He wishes them well. He recognises the need for the existence of such schools, and yet they cannot be allowed to receive any scholarship. Now his main objection was that the fees in these schools were so high or rather that the expenditure per pupil in these schools was so high as to make these schools available exclusively to the children of the upper classes. Now, Sir, in other countries too there are schools with a high standard, that is, with teachers of high qualifica- j

tions, who have to be paid better than the teachers with ordinary qualifications and where the expenditure is higher than in other schools. But the Governments, in order to enable poor but deserving boys to take advantage of these schools, have instituted scholarships on a fairly liberal scale. Now what is it that prevents the Government of India from doing the same? Why should not there be an adequate number of scholarships available to boys the financial condition of whose parents is weak, but whose mental qualifications entitle them to receive the education that is imparted in the public schools?

There was, I think, another objection on the part of the Education Minister. He thought that these schools were not interested in anything thafr the Government of India was doing to improve the system of education and, therefore, he said to them that if they agreed to function as laboratories for planned research into some aspects of fundamental education, then there was no reason why Government should not aid these schools. Have these schools ever been asked in the past to undertake any research problems? Have they shown themselves hostile to the consideration of any problem\* set to them or to the aims of education in general? There may be some schools where the style of living and the teaching given outside the class rooms are of such a character as to lessen their sympathy for the Indian style of living and Indian ideals. But it is in the power of the Government which is aiding some of these schools at least to ask them to make a radical change in this respect. I am sure, Sir, that these public schools which place a much higher standard for the public than the ordinary secondary schools do deserve our help and that they would co-operate with the Education Ministry in any plan in which their help is sought. But if the Government of India, in spite of this, is unwilling to help them, it should at least do one thing and

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.] that is to help them to expand their accommodation. If this were done, in all probability, these schools will become self-supporting as some of them are. I believe that the Love-dale School which has about 500 students on its rolls does not stand in need of much help from the Government. Government is helping it, but most of the help that it gives is to those children in this school who are called 'entitled children', that is, the sons of old soldiers and officers and so on whom the Government has to help.

Lastly, I should like to know, Sir, what the future of the Sanawar and Lovedale Public Schools is going to be. These are the two schools the Government has interested itself in more than any other public school. I believe that Lovedale will be able to maintain its present position, but I do not know whether the Sanawar Public School will be able to do this. In any case, before the Government of India washes its hands of all responsibilities for these schools, it is its duty to see that they do not go out of existence, but are helped to such an extent as to enable them to stand on their own feet.

Sir, it may be thought that I am blaming the Government of India unnecessarily and that I am asking it to perform miracles with the small resources at its disposal. I know as well as the Minister of Education that education in all its branches is a State responsibility. I know also how small the funds placed at the disposal of the Education Ministry are. But I am not asking for larger funds at all. They will be needed; they are needed now. But I am not asking for them for the time being. I am asking, Sir, only for two things—one, a change in the attitude of the Government of India towards education. There should be a greater awareness on its part of the fundamental importance of education not merely for the future progress of the country, but even to carry out all the •

five year plans of which we talk every day. I wish that they should become as conscious of the importance of education as they are today of the importance of more efficient agriculture and more efficient and numerous industries. If there were this consciousness of the vital importance of education to the new India, I have no doubt that they will be able to influence the attitude of the State Governments too.

The second thing that I plead for is greater co-operation between the Central Government and the States. I know that the State Governments are very touchy in regard to all matters exclusively within their own jurisdiction. If the Government of India itself were to become more alive to the fundamental need for a better system of education in all its branches, then it would be able to convince the State Governments sooner or later of the soundness of its use and will be able to win their willing co-operation.

Sir, now I come to the Food and Agriculture Ministry. I have always taken a keen interest in this Ministry. I count myself among its well-wishers and I try to enhance its prestige. But I find that the Ministry itself is careless of its reputation. In the debate that took place very recently in the other House in connection with the demands for grants, the Food and Agriculture Minister endorsing the view of Shri Ashok Mehta said that self-sufficiency in food in an expanding economy was illusory. He further said that in a developing economy, self-sufficiency became a receding ideal because the demand for food depended on the tempo of development. These are very wise remarks. But when the Planning Commission asked for an increased production of foodgrains, it did so because of more factors than to which the Food and Agriculture Minister drew attention in the other House. The Planning Commission has asked in its report for an increase of 15 per cent, in the production of



foodgrains. That is, it wants about 10 million tons of foodgrains to be produced over and above what was produced in 1955-56. Later, it revised this estimate and asked the States to increase production by 23·8 per cent, or nearly 15½ million tons. Now, the Planning Commission did so because our economy is expanding and because of the tempo of expansion. In drawing attention to these factors, Shri Ajit Prasad Jain, therefore, said, Sir, nothing new.

The Foodgrains Enquiry Committee . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do you want to take more time?

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: Yes, Sir, I will take about five or six minutes more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: The Foodgrains Enquiry Committee, Sir, after consulting the State Governments and the Central officials, had stated that even the original target fixed by the Planning Commission was hardly likely to be reached. But I should like to know probably from the Agriculture Ministry whether it has made any calculation. After taking into account the new irrigation and multi-purpose projects, the increased availability of fertilisers and manures, and perhaps also the larger availability of better seed and so on, what is the maximum amount of foodgrains that can be produced in this country? I suppose it knows what the total amount of land can be brought under cultivation with our irrigation resources, or can be made more efficient by the supply of more water. It should therefore be able to tell us whether it has made any calculation of the maximum production that is possible. We should like the opinions of the Government to be based on such enqui-

ries and not merely on the impressions gained after examination of some officials. Indeed it is the business of the Government of India to say whether it has reason to believe that the target now laid down by the Planning Commission is attainable, and it should do its best to impress the importance of an increased production of foodgrains for the success of the Five Year Plan. But if the Government of India itself says that self-sufficiency in food is a receding ideal, we can easily understand what amount of lukewarmness will there be in the States in the future whenever they are asked to do the utmost that they can to increase the food production.

The next question that I should like to ask is: What increase was made in their resources by the Planning Commission or the Government when a higher target of production was placed before the Ministry of Food and Agriculture? It was asked to increase production by about 24 per cent. Did it receive more funds in order to achieve this purpose? If so, what was the additional assistance that it received? I should also like to know in this connection whether the fertilisers and manures that were used/ in those places where water was available, *i.e.*, in the low-lying areas or areas where there was plenty of rainfall. A few years ago, the principle observed in the distribution of fertilisers was: first come first served. Sir, it is very difficult for me to believe that if these fertilisers and manures are properly used, we cannot make faster progress than we are doing now, barring of course the inclemencies of weather. The amount available in the form of fertilisers and manures at the present time is not adequate for our needs, but the Government of India is trying to obtain foodgrains from outside. I should like to know what efforts it has made to get more fertilisers from outside. If we are keen about increasing the production of foodgrains, then we ought to be keen also

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.] about obtaining larger supplies of fertilisers. Lastly, Sir, I should like to know whether the Government of India or whether the Food Ministry has made any enquiry with regard to the actual consumption of food in the country. Has any research work been done to find out the food pattern and the quantity of food consumed per head? We have various estimates. The Foodgrains Enquiry Committee takes it at 17 ounces and 19 ounces per head—as the consumption in the country. But if we take really the consumption of food on an average to be about 19 ounces per head, and if the workers in factories and in the railway department and the mining department are given a larger quantity, say, about eight ounces more, and it has to be borne in mind that 12 per cent, of the production has to be kept aside for waste etc. which according to the Food Ministry occurs inevitably every year, then we shall find that even at the present time we need, not 68 or 70 or 72 million tons of foodgrains, but about 80 million tons of foodgrains. And the import of two or three million tons of foodgrains can never check the rise in prices. It seems to me, therefore, that there is something wrong with our calculations. At some point out information is faulty, and I want to know what steps have been taken by the Government to fill up this lacuna. Unless the Government itself has all the facts in regard to the two main points that I have raised, I am afraid that the questions of production of more foodgrains and of their distribution and consumption can never receive proper attention.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We will be sitting through the lunch hour tomorrow. The House now stands adjourned till 2-10 P.M. i.e. 20 minutes earlier.

The House then adjourned for lunch at ten minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at ten minutes past two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

† SHRI B. SHIVA RAO (Mysore): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am going to confine my remarks on this Bill mainly to two matters. One, perhaps local in character, is of considerable importance to a large number of people in the capital who have children of a school-going age and the second is a matter which vitally affects the liberty of the press.

Taking the first point, there has been some discussion both in this House and in the other place about the tragic accident which took place last week resulting in the death of two children going from school back to their homes, as a result of a collision between a bus and a truck. The Home Minister made a statement on that subject, but I am sorry to say that that statement did not touch some of the essential aspects of the problem of safety of traffic in the city. The Home Minister said that an inspection has been ordered of all school-buses and also that certain investigations were proceeding into the causes of that tragedy, but I would suggest for the consideration of the Home Ministry that while that may be necessary, far more important it is that lorries and trucks should also go through a very thorough examination by competent people, who will be beyond temptation and beyond the reach of the private contractors who own a great many of these trucks and lorries.

I would further suggest that apart from inspections, there should be surprise checks imposed so that they may prove to be a deterrent both on drivers and truck owners. I would also suggest for the consideration of the Home Ministry the establishment of what is a familiar thing in Western cities, and that is, prominent sign boards on the road-side to indicate *satety* zones not only for

every school but for every hospital in the city. I believe there are, inconspicuously displayed in Delhi at the present moment, certain signs of that description, but I feel that they are not prominent enough. If these safety zones were established and inspectors placed at convenient points, I think there would be an immediate improvement in the situation.

I am told that near the *scen%4* of the accident which took place last week, within about a few hundred yards of that place, there are no less than four schools, with a school-going population of nearly 4,000 children. There is a similar area on Reading Road with six schools and an attendance of almost 5,000 children, all between the ages of 5 to 15, I often wonder why trucks and lorries are permitted at all on roads of that description and even if they are permitted, why a strict speed-limit is not imposed on all vehicular traffic. In Western cities one is familiar with mobile squads of traffic inspectors who check the speeds of the various vehicles and if any one is found exceeding the speed limit, there is a sort of summary trial. I think that should be adopted in Delhi too and if the same person is guilty of that offence more than once, there should be drastic action taken.

There is another point in regard to this subject which does not deal with the immediate necessities of the situation, but which is perhaps a measure of a long-term nature. Various colonies are springing up in different parts of Delhi and New Delhi, colonies like Vinay Nagar, which are in themselves miniature cities with a population of between 50,000 to 1 lakh. It is for the authorities in Delhi to consider whether there are adequate educational facilities in each of these colonies because it is the lack of such facilities which compel parents to send their children in bujses to distant corners of Delhi. There must be thousands of children who spend an hour or

even two hours a day in buses going to school and back to their homes; and all this could be avoided, it seems to me, if in planning these various colonies, some care *ts* taken to see that there are adequate educational facilities.

I have been told that in the allotment of land for educational institutions run by private agencies, there are so many difficulties placed in the way that it is almost impossible to obtain permission to put up buildings. There are several authorities to be consulted, several authorities whose approval has to be obtained; there are, I believe, the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health, not to mention the various local administrative bodies. Today it is almost an impossible situation. These are the points which I wanted to raise in connection with that accident of last week and I think it is time the Home Ministry took comprehensive measures to cope with the whole of this traffic problem. One last word on that subject. I don't like to pass any strictures without evidence but I do feel that the morale of the Delhi Police, especially of those who control the traffic, leaves a great deal to be desired and I hope the Home Ministry will see to it that a better class of traffic constables and inspectors are recruited for this vital problem.

Now, I would like to turn to the other subject to which I referred in the beginning, the freedom of the press, about which there have been questions but not much discussion in this House. I think the present is an appropriate time because of the verdict of a Full Bench of the Supreme Court recently on what has been known as the Working Journalists' case. I am glad to see that the Government has taken prompt steps to bring the two parties to the dispute together in the hope of reaching an agreed settlement. Negotiations are still in progress and I believe, more meetings are to take place,

[Shri B. Shiva Rao.] either later this week or it Tiay be, next week. I will not, therefore, now say anything at this juncture which may have the effect of hampering these negotiations or making them more difficult in any way.

Nevertheless, 'I am bound to say that it is a hopeful sign that in thesetse negotiations the Home Minister and the Finance Minister are taking an active and a leading part from the side of the Government. It seems to me that when two members of the Government of the stature and experience of the Home Minister and the Finance Minister take the initiative into their hands, one can reasonably expect a fair and objective appraisal of the needs and the interests of both sides to this dispute. Sir, I hope that this will continue to be the approach of the Government in all such problems in the future.

I am aware that harsh things have been said in the Press Commission's Report and from time to time in Parliament, when different recommendations of the Commission have been discussed, harsh things have been said about unhealthy and undesirable practices and developments in Indian journalism. Sir, I have had the honour of belonging to this profession as a working journalist for over forty years. I look back to the year 1917 when as a young man I became the sub-editor of a newspaper in Madras under one who was not only a great editor but who was also one of the greatest servants of India —the late Mrs. Besant. I started as a sub-editor on Rs. 100/- a month and I worked for twelve to fourteen hours a day. But it was a joy and an inspiration to work under such a leader because she held aloft not only the banner of Indian freedom, but she stood out as an editor at all times, for fighting the arbitrariness of the executive.

I know that especially in recent years, there has been, certainly in

one section of the Press, a great falling away in standards. Undesirable practices have certainly crept into one section of Indian journalism. But I do say this, from my knowledge of journalism both in this country and abroad, that taking the Indian Press as a whole, its record is a magnificent one. In Parliament, I am afraid, we have oftentimes failed to give due appreciation to the role that the Press has played both in the struggle for independence and since independence. From the time of Warren Hastings the tradition of the Indian Press has been to fight the executive. Some of the greatest fighters in our freedom struggle have been editors of papers. Lokmanya Tilak, Surendranath Banerjee, Moti-lal Ghotse and a number of other people in different parts of India were editors of newspapers whose main function was to strengthen the forces of nationalism in the fight for freedom.

But the role of the Press even in independent India is no less important than in the decades which lie behind us in the struggle for freedom, because for the true functioning of democracy, a vigorous and free Press is as essential as parliamentary institutions. And the dictum that absolute power corrupts absolutely is true not only under foreign rule, but it is true under all circumstances and at all times. We of this generation would be doing a great harm to the cause of democracy if for any reason, we were to place obstacles in the way of a free Press developing.

I am making these observations and I feel compelled to make these observations because suggestions are made from time to time which amount to unwarranted interference by the executive with the liberty of the Press. I have in mind a remark made by the Chairman of the Wage Board which was appointed as a result of the adoption of the Working Journalists' Act. That eminent gentleman who was a judge of a

High Court made what seemed to me to be an astonishing observation.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU: He was an ex-judge of a High Court.

SHRI B. SHIVA RAO: An ex-judge, I stand corrected. He said that if a good paper were to close down or was threatened with extinction as a result of seeking to carry out the decisions of the Wage Board, it could go to the Government and the public for assistance. Sir, I do not know what point of view he had in mind in making that remark. But speaking as a journalist, I would say, if it is really a good paper I am quite sure it would prefer to die rather than sell its soul and become a subsidised paper.

Sir, the Press Trust of India, which is a news agency, recently pleaded—this was before the judgment of the Supreme Court was delivered—its inability to carry out the recommendations of the Wage Board, because these would have imposed on it an intolerable financial burden; and the suggestion was made to them that they could accept a government subsidy with, of course, what was politely and euphemistically described as closer contact with the Government. In other words, Sir, we are moving very gradually towards the conception of a subsidised Press and of subsidised news agencies. I know that such institutions existed in the time of Hitler in Germany and, in Italy, in the time of Mussolini; but I shudder to think of our copying those institutions in free India at the present moment.

The original mistake, it seems to me, was made in dealing with the Press in this country as an industry. Journalism is anything but an industry. It is a vocation if you like, it may be a mission; but certainly not an industry. All through the history of the Indian Press, whether in British days or after the achievement of freedom, all problems relating to the Press were handled by the Home

Department and after independence, by the Home Ministry I remember, Sir, at the time Sardar Patel was Home Minister, he maintained very frequent contacts with the editors of leading papers. He discussed with them with understanding and sympathy all their problems, because he realised that even under independence, a free and vigorous Press was an essential adjunct of democracy.

I regret to say that in recent years, since Press problems were placed in the hands of the Minister of Information and Broadcasting, the approach of the Government has been a different one and during the last few years—I say it in no spirit of complaint—the plain fact is that there has been hardly any contact between the Minister of Information and Broadcasting and newspaper proprietors and newspaper editors. I am quite certain in my mind that many of the problems of today would not have arisen, the present situation would not have arisen, and there would have been no necessity for the Supreme Court's judgment to have been delivered at all, but for the mistakes that were made of completely ignoring the point of view and the interests of newspaper proprietors and newspaper editors in undertaking legislation relating to the Press in this House and in the other House. It is for that reason, I hope, that the Home Minister, in undertaking the negotiations as a result of the judgment of the Supreme Court, will continue to maintain those contacts with the editors of newspapers as Sardar Patel did when he was the Home Minister. I know that editors of newspaper have every confidence in the ripe judgment and the wisdom of the Home Minister, and I go so far as to suggest that all Press problems should be taken out of the hands of the Minister of Information and Broadcasting and placed, as they used to be for decades, in the portfolio of the Home Minister.

One last point I would like to make before concluding. There has been a suggestion in the other House, in the course of a recent debate, of a private

[Shri B. Shiva Rao.] sector in journalism and a public sector in journalism. I have been uneasy and apprehensive about the growth of what appears to be the public sector in journalism. The number of periodicals and journals put out by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has been increasing rapidly. I have tried to ascertain the facts and figures relating to this, but I have been told generally that at the present moment the number of periodicals and journals published by the different Ministries through the Publications Division, exceeds 120. Many of them do not sell and many of them, I am afraid, are unsaleable, except as waste paper. There is a great deal of wastage of money in those things. Today, the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting is probably the largest publishing house in this country and I would suggest to the Finance Ministry to have an enquiry into the expansion of this particular department of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. I am afraid, as I said, that the public sector in journalism may one day grow into that kind of an institution which flourished in Italy under Mussolini and in Germany under Hitler.

SHRI ANAND CHAND (Himachal Pradesh): Sir, coming from a Union Territory, I would crave your indulgence for saving a word or two about Union Territories. When the States Reorganisation Act was passed in 1956 and some of these Part C States were relegated to the status of Union Territories, the conception of administration was three-fold. There was to be the Parliament at the top which was to act as the Legislature for these areas; then there was to be the Home Ministry to take care of the day to day administration actively supported by the Advisory Councils in which the local M. Ps. were to be associated and at the bottom there was to be local self-government in the form of Territorial Councils with certain beneficent departments relegated to their care.

Now, Sir, I was reading with great interest the speech delivered by my

! hon. friend, Shri Gour, who touched the problems of Himachal Pradesh in some detail. He pointed out how the administration of that area has not come up to the mark, the various difficulties in the way of development,

<sup>1</sup> the fact of the officer-class not being recruited locally and, on the top of all these, he subscribed to a feeling of frustration so far as the people were concerned. I subscribe in a large measure to the views that he expressed in this House but to my mind the trouble that has developed is not basically one of maladministration. It is not also basically that manpower is lacking there. To my mind, the trouble has developed because of the fact that the pattern that was evolved for the administration of these Territories though excellent on paper has not been put into proper effect. What I would submit to you, Sir, and to the House is that these Territories, having been deprived of the right to have their Legislative Assemblies, can only be properly administered and the people raised to their full stature if Parliament was able to devote more time and attention to their day to day affairs. Of course, we know as you know also, Sir, that time here is limited. The country's affairs, affairs of much larger areas and much bigger States have got priority and, the other forum, the Advisory Council's with which the Home Ministry which was to associate local Members of Parliament, has not worked properly. I am sorry to say that that part of the scheme has not worked out properly. The idea when the President issued the order constituting these Advisory Councils was to have regular meetings every three months. I was looking at the agenda and the proceedings of these meetings so far as the Territory of Himachal Pradesh is concerned. There was a meeting held by the Home Ministry in February, 1957, the other meeting was held in September, 1957

/and the third one came on the 27th February, 1958, a day before the Budget was placed before the House. I

think here is something which should be looked into and which should be changed. There is a large amount of material which has to come before these Advisory Councils. I was looking into the number of points referred to by the local M. Ps. for discussion there and I found that this Council meeting only once in six months and that too only for a few hours, could not deal with all the points needing attention. Points that need attention have been left out with the result that the check on the day to day administration which^ it was conceived, these Councils would have is not brought about. So, Sir, I would suggest that this aspect of the matter is one which should be urgently looked into, the meetings regularised and, what is more, due time and attention is given so that the affairs of the Union Territories may not get neglected especially at a time when the rest of India is marching forward with great speed and the people of these areas, deprived of their democratic right of a Legislature have only the Centre and the Home Ministry to look up to for the redressing of their grievances. I will not, Sir, enlarge on any special problems so far as Himachal Pradesh is concerned because I think the proper forum is the Advisory Council.

The other point that I would like to submit to you and to this House is about the immediate formation of the States of Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat. I had the opportunity of being on the Select Committee when this matter was discussed in the States Reorganisation Bill and, although opinion was divided at that time about the immediate formation of Samyukta Maharashtra I think there is no doubt, if we look into the record of the recent elections as well as the by-elections, about the way the people of these States think. True, the trouble at that time was about Bombay and if I am right I think today Bombay has itself got an elected Corporation in which the majority of the people subscribe to the idea of unilingual States. I was reading the reply which the

hon. the Home Minister gave in the other House the other day. He was gracious enough to remark that the creation of Samyukta Maharashtra would not be delayed by a day if the whole of the Bombay Legislature subscribed to the view. I submit, Sir, that that is not a correct democratic view to take. Would you stop the business of this House simply because one Member says so? Would Government ask all the Members of the Lok Sabha or the Rajya Sabha to subscribe to a view before an Act or a measure was passed? That cannot be so. In democracy, it is the majority of the people that must rule and here I have, no doubt that if the question was put to the Legislature concerned, the majority of it would favour that view. That would be the correct democratic procedure and I think this is a matter which should be looked into. This is, to my mind, something which has been left over as a legacy of the States reorganisation and I would submit with all the earnestness at my command that this matter may be looked into very early because today people who are staunch believers of the ideal—friends like my hon. friend here from Maharashtra and friends from Gujerat—are in opposite camps trying to undermine each other simply because something which is right and just has not come about. Parliament is supreme; it has the power; it has the functions to look into matters which have been wrongly settled and I would submit that this is a point which has been wrongly settled and which needs reopening with the consent of the parties as early as possible.

Then, Sir, I have a word to say about the community development projects, My district in Himachal Pradesh was the first district in which in 1952 the work of community development blocks was started. We have had experience of this work now in that area for over six years and I am sorry to say that it has not come up to the expectations. Of course, it is a laudable effort. We say community development is excellent; the villagers are

[Shri Anand Chand.] getting nice seeds, nice agricultural implements, nice roads, irrigation projects and so on but the reality is not what we make it out to be. Perhaps you, Sir, and other hon. Members in this House have seen Press reports that there was a party of working journalists who visited a few villages in Delhi the other day. There were newspaper reports and I think the Times of India gave very vividly what the villagers were representing to them. Here within a few miles of the capital city, they had complaints of delayed projects, delayed sanitary amenities, delayed drinking water amenities and services and so on. This is something which cannot be explained in the sixth year of the working of the community development projects. If these are the conditions here in the Union Territory of Delhi where the people feel that way, what would be the position in the far flung areas?

Another matter which I would like to bring to your notice is the conversion of these community development blocks into National Extension Service blocks. According to the present programme what happens is this. If a community development project has been working for a year or for two years or whatever the time limit is, they say now the saturation point has been reached in the matter of community development; let us change this thing into a National Extension Service block. But on account of the paucity of funds, the delay, red-tapism and so on, full use is not made of the time given to the community development projects to do the thing which they were expected to do and the result is that even before its work is completed, the community development project becomes a National Extension Service block and the expenditure involved is cut down to about one-third and the amenities which have been available to the area are similarly reduced and instead of a proper upgrading the area is downgraded and the opposite results are

achieved. I personally feel that in this work if better results are to be shown, the association of people at the very lowest level has to be made. We have advisory committees at the State level; we have advisory committees at the district level; and we have advisory committees at the tehsil level also. But what I feel is that this community development programme being mainly dependent on, being mainly made out for the benefit of, the cultivator and the man in the village, greater association of the Panchayats should be secured and it should be left to them to suggest ways and means as to how this work should be developed in their area. The top-heavy structure of these advisory committees should be taken away and people who are there just because they happen to be at the headquarters of the district and who are not doing any useful work should be taken out. In fact, a reorientation of the approach should be made if really it is to be of any benefit to the country. We are spending large sums of money on these. I was reading the reply given by the hon. Minister in the Lok Sabha where he said that this idea has spread from India to the other countries. I only hope that only the idea has spread and not the actual working or what is happening here.

Lastly, I have a word to say about the newly created district in Assam, the Tuensang District. It is nice that Parliament has in its sagacity taken over the direct administration of this area. It is a problem area; it has been for some time and we all very much hope that with direct administration by the Centre, conditions would improve. On going through the Budget figures, however, I was rather concerned to find that in the vote of over Rs. 3£ crores for the current year ' the police expenditure in this District is something like Rs. 2£ to Rs. 2i] crores. If this area, by coming directly under the control of the Centre, is to be developed, if better roads, better social amenities and better kinds of services to the people are to be provided, it is a laudable effort. Parliament



of course would be happy; everyone would be happy. But if in the garb of creating it as a Centrally administered district we are going to increase the police structure in the area. I do not think that is something which we should be proud of. So I would suggest—in this I do not know how far I am competent to suggest because I have never been there though I myself come from an area which has the same type of people; and they are a straightforward people as far as I know; they are friend of friend and foe of foe, if I may put it that way — that the approach, that the Government should make, that Parliament should authorise Government to make, should be one of friendship, one of understanding, one of goodwill rather than one of any kind of administration which smacks of any authoritarianism. That is all I have to say, Sir. Thank you very much.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to take the opportunity of this debate on the Appropriation Bill to use it as a peg to hang a few remarks on, first, generally on the use of public money and secondly, on one or two important item\* of policy and programme in respect of the Ministries of Education and Culture and the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.

Let me take up the first point in respect of the use of public money. I am barely one year old in this House but even in the course of this one year there have been quite a number of examinations of the use of public money. For instance, the Central Audit Report was published during the year; a series of Reports of the Estimates Committee and of the Public Accounts Committee have also been published in the meanwhile. The Central Audit Report brought out a number of irregularities in more than one connection including the construction of the Ashoka Hotel. The Reports of the Estimates Committee

also revealed from time to time serious instances of waste and misuse of public money. They suggested some time ago an enquiry into the Indian Telephone Industries (Private) Ltd. of Bangalore, and very recently they have put forward a very strong plea for reviewing the position in respect of the TELCO. Then the Public Accounts Committee has also very recently returned to the charges over the Damodar Valley Corporation despite the clearance the Corporation got from the Rau Committee in respect of the original charges made by the Estimates Committee. In this connection I would like to pay a public tribute to the Chairman of the Estimates Committee, Shri Balwantrai Mehta and to his colleagues. It is said that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. This Committee has been eternally vigilant and it has proved what vigilant, honest, industrious and conscientious work can achieve. The Committee has indeed justified itself as the guardian of public money. Now, I have given only a few instances of the suggestions, recommendations and revelations made by the various committees. These reports bring to the fore not only certain serious lapses and lacunae in our administration from time to time, but also what I consider grave and serious instances of waste, and what is worse, continuous waste and indiscriminate spending in connection with very many items. I know and everybody knows that these Committees are not courts of law, nor have their reports the force and standing of legal decisions. These are not, therefore, proven cases. It may be that the instances brought to light may not be deserving of strictures. But nevertheless, there is no denying the fact that such instances have been escaping notice for too long a time. Many objections made have remained for long unanswered or inadequately answered. Suggestions for improvement have been made from time to time. Either they have long been ignored or only insufficiently attended to. This, I submit, is an unsatisfactory state of affairs. We, Members of Parliament, have the right to know

[Dr. Nihar Harijan Ray.]

. from time to time what the Government have to say on specific instances of waste revealed by these reports. We have also the right to know what Government propose to do in respect of such items of criticism, whether they are by way of suggestions for improvement or of lapses or lacunae in administration or for the improvement of the administrative machinery. Public memory is proverbially short and even very vigilant Members of Parliament may forget things that are raised by these reports. Government should not take advantage of public forgetfulness. I am not competent to suggest what should be done, but Government should be able to evolve a machinery which would compel answers from, and reactions of, the Ministries concerned; whether they are right or wrong is another matter altogether. But some machinery must be evolved to find out the answers and reactions of Government to the suggestions made, to the complaints made—not, say, a year or five years later than the occurrence. These answers and reactions must be made known in the context of the occurrence and not in respect of a time so remote as to be meaningless. In this connection, I was going through all the voluminous reports of the Estimates Committee. Again, I make mention of this Committee for I have been very much impressed by the labour and the assiduity of purpose with which they have gone into every single question. These are impressive reports and I have been led to think—I do not know. I am not an economic expert—and I repeat here a suggestion that was made here, last session or the session before, whereby the old practice of having the Standing Finance Committee could be revived, or, if it be not possible, more power could be given to the Consultative Committees to go into these questions. I do not know how the machinery will be evolved, but the main question—and I place it with all the earnestness I can command—is that we must be able to find a machinery by which the executive can be held effectively responsible.

Public money must not be allowed to suffer indiscriminate spending, nothing to speak of waste.

One important question that I want to ask of the Finance Minister is this. Perhaps many of us do remember that in reply to a short notice question a few months ago, I believe the Prime Minister laid on the Table of the House a set of proposals recommending economies in the various Ministries. I would like to know what effect has been given up till now to those proposals and what economies have been effected.

From these general considerations in respect of the use of public money, I would now like to go to another subject which concerns me personally as an educationist and as one interested in culture. It makes me sad to refer to the subject. • You all know that the Ministry of Education has been demoted. You all know, too, that since independence it used to enjoy Cabinet status in our administration. To my mind, it was an index of the priority and importance that we did attach to education and culture. And the Ministry was presided over by the noble and dignified figure of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Grass was not allowed to grow over his grave when the Ministry was demoted, and not only demoted but bifurcated in a manner which defies all reason, all logic of association, to speak nothing of administrative convenience. I will give you only a few instances. The departments of archaeology and museums and the national museum have gone to the Ministry of Culture; whereas the department of National Archives, which is as much archaeology, which is as much past history, has gone to the Ministry of Education. The National Library and the question of the India Office Library have gone to the Ministry of Culture; whereas the Central Secretariat Library over here has gone to the Ministry of Education. I do not know how such a division can be made. Again, all institutes of higher learning have gone to the Ministry of Education, whereas the proposed Institute of Indology has gone to the Ministry of Culture. All

this is baffling in its confusion. But | the confusion is worse confounded in respect of the administration of scholarships. There are hundreds and hundreds of scholarships that are given by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture. There are also foreign scholarships that come from various foreign countries but were administered by the old Ministry of Education.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (Sum RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA) in the Chair]

Now, look at this. All scholarships under heads science, technology, art and culture have gone to the Ministry of Culture, and the list that had been sent to us says that all other scholarships, except science, technology, art and culture, belong to the 3 P.M. Education Ministry. What other scholarships remain? What are the other scholarships that do not go under science, technology, art and culture? I understand that, supposing a foreign government gives five scholarships, of these three scholarships have been reserved for the Ministry of Education and two for the Ministry of Culture. This is how the division has been made. In respect of the Educational Exchange Programme, exchange of scientists, technologists, artists, dancers, musicians, etc. has gone to the Ministry of Culture. It has been said in the list that has been supplied to us that all other exchanges are under the Ministry of Education. What other exchanges remain if it is not exchange of scientists, technologists, dancers, artists, musicians, etc.? Anyway, what has been done has been done. Let us hope that these were done perhaps on considerations other than cultural and educational. This | division, this bifurcation reminds me j of that legend which all of you know, where two supposed mothers were j fighting over the possession of the one and only son. I do not know whether such a division can be made logically or rationally. Let us only hope and J pray, and for me I can only hope **and**

pray, that this confusion will be removed rather sooner than later, and the Ministry of Education and Culture, in whichever way we name it, will come to enjoy the status that it deserves.

I would how like to refer to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. My esteemed friend, Shri Shiva Rao, mentioned certain aspects of the working of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. So far as the question of the liberty of the Press is concerned, I believe% the Minister in charge will intervene in the debate at certain stage or other if he chooses to, but I would like to tell this House that I for one do not find anything wrong in the Publications Division of the Ministry becoming one of the biggest publishers of the land. Regarding the standard of publications of the Publications Division, they have maintained a fairly high level, and so far as I know the publications of this Division sell very well, and at least on that account they are not running at any loss. Most of the books that they have published are by well known authors and they command the respect and admiration of the academic world. About the popular publications I am not saying anything at the moment. My friend also referred to a number of journals published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. He said that the number of journals published would go up to about 100. I am sure that the number does not go that high.

AN HON. MEMBER: 120.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: Including all sorts of journals, I believe. Speaking of periodicals, I know that the Ministry of Information **and** Broadcasting publish about 11 periodicals, and there are other Ministries who together publish about another 6 or 7. I have a complaint to make in this respect. I agree with Mr. Shiva Rao that most of these periodicals are unsaleable. They are unreadable stuff, most of them. I practically read almost all the periodicals, and except three or four you cannot put them

[Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray.] across to a decent reading public— by "decent" I mean knowledgeable reading public. Now, there is one journal called the "Kurukshetra" which is published in Hindi and also in English. It publishes sort of the same stuff that is to be found in, say, "Yojana", for instance. I have the whole list of periodicals with me, and I have no doubt that there are unnecessary duplications, and many of these journals can be eliminated. Going through the list it seems that one Ministry is vying with another in publishing a periodical of its own.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO (Andhra Pradesh): What can they do? They cannot get any fresh material.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: I do not know. I believe, all told, on account of these journals alone, the Ministry suffers a loss of not less than Rs. 60,000 a year. There is not one single periodical, in the list of the 13 periodicals that I have, that can show any profit on its account, and most of these periodicals are largely distributed free. More than half the number is supplied free, and would you believe that the English version of "Kurukshetra" is sent to the village peasants as complimentary copies? So, I believe we should pay some attention to this question. In respect of the book publications I have nothing to say, since I have nothing but praise for them. But in respect of the periodicals the whole policy should be examined, and some one in the Ministry should go into this question of income and expenditure, complimentary copies, and all that.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: What about the misinformation supplied?

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: About the information supplied by the Ministry, I should say that on the whole the information is not incorrect, but I must say that it is inadequate. Last year there was a Conference of Information Ministers in this very city which was graced by the Prime Minister himself. The Prime Minister went

there and said what he thought about the information doled out by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and the State Ministries of Information and Publicity. I would like to know from the Minister in charge of Information and Broadcasting what has happened to the suggestions that were made by the Prime Minister himself. He felt, in fact he mentioned it by way of a complaint that the Information Officers did not keep themselves fully in touch with the public. He advised them to go to the public and try to feel their pulse—I have not the speech with me but I remember a few phrases that he used—he said that most of the Publicity Officers did not know how to feel the pulse of the people, did not know how to watch the reactions of the people to most Government actions or inactions. Now, if you go through a publicity pamphlet issued by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, it will seem to you that everything is well and honey and that we are contented. We are to an extent, but I believe, even if there is disaffection amongst the people, it is a good thing that it is brought before not only the authorities but also before the people. It is good to analyse them and know both sides of a thing.

SHRI MAHESWAR NAIK. May I intervene here, Sir? I do not know if the hon. Member has any knowledge of the information which was broadcast by the A.I.R., on the death of Mr. B. Das. In the English version of the broadcast, it was Mr. B. Das, whereas in the Hindi and other versions, it was said that Mr. Biswa-nath Das was dead while he is still living.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: I have also some items of such information, but the difficulty is there are so many things to speak upon in respect of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry. I cannot touch upon all these things. I am just putting a few points before you for consideration and which should be gone into. There

are so many other things, but I am trying to speak in a constructive manner. It is not good being hypercritical. I am trying to put forward a few suggestions which can be gone into.

I believe that a move should be made to build up—that is done by all countries, all independent and well-organised countries—and develop an Information Service cadre. It is very important to do so. I have met many information officers here within the country and abroad. I have met information officers who have not even a background knowledge of Indian geography or Indian history. I have known of information officers abroad that have had no contact with the homeland for the last ten or twelve years, except through papers; they have not had any direct knowledge—first-hand knowledge—of the conditions in India. So, we should build up an information officers' cadre and have information officers with a good knowledge of Indian history and geography and having good knowledge of the objective conditions in the country.

I met one information officer not very far outside of India. He was one day asked, in front of me, about various political parties of India. He felt embarrassed, because he had no knowledge of how many political parties had been operating on the Indian field.

National information, as you know, is doled out and distributed by two Ministries—one by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and another by the Ministry of External Affairs. I have a feeling—I may be wrong and I speak subject to correction—that there is hardly any coordination between the national information service and the external information service. You know perhaps that formerly we had only one information service and national information was doled out and distributed from one source. But, later on, for some reason or other—the reasons are well-known—it was divid-

ed under two Ministries. I do **not** object to the division, but I believe there should be a machinery by which the personnel of the information services can be interchanged. Otherwise, an information officer, say, in Tokyo or somewhere else, if he is out of touch with objective conditions in the country for four, or five years, cannot serve effectively as an information officer abroad. So, there should be some machinery by which inter-changeability of personnel can be effected.

*(Time bell rings.)*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA) ; You have already taken 28 minutes.

DR. NIHAR RANJAN RAY: I am sorry, Sir. Just a minute.

So, I would suggest that these **two** services should be co-ordinated **ana** we should follow the British example in this respect. As you know, they have also two services under two Ministries. But, then, there is the interchangeability of personnel **ana** the two services are co-ordinated in a better fashion. Some such co-ordination should take place in this country.

Thank you, Sir.

DR. A. N. BOSE (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I shall speak on a subject which has been least *ais-cussed* in this House, and on a problem about which, I am afraid, very little is known outside the borders of West Bengal. I am glad that one of the previous Members had referred to this subject in a very brief statement, but it obviously demands closer attention of the House. I am speaking of the rehabilitation of the displaced persons.

Sir, we have a report circulated by the Ministry of Rehabilitation for the outgoing year. To supplement the information of this report, we have another issue by Government of West Bengal dated December 11, **1957**. Both these reports give only accounts

[Dr. A. N. Bose.] of expenditure, of Houses built and of other channels in which money had been spent. They contain very little reference to positive measures adopted for purposes of rehabilitation. They give very little information about the rehabilitation that had actually been achieved. I think such things could well be prepared by a bill clerk or a building contractor. From these reports we And that more than Rs. 300 crores have been spent up-to-date for the purpose of rehabilitating about 88 lakhs of displaced persons. Besides this money there was the land which was left by evacuees who left India for Pakistan. This land was utilised for rehabilitation. But still, we have not seen through this problem. What is the reason? The reason is that colossal amounts have been mis-spent, have been wasted, in the name of rehabilitation of displaced persons. I shall cite only a few instances from the two reports to show how money has been squandered. On page 7 of the West Bengal Government Report 'we find that out of the 19 lakhs of people who received rehabilitation benefits, 50 per cent, have not been rehabilitated and they require rehabilitation benefits all over again. Sir, it is necessary to probe into this matter to see why this enigma has happened. Money has been given to refugees as loans for the purpose of house-building. House-building loans have been distributed among the displaced persons without providing any means of livelihood for them. And then a^ain, Sir, these loans have been <<dvanced in very small instalments and at long intervals so as to make the loans useless. It has happened in very many cases that the loanees Iftve sold out the building materials and then spent up the entire money. Then loans have been given to displaced persons for setting up small industries without any investigation as to whether the loanees had any technical knowledge or any knowledge to run the trades, without investigating into the possibilities of these industries being set up, without investigating

whether these industries were viable or not. Then, Sir, in 1954, according to the Bayananama Scheme, loans were given to displaced persons for the purchase of land, and after land was purchased, in most of the cases it was found that the land was under false title. The reference goes like this in the West Bengal Government's statement, "In order to stimulate dispersal from camps, the Bayananama Scheme was introduced by which a refugee could select a particular plot of land and give out of Governmem loan the price to the landlord for purchase of land. This scheme did not succeed, and has since been modified " It is not given here why the scheme failed, but it is public knowledge that land was purchased which had false title and the Government refused to recognise these deeds of purchase.

Then, Sir, in the Rehabilitation Ministry's Report there is a reference in page 18 that in 1954 Rs. 2 crores were given to individual industrialists for setting up new industries where skilled and semi-skilled workers might be given employment. There is no reference as to what happened to these schemes. I know of at least one in Suryanagar, in Asansol, which is referred to in this Report. There within a few months the whole scheme had to be wound up because all the refugees who were employed there and were paid a nominal pittance of Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 per month had to leave the industry, so that the whole scheme fell through. Sir, year after year, these refugees have been kept on doles and the result is clearly stated in the West Bengal Government's statement that "about three lakhs of people now in camps, in some cases for more than five years, have made themselves completely dependent on the Government and they are more or less apathetic to their future." That is the worst part of the episode. Able-bodied people have been kept In camps and treated with doles for year after year so as to sap all their vitality and all their capacity for initiative and enterprise. Sir, a perusal of these two reports shows that the West

Bengal Government and the Union Rehabilitation Ministry have worked with a vacant mind. They have been skipping from one scheme to another and all their steps have been halting and undecided. I shall read out another few lines. It has been stated that "Emphasis was shifted to the promotion of small-scale and medium-scale industries and sufficient time and attention were not given to the planning and execution of these small-scale industry schemes. The refugees did not have the knowledge of the craft for which they obtained the loan and training had to be imparted." Sir, this is how lakhs and lakhs of rupees were spent on unproductive loans. The displaced persons remain where they were. All their steps have been halting and undecided. The Centre has allotted money and the West Bengal Government has squandered it in the way it has liked. They have only offered us schemes without any plan. And the last in the series is the Master Scheme, the scheme of Dandakaranya. We have been provided with a note on the Dandakaranya scheme. Sir, it does not give us any material whatsoever. There are two maps which can be deciphered only with the help of a microscope. There are some useless data pertaining to temperature, humidity and rainfall etc. I think, Sir, all these are irrelevant when we think of the fate of 2½ lakh refugees who have been languishing in dispersal camps for over five years. Sir, these 2½ lakhs of camp refugees, *i.e.* 50,000 families, who have been declared by the West Bengal Government as surplus of the resources of the State are here assured to be settled in 30,000 square miles of land in a contiguous patch taken from the three States of Andhra, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. It is held out that after all, the promised land has been discovered for the wandering Jews of the twentieth century. The picture of a new Bengal is dangled before the displaced persons and also before the people of Bengal. I submit, Sir, that it is a myth, and a sinister myth at that. It is sinister because it

j appeals to the provincial sentiments of the Bengalis, and if some day this idea of a new Bengal does materialise, it is bound to provoke the worst jealousies between the Bengalis and the people of these three States. But fortunately, Sir, the myth is false, and I am glad that this is a false myth. The very report says that within the next three years the number of families to be rehabilitated are only 18,000, and that also not in the 30,000 square miles of Dandakaranya, but only in 220 square miles of the area, and even then they will be spread in three distant corners of the districts of Bastar, Koraput and Kalahandi, separated by impenetrable forests, without any means of communication whatsoever. On a very optimistic estimate of the department itself these 2½ lakh refugees may possibly be rehabilitated in the course of ten years. The target for the next year is 2,760 families. So far as we know, no work has yet been started. Administrative offices have not been set up and till the end of March, even the Minister of Rehabilitation in West Bengal did not pay a visit to the place. But meanwhile, a move is afoot to obtain the consent of the displaced persons to pack them off to the area and doles were stopped to those who indicated their unwillingness. It is given in the report that in the next three years Rs. 10 crores will be spent. Rs. 10 crores will be spent for the rehabilitation of 18,000 families. This works out at Rs. 5,500 per family but till now according to their accounts, the expenditure per family has been Rs. 1,000 in West Bengal and Rs. 3,000 in East Punjab. I wonder why this unwanted kindness, why this sudden dawn of magnanimity towards the displaced persons who have been left in the lurch . . .

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR (Uttar Pradesh): You regret it?

DR. A. N. BOSE: You will find the answer, don't be impatient. The answer is very simple. The whole suggestion came from the three States of Andhra, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: It is not part of Andhra. It is only Madhya Pradesh and Orissa that are involved. No part of Andhra is included.

DR. A. N. BOSE: But Andhra is mentioned in the report along with Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: Let not the hon. Member try to remove the confusion of the hon. Member who is speaking.

DR. A. N. BOSE: I am not blaming any of the States. It is very reasonable and very wise on their part to get the lands rehabilitated, to get their undeveloped lands developed at the cost of the Centre. Any wise Government would have done that. So I am not blaming them for that.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): It is more out of sympathy.

DR. A. N. BOSE: There is the Government of West Bengal. They want to get rid of the refugees, they want to send them outside the State. They know that they are a disaffected element in the State and the sooner they get rid of them the better. Then comes the Ministry of Rehabilitation which is apparently tired of its job and wants to wash its hands clean and to close up its business. That is clearly stated in the report. The hon. Minister had said in the Conference of Rehabilitation Ministers at Darjeeling held in October last, 'We should set a term to the life of this Ministry'. So he wants to close down. After the Rehabilitation Ministry winds up, obviously the full control of Dandakaranya will remain with the respective State Governments while most of the displaced persons will be still rotting in the transit camps and dispersal camps, waiting for settlement till an indefinite future and then possibly there will be a repetition of the old story of mass desertions and trek to West Bengal.

Sir, it is not a new thing. It is not the first time that the displaced persons have been packed off outside their

homeland without any prior arrangements for their rehabilitation. It is this sad experience which exasperated them, which drove them to resist the scheme, which drove them to the jails in thousands.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

The allegation has been made that the refugees are being exploited by the opposition parties, that the refugees have been unwilling to go outside West Bengal under the incitement of the Leftist Parties. This reminds me of the charge made by Pakistan some time ago that the mass exodus of Hindus from Pakistan was due to the incitement of Indians and to the bright hopes held out by Indians of rehabilitation. Both charges are of the same order. I think if any Leftist Party had sufficient strength to send 30,000 people to jail in the course of seven days without any rhyme or reason, without any cause for serious discontent, that Party might have captured Delhi by this time through the ballot. It is not for fun that people go to die like flies in the Railway stations of Sealdah and Howrah or wander about from street to street. I am not fundamentally opposed to Bengalis being sent outside Bengal. If there is no scope for settling them in the soil of Bengal and if there are other States which are prepared to receive them as their brethren, let them be sent by all means. But firstly, there must be adequate preparation. Preparations must be made for their settlement and rehabilitation, not the kind of preparation of which we are told in this note. Then these arrangements must be made known to the persons concerned. The persons who are to be removed and settled in distant lands are first of all to be made aware of the facilities and prospects of rehabilitation in those unknown places. Thirdly, they must be settled in a compact area. They must not be scattered in widely distant areas. Fourthly, it is the pace, the speed, which is the all-important factor. *U* these people who have already spent more than five years in camps and have lived on doles have to spend



another 10 years in distant unknown places, nothing will be left of then-morale. They will be no longer human beings capable of rehabilitation. But my point is that the refugees can be settled in West Bengal. It is possible ' to settle them in the soil of West Bengal, with the funds which are going to be spent over this scheme of Dandakaranya. Of the 50,000 families for whom the Dandakaranya scheme is going to be started, about 40,000 families lived on agriculture. At the rate of 3 acres per family, only about 120,000 acres will be necessary for their rehabilitation. There are plenty of fallow lands in the districts of Bankura, Birbhum, Tripura and Purulia. The West Bengal Government laid claim to parts of Bihar in the Manbhum district not on linguistic grounds but on the ground of settling the displaced persons. That was the main reason on which they based their claim to Purulia and parts of Manbhum. Now Purulia has come to West Bengal but have any considerable number of refugees been settled there? We are told now that the cost of reclamation will be uneconomical. It passes our comprehension that while the Dandakaranya scheme is economical, the rehabilitation of Purulia or Bankura or Birbhum or Tripura is uneconomical. There are a number of development schemes which are waiting for funds—the Ganga Barrage Scheme at Farrakka, the reclamation of the salt water lands of Sunderbans. There are numerous other such plans which may well be executed. At least a start can be made with the money which is being earmarked for Dandakaranya and it is not at all difficult to find 120,000 acres of land for the resettlement of the refugee families who have been declared surplus of the resources of the State. But, Sir, I don't think it is any use bringing these points before the Minister for the simple reason that the West Bengal Government does not want to do its job and the Rehabilitation Ministry at the Centre wants to close down, and in pursuance of this decision already

j certain steps have been taken. We are told that the present size of the problem should not be allowed to grow indefinitely and that a deadline<sup>1</sup> should be fixed after which fresh migrants should not be entitled to receive relief or rehabilitation assistance. Steps have already been taken in that direction. Strictures have been made against migrations from East Pakistan to West Bengal. The border is going to be sealed. Old assurances have been forgotten and old promises that the minorities of East Pakistan are our brethren, that they are the sons of the soil, are being swallowed.

Sir, has any survey been made whether there are lands suitable for reclamation and settlement by the refugees? Again and again, we of the Opposition, have pointed out to the State Government that there are lands suitable for reclamation and rehabilitation. We demand that a survey should be made within the State of West Bengal to find out how much land is there suitable for reclamation and settlement.

Sir, who are these displaced persons? It is not they who are responsible for their lot. They were not the makers of their lot. They were the victims of the partition of the country. They were the victims of fanaticism on the one side and of cowardice on the other. The plea is put forth that the incessant flow of refugees from East Pakistan to West Bengal makes the problem so enormous that no government can tackle it. Sir, what has West Germany done? What is Israel doing? The tiny State of Israel is receiving a lakh of migrants every year and 95 per cent of them are coming without a penny. What is possible for Israel, it seems, is not possible for India. Sir, if it is so very difficult as they say, why is not the issue raised before the United Nations? Why not bring international pressure to bear upon Pakistan so that she is compelled to mete out proper treatment to her minorities?

[Dr. A. N. Bose.]

Sir, in the end, I submit that those who are the makers of this partition, those who are the authors of the division of the country, must take full responsibility for the consequences of the partition. It is not the displaced persons who are responsible for this partition of the country. It is the party which is in power today that is responsible for the partition. And so, they must provide homes and jobs to the migrants from East Pakistan. No dead line should be fixed to this and I think, Sir, this is very much possible if only there is the heart to do it and with the heart to do it if a plan is evolved for that purpose^

SHRI N. M. LINGAM (Madras): Mr. Deputy Chairman, within the short time at my disposal I wish to comment on three Ministries when speaking on the Appropriation Bill. To begin with I shall take up Education. Two hon. Members have spoken on the appropriations for this Ministry, one a senior Member, Dr. Kunzru, and another an educationist. Even so I feel that certain aspects of it have not been covered. Sir, the immediate provocation for taking up the subject of Education was the remarks made by Dr. Kunzru about the place of public schools in our scheme of education. He was of the view that public schools are necessary and that the Government should continue to sanction grants to them. He was also of the view that more scholarships should be given to boys so that students who cannot afford to meet the full cost of the education of this variety may be enabled to avail of the training in these institutions. Sir, as the House knows, the Secondary Education Commission went into the question of public schools also and they were of the view that Government should not show a favoured treatment to these schools and that the grants sanctioned should be stopped within a period of five years of the submission of that report. But we still find that grants of some kind or the other are being paid to these schools, although the Minister of Education has

categorically said that these schools will not receive any grants in future. Sir, the Annual Report of this Ministry shows that the public school at Love-dale, for instance, was given Rs. 1,13,775 during last year and for the public school at Sanawar a provision of Rs. 2,40,000 has been made out of which a sum of Rs. 1,70,000 has been paid. I want to know from the Education Minister—unfortunately he is not here—whether the Government is under any statutory obligation to pay these schools these grants. It has been stated in the same Report that Government have discontinued direct grants to these schools. The House knows that education is very costly in these schools. If some parents want to have the luxury of these schools, it is their affair. But when we are straining every nerve to finance the Plan and when we are proclaiming from house-tops that we are moving towards a socialist pattern of society, it is immoral to sanction grants to these schools which are for the benefit of a select few. Nor does this scheme of giving scholarships to Harijans or other deserving students help to democratise or socialise the set up in these institutions. On the other hand, I feel that it does positive harm to the students who enjoy these scholarships and who undergo training in these schools, because the set-up there is entirely different.

The poor boy comes from a humble cottage. He is used only to the ordinary ways of living but when he comes he is immediately initiated into the mysteries of the spoon and fork, wash basin and things of that kind. He becomes a misfit and, after this training, he develops all manner of complexes. So, Sir, it is wrong to think that by the institution of these scholarships we may be able to broaden these institutions and make them fit into the general scheme of education in the country.

Sir, having said that about the public schools, I would like to make a few remarks on the general scheme of

education. One Member has already said that the Education Ministry has been demoted, downgraded. Sir, that is a matter of concern not only to the House but to the country at large because education is the most vital thing in the nation's life. We do not grow by our dams, by our Five Year Plans nor even by our defence forces. It is only by education, by our character that we withstand shocks. Sir, there cannot be any permanent improvement however much we may increase our national product unless there is culture given to them and that is possible only by universal education. So, Sir, I feel that education should be headed by the tallest of us in this country. I would even suggest that the Prime Minister must shoulder the responsibility for the Education Ministry. If he is unable to do that, it is better to have a National Brains Trust of the best men in the country because ultimately not only our Five Year Plans, not only our security but the very survival of the nation depends on the type of education that we give to the millions of people in this country.

SHRI J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh): Is it not a State subject?

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: Then why this huge report and crores of rupees asked of us?

SHRI J. S. BISHT: For the Centrally administered areas and a little for co-ordination.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: It is not at all so. I shall come to that. That is an anomaly. Whenever the Centre finds it inconvenient to handle a subject, especially in regard to education, it says that it is a State subject and, therefore, it is helpless. Sir, this state of affairs should be ended. Only the other day, we had the Report of the University Grants Commission. The House had the opportunity of discussing the University Grants Commission's Report. Vast sums of money, Rs. 27 crores, have been earmarked for the duration of the Second Five Year

Plan for toning up University education. Sir, I do not grudge the allocation of this huge amount for education but then University education is not an entity by itself. It does not function in isolation. It is based upon primary, secondary and other types of education below and so, unless we strengthen the base at the primary and the secondary level, University education, however much the money that we spend, is bound to be of poor calibre. We have personal knowledge of the conditions of the primary stage and secondary stage. The teachers are ill-paid, there is no proper equipment and the general level of education is very poor. So, unless we remedy this state of affairs, how can we hope to rectify education at the University level merely by appropriating crores of rupees for buildings and hostels and like matters? Student indiscipline that is widespread and that recurs now and again throughout the country is attributed to lack of personal attention, lack of hostel facilities, lack of recreation and factors like this but I for one would beg to differ from this diagnosis because the real cause for the unrest, for a situation where our boys and the youth have lost their moorings is to be found not in the lack of amenities but in the type of education that is given to the youth. We have not given them education which will give them faith in themselves, which will give strength to these youth, which will make them face the future with independence, which will imbue them with a spirit of sacrifice, with a spirit of adventure, with patriotism and with heroism. Sir, there is something sadly lacking in education. We do not have national character in the boys that come out of the portals of Universities. So, unless this reorientation takes place, education is bound to be defective and lest things should be lopsided, lest the University stage alone should enjoy the largest slice of the revenues of the State, there should be an integrated programme from the primary stage to the University stage so that it may be a balanced scheme' and so that the largest number may

[Shri N. M. Lingam.]

benefit from our educational programme. Sir, we have thousands of schemes, as this Report shows. We have the Sangeet Natak Akadami, all kinds of Akadamis, all kinds of fellowships, yogic centres, physical education centres where, in other words, we want people to appreciate the glory of the sun-set but we do not give the three Rs. to the common man. There is something radically wrong and so, Sir, I strongly feel that education should receive the highest priority not only from the point of view of planning but from the point of view of our attention. Unless this is done, our base will be defective and our plans would go aw/ty.

Sir, I would like to say a few words on the policy of the Transport Ministry with regard to highways. Here again, there is no coordination in spite of the fact that we hear it often said that our Plan is being pruned in nonessentials so that we may carry through the core of the Plan. Sir, national highways are necessary for a country and ours is a sprawling country and the programme is an ambitious one but the serious difficulty in this Plan as I see it is the absence of a traffic survey before these national highways are undertaken. Take for instance the proposed road between Bombay and Cape Comorin or between Calcutta and Bombay or between any two cities which are separated by thousands of miles. There has\* not been undertaken any traffic survey before the estimates for these schemes costing crores of rupees were sanctioned with the result that not only are there a number of missing links in the network of highways and absence of bridges but there is also not enough traffic to use these highways after they have been constructed. Sir, unless the traffic warrants the construction of a highway, there is no use spending crores of rupees just because it looks grandiose in a plan, in a highway plan. What I want to say is that this scheme should be so planned that it serves not only the industry of

the country but also the traffic needs of the area. Take this one instance, Bombay to Cape Comorin, a highway costing about ten crores of rupees. Is it so urgent, does it need such high priority that we should undertake this work, is it so important for the development of this area or the development of transport, that this expenditure has to be incurred in a period when we are supposed to have austerity measures? So, sir, the entire policy with regard to highways needs review. Take, Sir, another example. Several crores of rupees are being spent especially in the tribal areas of Assam and that is an area subject to heavy rainfall and unless the roads are made all weather roads, the cost of maintenance will far exceed the cost of construction and after every monsoon it will be difficult to make these roads usable. So, Sir, not only is it necessary to watch the expenditure that is being incurred on these roads but it is also necessary to see that they are foolproof, that they are useful not only for ordinary communication but also for defence purposes. In an area where contractors are scarce, where material is not available, it is particularly necessary to see that the greatest care is taken in seeing not only to the execution of roads but also to see that the execution is according to approved standards and having regard to the peculiar climatic conditions of the area. 4 P.M \ Even our better developed [^ national highways do not have the surface or the landscaping or the width generally associated with a national highway. Any one who has travelled through the country will know that some of our national highways are worse than even, what are called, second class roads. Their sides are eroded; their width is narrow; and they are unsuitable for modern heavy traffic. The present-day vehicles are such and the intensity of traffic so great that these roads simply cannot cope with the traffic and it is a misnomer to call these things national highways. They have to be upgraded;- they have to be landscaped properly; their width has to be

increased and the surface has to be improved. Unless this is done throughout the country, there is no use saying that we have a system of national highways. Therefore, our entire policy with regard to the planning and execution of national highways needs re-thinking. (*Time bell rings.*)

How much time do I have, Sir?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have exceeded 15 minutes.

SHRI N. M. LINGAM: Just five minutes, Sir, and I propose to utilise these five minutes for the much discussed question of community development programmes. Sir, these programmes have enthused the people so much, have attracted so much of attention not only in India but abroad also that it is but fair that this House should also bestow some attention on it. It is five years since these schemes were initiated and the programmes under these schemes have also been evaluated but still I feel that it is necessary that there is some debunking of the concept of and impressions about these community development programmes. For one thing, it is our experience, associated as we are with the Block Advisory Councils, that these are costly programmes. They could be integrated very well with the existing Departments of the Government and executed successfully. The Balwantrai Mehta Committee has talked of decentralisation after five long years and it is a good augury for the future of the programme that most of the States have accepted in principle the recommendation of the Balwantrai Mehta Committee, but unless there is a reorientation in the outlook of the entire administration, from the people at Delhi down to the Revenue Inspector or the Village Karnam, the community development cannot simply fit into the structure of the country. We have had several changes; after independence we have made revolutionary changes almost in every aspect of national life but the administration remains the same. In other words as

Gandhiji put it, only the colour of the bureaucracy has changed; instead of the white bureaucracy there remains the brown bureaucracy and unless that is also changed there is no use making superficial changes in the programme of community development alone. The entire administrative structure should be changed so that the people may feel that they are partners in this huge business not only of administration but of building the country. Sir, I think this also needs the highest priority of attention at the hands of the Government. Thank you.

**श्री त्रिविक्र दामोदर पुस्तके (मध्य प्रदेश):**

उपसभापति महोदय, मैं १०, ५ मिनट में कुछ सूचनायें गवर्नमेंट के सामने इस अपने छोटे से भाषण के द्वारा रखना चाहता हूँ। पहली सूचना मेरे को सूचना विभाग के बारे में, इंफार्मेशन एंड ब्राडकास्टिंग डिपार्टमेंट के बारे में, आपके सामने रखनी है। मैंने इसकी रिपोर्ट में यह देखा है कि सन् १९५७ में अंग्रेजी अखबारों को एडवर्टिजमेंट देने में १८ लाख ६८ हजार रुपये खर्च हुये हैं और देशी भाषाओं के अखबारों के लिये सिर्फ १० लाख ५२ हजार रुपये खर्च हुये हैं। हम १४ भाषाओं को अपनी राष्ट्रीय भाषायें मानते हैं और हम यह भी मानते हैं कि अंग्रेजी हमारी राष्ट्रीय भाषा नहीं है। हम यह भी जानते हैं कि मुश्किल से २ परसेंट लोग अंग्रेजी जानते हैं और ६८ परसेंट लोग देशी भाषाओं में अपना काम काज करते हैं। हम यह भी चाहते हैं कि हमारे प्रान्तों में देशी भाषाओं में काम हो। मगर जो एडवर्टिजमेंट्स, जो इस्तिहार, इंफार्मेशन एंड ब्राडकास्टिंग डिपार्टमेंट से दिये जाते हैं उनमें दो तिहाई खर्चा सिर्फ अंग्रेजी इस्तिहारों के लिये किया जा रहा है और उसका फायदा कितने लोगों को मिल रहा है? २ परसेंट लोगों को। और बाकी एक तिहाई खर्च का फायदा कितने लोगों का मिल रहा है? ६८ परसेंट लोगों को। तो ऐसी हालत में हम देशी भाषाओं की उन्नति किस तरह से

[श्री त्रि० दा० पुस्तके]

कर सकेंगे ? यह एक सवाल है । दूसरा सवाल यह भी है कि हम जो कुछ काम कर रहे हैं उसकी जानकारी अंग्रेजी भाषा के द्वारा देहातों तक हम कैसे पहुंचा सकेंगे ? मैं इसके लिये एक छोटा सा सुझाव भी पेश करना चाहता हूं, वह यह है कि अन्वय तो हम देशी भाषाओं के द्वारा ही ज्यादातर इतिहासों की व्यवस्था करें और दूसरे यह कि इंफार्मेशन एंड ब्राडकास्टिंग विभाग से हर भाषा में हफ्तवार बुलेटिंस निकाली जायें और उनकी कीमत एक पाव आना या आध आना रख दी जाये तो वह काफी बिकेंगी, लोगों तक पहुंचेंगी और जो लोग उसका इस्तेमाल करना चाहते हैं, उससे फायदा उठाना चाहते हैं, वह उससे जरूर फायदा उठावेंगे । इसी तरह से इस विभाग की तरफ से जो मासिक या साप्ताहिक निकलते हैं उनमें भी ये इतिहास दे दिये जायें । मासिक या साप्ताहिक हिन्दी में निकल रहे हैं, मैं नहीं जानता कि और देशी भाषाओं में निकल रहे हैं या नहीं ?

**श्री बी० गोपाला रेड्डी :** निकल रहे हैं ।

**श्री त्रिबक दामोदर पुस्तके :** देशी भाषाओं में भी निकल रहे हैं तो उनमें भी वे इतिहास दे दिये जाने चाहियें जिससे कि सहज ही में हमारे काम की महत्ता लोगों तक पहुंच जाये । इस बारे में मेरे को एक बात और भी कहनी है, वह यह कि इस बार में जो हमारा खर्चा है, उसका कुछ भाषावार जैसा विभाजन भी कर दें, क्योंकि जैसा कि हम आज अंग्रेजी के लिये कह रहे हैं, उसी तरह से हो सकता है कि कल दूसरी भाषाओं के लिये ऐसा कह दिया जाये कि फलानी भाषा को ज्यादा पैसा दिया जा रहा है । तो यह भी हम को देखना है और इसलिये हर भाषा में इतिहास के लिये इतना इतना पैसा रखा जायेगा, ऐसा भी कुछ इसका विभाजन कर देना चाहिये ।

मुझे दूसरा सुझाव शारीरिक शिक्षण के बारे में देना है । एजुकेशन डिपार्टमेंट के बारे में मैं यह देख रहा हूं कि उसकी रिपोर्टों में फिजिकल एजुकेशन के लिये कुछ ज़रूर किया जाता है लेकिन कोई ऐसी योजना हमारे सामने नहीं है कि हम फिजिकल एजुकेशन के लिये इस प्रकार से खर्चा करेंगे या इस तरह से उसकी उन्नति करेंगे । मेरे देखने में "दस साल का एजुकेशन का व्यौरा" एक छोटी सी किताब आई है और उसमें ५० लाख रुपये केन्द्रीय सरकार के बजट में शारीरिक शिक्षण के लिये रखा गया है, उसमें से कुछ रुपये, २ लाख या इसी तरह का कुछ रुपये, व्यायाम-शालाओं की मदद के लिये रखा गया है लेकिन उसमें से एक पैसा भी खर्च नहीं हो रहा है । अभी एक साल या डेढ़ साल हुआ, मैंने एक चिट्ठी शिक्षा विभाग को लिखी थी कि आपके यहां इस तरह की मदद देने के लिये कोई नियम बनाये गये हैं या नहीं । मुझे अभी दो-चार महीने हुए, एक साल के बाद उसका जवाब मिला है कि अभी तक ऐसे नियम नहीं बनाये गये हैं । बजट में रकम रखी गई है और जो दस साला व्यौरा छापा जाता है उसमें वह रकम बताई जाती है । लेकिन नियम उसके लिए कुछ नहीं है । अगर कोई शारीरिक शिक्षण की संस्था उसके लिये पैसा मांगने जाये तो यह कह दिया जाता है कि अभी इस सम्बन्ध में नियम ही नहीं बने । इसी प्रसंग में एक और बात है कि जो मैंने यह चिट्ठी भेजी तो जवाब में मुझ से यह भी कहा गया है कि आप अपने प्रान्त की एजुकेशन डिपार्टमेंट के माफ़त एक योजना बना कर भेजें और उस योजना में आप यह बतायें कि आपकी संस्था की क्या आवश्यकता है, तब हम विचार करेंगे । मैं ऐसी एक नहीं, हिन्दुस्तान में दस पांच रजिस्टर्ड अच्छी संस्थाएं बता सकता हूं जो चालीस-चालीस, पचास-पचास वर्षों से शारीरिक शिक्षण का काम कर रही हैं । अब सारे प्रान्त के लिये वह योजना बनाई जाये तब जाकर एक संस्था के लिये मदद मिल सकती है, इस प्रकार सारे प्रान्त के

लिये योजना बनाने का काम भी इस संस्था के ऊपर रखा गया है। इस तरह से यह शारीरिक शिक्षण का काम एक प्रकार से लावारिस काम जैसा माना गया है।

अभी हमारे मित्रों ने इंडीपेंडेंट सिस्टम आफ एजुकेशन के बारे में कहा। बहुत ठीक कहा। एजुकेशन से मतलब सिर्फ पढ़ाई ही नहीं है, तालीम सब तरह की होनी चाहिये—सांस्कृतिक होनी चाहिये, नैतिक होनी चाहिये, शारीरिक होनी चाहिये। मैं एक व्यायाम शाला में एक चीफ मिनिस्टर साहब के साथ गया। उन्होंने मुझ से पूछा “इस व्यायामशाला में इतने लड़के कैसे आ जाते हैं?” मैंने उनसे कहा आपके मदरसों में, एक आध कालिज या हाई स्कूल को छोड़ कर, किसी में प्लेग्राउंड नहीं है। यदि लड़के शाम को कहीं खेलने जायें तो सिवाय मदरसे में खेलने के और कहां खेलने जायेंगे। क्या सड़क पर खेलेंगे? ऐसी सड़क जहां दिन भर ट्रैफिक चालू रहता है, वहाँ कैसे घूम में खेलेंगे? उनके लिये खेलने को कोई जगह ही नहीं। तो हमारे मदरसों के लिये शारीरिक शिक्षण की व्यवस्था आप मदरसों में ही करें। लेकिन शारीरिक शिक्षण केवल मदरसों तक ही सीमित न हो, गैर-सरकारी संस्थाएं जो मदरसों के लड़कों के अलावा नवान नागरिकों के लिये ऐसी व्यवस्था करना चाहें उनको मदद देने के लिये भी नियम बनने चाहियें।

तीसरी बात जो मुझे कहनी है वह मेरे अपने प्रान्त के बारे में है। हमने अभी यहां रिफ्यूजीज के बारे में कुछ किस्से सुने। मेरे अपने प्रान्त में बंटवारा नहीं हुआ है लेकिन रिआर्गनाइजेशन हुआ है। लेकिन अभी मेरे मित्र ने बंगाल के बारे में जो कुछ कहा, उससे कुछ भी कम तकलीफ मेरे प्रान्त में कहीं नहीं है बल्कि वह थोड़ी ज्यादा ही होगी। पार्टिशन की वजह से कुछ लोग जो हमारे यहां पाकिस्तान से आये हैं उनकी तकलीफें तो बहुत ज्यादा हैं वह मैं मानता हूं। लेकिन जिन लोगों के घर बार हमारे हिन्दुस्तान में, भारत में, हैं

लेकिन प्रान्त के रिआर्गनाइजेशन की वजह से उनको एक जगह से दूसरी जगह जाना पड़ा है और उनके मकान की कोई व्यवस्था नहीं है। भोपाल हमारे प्रान्त की राजधानी बनी है, वहां से तीन मील दूर भैरोंगढ़ नाम का एक मक़ाम है। लड़ाई के ज़माने में कैदियों के रहने के लिये वहां झोंपड़ियां बनाई गई थीं, दस बारह साल लड़ाई को ख़त्म हुए हो गये, और उनको बने बीस बीस वर्ष हो गये हैं और निरी झोंपड़ियां हैं। तो इन झोंपड़ियों में सैकड़ों की तादाद में हमारे अहलकार बवालियर से, जबलपुर से, इंदौर से भेजे गये हैं जहां वे अपने बालबच्चों को लेकर रहते हैं। तो इस तरह से रिआर्गनाइजेशन के कारण वहां हमारे लोगों को तकलीफ हो गई है और उनको दूर करने के लिये जब फंड्स मांगे जा रहे हैं तो केन्द्र से फंड्स नहीं मिल रहे हैं। मैं अदब के साथ केन्द्रीय सरकार से यह अर्ज करूंगा कि इस काम के लिये जल्दी से जल्दी जितनी भी ज्यादा रकम वहां कैपीटल को बनाने के लिये और वहां रहने की व्यवस्था करने के लिये चाहिए वह रकम दी जाय। वह दी जानी चाहिये और जल्दी दी जानी चाहिये।

मुझे ये दो शब्द कहने के लिये आपने जो इजाजत दी, इसके लिये मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूं।

SHRI S. PANIGRAHI (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I congratulate the Finance Minister on the Bill he has presented before the House, the Appropriation (No. 2) Bill. I will discuss a few points connected with the Bill. You might have been aware by now that there is no political stability in the State of Orissa and the Government there is gradually losing the confidence of the people. We shall have to analyse . . .

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: It never had their confidence.

SHRI S. PANIGRAHI: You are imagining something wrong. We shall have to analyse the reasons. Very often we, the Members of the Orissa State,

[Shri S. Panigrahi.] have raised so many points in this House and tried to draw the attention of the Central Government and requested that special attention should be paid to that neglected and ignored State of Orissa. The State of Orissa, which was previously merged in the State of Bengal and then subsequently it was part of the Bihar State, was formed as a separate State in the year 1936. After the formation of the separate State, although it had a separate entity, there were no resources, no independent resources, either to propagate education or to raise the standard of the people economically, culturally and socially. Therefore, although it has been a separate State after 1936, it is dependent in many ways and it has not attained the status which a State of India should attain. The other reason for the backwardness of the State of Orissa is that there were 26 princely States; and out of those 26 princely States, 24 princely States have been merged in the State of Orissa; and you know the reason very well, what type of care these ex-princes were taking for the improvement, for the development of the people of the ex-State areas. There is backwardness in other States also, but there is more backwardness in the State of Orissa because half the area belonged to the ex-State rulers who were terrorising the people, who were paying little attention to the improvement of the conditions of the citizens of those areas . . .

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: Congress also has clear interest there . . .

SHRI S. PANIGRAHI: And it is unfortunate you are part and parcel of those who are encouraging those people. In the name of progress, you are helping the anti-social elements in the country.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: But for our support you would not be there for a single **minute**.

SHRI S. PANIGRAHI: So, Sir, it is not possible that the progress of the State of Orissa can be achieved by the Congress Government within so short a period, within a period of 7 or 8 or 10 years. Therefore, every time we raise our voice in the House, we demand special care and special attention from the Central Government. But what have we seen? No special attention has been paid to that State. On the other hand, if a port is going to be organised or if any railway line is to be opened somewhere, some other areas are considered more suitable for improvement. There is lack of communication in the State of Orissa, there is no road from one district to the other and neither the State Government nor the Central Government is paying attention to it. Naturally the trade and commerce of the people are being hampered, and the economic advancement of the people of that area is not in a proper condition, I therefore again raise my voice and request the Central Government that they should not neglect the State of Orissa any longer. If it is neglected any longer, then the future condition will not be good for us, I mean for the whole country, for the whole of India, because we see the germs of anti-social elements in the State of Orissa. Such anti-social elements are never seen in any part of India, and those anti-social elements, those people who were obstructing the freedom struggle in the country before 1947, those people are being acclaimed as heroes day by day by the people of Orissa.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: The soil seems to be very congenial for them.

SHRI S. PANIGRAHI: That soil had been fertilised ...

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: ... by the misrule of the Congress . . .

SHRI S. PANIGRAHI: ... by the misrule of the rulers who were there before 1947 and by those who are now the friends of them.



SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: Pray, how many Congress M. L. As. are there as zamindars.

SHRI S. PANIGRAHI: Sir, so far as the State Orissa is concerned, special attention should be paid by the Central Government . . .

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: ... by sending the Military Police.

SHRI S. PANIGRAHI: If you cannot maintain peace there, if you try to terrorise the people, then certainly what will be the effect? Everybody is aware of it. I am again drawing the attention of the Central Government to pay special consideration to the State of Orissa. I make this request not because it is only the State of Orissa which is backward. There are other backward areas as, for example, Assam, the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh and some parts of Andhra Pradesh to which my friend belongs.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: Thank you.

SHRI S. PANIGRAHI: All these areas are backward. Whenever any new scheme is proposed and executed, this point is not considered by the Central Government or by the authorities who are planning and executing the programme. The backward areas should be given special consideration always.

SHRI B. GOPALA REDDI: What about Hirakud?

SHRI S. PANIGRAHI: It is the beginning of the end. There are two more stages which have not yet been taken up up till now. Sir, when we speak of the backward areas, the present system now is the system of matching grant. Whenever a State is awarded some help or some contribution by the Central Government, the State concerned is required to raise funds for the execution of any plan or programme, and naturally the more a State is capable economically to raise the fund for the execution of the programme, the more the amount that is

being granted by the Central (Sov-ernment to that particular area. The States which are backward cannot raise funds because the economic condition of the people is already worse. They have less paying capacity and if they do not raise any funds, naturally the Central help in the form of contribution is so inadequate that **the** programme cannot be executed. In this process it leads to such a situation that the ultimate result of it is worse. This system encourages the capable States, the economically better States, to become more capable, and the States which are not capable of raising funds, the States which are poor to become poorer. So, I do not like that the theory of matching grant should be applied in the execution of programmes and schemes. Some other formula should be considered by which the backward areas could be developed in conformity with the other developed areas of India. There are some burning local problems of the State of Orissa, and at present I do not like to go into the details of them, but I request the hon. the Finance Minister and the Central Government through you, Sir, that always the backward areas, specially the State of Orissa, should be given special treatment in executing programmes for the Second Five-Year Plan. In this connection I can cite one example. For allotment for the Second Five-Year Plan each State had submitted its demand. If we analyse that list, the percentage of reduction has been the maximum in the case of Orissa. Only Mysore is an exception. The greatest percentage of reduction out of the demands made by the States is that of Orissa. This is an instance regarding the Second Five-Year Plan for the current year. Whatever amount of money was demanded by the State of Orissa, we have reduced the money and we did not make the grant to make the amount substantial for the proper execution of the schemes during the Second Five-Year Plan. Anyway, I need not go into the details of all these things, but I request the Central Government, through you, Sir, that

[Shri S. Panigrahi.]

always special consideration should be given for the economic advancement, for the proper communications, for the expansion of railways, and for the establishment of a port in the State of Orissa.

SHRI MAHESWAR NAIK (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, public finance, being a comprehensive subject, I do not like to tread on it. The only thing is that I want to make some observations on the appropriations, on items which I feel are important in certain respects, particularly when they concern the common man.

While going through the appropriations of the various Ministries, the immediate thing which I am reminded of is the Audit Report recently published, for the year 1955-56. It says, "Large savings in the budgeted grants voted by Parliament for the year 1955-56—the last year of the First Five Year Plan—reveal that the accepted plans and programmes have remained largely unfulfilled." It further goes on to say that "Despite repeated exhortations by the Public Accounts Committee and the assurances given by the Government, the position regarding large savings which accrued in the appropriations made had shown hardly any improvement during the year 1955-56." I do not know how the position stands in respect of the subsequent years. Then, it goes on to say that there has been some lapse, some lacuna somewhere, and the lapses are more fundamental than are apparent at the moment.

Sir, we have embarked upon development programmes which are very vital for the promotion of our social and economic well-being and if these commitments remain unimplemented, certainly our Second Five Year Plan targets are going to be retarded to that extent. I do not, for a moment, suggest that reckless expenditure should be resorted to merely because the appropriations are there. What I mean to say is that

large savings reflect a lapse which is more vital than apparent.

Sir, the savings as disclosed by the Audit Report are to the extent of Rs. 209 crores. If we had made our appropriations at the time of the budget demands with a proper eye on our expenditure, with a proper eye on our actual needs, probably we would not have been confronted with a deficit budget at the time of presenting the Budget, and with certain other repercussions also in our budgetary position. This gap necessitates the exploration of other avenues for taxation. Probably, in my view, to that extent, we could have got rid of the new taxation measures. In a developing state of economy of certain amount of high level expenditure is bound to occur. My impression is this. In our over-enthusiasm we have resorted to the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan, in addition to the implementation we have already had in the First Five Year Plan, and this had told upon the general economy of our country. During the first two years of our Second Five Year Plan we have already spent about Rs. 1,500 crores and in the coming three years, we will probably be spending more than Rs. 1,100 crores annually. This is a vast sum per year, and the tremendous purchasing power it is releasing, in my opinion, goes to add to the inflationary pressure which is already existing in the country. High level excise duties on almost every necessity of life have been raising the level of prices beyond the reach of the common man. The Economic Survey Report which has been supplied to us along with our Budget papers says that there is a tendency of the price level to decline. But that is not reflected on the retail prices, so far as my knowledge goes. Even today, after the abolition of sales-tax and the imposition of some surcharges in place of excise duties which were intended to bring down the level of prices, the measures have not had their desired effect on the ultimate

price level. Cloth, tobacco and sugar, all have gone up in their retail prices. The release of Rs. 4,800 crores which is going to the people at large will certainly add to the inflationary pressures and prices are bound to go up, unless they are co-ordinated and matched with corresponding productivity in the agricultural and industrial sectors and all other fields of production. That is why I suggest that the high level expenditure which we have got to undertake must not be devoted exclusively to the administrative machinery, but it should be so adjusted that it will not be absorbed in unproductive channels, but will add to the productive programmes.

The next thing, Sir, which I want to say is that even after ten years of our independence—and there is something uncanny about it—we have not been able to achieve self-sufficiency in the matter of our food production, although various assurances have been given on the floor of the House and outside several times, both by the Ministers and other economists that sooner or later we must achieve self-sufficiency in that respect. Here also, Sir, probably some bold policy is necessary, like the one which our late lamented Mr. Kidwai adopted in respect of abolition of the control system. Sir, very often agrarian reforms and land reforms are being suggested for better production so that sooner or later we may be able to achieve self-sufficiency, and ceilings also have often been suggested. But in my opinion, Sir, the ills do not lie there. The country is confronted with a very tremendous problem of fragmentation of lands. It is probably by the consolidation of the fragmentations that we can bring about improvements in respect of our food production. Whether we fix ceilings or not, the overall landed estate will remain the same or will remain constant. It makes no difference whether the land remains concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy persons or the same quantity is distributed among the landless people. Sir, in that

connection, I would suggest that in coastal areas very many lands of a saline character are lying unreclaimed. Of course, I have got no figures with me as to the availability of such lands. But then if we are keen enough to bring about some definite results and definite improvements in respect of land production, I feel, Sir, that all the waste lands, whether they lie somewhere on the hill side or on the coastal side like the Sundarbans of West Bengal, should be first brought under cultivation, and let the landless be settled on those lands in order that the existing production may be supplemented by the production from those lands.

Sir, I am coming from a rural area, and as far as I am concerned, I have not come across even a single village where concentration of land rests with one single person, or where you can come across lands more than 20 to 25 acres in the hands of a single person. That is why I suggest that particularly after the abolition of the zamindari system, it is not the concentration of land which is standing in the way of our food production programme, but it is the fragmentation of land which is standing in our way, and therefore we should tackle this problem as soon and as expeditiously as possible. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI T. BODRA (Bihar): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I will refer to item No. 43 dealing with forests. The statement with regard to India's new forest policy was made on the 13th of May 1952. That says that one-sixth of the total area should be covered under forests. That was said in the year 1952, Sir. And today we find that there is so much of deforestation going on. Actually, Sir, at present 2,80,000 square miles are covered with forests, whereas according to the forest policy we should have had 4,22,300 square miles. Everyone knows, Sir, that we need forests for industry, defence and communications. It also gives us the maximum revenue to have forests. Forests also save us from famine and they give us so many .

[Shri T. Bodra.]

herbs for medicinal purposes. But as everyone would admit, Sir, we are losing our forests every day. And what are the reasons? Am I to blame the Central Government for it or am I to blame the State Governments for it? Since 1947, Sir, there was a regular race for cutting the trees. The State Governments came out with new legislations, and the Central Government, despite all its good intentions, would not control the policy of the State Governments. There was also the fear that Rajas and big Zamindars sold away very good trees at a nominal price of Rs. 10 each. When the State Governments found that they had to take over such large tracts of forests, they appointed temporary forest guards, and these thousands and thousands of temporary forest guards, thinking that after two or three years their services would be terminated, sold away many of the good trees and thus minted money. And actually, Sir, these temporary forest guards had to be retrenched. Then, Sir, there were ryots and peasants who found that the Rajas were selling away their trees . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This is a State matter. You are talking about Rajas and Maharajas and the sale of forests. We are not concerned with that now. Here we are concerned with afforestation and co-ordination between the State Governments and the Central Government. And so we are not concerned with the forest guards making money and all that.

SHRI T. BODRA: Sir, I wanted to explain how deforestation took place.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You might speak about afforestation and not about deforestation that took place years ago.

SHRI T. BODRA: So there were so many factors because of which there

was fast deforestation. We have Rs. 256 lakhs voted by the Parliament for re-forestation. We have our Forest Research Institute in Dehra Dun. So many experiments in respect of soil conservation and erosion are going on, but to what effect? If we actually go down to the jungles, we will find the same picture, that the places which were once full of huge green trees are becoming deserts under the Congress rule, under the Government of the ruling party. The contractors who are thinking of getting rich overnight are clearing away the jungles ruthlessly and for want of proper legislation the Chief Conservator of Forests, the Divisional Forest Officers, the Forest Rangers and Foresters are unable to check the truckloads of wood which is being cut and taken to the towns and is being placed in the Sawing Mills. In each town and city you will be amazed to find the sawing mills growing, and at this rate, even if we had about 280,000 square miles of forest 10 years back, actually today the area will be half of it. Under the Ministry of Food and Agriculture if we don't take care of our National wealth, if we don't take care of the forests that are being deforested, if we don't take care to preserve them, there will be soil erosion and our India will become a desert one day. The deforestation is also ultimately affecting the climate and health of the people and many a time the aborigines are blamed for it. The aborigines love their trees. They teach their children to love the trees. If the Government of India is not very particular about making enquiries from the State Governments, if they are not coming out with proper legislation on the lines of the Indian Forests Act, then I will suggest that all these forests should be taken over completely by the Government of India and they should be preserved under the Indian Forests Act.

Next I would refer to the I. and P. Ministry. There is this Mayur-akshi project by which 1700 Santhal

families have been thrown out of j their hearths and homes. They have not left their homes out of their sweet will. They have been affected because their lands have been acquired. Despite all our best efforts, they had to resort to Satyagraha which is going on since 5th April for a cause which is just. We are not asking for favour. When you have acquired our lands, instead of giving us compensation, give us land for land and house for house. That is what we want because the Santhals and Adibasis can hardly count the rupees or eight annas and even if you give them Rs. 1,000 or 2,000 as compensation, they will lose it In their liquor shops. Therefore, these 1,700 families of Santhals have been on Satyagraha s'nce 5th April ^nd till now neither the Bengal Government nor the Government of India has come to their aid. Similarly you know there Is the Mandira dam for the supply of water to Rourkela colony. So many new buildings are coming up, and a new town is being built, but these aboriginals who are numbering about - 2,500, whose lands have been acquired, are still being forced to take and accept compensation. Again, I submit that when these people don't know how to count eight annas or nine annas and even ten naye patse, even if you give them compensation of Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 10,000, it will not help them at all. So I submit that if the West Bengal refugees are not very much willing to have Dandakaranya it is we, the aboriginals; who love the forests; we will readily go there. If you can transport us, if you give us the railway fares, we don't want your money as compensation. All that we want is, you lift us in the railway compartments even in third class and take us to Dandakaranya and thus rehabilitate the people who are being uprooted because of the land acquisition.

Thank you.

SHRI B. GOPALA REDDI: YOU don't Want Bengalis to go there?

13 RSD—5.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Kfo BefStfty Chairman, I am grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak. I would like to refer to two or three matters in which I feel particularly interested. The first is education. We had a big debate on it in connection with the report of the University Grants Commission. We spoke on that report with particular reference to University and higher education. Now I would like to make a reference to elementary education. To some aspects of it pointed attention was drawn by Dr. Kunzru in the able speech he made this morning but what I am worried about is the low target we have fixed for the realization of our goal of compulsory elementary education. At the end of the Second Plan we shall have only 63 per cent, of the children in the age group of 6 to 11 going to our elementary schools. In the age group of 11 to 14, there will be the magnificent figure of 22.5 per cent. In progressive countries the school-leaving age is upto 15 or 16. In " Britain they have 15 and are wanting to raise it or hoping to raise it to 16. The Labour Party stands for the fixation of the age limit at 16. .It is a rather depressing thought that after 11 years of independence, we shall not be able to have compulsory elementary education till the end of the 3rd Five Year Plan and that too boys of the age group of 6 to 11. From the days of Mr. Gokhale and earlier, we have been pressing for compulsory elementary education. It is important for us to appreciate that it is human material which /makes nations great. We may have the most beautiful plans but if we have not got the personnel to execute those plans, if we have not aoi the citizens to execute them, those plans will go phut. We may build bridges but if the engineers are not competent, the bridges will collapse. We may build Railways but if the engineers are not good, the railways may not work properly. We may build hospitals but if the doctors are not good, they will kill their patients.

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P.M.

Therefore, it is essential for us to view this whole problem of education as an integrated problem. Elementary education, secondary education and university education, they \ are all integrated and they present Mi integrated problem, whether it be vocational education, technological education, scientific education or even legal education. We may have judges wlu miy be competent and who may give competent judgments, but they will not be able to advance the science of law. Therefore, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I plead with all the earnestness that I can command, that some attention should be paid to these three aspects of education. And frankly speaking, for myself, I was somewhat disappointed—but why should I use that word—I may say I was very greatly disappointed with the observations of Dr. Shrimali when he said that he hopes that Rs. 2-7 crores will be forthcoming for the University Grants Commission for the second period of the Second Five Year Plan. He did not give us any definite and categorical assurance, Well, there is the determination on our part to go ahead with the three r'teel plants and I think that is a r'ght determination. I do not object to that determination. I support the view that we should go ahead with our three steel plants. But while I do that I would like equal emphasis to be given to subjects upon which the health and vitality of our people depend.

Next, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to say a few words about Health. A few days back I came across an article in the Times of India and I have taken my facts from that article. This leading article in the Times of India opines on the basis of the testimony of our esteem-.1 ex-Minister for Health who did most valued service to the Health Department, on the basis of her testimony, the statement is made that the incidence of tuberculosis is going up in the rural areas. Now,

T.B. is a disease of urban civilisation and it is a disease of malnutrition. It is a disease of bad sanitation and of congestion. Here we have the fact that in rural areas the people are beginning to suffer from this disease of malnutrition. But the statement was made—and this also I have taken from the Times of India—by the Health Minister, that there was no evidence to support the view that the incidence was going up in rural areas. But I think the matter should be looked into carefully.

Then, Mr. Deputy Chairman, we should go ahead with our programmes of housing. We should go ahead with our work of slum clearance. We should not let vested interests stand in the way of effecting these reforms, because a healthy nation is a wise nation and we ought to build up the health of the people. What matters it if we have steel plants, big industries and all that, if our people die young? Therefore, I would like to bay that the question of health also needs to be looked into very carefully. 11 the Plan is carried through, the total number of units constructed i ue public authorities will come to only 1 ■ 3 millions. I submit that for a country of the immense s'ze of India, this is far too modest a taraet and there should be a greater effort at the solution of the housing problem. **The** rents in some of the big cities are very high as is well known, in cities like Calcutta. (*Time bell rings.*) 1 will just finish, Sir. In cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi the landlords charge most exorbitant rents. Not only do they charge such exorbitant rents, but they claim "pugrees" and they do get "pugrees" from people who want houses arid all this is monstrous.

lastly, Mr. Deputy Chairman—and this is my final remark—we have imposed very heavy burdens upon our income-tax officers. We have now an integrated tax-system. I am not, as I have said previously. < >| to lint system. But 1 think

our income-tax officers also are a little over-worked and we need to strengthen our income-tax staff considerably. It takes time to make assessments and at times people have to wait for two or three years before the assessment is finalised. And when they get the final statement, they are sometimes presented with a very heavy bill to be paid. Therefore, it is desirable that our income-tax staff should be increased.

SHRI- AKBAR ALI KHAN: That means more civil expenditure.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Well,-it will mean more civil expenditure; but we may cut down civil expenditure in other directions. Mr. Deputy Chairman, we need to take up the question of our legal reforms seriously. The Law Commission has been working for over two years and we are awaiting the presentation of its report. We want to speed up justice; but we want also the rule of law to be preserved in this country, because without the rule of law, no democracy can function.

Thank you, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have nothing more to say.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:  
There is a message.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

#### THE PROBATION OF OFFENDERS BILLS! 1958

SECRETARY: Sir, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Secretary of the Lok Sabha: —

"In accordance with the provisions of Rule 96 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose herewith a copy of the Probation of Offenders Bill, 1958, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 29th April, 1958."

I lay the Bill on the Table.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M tomorrow. The House then adjourned at eight minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 30th April 1958.