

SHRI V. K. KRISHNA. MENON: It is for the State Government.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE: Have the Military authorities taken any measures to prevent further -deaths? What steps have been taken with regard to that?

SHRI V. K. KRISHNA MENON: As I have already stated, the mess is sealed. No doubt there will be no supply from these stores and the people who are affected by it have been taken to hospitals. Senior officers, including senior medical officers are on the spot and there is no further step that the House could suggest that we have not taken.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: The Minister has stated that the police have taken samples of the food supplied to these personnel. I would like to know whether the military medical men have also taken samples to submit a report to the military court of enquiry.

SHRI V. K. KRISHNA MENON: I am not able to answer that question categorically now, but since senior medical officers are there, we must trust their judgment as to what has to be done in the matter and, in any case, in a matter of this kind, there will be complete co-operation between the police and the other authorities.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: Will the hon. Minister make another statement giving full information before the Report of the court of enquiry is published? On the factual side we would like to have more information.

MR. CHAIRMAN: When it is suitable he will make a statement. We are extremely sorry for the unhappy incident, a tragedy it is.

DR. P. C. MITRA (Bihar): May I know whether all this happened in one day or on several days?

MR. CHAIRMAN: One day.

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

THE MINISTER OF HEALTH (SHRI j D. P. KARMARKAR): Mr. Chairman, I j rise to intervene for a short time to 1 touch upon a few points that were made relating to matters connected with health and matters connected with the Health Ministry.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

My hon. friend, Shri Faridul Haq Ansari made some points about the conditions in the rural areas, with which the States are primarily concerned. Then he said something in a rather loose manner, if I may say so, about the Irwin Hospital. In fact, he said that the poor patients got nothing but water if they had no money to pay. In any case, Sir, that is not our information. If he has any specific complaints, any instances, I should certainly like to have them looked into through the Delhi Administration, because we are naturally interested in keeping the standards of this hospital as high as it is humanly possible.

Then there were points raised about the prevalence of cholera, small-pox, etc., in Bengal, Bihar and U.P. We have warned the State Governments and we have ourselves decided to have a small expert committee about cholera and small-pox, and we have also requested the State Governments to do the needful in the matter. I am sure the State Governments will take the best action that is possible for them in respect of these diseases.

There were one or two points made by my distinguished predecessor, Rajkumari Armit Kaur, and I should like just briefly to allude to them. One of them was about the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences. She specifically drew the attention of the Government towards the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences which is in dire need of a hospital and then she said something about the composite college, a matter into which I should not like to draw myself at the

present moment. But, Sir, Government are fully aware of the needs of the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences which we do want to have as a first class training institution in the country. Difficulties had arisen on account of the fact that estimates as per the second Five Year Plan had risen in the meantime and, therefore, it was not possible for us to adjust within the available resources as set aside for the second Five Year Plan. As a matter of fact we had originally intended to postpone the idea of a hospital but I should like to tell the House that at the instance of the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences the matter is at the present moment under consideration of the Finance Ministry in order to see whether something could not be done to start a hospital connected with the All-India Institute of Medical Sciences as early as possible. In the meantime whatever is possible to be done by way of giving beds in the Safdarjung Hospital is being done. Then she said something about the medical colleges. I am sorry to have to say that I disagree with one of her observations, namely, that the number of doctors is more than we need. Perhaps there is no need for a State like West Bengal where there are more doctors, but hon. Members of this House are aware that doubtless there is a dearth of doctors. We are unable to find medical personnel and, if we could only afford it, it is very necessary to start more medical colleges than we have been able to do in the second Five Year Plan. We have been able to subsidise the starting of seven medical colleges in the various States. We have told the States that we cannot afford to subsidise more but I learn that some of the States are going ahead. Madras, I understand, is going ahead, Andhra Pradesh is going ahead in spite of the fact that we have told them that we shall not be able to spend more so far as the second Five Year Plan is concerned. There is no doubt about the fact that any college that has to come into existence should have the best personnel possible. Well, there is a dearth of teaching personnel also and

we have to evolve a solution between these conflicting things, one the dearth of personnel for teaching and the other, the need for a larger number of colleges. That is a problem which has to be solved anyway and I do hope that all colleges which come into being will have as good a personnel for teaching as is possible and I understand that the State Governments do take all the possible care.

There was one observation which Rajkumari Amrit Kaur made and that was about the T. B. scheme. I am afraid the information is not quite correct. What happened was that there was a T. B. scheme for training personnel in which outside organisations like the WHO and the UNICEF proposed to participate, but we have our own difficulties. One of the difficulties was that, naturally, owing to the time through which we are passing, it was difficult for the Ministry of Finance to give as large an accommodation as was necessary. We required something like Rs. 42 or Rs. 44 lakhs and though assistance was substantially to come from outside, our resources made it difficult and therefore the alternative that was placed before us was that we should carve out this sum of Rs. 40 lakhs from out of our own resources which we had kept apart for purposes of T. B. but in other directions, for meeting the menace of T. B. during the second Five Year Plan. I am still hoping that it might be possible for the Ministry of Finance, now that a little brighter time appears to be coming, to accommodate this scheme also because this scheme is of very great importance. We shall continue to plead with the Finance Ministry who, I must say in gratitude, have always been cognisant of the urgent necessities of a social service Ministry like the Health Ministry. These are the points that I need really touch in respect of this debate.

Thank you, Sir.

THE MINISTER OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE (SHRI A. P. JAIN): Sir, but for certain observations made

[Shri A. P. Jain.] by two senior Members of the House regarding what I said in the Lok Sabha, about the ideal of self-sufficiency receding, perhaps it might not have been necessary for me to have intervened in the debate. Shri Jaspal Roy Kapoor said that I had said in the Lok Sabha that self-sufficiency in foodgrains will never be attained. Now, Sir, I never said any such thing. In fact when I read Shri Kapoor's observation I was a little surprised, ' and I have very carefully again gone into the report of my speech. What really I was dealing with in the Lok Sabha 'was about certain paradoxical situations which had arisen during the past few years despite the increased production which we have achieved. I am quoting from the report of my speech. What I said was, "treating 1949-50 as the base, in 1951-52 production of foodgrains was 91; 1, in 1955-56 it was 113'5, in 1956-57 it was 119-6." Then, Sir, I went on to say, "while the production in 1956-57 was almost equivalent to the peak production of 1953-54, for foodgrains, cereals and pulses it was of the order of 68-7-million tons. We had to bear stresses and strains."

SHRI H. D. RAJAH (Madras): Could you tell us the food production in terms of tons at least for the year 1957?

SHRI A. P. JAIN: We have not got the final figures because the *rabi* crop is still being harvested. Unless we have that figure of the *rabi* crop, we cannot give the final figures for all foodgrains.

After making those observations, I said, "they will justify the remark which I have made that despite increased production, in an expanding economy the demand increases because of certain budgetary conditions, because of deficit financing and because of the credit policy and other policies which are outside the scope of this Ministry. The stresses and strains produced by fiscal and economic policies have their bearing on

food". I do not really understand from where Mr. Kapoor has concluded that I have laid down a dictum for all time that India can never attain self-sufficiency in food. What I was all along stressing was that in a developing economy the demand increases with more production and in the early stages when the development expenditure is high, when deficit financing is of a high order, difficulties arise. I was trying to explain that phenomenon . . .

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR (Uttar Pradesh): But, Sir . . .

SHRI A. P. JAIN: Sir, if he has any questions he may ask at the end but let him not interrupt in between.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: I do not want to ask any question. I only want to correct a mis-statement. I only quoted his own speech, his actual words. And that is not all. The hon. Minister said that he agreed with Mr. Ashok Mehta's view . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI A. P. JAIN: I am not yielding and this running commentary will not help anybody. If the hon. Member had taken a little trouble to go through the whole of my speech, he would have found that later on I said that the measures which I had stated "are at best palliatives meant to overcome short-term problems. They are not the solution of the difficulty. The real solution lies in increasing production. The other day the Prime Minister said that he was confident that he would be able to show better results than what the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee expected. I join my humble voice, to that statement and I am sure that we will be able to give a better performance." Not that I was not aware that the real solution lies in producing more; in fact, I have faith and belief, based on practical experience, that the Indian soil is capable of producing much more than what we are doing, several times

mare. Recently, one of the high authorities in the world—Dr. Kellogg —came here. He toured round the country, and he has stated that the agricultural production of India is capable of being increased by 300 per cent, or so if proper conservation methods are adopted. Now, he uses the words 'proper conservation methods' in a somewhat wider American sense, namely, in the sense of making up deficiencies in the soil, that is, adding elements which are wanting in it, establishing water and soil relationship, working out proper manures and better seeds and all that goes under the term 'better agricultural practices'. I have no doubt that the agricultural production in India is capable of being multiplied twofold or threefold, but it requires certain conditions; it requires resources; it also requires some time. In the past seven years our agricultural production has gone up by about 25 to 30 per cent, and that is by no means a mean achievement; it is yet capable of going up much higher. This reminds me of a story which Sidney, and Beatrice Webb relate in a footnote in their well known book 'Soviet Communism—A New Civilisation'. A foreign visitor once went to a collective farm and he saw a farmer driving a tractor. The farmer was putting on a good pant, a good shirt and a pair of good shoes. The visitor asked him, 'well, Muzhik, you must be very happy. In the days of the Czar you had not even a pair of horses; very often you had to borrow one horse from your neighbour to make up a pair for ploughing your land. Now you have got all good things and you are driving a tractor'. The farmer looked at him and said, 'Yes, I have got all that but I want a tie.' Now, presumably the Russian Muzhik would not attach any religious sanctity to a tie. This is what indicates the idea of a receding ideal. The man had much more than what he had in the days of the Czar, yet his needs were also increasing. So that was the idea behind it. If our wants are always static, then of course one can say that such and such

a quantity of such and such an article would mean self-sufficiency, but in a rising economy, when the outlook is based upon increasing wants, there is this aspect of a receding ideal. As production increases wants also increase. So far as we are concerned, I have no manner of doubt that India is on the safe path to progress. Its agricultural production is going up and it will go up and it will gain in speed and the difficulties and the strains and stresses which exist in our economy today will disappear.

There were some other points also raised by Mr. Kapoor and one of them was this. He referred to what he calls lack of co-ordination, and so far as that is concerned I have stated the position in the Lok Sabha. We have set up a co-ordination committee which is bringing about coordination between the activities of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and that of Community Development. We have also appointed a special officer who goes about the States, looks into their schemes, examines them, advises them, looks into their difficulties and tries to solve them. We have also been holding periodical conferences with the State Ministers and with the officers of the State Governments, and I think, while one cannot say that everything that is desirable by way of co-ordination has been achieved, yet we have achieved quite a good deal. Even so far as the particular question of the utilisation of the irrigation potential is concerned, a team of officers of the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Food and Agriculture went round to several States—it is going round to other States also—to find out how this potential can be utilised. I do not deny that in the past there have been mistakes, but we are trying to rectify them and I can assure hon. Members that there is nobody who is more keen to achieve co-ordination than myself. He has also suggested that the rates of water supply are high. We have already taken up the matter with the State Governments, and in a number of States—particularly in Bihar—the

[Shri A. P. Jain.] water rates have been reduced? In Punjab and other places that matter has been taken up and water rates have been rationalised, with the result that more and more of water is being utilised. He also referred to certain schemes relating to night soil and other things. Sir, that constitutes a part of our major programme; it has been taken up during the last two years and its results are visible.

Now, Sir, Dr. Kunzru—unfortunately he is not present here—raised some important questions. He asked whether we have got any definite scheme for agricultural production. Initially we had fixed a target of 10 million tons of additional production during the second Five Year Plan period but we have raised it to 15.5 millions. How are we going to achieve this? This is a very important question, and all that we can say is that we have worked out the targets very carefully. I am glad to inform the House that so far as one of our major schemes, namely, the minor irrigation works, is concerned, out of a target of an additional 9 million acres of land prescribed for the second Five Year Plan, we have achieved in the first two years 40 per cent of it, that is, 3.6 million acres. We have also undertaken an active study to find out the reasons for the non-utilisation of the potential that has been developed but which has not been utilised. And we are achieving success in that respect. We are also improving our other schemes of irrigation. Now, some additional allocation has been made for these minor irrigation schemes during the year 1957-58. I do not say that it is very substantial. It was of the order of about Rs. 2-5 crores, which would irrigate a little more than two lakh acres of land. But at the same time it will indicate to the hon. Members that we are very conscious of it. The other part of the programme, namely, the seed multiplication farms, is now well on the way. In the first year, 1956-57, there were some initial difficulties in establishing this new

scheme; but most of those difficulties have been overcome. Initially there was a provision of only Rs. 500 for the purchase of an acre of land. We found that that was insufficient; and now it has been agreed that this provision should be raised to Rs. 1,500 per acre. In the year 1957-58 a large number of farms have been established and the scheme is now well on the way to success. Initially it was intended that these farms would be set up over a period of five years. But then we telescoped them within the first three years, and I do believe that most of these farms would be established by the end of the third year of the Plan, that is, by the end of the current year, so that their benefits will be available to the farmer during the Second Five Year Plan.

I am sorry to say that in spite of all my efforts I have not been able to get a larger allocation for the import of fertilizers. On more than one occasion I have expressed my regret about our inability to import more of fertilizers. In fact, in the current year, that is, 1958-59, I am afraid that we shall not be able to meet more than 55 per cent, of the demand. But then the House is too well aware of the foreign exchange difficulties. Some mercy has been shown to me of late and there is a possibility of augmenting the supplies of fertilizers from two sources, namely, exporting a limited quota of oilcakes and obtaining in exchange fertilizers, and utilisation of third country currencies offered by T. C. M. If these proposals materialise, as I do hope they will, we will be adding about one lakh tons of fertilizers in terms of sulphate of ammonia.

Dr. Kunzru has also raised certain questions about the nutritional standards which are necessary for the nation. International standards for nutrition have been laid down; and we have also worked out the nutritional standards on the basis of the international standards. Broadly speaking, we have come to the conclusion that the normal diet for a man

who does not do much physical, labour is about 3,000 calories and in the other case, persons who are engaged in heavy manual labour, it is 3,600 calories. In the case of India perhaps not so much is needed. We have already increased the intake of calories. We are working more on it and I hope that with the success of the Second Five Year Plan we shall have a diet containing a sufficient intake of calories, as also sufficient proteins and vitamins.

Another hon. Member, Dr. Gour, said something about the irrigation canals in Himachal Pradesh. I regret to say that I have no details about them. But I will get the details from the Himachal Pradesh Administration and I will be only too glad to supply the necessary information to the hon. Member.

Sir, there is nothing more that I have to add.

THE MINISTER OF REHABILITATION AND MINORITY AFFAIRS (SHRI MEHR CHAND KHANNA): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am very sorry that I was not present in 'the House yesterday when our new friend from Bengal spoke about the rehabilitation problem. I arrived from Calcutta only this morning. I have, however, read his speech fully and going through it one or two things have been noticed. He has been highly uncharitable to the Government of West Bengal and his remarks about the Central Government have not been very happy. To talk of the difficulties with which the West Bengal Government is faced, more so for a gentleman who comes from that area, and minimise them or ridicule them, I personally feel is not becoming of any responsible speaker. The Government of West Bengal, in spite of the fact that it is a truncated State • and has suffered very heavily on account of partition, has done its level best in tackling the problem of displaced persons from East Pakistan. Of the displaced persons who have come from East Pakistan—their num-

ber is about 42 lakhs—as many as 32 lakhs are in the State of West Bengal. Thirty-two lakhs out of 42 lakhs is a very big number. And then take into consideration the ■ State of West Bengal. Two-thirds of it has already gone to Pakistan. The density of population there is the highest and the, unemployment problem is very acute. The Government of West Bengal have been able to rehabilitate about 4 lakh families. I admit that everyone of them has not been fully rehabilitate!! and there is something in it when the Chief Minister of West Bengal says that about fifty per cent, of this population, nearly about two lakh families have only been partially rehabilitated, meaning thereby that they will need a further dose of rehabilitation. Why do they need a further dose of rehabilitation? Why have they been partially rehabilitated, is a question which 'we have to address ourselves. Is the will lacking on the part of the Government of West Bengal? If the will was lacking, they could have approached the Government of India long ago and said, 'V would not like to take any more Bengalis in West Bengal'. Is it that money has been denied to the Government of West Bengal or to my Ministry by the Government of India in spite' of the serious difficulties with which they have been faced? I am prepared to say 'no'. I have been working in the Ministry for over ten years now. Not a single occasion has arisen in my life where the money wanted for the rehabilitation of displaced persons has been denied to this Ministry. If we take money, we want to spend it. We want to make a rational use of it. We want this to be correlated to rehabilitation. Arid I would like to tell *my* young friend that if we have not been able to fully rehabilitate persons in West Bengal, it is on accofint of the fact that lan«^s are not available there.

DR. A. N. BOSE (West Bengal): Was any survey made?

SHRI MEHR CHAND KHANNA: Lands are not available there. If lands were available what would be the

[Shri Mehr Chand Khanna.] difficulty?
Who is faced with the problem of
rehabilitation of displaced

persons in West Bengal today? 1
P.M. The Government of West
Bengal. Against whom are
demonstrations held and processions taken
out? The Government of West Bengal. Sir, it
may surprise you to learn that when this
agitation was called off about a week or ten
days ago, statements came out in the Press,
with two parties vying with each other, the
U.C.R.C, a C.P.I, organisation, and the Sara
Bangla Samity under the auspices of the
P.S.P., both taking credit that "we were the
persons who led this agitation, we were the
persons who led this demonstration", actually
fighting with each other. I am told everyday
that the political parties have got nothing to do
with it. But I would remind my hon. friend—
he quoted a speech or a statement made by Dr.
Roy this morning—let him read the statement
of his own party leader which was issued
about a week or ten days ago in which his
party disputed the right of the U.C.R.C, a
C.P.I, organisation, taking credit for the
demonstration or the agitation that was
launched in West Bengal.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO (Andhra Pradesh):
What is U.C.R.C?

SHRI MEHR CHAND KHANNA: The
Communist Party of India is called the C.P.I.
The U.C.R.C is under their patronage.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: What is meant by
patronage?

SHRI MEHR CHAND KHANNA: I would
be more direct and say that this is their
organisation.

Sir, I am saying all that because I feel
unhappy about it. If the Government of West
Bengal is prepared to allow 32 lakhs of
displaced persons to come into their State, if
Dr. Roy goes to the length of issuing a state-
ment that no displaced person will be sent out
of West Bengal by force, you see that the man
is sympathetic, the

man is human. It is a statement made in the
interest of rehabilitation of displaced persons.
But if he has not got the land, is he to produce
the land? Where is he to produce the land
from? My young friend thinks that he has
made a very new and novel suggestion to
rehabilitate them on the borders of Bihar.
Have we not heard this before? Has not this
been repeated in the other House? Sir, the
political implications of a suggestion of this
nature . . .

DR. A. N. BOSE: I spoke of rehabilitating
them in West Bengal land on the borders of
Bihar, not in Bihar land.

SHRI MEHR CHAND KHANNA: My only
misfortune is that I did not hear him yesterday,
but would he please have a little patience and
listen to me now? You talk of the district or the
area that has been excised from Bihar and you
say land from Bihar. If lands are available, we
will certainly find them. If lands are not
available in West Bengal, then? Sir, I am
prepared to say this that I spoke to the Chief
Minister of West Bengal, Dr. Roy, for whom we
have the greatest respect, only a week Or ten
days ago to have a fresh survey ■ made of the
land position in West Bengal, inviting even the
opposition leaders to give suggestions about the
particular areas that are available in West
Bengal. After having met the commitment of the
State Government in respect of *Bargadars*,
because certain lands have to go to the tenants;
and if any lands can be made available, we could
make use of them for the rehabilitation of
displaced persons from East Pakistan.

Sir, the problem is very big. The number of
families in our camps today in West Bengal
alone is about 2,60,000, and that number is not
of my making. It was stated by the hon. speaker
yesterday that the Ministry of Rehabilitation has
no sympathy for the displaced persons, that it
wants to 'wash its hands off this problem of j
rehabilitation. Who took them to

the camps in West Bengal? Who took these unfortunate friends of mine from East Pakistan- into the camps at Charbattia and Bettiah in Bihar and Orissa? We took them. We took charge of them. We are spending nearly Rs. 10 crores a year simply on relief alone of these displaced persons. When in 1955 and 1956 nearly 6 lakhs of displaced persons came from East Pakistan, over 2 lakhs went into the camps. If we had no sympathy, would we have kept our doors open for them? Does it show that we have no human angle to the problem? We could have easily barred our doors. Partition took place ten years ago. The definition of a D.P., Sir, is one who leaves Pakistan either on account of disturbances or fear of disturbances, and the date is on or after the 1st March 1947. I am speaking here in 1958. We took charge of those persons, and having taken charge of them, having increased the camp population by 300 per cent., I am today being blamed that I am heartless, that I have no sympathy for those persons. What did I say in Darjeeling, Sir? I said that here is a Ministry dedicated to fulfil a particular job of work. It is not like any permanent Ministry of the Government of India. It has been brought into being on account of partition, charged with a specific work, and the work is the rehabilitation of displaced persons from either East or West Pakistan. In its very nature this Ministry cannot go on till eternity. If I put a limit to the life of this Ministry—which may mean my own debilitation, not rehabilitation but debilitation—what am I doing? I am saying that during a specified period the problem of rehabilitation either in the eastern region or in the western region should be resolved. What is wrong about it? Unless my hon. friend has some political angle about it or some other angle, maybe, vested interest—it should be anything else than to see that the problem is resolved, within a specified period. Sir, I wish to tell him not to be

carried away by slogans, not to be carried away by these demonstrations. It is very easy to organise them, those people in the camps who are fed at the expense of the Government.

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

Sir, it might interest you to know that, if you see the photographs published in the Bengali papers, you will always find one thing very dominant, women and children and women with babes in their arms. These are generally given at the top. Do you want to know the reason? My recent survey says that in spite of the fact that we are spending Rs. 25 *per capita* per month on relief including infants and children in a camp, about 70 per cent of the camp inmates have private resources. They have been able to take roots and they have got some kind of employment. Another 30 per cent.—I do not mean 70 per cent, plus 30 per cent, making it 100 per cent.—have their connections in Pakistan. They are getting some kind of a help from there, maybe in the shape of rent or in the shape of property because the Evacuee Property law that applies to the Western region does not apply to the Eastern region. Whether a man is in West Bengal or whether he is in Dacca, he has got the right to sell his property and salvage his assets. And if my friend, Shri Bose, or his relation goes to Pakistan and can bring some money from there, it solves my problem to a certain extent. I refuse to be accused of one thing and that is this that the life of the displaced persons in camps is miserable. Sir, I can say that. But I know of instances of young men from the camp, where they have found jobs in the new industries that we have set up, having deserted from there. A man has to work there. Lately, we wanted some trainees and the trainees came up for examination. Some of

[Shri Mehr Chand Khanna.] my young friend's in the camps gave their papers blank because if they passed it, they would have to go for training. Sir, this is an unhappy, I very unfortunate, state of affairs. I I do not naturally blame him. Having lived in these camps for a number of years, possibly he cannot do rational thinking on the same basis as anybody else. How would it Suit him and his other friends in West Bengal if I were to tell him, "Let us give a definite period to an inmate of a camp and tell him, here we will give you six or eight months or one year; formulate your own schemes; send them to me." If the statement of Dr. Roy that nobody is to be sent out of West Bengal by force suits him, let him also accept the statement when he says that no lands are available in West Bengal. Let us forget the statement of Dr. Roy for a minute or two. Let him—he is a young man— suggest to me any particular areas that are available in West Bengal. It is no use telling me, "Go to the districts of Purulia, Birbhum and Bankura" and all that. Tell me. "Here are specific areas—areas of good land which can be cultivated, 100 200 or 300 acres." I promise him that every area will be properly examined and if land can be found in West Bengal, why should I go, Sir, to Bihar? Why should I go to any other State and request the Chief Minister of that State to take my Bengali friends from West Bengal? I ask him, I request him, to please let me know the various possible areas which, in his view, are available for the rehabilitation of displaced persons.

Sir, neither a refugee will come forward and formulate a scheme for his own rehabilitation nor will any party come forward and suggest specific areas to me and if I, on the other hand, take the initiative in my own hands and formulate schemes for their rehabilitation in any other State, I am sorry to say that an agitation is launched and launched by interested parties with a view to creating a cer-

tain amount of tension and chaos. That, I can say without any hesitation, will not help the refugee cause.

Sir, only a few days ago, there was an article in the *Statesman*. The *Statesman* of Calcutta has been very critical of the work of the Ministry, myself as well as the Government of West Bengal. It was a very illuminating article. When these people were taken to jail, both these parties—the opposition parties in West Bengal— were vying with each other to shove them into the gates of prisons. But the moment the prison doors were opened, there was not a single person from any party to take charge of those unfortunate people. There were ladies and children. They did not know where to go. Who took charge of them? It was the accursed Government of India and the accursed Rehabilitation Minister. If I was vindictive, if I had no human sympathy for these unfortunate people—I know they are being exploited; it is not only their fault—I could have closed the doors of my camp against them. I could have passed orders that during the period that they were agitating in Calcutta and were absent from the camps, their doles should be cut. But no such orders had been passed.

One more point. I feel I must clarify the position. It is about Danda-karanya. I issued a very comprehensive pamphlet. That pamphlet has been circulated to all Members of Parliament.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): We have read it.

SHRI MEHR CHAND KHANNA: Sir, you have read it with a different angle.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: With advantage.

SHRI MEHR CHAND KHANNA: But my friend has read it with different spectacles.

He is not for that scheme. What is the purpose of that scheme? I must make very clear the purpose of that scheme. It is a development scheme with two different objects in view. One is the rehabilitation of displaced persons from East Pakistan and the other is promotion of the interests of the local population there, more especially, the tribals. This is not a scheme, as stated by him, by which I am trying to create a 'new Bengal there'. There is no such intention. Here is the scheme, the areas lie in three States, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. We are not operating in Andhra Pradesh to start with. We are only going to operate in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. And if I operate there, Sir, it would be with the consent and the concurrence of the two State Governments. We are not going to excise those areas from the jurisdiction of those two States and take them over. We will take those areas over for development only and that will be with the co-operation and the concurrence and the approval of the State Governments concerned. I am grateful to them for having agreed to take our unfortunate brothers from East Pakistan into those States.. So, this question of creation of a 'new Bengal' and telling the Governments of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh that if you take the Bengalis there, you are going to lose that area tomorrow is no good. I will beg of him. I am a little older in years than him. I need not tell him that I am a displaced person myself and I know what the pangs of suffering and pain of the displaced persons are- "Please, for God's sake," I beg of him, Sir, through you and the House, "do not create this political problem for me. If you must create it in West Bengal, do it by all means; I cannot stop you. There, the State Government will look after itself. But do not create this political problem by telling the Government of Bihar that, if you take the refugees on your border line tomorrow, there will be further infiltration and this area possibly will go to West Bengal or by taking refugees to Madhya

Pradesh and Orissa and by creating a zone for the rehabilitation of displaced persons there this area is going to become a sort of 'new Bengal', and it would be under the jurisdiction of the Government of West Bengal." I will seek the co-operation of the Government of West Bengal at each step, because if the refugees are to be taken there and rehabilitated, well, that can only be done with the cooperation of the Government of West Bengal, and they have been giving me hundred per cent co-operation all these years in spite of the difficulties. But this area, either in Orissa or in Madhya Pradesh, cannot be placed administratively under the jurisdiction of the Government of West Bengal.

One thing more I must tell him, and that is this that the money that we are going to spend on the Danda-karanya scheme will not be to the detriment of the allocations that are being made for the rehabilitation of displaced persons in the eastern zone. It is entirely a separate budget. The budget for the eastern zone is Rs. 20 crores and Rs. 3 crores is separately shown for the Dandakaranya development project. It is entirely separate money. And if it were not an integrated scheme, how could I talk of the tribals there? They cannot come under my jurisdiction or under the control of my Ministry. They will possibly be dealt with by the Ministry of Home Affairs. So it is entirely a separate budget. That money is being given to me by the Government of India and we are going to utilise it there. It is generally said as an argument that we should scrap the whole Dandakaranya scheme and all the money that is going to be utilised for the development of that project should be diverted to West Bengal. There is no dearth of funds. Sir, if even a part of what the hon. Member has stated is correct, that the money previously spent has been mis-spent, I will see that the money is properly spent now. I will

[Shri Mehr Chand Khanna.] also see that if I am going to sanction the Byananama scheme, the land must be good, the title must be clear and the middle man who has been having a good time up till now is completely eliminated.

As regards the industries too, Sir, we have set up a large number of industries. Those industries which require a capital of about Rs. 50 lakhs, Sir, cannot be set up in a day or two or even perhaps in a year or two. But a very large number of small-scale industries, training centres and production centres have been set up. My only regret is that I do not get the right type of persons coming to me for training. But there is one thing, Sir, that must be noted, and that is this. We have taken a definite decision that the problem of the camp population will be given the highest priority. If any housing schemes are to be sanctioned, if any land schemes are to be sanctioned, if any training schemes are to be sanctioned and if any industrial schemes are to be sanctioned, we will give the highest priority to the inmates of the camps, and there, Sir, I hope that I will have the co-operation and the support of my hon. friend opposite. Thank you, Sir.

श्री रामधारी सिंह दिनकर (बिहार) : श्रीमन् उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कल इस सभा में श्रमजीवी पत्रकारों की समस्या पर एक भाषण हुआ। मैं सभा में नहीं था, लेकिन यह संवाद सुन कर मैंने वह पूरा भाषण आज पढ़ा है और दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि वह भाषण अखबारी उद्योगपतियों के वकील का भाषण है। जैसा केस, जैसा मुकदमा, उद्योगपतियों का है उससे कहीं साफ़ मुकदमा श्रमजीवी पत्रकारों का है, और श्री शिव राव ने श्रमजीवी पत्रकारों के मुकदमे को छिपा दिया। आज वे इस सभा में हैं नहीं—उनकी सेवा में मैं एक निवेदन करने वाला था।

रह रह कर दिल में यह बात उठती है कि अपना देश क्या साम्यवादी होने वाला है या समाजवादी होने वाला है। अब तक कोई भी ज्योतिष ऐसा पक्का नहीं निकला जो हमको भरोसा दिला दे कि हम क्या होने जा रहे हैं। लेकिन, एक बात सत्य है कि हम अमेरिका और रूस, इनमें से किसी ओर नहीं जाने वाले हैं—हमारी राह अमेरिका और रूस के बीच होकर निकल रही है। इसलिए, जो सरकार इस देश में कायम है उसका धर्म है कि उस राह पर अचल होकर खड़ी रहे। जो दाहिने के लोग हैं उनका भी धर्म है कि अपनी जगह से उठकर चलें तो जरा बीच की ओर आएं, जो बायीं तरफ के लोग हैं उनका भी धर्म है कि बीच की ओर चलें, क्योंकि यह मार्ग बहुत ही प्रशस्त मार्ग बनने वाला है और भारत के इतिहास के अनुकूल यह मार्ग होगा।

मेरा खयाल है कि श्रमजीवी पत्रकारों के संबंध में भारत सरकार ने जो नीति अपनायी है वह नीति इसी मध्यम वर्ग मार्ग की नीति है। किन्तु, श्री शिव राव साहब ने इतनी भी उदारता नहीं दिखलाई कि उस मध्यम मार्ग की नीति को समझें। मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ यह देखकर। उनका भाषण तो अंग्रेजी में है, मैं हिन्दी में उद्धरण दे रहा हूं। उन्होंने कहा, सारा फसाद इसीलिए बरपा हुआ है कि पत्रकारिता को हमने उद्योग मान लिया है। पत्रों को उद्योग मानने के कारण सारा बखेड़ा बढ़ा, हमें वर्किंग जर्नलिस्ट्स का कानून बनाना पड़ा। कानून बनाने से पत्रों की स्वाधीनता में हस्तक्षेप हुआ। यह बहुत कुछ ऐसी बात लगती है कि फ्रांस में राज्य-क्रांति इसलिए हुई कि घरेली पर आदम का जन्म हुआ था, अथवा, यह भी कह सकते हैं कि भारत

में सारा फ़साद इसलिए बरसा हुआ कि भारत को हमने एक राष्ट्र माना, अंग्रेजों से युद्ध हुआ, अंग्रेज भागे, इतना सत्याग्रह हुआ, इतनी बरबादी हुई। फ़ालतू बातें हैं। जब सच्ची दलील मुह में नहीं आती तब लोग ऐसी बातें करते हैं।

जर्नलिज्म इंडस्ट्री कैसे बनी यह मैं आगे बताऊंगा। फिर, वही बात आ जाती है जो शुरू से कही जा रही है जो पत्रों का उद्योग चल रहा है उस उद्योग में सरकार को हस्तक्षेप करना चाहिए या नहीं? हस्तक्षेप वहां होता है जहां एक वर्ग दबा हुआ होता है। अन्धे आदमी भी देख रहे हैं कि देश की अखबारी दुनिया में जो कमजोरी है वह यह है कि जो कम वेतन पाने वाले पत्रकार हैं उनकी न इज्जत है और जीवन निर्वाह करना उनके लिये कठिन हो रहा है। दूसरी ओर, एक दूसरे पक्ष से देखिए। देश में जितने अखबार पहुंचते हैं, सर्कुलेट होते हैं, उनमें शायद ५० प्रतिशत से अधिक सर्कुलेशन दस व्यक्तियों के हाथ में है। परिणाम क्या होता है? परिणाम इसका यह होता है कि दस आदमियों की रुचि सारे देश पर लादी जाती है, दस आदमियों को जो समाचार पसन्द होते हैं वे समाचार अधिक फैलाये जाते हैं, दस आदमियों के जो विचार हैं वे विचार देश में अधिक फैलाये जाते हैं। और, ये दस व्यक्ति कौन हैं? ये दस व्यक्ति वे हैं जो समाजवादी समाज के मित्र नहीं हैं, जिनको समाजवादी पद्धति पसंद नहीं है। इसलिए, इन दस व्यक्तियों के आधिपत्य के कारण देश के अधिकांश अखबार आज देश की प्रगति में बाधक हो रहे हैं। इसलिए, यह स्पष्ट कार्य है सरकार का कि वह पत्र के उद्योग में हाथ डाले, हस्तक्षेप करे और वहां जो

अन्याय हो रहा है उसको रोके, और देश में जो विभिन्न मत दबे हुए हैं उन मतों को ऊपर आने दे। तभी प्रजा-सत्ता पूरी होगी।

अब मैं एक बात आपको बताऊं। प्रोफ़ेशन से इंडस्ट्री की ओर शिफ्ट कैसे हुआ—ये पत्र पत्रकारिता से बदल कर उद्योग कैसे हो गए? उद्योग वहां माना जाता है जहां रुपये बहुत होते हैं, जहां मुनाफ़ा बहुत होता है।

शिव राव साहब ने अपने भाषण में उन दिनों की याद दिलाई है जब समाचार-पत्रों के सम्पादक लोकमान्य तिलक थे, सुरेन्द्रनाथ बनर्जी थे, श्रीमती एनी बेसेंट अपने एक पत्र में स्वयं भी पत्रकार थीं। बात सारी ठीक है। इस तरह से सभी बड़े लोग, गांधी जी स्वयं, पत्रकार थे। लेकिन, यह मालूम है कि इन पत्रों के पास पूंजी भी थी? और यह कौन नहीं जानता कि ये पत्र कभी मकान में निकलते थे, कभी अरहर और ऊख के खेत में निकलते थे, और जब अरहर और ऊख के खेत में छिप कर रोनिंगों में छापे जाते थे तो उनकी और इज्जत बढ़ जाती थी। अगर वह बात रह जाय तो प्रश्न ही नहीं है—त्यागियों की जमात है, और कुछ नहीं है। लेकिन, त्याग की शिक्षा उनके लिए नहीं दी जाती है जिनके पास रुपये अधिक हैं, त्याग की शिक्षा उनको दी जाती है जिनको पैसा कम मिलता है। कहा जाता है, कम पैसा अगर पाओगे तो परलोक सुधरेगा, देश में यश मिलेगा। "हमारे कुता को एयरकंडीशन में चलने दो।" हमारे लिए यहां आराम की भी सुविधाएं क्यों गिनायें—किसी को लग जाय कि मुझ पर कह रहा है। लेकिन, सारा देश जानता है कि पत्र उद्योग में भी एक तरफ धन का अंबार लगा हुआ है, दूसरी तरफ अखबार वाले मरे जा रहे हैं। मैं कहता हूं कि अखबार में काम करने वाले

[श्री रामधारी सिंह दिनकर]

पत्रकारों को भूखों मारना भी वैसा ही गुनाह है जैसा कि देश के फ़ौज के आदमियों को भूखा मारा जाय। देश के फ़ौज के आदमियों को खाना दो, जिससे वह समय पर देश को रक्षा कर सकें। इसलिए, आवश्यक है कि पत्रकारों को जोने की सुविधा दो कि वह, वह माहौल तैयार कर सकें जिसमें कि सब लोग जो सकें इसलिए, शिव राव साहब को सिर्फ़ मालिकों का ही हित नहीं देखना था, उनको यह भी देखना था कि इस चक्की के नीचे कितने लोग पिसे जा रहे हैं।

दूसरी बात उन्होंने यह कही—उसकी भी सुन कर मुझे हँसी आती है—एक मुझाब उन्होंने दिया है कि न्यूज पेपर्स का दायित्व इंफ़ार्मेशन और ब्राडकास्टिंग मिनिस्ट्री से निकाल कर गृह मन्त्रालय में दे दिया जाय। पता नहीं किस भाव से उन्होंने यह कहा है। अंग्रेजों के समय अखबारों का नियन्त्रण गृह मन्त्रालय से हुआ करता था। मैक्सवेल जब गृह मन्त्री थे, सबसे पहले उन्होंने प्रेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी बनायी थी और प्रेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी पत्रकारिता के इतिहास में कलंक स्वरूप आई, क्योंकि, प्रेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी बनने के बाद पत्रों की स्वाधीनता में दस्तन्दाजी पड़ी। जो सम्पादक बड़े देशभक्त थे उन लोगों का विज्ञापन लेकर के इस बात के लिए समझौता करना पड़ा कि हम युद्ध का अच्छा प्रचार करेंगे, जो कांग्रेस आन्दोलन कर रही है उसकी भी थोड़ी उपेक्षा करेंगे। यह समझौता था जो अखबार वालों ने मैक्सवेल के साथ किया था। तब सरदार पटेल आए, स्वाधीन भारत की सरकार बनने पर। जो परम्परा पहले से थी कि गृह मन्त्रालय में यह चीज थी, और उस मन्त्रालय के वे मंत्री हुए और जब उनके हाथ में यह चीज आ गई तब उन्होंने इस दोष को तुरन्त देखा और प्रेस एडवाइजरी कमेटी तोड़ दी और यह कहा कि होम मिनिस्ट्री में, गृह मन्त्रालय में इस चीज को नहीं रहना चाहिए, गृह मन्त्रालय

तो लाँ एण्ड ऑर्डर के कंट्रोल के लिए है, इसमें अधिक स्वतन्त्र स्थान में अखबार वालों को भेजो। इसलिए, एक अलग मिनिस्ट्री—इंफ़ार्मेशन और ब्राडकास्टिंग—को यह चीज दे दी गई।

अब, शिव राव साहब कहते हैं, अभी जो मिनिस्टर है वह हिटलर और मुसोलिनी है। डा० केसकर कहीं हैं कि नहीं? उनका बरोर तो बिल्कुल हल्का हल्का है, हिटलर मुसोलिनी नाम से भी वे दहल जायेंगे। लेकिन, आप गाली देने के लिए हिटलर या मुसोलिनी चाहें जो कह दें, मगर हिटलर यदि डा० केसकर होते तो शिव राव साहब घर कैसे पहुँचते? वे बाहर न पकड़ लिये गये होते? अभी तो वे दूसरी जगह बैठे होते।

अब एक दूसरी जगह की बात सुनाता हूँ। ऐसे ही हमारे पटने में बहुत बड़े वकील हैं, देश भर में बहुत विख्यात हैं, उन्होंने एक बार सिविल लिबर्टीज कांफ़ेस में जाकर कह दिया कि इस देश में तो हिटलर और मुसोलिनी का राज है। उनसे मेरी भेंट हुई तो मैंने कहा वकील साहब, बताइए कि यदि हिटलर और मुसोलिनी का राज होता तो आप लखनऊ से पटने कैसे पहुँचते, आप तो वहाँ से तशरीफ़ दूसरी जगह ले गये होते। लेकिन, मैं कहता हूँ, पन्त जी और केसकर में यह चुनाव क्यों? पन्त जी के सामने आ जायेगा तो आजादी ज्यादा बढ़ जायेगी, केसकर के सामने आ जायगा तो आजादी घट जायगी? ये केसकर क्या दो मन और पन्त जी आध मन हैं? यह बात भी समझ में नहीं आती है। पन्त जी गृह मन्त्री हैं, पन्त जी देश के बहुत बड़े नेता हैं, उनके सामने जाने पर भी थोड़ा सा अदब में रहना पड़ता है। तो मेरी समझ में यह बात नहीं आई। शिवराव जी समझते हैं कि चूँकि सरकार ने एक नीति अस्तित्व की है कि वर्किंग जर्नेलिस्ट्स की विपत्ति में कुछ कमी करेंगे, इसलिये ये समझते हैं कि यहाँ से गोटी उठा कर दूसरी जगह ले चलें।

एक बात और याद दिलाऊ कि अगर शिव राव जी का उम्मीद है कि पन्त जी मैक्स-वेल या काम करेंगे तो वह उम्मीद हो गलत है। जब दिल्ली में प्रेस कमीशन न बना था उस समय पन्त जी ने लखनऊ में प्रेस इक्वायरी कमेटी बनायी थी और उस कमेटी ने जितनी मिफारिशें की, उनमें आधी मिफारिशें प्रेस कमीशन ने की है—व अधिक रेडिकल थीं इस प्रेस कमीशन की मिफारिशों ने। तो क्या वह कम क्रान्तिकारी कमेटी रही। इसलिए, मैं समझता हूँ कि ये सारी बातें करके मिनिस्टर्स के प्रति अश्रद्धा उत्पन्न करना, यह बात वर्तुग मेम्बर को शोभा नहीं देनी है।

एक और बात है। वे कहते हैं अगर आर्थिक सहायता दी जायेगी तो प्रेस की आजादी जानी रहेगी। शायद यह आर्थिक सहायता इस रूप में आती है कि प्राइम पेज शिड्यूल में जो कानून की सारी शर्तें आ रही हैं तो रुपया घटाने में कुछ सबमिडी दी जाय जिससे अच्छे पत्र छप सकेंगे, नहीं तो अच्छे पत्र कहते हैं कि हम अपने को बन्द कर देंगे। जरा सोचना चाहिये कि जिन दिनों यह जर्नेलिज बंदल कर इंडस्ट्री हुआ—युद्ध के दिनों में—जब आल इंडिया न्यूज पेपर एडीटर्स कान्फेंस बनी और उसके साथ मैक्सवेल का समझौता हुआ, और एडवर्टाइजमेन्ट्स और रुपया और सहायता, सारी चीजें हुईं, बल्कि ऐसी शर्तें हुईं कि अब नए पत्र नहीं निकलेंगे। उन दिनों नए पत्र नहीं निकले और उस समय, मुझे याद है, श्री शिव राव नामक एक सज्जन दिल्ली में रहते थे, जो सम्पादक भी थे और उससे सभापति भी थे। तो ये सारी बातें चलीं। तब आजादी का अपहरण नहीं हुआ, स्वतन्त्रता का अपहरण नहीं हुआ; स्वतन्त्रता का अपहरण अब हो रहा है जबकि हर आदमी को यह अस्तिथा है कि जिस गवर्नमेंट को चाहे दो थोड़ा लगा दे और। जब से लगा है यह कानून तब से मैं क्या कहूँ, किसी अखबार ने पहले से कम

गानिया दी है सरकार को ? यह तो फालतू बात है यह कहना कि हम एडवर्टाइजमेंट देंगे तो यह खरीदा जायगा, उसकी आजादी चली जायेगी। मैं इस बात में तनिक भी विश्वास नहीं करता।

एक बात उन्होंने और कही है। जितना क्रोध उन्होंने डा० केंसकर पर निकाला है उससे मालूम होता है कि डा० केंसकर न हों तो प्रेस कमीशन न बनता, तब वर्किंग जर्नेलिस्ट्स ऐक्ट नहीं बनता, तब मालिकों को कुछ तकलीफ नहीं होती। लेकिन, सच बात तो यह है कि प्रेस कमीशन बनने के पहले उसका पूर्वाभास राष्ट्रपति जी ने पहली बार सम्मिलित सत्र में अपने वार्षिक अभिभाषण में दिया था, उसी अभिभाषण में इसका संकेत था। फिर प्रधान मंत्री ने भाषण दिया, और मन्त्रिमण्डल ही नहीं, सारी संसद् प्रेस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट को स्वीकार कर चुकी है। ऐसी हालत में एक आदमी के आगे नारियल फोड़ करके सार दोष उस पर डालना, इसको मैं कुछ उचित नहीं समझता हूँ।

एक और बात है। चूंकि इंफॉर्मेशन में जो काम होता है, कभी कभी हमको कई कमेटियों में उसको देखने का मौका लगा है, इसलिए मैं इस सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने एक आरोप लगाया है मंत्रालय पर कि जर्नेलिज्म में सरकार के अश्लील पब्लिक से टर को वृद्धि हो रही है और प्राइवेट सेक्टर घट रहा है। मैं सोच कर रह जाता हूँ कि जो देश के बड़े अखबार हैं, उनकी टर्कर के अखबार सरकार के हैं या नहीं? कहना पड़ता है, नहीं है। पब्लिकेशन डिबीजत में जितने मैगजीन्स, पत्र आदि पहले से निकलते थे उनमें एक की भी वृद्धि नहीं हुई है। हाँ, एक बात है। अलग अलग मिनिस्ट्रीज अपने अलग अलग पत्र निकाल रही हैं। तो वे क्यों निकाल रही हैं? मिनिस्ट्रीज को अपनी अपनी आवश्यकता महसूस होती है और इसलिए

[श्री रामधारी सिंह दिनकर]
निकालते हैं या नहीं निकालते हैं इसकी जिम्मेदारी वहीं के लोगों पर है, उस मिनिस्ट्री में काम करने वालों पर है। वे आवश्यकता महसूस करते हैं तब फाइनेंस मिनिस्ट्री उनकी स्कीम को मानती है। तब जाकर वे पत्र निकालते हैं। उनमें से कोई शक जाय, फाइनेंस की कमेटी बने, वह उसको देखे और रोक दे, इसे मैं नहीं कहता। लेकिन, मैं एक मौलिक बात कहता हूँ कि ये पत्र आखिर निकालते हैं इसलिए कि दूसरे लोग नहीं निकाल सकते। अब 'जर्नल ऑफ़ ट्रेड एण्ड इंडस्ट्री' भारत के प्रकाशक क्यों निकालें? इसी प्रकार 'कुरुक्षेत्र' 'योजना' में कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट के अन्तर्गत जो काम हो रहा है उसको बाहर के अखबार वाले, बाहर के प्रकाशक और पत्र क्यों निकालें? लेकिन वे पत्र जरूरी हैं और इतने से ही गैर जरूरी नहीं हो जाते हैं कि 'हमको तो पसन्द नहीं है।' सच्ची बात तो यह है कि 'ट्रेड एण्ड इंडस्ट्री' का जो जर्नल है वह मेरे घर में आता है, मैं तो उसे कभी नहीं पढ़ता; लेकिन मेरे इंडस्ट्रियलिस्ट मित्र मेरे घर से एक एक प्रति ले जाते हैं। वे कहते हैं 'तुम न पढ़ो तो हमें भेज दिया करें, क्योंकि हम इसका एक एक पन्ना चाट जाते हैं।' इसी प्रकार 'कुरुक्षेत्र' के भी पाठक मैंने देखे हैं। यद्यपि 'कुरुक्षेत्र' भी मैं नहीं पढ़ता हूँ लेकिन हो सकता है, 'आजकल' जिनको पसन्द है—और 'आजकल' मैं भी प्रेम से पढ़ता हूँ, उसको मैं ह' नहीं बहुत सारे लोग पढ़ते हैं। इसलिए इन सारी बातों से मुझे दुःख हुआ और मैंने समझा कि सभा के सामने इसके दूसरे पक्ष की बातें भी आ जानी चाहियें, क्योंकि वर्कग जर्नेलिस्ट्स का जब तक उद्धार नहीं होगा, आप एक गुत्थी में पड़े रहेंगे। इनको खा, पीकर काम करने लायक बना दीजिए, जिससे देश के हर काम में आसानी पैदा हो जायेगी।

अगर पांच मिनट का समय और दे दें तो एक बात और कह दूँ ?

उप सभाध्यक्ष (श्री राजेन्द्र प्रताप सिंह) : जितनी जल्द हो, खत्म करने की कोशिश करें।

श्री रामधारी सिंह दिनकर : कल की सभा में कुंजरू साहब ने शिक्षा मंत्रालय पर कई बातें कहीं, जो विचारणीय हैं। कुंजरू साहब तो निस्वार्थ, निर्मल पुरुष, देश के कल्याण की कामना करने वाले हैं। उनकी बातों में विरोध किसको हो सकता है? लेकिन एक बात पर ज्यादा जोर देने वालों में ज्यादा नाम उन्हीं का देख रहा हूँ, इसलिए उसका दूसरा पक्ष भी कह देना चाहता हूँ। मेकेंडरी एजुकेशन के बारे में बोलते बोलते उन्होंने कहा, अंग्रेजी की शिक्षा बहुत कमजोर हो रही है। यू० पी० में उनको यह भी पता लगा कि मातृभाषा में भी लड़कें कमजोर हो रहे हैं। अगर इसको इस रूप में देखिये कि शिक्षा की पद्धति कमजोर हो रही है, जिसमें कई कारण हैं, शिक्षक कम हैं, लड़कें अधिक हैं, योग्य शिक्षक नहीं हैं, योग्य शिक्षकों को पैसा नहीं दिया जाता है, महंगाई का समय है, सब लोग असन्तुष्ट हैं, तो दूसरी बात है, लेकिन बार बार देश के कान में यह तुरही बजाई जाये कि अंग्रेजी खराब हो रही है, मिट जायेगी, अंग्रेजी खराब हो रही है, मिट जायेगी, तो मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि अंग्रेजी का खराब होने में क्यों मिट जायेंगे? मैं तो एशिया और यूरोप दोनों महाद्वीपों में घूम कर आया हूँ। क्या किसी देश के लोग ठीक से अंग्रेजी बोलते हैं? चीन में 'ही कमिन्स मिस्तेक्स' (He commits mistakes) जैसी बात वैसे बोल देंगे। फ्रांस में भी ऐसा ही बोलते हैं। पोलैण्ड में इंटरनेशनल कॉन्फ्रेंस हुई थी और वहां भी ऐसा ही बोलते हैं। अंग्रेजी जो करेक्टली बोल सकते हैं ऐसे लोग तो सारी दुनिया में कम हैं, लेकिन अंग्रेजी जो समझ लें, ऐसे लोग बहुत हैं। अपने यहां मौलाना आज़ाद अंग्रेजी की बड़ी से बड़ी किताबें पढ़ते थे, लेकिन अंग्रेजी में न तो लिख सकते थे और न बोल सकते थे। इसलिए हम लोग इस

निष्कर्ष पर आ गये हैं कि अंग्रेजी की एक आयु पूरी हो गई, उसको ब्रह्मा भी अब फिर नहीं लिख सकते। रोने वाले अपने आंखें बरबाद कर रहे हैं। उसकी दूसरी आयु शुरू हो रही है। as a language of comprehension. अंग्रेजी तो as a language of comprehension बहुत लोगों को सीखनी है और आज से अधिक लोगों को सीखनी है। अंग्रेजी से ज्ञान ग्रहण करके अपनी भाषा में उनको काम करना है। इसके सिवाय अगर यह रोते रहिये कि टेढ़ी अंग्रेजी हो, ऑक्सफोर्ड का प्रोन्सियेशन हो, तो यह फ़ानतू बात है। दिल्ली आकर बड़ी निराशा होती है कि कहां पहुंच गये। गांवों में आग लगी हुई है। मंले कुचैले बच्चे घूम रहे हैं, शिक्षा के अंधकार में घूम रहे हैं, वहां स्कूल नहीं हैं, और यहां दिन रात पब्लिक स्कूल की दुहाई दी जाती है। मैं कहता हूं कि दुहाई देते रहिये, लेकिन अगर आप ठीक से न सुधरे, शहरों से अपने मन को हटा कर गांवों की ओर न ले गये, तो गांवों के लोग आयेंगे और हम लोगों को पार्लियामेंट से मार कर निकाल देंगे। यह होने वाला है इस देश में। जिसको न दिखाई पड़ता हो, वह यह बोला करे।

एक बात और है। अच्छी अंग्रेजी के लिए इतना रोना इसलिए है कि सरकारी ऑफिसर बढ़िया नोट लिखेंगे। मैं पूछता हूं कि अच्छा राज चलाने के लिए क्या अच्छी भाषा लिखना आवश्यक है? क्या शिवाजी बहुत अच्छी भाषा लिखते थे, शेरशाह बहुत अच्छी भाषा लिखता था, अकबर बहुत अच्छी भाषा लिखता था? और रफ़ी साहब नोट नहीं लिखते थे, टेलीफोन पर राज करते थे। जिन को राज करना नहीं आता है, वही लम्बी लम्बी चीजें लिखते हैं और उसमें 'परहेस' की भरमार होती है। आज सरकारी ऑफिसर का एक धर्म है कि सुबह सूर्य नारायण से प्रार्थना करे, सेक्रेटरी-यट में जाने के पहले—मैं १८ वर्ष नौकरी में था इसलिए मेरा थोड़ा अनुभव है—कि हे भगवान्, आज ऐसा शुभ दिन करो कि कोई जवाबदेही मेरे ऊपर न आये और एक फाइल

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भी डिसपोज न हो। इसलिए अंग्रेजी भाषा का उपयोग किया जाता है। मारवाड़ियों को देखिये, वे लाल बही पर लिख कर चार-चार करोड़ का लाभ करते हैं और न उनके यहां सेक्रेटरीयट है और न कुछ है। दिमाग से राज होता है, चरित्र से राज होता है। जब तक इस चक्कर में हम पड़े हैं कि अच्छी भाषा लिख कर अच्छा राज चलायेंगे, तब तक मूढ़ कांड होता रहेगा।

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: Mr. Vice Chairman, tempted though I am very much by the anti-left charges made by the hon. Shri Khanna, accompanied of course with histrionic skill, I am going to confine myself mainly to the Demands of the Defence Ministry. But I would like to clear one or two distortions that were made by the Rehabilitation Minister. It was made out as though we had suggested ourselves that a lot of land is available in Bankura, Tripura and other districts which the Rehabilitation Ministry has not utilised. That is not correct. From our side the suggestion has been made that if the money is properly spent a lot of land could be reclaimed from these districts. That is one thing. The other one relates to the Dandakaranya scheme. It was suggested as though it is we who had suggested that this Dandakaranya is going to become a new *Sonar Bangla*. In fact it has been suggested by the hon. Members there; it is the Government which is indulging in this propaganda. It is not the Opposition or the left side or the Communist Party or the Praja Socialist Party that has Stated it. Sir, I leave it at that and now I come to the demands of the Ministry of Defence.

Sir, it is not our complaint or our quarrel that a lot of money has been spent on matters of defence. But the question is whether our defence is being really strengthened and whether the strength of our defence is really commensurate with the money that we are spending on it. It is of course clear that year by year we are spending more and more on defence. We

[Shri V. Prasad Rao.] certainly understand that there is reasons for it, that imperialists are certainly arming our neighbour that they use them as cat's paw to stifle our policies, especially our foreign policy. So our quarrel is not that we are spending more. But the question is: Are we spending it rightly? Do our extra spendings effectively contribute to the increased defence of our country? We want to examine the matter from that point of view. But it is our sad experience that whenever matters connected with defence are brought in here, a sort of mystery, a sort of secrecy is brought in and it is shrouded in it. And whenever any criticism is levelled against the Defence Ministry, I don't think a proper reply is given even to a simple question; questions of public security and other matters are brought in. To cite only a small example, yesterday we had asked of our Deputy Defence Minister how much progress is being made as far as self-sufficiency of our ordnance stores is concerned. It is given even in the Defence Service's accounts, how much we are spending in foreign countries, especially in England, in the purchase of defence stores. It has been recommended by the Estimate Committee in their report that we must have our own ordnance industry and in this respect we must be self-sufficient. It is a simple question of percentage and the reply could have been given in so much per cent and so on. But even then the Defence Ministry was not prepared to give that information. If really progress is made, then I am tempted to ask the question: How is it that we are spending increasing amounts in the purchase of stores from other countries?

, When we had established ordnance industries, which at least in part are fulfilling our needs, how are we forced to purchase more and more stores from the U.K. instead of less and less stores? I shall quote figures given by the Defence Ministry itself. In

1953-54, we spent Rs. 19' 13 crores in U. K. In 1954-55 it was Rs. 19 36 crores; in 1955-56, it was Rs. 20:81 crores; in 1956-57 it was Rs. 28-66 crores; in 1957-58 it was Rs. 70'3 crores and in 1958-59 this rose to Rs. 71* 28 crores. Are we not legitimate in asking, Sir, this question that, if we are having more ordnance factories, if we are increasing our defence production, how is it that we have to spend more instead of less in foreign countries for procuring our stores? I do not for a moment suggest that we can be self-sufficient overnight as far as these stores are concerned. I perfectly agree that there is necessity to purchase some of the materials that we are not producing here, but our quarrel is how, in spite of the best efforts, we have still to depend more and more on other countries? There has been practically no increase as far as the defence capital outlay is concerned. In 1956-57, a sum of Rs. 22'36 lakhs was spent on capital outlay, and in 1958-59, the budget estimates are for a sum of Rs. 26,93,00,000. How is it then that in spite of the tall talk that is going on about our making every effort to become self-sufficient we are not allocating more funds for capital outlay? Instead, we are spending more and more money in importing defence stores.

The next point I want to raise is why we are spending all this amount only in the U.K. We want to be satisfied that every reasonable effort is being made to procure these stores from other countries also. We want to be assured that after making every effort possible we find it more convenient, more suitable to procure these stores from the U. K. The charge that was levelled against the Defence Ministry was that even though some of the materials were offered by other countries on cheaper terms, on much more convenient terms to us, they were refused; instead, we are taking all these stores only from the U. K. and from no other country. I perfectly

understand that there should be continuity in the purchase of these stores. Of course, if we buy a particular type of plane from a country, the spare parts will have to be bought from that country but if some other country is offering things on much better terms how is it that we are not approaching those countries for purposes of procuring goods from those countries? We understand, Sir, that a very efficient fighter plane, MIG 17, was offered to us from a socialist country, but we rejected that offer and paid higher prices for procuring these Mosquito fighter planes, which have not got a very effective range. I understand that the range of these planes is only about 150 miles. We want to know as to why we bought these planes from the U.K. by paying higher prices. We also bought from France the Mystere Fighters. They are mysterious fighters or whatever it is. We want to be assured that reasonable efforts are being made to get these stores, these planes or whatever material is required, from the country that gives them at competitive prices. We want an explanation from the Defence Ministry.

(Time bell rings.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): I hope you will kindly cooperate.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: I think our Party was given an hour and fifteen minutes and only about fifty minutes, not more, have been taken. I think some twenty-five minutes or more is still left. That was the understanding I had.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): We have to finish this debate as early as possible and I would like to call on Mr. Gopala Reddi by 3 P.M. There are a number of speakers. I shall be obliged if you will cooperate and wind up as early as possible. •

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: I shall try to finish as early as possible but I still need some ten minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA): Wind up in five minutes.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: I will try my best, Sir.

Another complaint that I have got against the Defence Ministry is that there is no fresh thinking as far as matters of defence are concerned. It has been said always that it is the function of the Chiefs of Staff and of none else to think about matters of defence. May I tell the hon. Defence Minister as well as some of the Deputy Ministers of Defence, Sir, that the biggest contribution that has been made to the Chinese strategy is by Mao Tse-tung who does not hold any rank in the Chinese Army. May I also inform the House, Sir, that some of the cogent and the best suggestions were made by Members of Parliament in England, who did not hold any rank in the Army? They were all civilians. I think it is not correct to think that it is the close preserve of the experts and of none else. Our complaint always has been that we are not thinking afresh as far as our strategy is concerned. We are confined to the old rut left by the Britishers. If we had not followed in the same old rut, there would have been no necessity for us to spend such a huge amount on such a thing as the aircraft carrier. I had raised this question on a previous occasion also but no answer was given. It was stated by the hon. Deputy Defence Minister that it was better to be conservative in matters of this kind rather than be experimenting. I do not understand this mentality. I do not understand this mentality of the Maginot Line, where conservatism spells nothing but disaster for the defence of our country. If we had independently thought about our strategy, we would have never gone in for the purchase of an aircraft carrier. This carrier, as a tactical weapon, can only be used to take

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the battle to the shores of another country or to defend our country when we are going to be attacked by planes. Conditioned as we are, if we have to defend our country, I think we can effectively defend our country even without having this aircraft carrier but by having shoreline batteries, by having a radar system and by having more anti-aircraft guns with electronic devices and with radar control. We can as well do away with this type of aircraft carrier which is not even the latest according to the information that was given to us. In planning our purchases of planes and other things, we are more trying to keep up with the Joneses than to think actually of our needs, to plan our strategy afresh, to see actually what is required, what is the potential, what are our strong points, what are the things that we can utilise rather than imitate some other country which is trying to copy all these things. May I remind the House that a weak country—of course it is having a lot of population—like China could withstand the onslaught of a highly industrialised country like Japan by properly marshalling its resources, by properly utilising its strong points? Are we making any such efforts; to learn these things from them? Our cadre of officers unfortunately know much more about El Alamein, Tobruk or the campaign of the first World War than what has transpired in other Asian countries to resist and repel the aggression of Imperialists. Do our officer cadre know anything about the experiences of the Chinese fighters fighting against Japanese imperialism or the experience of some of the Soviet Armies when they had to fight against the Nazis? Are we taking into consideration all the advantageous factors that we have got at our disposal and trying to utilise them to the maximum effort? We want to be assured that proper re-thinking is going on and we want to be assured that we are going to utilise to the maximum our own talents and resources and that we are not going to

imitate or try to imitate some other country in shaping our defence policy.

Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

श्री बनारसीदास चतुर्वेदी (मध्य प्रदेश) :

श्रीमान् उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, एक श्रमजीवी पत्रकार को हैसियत से मैं अपनी बात ५ या ६ मिनट में समाप्त कर दूंगा। शिव राव जो नें जो बातें कल कहीं थीं उनको पढ़ कर हृदय को बड़ा दुःख हुआ। मेरा समझ में पूँजीपति लोगों ने उनका अपना बकोल बना कर बड़ी जबरदस्त गलतों को था। उन्होंने जो बातें कहीं, उनसे उनका मामला बनेगा नहीं, बल्कि और बिगड़ेगा। जिस पत्र के वे प्रतिनिधि हैं, क्या मैं उन्हें बतला दूँ और वे इस बात को पढ़ेंगे कि उनके पत्र में दो श्रमजीवी पत्रकार एम० राममूर्ति जो और नरसिंघम जो इसलिये निकाल दिये गये, क्योंकि उन्होंने वर्किंग जर्नलिस्ट्स के लिये कुछ काम किया था। इस प्रकार के जल्म एक पत्र में नहीं आज अनेक पत्रों में हो रहे हैं, और शिव राव जो यहाँ आते हैं और जले पर नमक छिड़कते हैं।

अभी यहाँ पर श्रमजीवी पत्रकारों की मोटिंग हुई थी। उनमें से बहुतों से मिलने का मौका मुझे मिला। उनमें एक प्रकार की निराशा छड़ी हुई है। और उस निराशा का परिणाम न तो जनता के लिये अच्छा हो सकता है, न सरकार के लिये। इस बात को शिव राव जो न भूलें कि इसका परिणाम उनके पूँजीपति मालिकों के लिये भी अच्छा नहीं हो सकता। वे मिशनरी जर्नलिज्म की बात करते हैं और यह भी कहते हैं कि मैं इस क्षेत्र में चालीस वर्ष से काम कर रहा हूँ। मैं भी चालीस, पैंतालीस वर्ष से इस क्षेत्र में काम करता रहा हूँ और देश के सबसे बड़े मिशनरी पत्रकार रामानंद चटर्जी के अग्रिम मैंने दस वर्ष काम किया था। शिव राव जो इस बात को नहीं जानते हैं कि रामानंद चटर्जी ७०,००० रु० का कर्ज छोड़ कर मरे थे और शिव राव जो इस बात को बतलावें

पूँजीपति, पत्र निकालते

वे कितने लाख रुपये कमाते हैं। उनके घर वाले एक-एक लाख रुपया हर साल ले लेते हैं और बेचारे गरीब आदमी को पचासी रुपया देने पर भी उनको एतराज होता है। मैं एक महाशय के बारे में कहूंगा जो एक करोड़-पति आदमी है। मैं उन के पास गया और मैं ने उनसे कहा "हमारे यहाँ विन्ध्य प्रदेश की राजधानी बदल गई है, तो आप वहाँ के अमुक पत्रकार को कहीं रख लीजिये।" मैं ने उनसे विनम्रता से कहा—"बीस, पच्चीस वर्ष से जो ताकत आज आपके हाथ में है वह नहीं रह जायेगी, इसको स्थिर करना शुरू कीजिये।" तो वे बोले, "यह तो आप हमको धमकी दे रहे हैं और मैं आपकी धमकी में नहीं आऊंगा।" मैं ने फिर उन से कहा कि आप ने शायद परिस्थिति को गलत समझा है। जब वकिंग जनलिस्ट्स क्लब पार्लियामेंट में आने वाला था तब आप को रोने वाले नहीं मिले थे। सच बात तो यह है कि हम जो श्रमजीवी पत्रकार हैं वे किसी मिनिस्टर की कृपा पर आश्रित नहीं हैं। आज डा० केसकर साहब हैं, कल दूसरे आदमी हो सकते हैं। हम तो अपनी ताकत पर कायम हैं। लेकिन यह जरूर मानना पड़ेगा कि केसकर साहब ने सहानुभूति के साथ हम लोगों का काम किया है। शायद इसीलिये पूजोपति लोग उन से कुछ नाराज हो गये हैं। हम समझते हैं, और भी सहानुभूति के साथ केसकर साहब को काम करना चाहिये। मैं उन का कोई वकील नहीं हूँ, लेकिन इतना जरूर मानना पड़ेगा कि उन के पब्लिकेशन डिवाजन ने सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्र में और शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में बड़ा उपयोगी कार्य किया है। मैं "आजकल" के बोर्ड में हूँ और "योजना" पर भी मुझे काम करना पड़ता है। मैं जानता हूँ कि ये पत्र देश के सर्वोत्तम पत्रों में हैं और इन में घाटा नाम मात्र का होता है। जहाँ भी ये पत्र मुफ्त में बाँटे जाते हैं, अन्य मिनिस्ट्रियों की ओर से बाँटे जाते हैं। हमारे शिवराव जी नहीं समझते हैं कि सबसिडी में—आर्थिक सहायता में—और प्रचार काम में कितना अन्तर है। दूसरे देशों में कितना

खर्च प्रचार पर होता है। करोड़ों डालर, करोड़ों रूबल्स खर्च किये जाते हैं। उसके मुकाबले में हमारे देश में बहुत कम खर्च हो रहा है। आप "सोवियट लैंड" पत्रिका को देखते हैं कि वह ग्यारह बाहर जवानों में निकलती है। मैं बार बार इस बात को अधिकारियों से कहता हूँ कि अपने देश में भी भिन्न भिन्न भाषाओं में इस तरह की पत्रिका क्यों नहीं निकाल पाते? शिव राव जी आज एतराज कर रहे हैं कि इतनी पत्रिकायें निकलती हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि जैसी पत्रिका "सोवियट लैंड" निकलती है वैसी पत्रिका हिन्दुस्तान की प्रत्येक भाषा में हमारे पब्लिकेशन्स डिवाजन से निकलनी चाहिये। उन्हें इस बात का पता नहीं है कि कितनी ही पत्रिकायें और पुस्तिकायें निकलती हैं, जो इनफार्मेशन सेन्टर्स को भेजी जाती हैं, कई कोम बुक्स में मुकर्रर की जाती हैं और जो कार्य पब्लिकेशन्स डिवाजन कर रहा है वह निस्सन्देह बहुत उपयोगी है। हमारे शिव राव जी ने हिटलर की और मुसोलिनी की दो बार अपने भाषण में चर्चा की है और कहा है १९१७ में मैंने पत्रकारिता में कार्य किया है। मेरा ख्याल है, उन्हें रूस के जार की याद करनी चाहिये। जिस ढंग से पूजोपति काम चला रहे हैं, उस ढंग से हिटलर और मुसोलिनी का जमाना तो नहीं आयेगा। उस ढंग से रूस का जो शासन आया, वह जमाना आयेगा। तो यह जमाने के ढंग से बात नहीं की जा रही है। यह एक फैक्ट है, जिसको वे और उनके पूजोपति मालिक नोट कर लें। इससे अधिक मैं नहीं कहूंगा।

SHRI D. V. PATEL (Bombay): Mr. Vice-Chairman, it is better that I have got this opportunity to speak at this late hour after having had an opportunity of listening to the replies of a couple of Ministers who graced this House a little while ago. I know a lot of good work is being done but that is not all; more could be done and we are dissatisfied that more is not done. I will confine my remarks to the affairs of two or three

[Shri D. V. Patel.] Ministries only—Food, and Information and Broadcasting. I will make only a passing reference to the Ministry of Education.

The Ministry of Education, I understand, is getting into safer and safer hands, particularly since Mr. Deshmukh has taken charge of the University Grants Commission. I need not dilate on that subject at all, but I do feel that this system of dual control is perhaps the root of many of our trouble's. The Central Government advises the introduction of something but the State Governments say they are autonomous and they are not willing to implement that. Thus a sort of a chaos has come about and that is why the standard of education has been going down every day, much more so, I will say, in the State of Bombay.

The same is the case with the Food Ministry. I doubt whether we have got really a food plan at all. It is only a paper plan, a plan that is made out by reading books published in foreign countries, with outlandish and imported ideas, ideas that, are not congenial to the soil of this country. I do not know how and when it will work but I would draw the attention of the House to how they are working today. Last year the Director of Agriculture of the State of Bombay—Dr. Shirname—retired from service. He said that he had put forward a scheme . of rice cultivation, rice which we all like very much but of which we are very short. He named it the Japanese method of rice cultivation because, he said that in this country only when we say that this is imported from Europe or Japan, people look at it, but if he told them the truth that he learnt the method from the poor cultivators of Khera, the people would not even look at it. It was in fact what was being practised in the district of Khera for years, for centuries. But we have disrupted the whole system by ill-advised, ill-thought out and hasty tenancy legislation over which

Delhi has little control. In the District of Khera in one taluka alone there were 5,000 pumps and engines working and previously,' during the days of shortage of food, the cultivator took three crops of bajra in a year. Today one does not get even one satisfactory crop a year because the land is given to persons who do not know what land is and do not want to work; who have not got the equipment; who have not got the money. I am not pleading for the landlord; they have got their own advocates and they will plead for them, but I am pleading for better food production. Our friends on the left have done something better than Bombay. They have given land to the tiller but they have specified that any holding of less than five acres would not be touched. That is not so in Bombay; I do not know what exactly the position is elsewhere. And the result is there is quarrel and there is no cultivation. There are feuds; there is burning of crops and there are murders. The tenant says, 'this is my land' and the landlord says, 'this is my land'. For want of a proper food policy there is thi? utter confusion. Therefore I say that we need a proper plan, a plan that will work in this country instead of uprooting the people who knew how to work on land, people who knew how to take the maximum out of the land, who took three crops in a year by using the means of irrigation. Irrigation was utilised so much that the subsoil water level went down 25 feet in a decade. That is the extent to which crops were raised in that area. There is no crop there now; there is hardly one crop and I was hoping that our hon. friend Mr. S. K. Patil, when he took charge of the Ministry of Irrigation and Power, would do something about it, particularly in the matter of giving water to these people. Unfortunately, he was only a bird of passage. I notice that in the Government of India there are few Ministers who stick long enough to do something. They stay for a year or two years

and in the third year they go somewhere else. Mr. Patil was given a reception in Bombay when he came and I remember the remarks made by a speaker. The speaker said that Mr. Patil is Minister for Irrigation and Power, Irrigation for the people and Power for the Minister. That is really the history of irrigation, particularly in Gujarat.

Mr. Nanda laid the foundation stone of the Kakrapar project ten years ago. He promised water, to how many lakhs of acres can be set from the Government publication. He said in a few years the second part of the project would be taken in hand and you would get electric power. But the project was taken in hand without even a proper survey, without even taking levels, because it was somebody's constituency and the work had to be started before the elections. The result is thousands of acres of land are lying idle, because they have been dug up, no levels have been taken. The levels will have to be taken again. The canal which should normally be in a straight line has been made into a winding one, because somebody's field had to be protected, somebody's field was not to be dug up, somebody's friend had a pull in Delhi and he got the canal made into a winding little lane. Any person with ordinary sense will tell you that this canal will not work, much more so an irrigation engineer. So, finding itself in difficulties, the Irrigation Ministry of the Government of India very cleverly put the baby in the hands of the Bombay Government! So, we have no say in the matter. I say this is a very indifferent manner of dealing with the food situation and, therefore, I say that the Government of India has no food policy at all. When we had two years of good rain, nature was bountiful, we announced that we had solved the food problem, we had turned the corner and we started exporting food. The wise man is he who provides for the rainy day. (*Time bell rings.*) We did not.

We failed to do so and today we are reaping the benefit. I am afraid the Government of India is going back to the days of the Grand Moguls who occupied this place.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA) : I hope the hon. Member will kindly wind up now.

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SHRI D. V. PATEL: Please give two minutes more. I have referred to only one Ministry. I will not take very long for the other Ministry. I am glad that Dr. Keskar has come to listen to me. We have got into the ways of the Grand Mogul. I asked a very simple, little question, is the Baroda station to be wound up? Dr. Keskar issues a press statement. But he refuses to answer a short notice question because he is afraid of supplementary questions. I ask him, since he is on the floor of the House, what happened to the amplifier that was there in the Baroda station, the transmitter which was installed by Sayajirao Gaekwad for the people of Baroda? What happened to the assurances given to the people of Baroda at the time of merger that none of their amenities would be taken away, whereas it has been taken away? And why? It is because of these happenings that the people of Gujarat are tired and they ask for Maha Gujarat and that is why they have sent me here, because their voice is staled on all sides. They are not allowed to speak. They have sent me here to represent them. I did not seek this election. The elected members of the Bombay Legislature, 35 of them, came on deputation to my house and asked me to take this place because they said that their voice was being stifled from all sides by such means.

One thing more, and that belongs to the Ministry of our friend. Dr. Keskar, again—advertising. How is it that certain newspapers in Ahmedabad overnight changed their policy? What happened? Who spoke to them? Will Dr. Keskar deny that they were

[Shri D. V. Patel.]

spoken to about advertisements, about changing their policy? Even if he denies it, the reading of the papers will tell you what the position is. And it would tell the Government of India that they will have to change this policy. It is no use making statements that they will not change it. The Prime Minister made a statement that we would never agree to the partition of India and you have given partition. Similarly, you will have to break up the larger, bigger, unwieldy State of Bombay very soon.

THE MINISTER OF INFORMATION ' AND BROADCASTING (DR. B. V. KESKAR) : Mr. Vice-Chairman, I had no intention of intervening in this debate, but I find that yesterday certain remarks were made and statements made on the floor of this House, which if not answered, might leave an impression in the minds of Members that there is some foundation for them. No doubt in the course of the debate today many of my hon. friends here have already given effective answers to some of the wild allegations made. But I think I would be failing in my duty if I do not refer to one or two of the important matters that were raised by an hon. Member here. An hon. Member has tried to put forward the suggestion that the question of the freedom of the press has been not only neglected by Government, but Government had been trying, by various means, to suppress the freedom of the press or interfere with the freedom of the press in various ways, more especially by the various legislations that the Government had been bringing forward and also by other enactments. I would like to point out that many times on the floor of the House, during the last three or four years this question has been debated and I might remind hon. Members again that it is for the specific purpose of having this question carefully looked into that the Government appointed the Press Commission. We wanted to be very sure as to what

were- the lines on which the development of the press should take place and also what ought to be the Government's attitude towards the press, in what way it might deal with certain problems facing the press and such other allied matters. The Commission was presided over by an eminent High Court Judge and was composed of eminent men and journalists. The Commission's report was debated in this House. As a result of the Commission's work one or two pieces of legislation were also brought before this House and enacted by it. Now, what I would like to draw the attention of the House to is that this question of the freedom of the Press was discussed during all these occasions, on four occasions in this House and in the Lok Sabha, and all the pro's and cons were thrashed out, and I make bold to say that the point of view that we placed before the House was supported by an overwhelming majority. Government's attitude is very clear. We do not have any intention of interfering with the freedom of the Press. But when the question comes up of helping the Press industry as a whole or trying to solve the problems that are facing it, we will have to adopt certain measures, and it is for that purpose that we asked a Commission to give us advice, and whatever legislation or enactment has been put forward, that has been done according to the recommendations of the Commission.

Now, a lot of criticism was made of, for example, the Working Journalists Act. At present the Working Journalists Act is under the control of the Ministry of Labour. I would **not** like to say much about it, but I **can** say this much that the Act not only does not interfere in any way with the freedom of the Press but it is intended to help in preserving it, in-guarding it.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

When that Act and the Act for the Price Page Schedule came up on the floor of this House, the'

overwhelming majority of Members I here from all parties supported the I legislation, and then also points were I made regarding the freedom of the Press, and it was the opinion of this House that this was not interference with the freedom of the Press. The question was taken to the Supreme Court, and there is now the ruling of the highest Court in this country that the Act is quite all right, that there is nothing wrong with the Act. If some people are taking satisfaction that a particular decision of the Wage Board was considered to be wrong and was cancelled by the Supreme Court, they probably overlook the fact that the Act practically in its entirety, leaving aside a very small sub-section, was considered to be thoroughly in line with the principles laid by the Constitution.

An hon. Member who spoke yesterday was so much annoyed with this Ministry and myself that he was good enough to say that he is very happy that some of the work or responsibilities of this Ministry are being looked after by the Home Ministry, and he very much desired that this work might be taken up by the Home Ministry. Now, that shows ignorance of how things work in Government, and it only shows that he probably desires that this work might not be with this Ministry but some other Ministry. Sir, you know that all important decisions of Government are taken collectively. There is no decision which is taken by any particular person. It might be that the day-to-day work is done by a particular person. In fact the Price Page Act or the Working Journalists Act or the consideration of the Press Commission's recommendations, they are all the result of collective deliberations of the Government, and in fact even the drafting of the Acts was done by the various Committees of the Cabinet and gone into very thoroughly. The changing of a particular department might please him if he has taken such a dislike to this Ministry or myself, but I might assure him that it is not likely to

make the least difference as to the policy that the Government is following, because the policy is laid down collectively. It is not laid down according to the will or whim of any particular person. So, if it gives him any pleasure, he can certainly wish it or try to do it, but as far as the principal objection is concerned, I do not think that it will make much of a difference. I might go even further and say that if it is his contention that the Government is trying to interfere with the freedom of the Press by the various enactments that are brought before Parliament, I am prepared to agree if a sizeable minority of this House stands up and says that the Working Journalists Act or the Price Page Act is something which encroaches on the freedom of the Press, to reconsider that question. As you know, Sir, when both the Bills were brought before this House and the other House, we could not get even five Members to vote against the measure. They had such an overwhelming and popular support in both the Houses.

Sir, much was made of the fact that we have not been trying to bring about any agreement between the various sections of the Press. Now, that is a wrong statement. It has always been our endeavour to try to bring about settlement by agreement between the various sections of the Press. In fact it was tried two or three times, but we found that the time was not propitious. Both sides refused even to come together and talk—for whatever reasons, that was not our affair—but the time was not propitious, and as our efforts could not succeed, we were not able to take it up then. Now, as the Supreme Court has given a definite verdict, the parties are more agreeable to come and talk, and we are very glad that we have been able to find this opportunity to find a solution, if possible, by agreement, because a solution by agreement is always better, and that has always been our effort. When it is said that Government is not looking

[Dr. B. V. Keskar] to the interests of the Press or Government is not keeping contact with the Press, may I ask what is meant by saying that Government has to keep contact with the various sections of the Press, the various interests of the Press? I would like to remind you that there is no doubt there is such a collectivity which we can envisage intellectually, which we can imagine, but if we go into the question, the Press is a complex problem. If you take, for example, the proprietorial interests of the Press, the interests of the big papers are not the same as the interests of the medium papers and those of the small papers. The mofussil papers have not the same interests as the big city papers. There are also the questions of the proprietors, the working journalists, the editors, and so on. When Government has to keep contact and look to the interests of the Press, it means we have to look to all these interests, and we have to try to keep a balance between them. "Wherever we find that by looking into the interests of all we are not able probably to satisfy a particular sectional interest, it is natural that they should become annoyed with us. So, I am sorry that because we were not able to satisfy a particular section of the Press interests, a general accusation has been made against us that we are not looking into the interests of the Press or that we are trying to be discriminatory or going against it. I would like this House to rest assured that as far as this question of the Press is concerned we have tried to keep as much aloof as possible where the question of Press liberties is concerned. Hon. Members might remember that, when the question of the Press Trust of India came up here and a large section of this House and the other House insisted that we should try to force the Press Trust of India and other agencies into making them a Public Trust, we explained that we did not think that constitutionally it would be proper for us to interfere in the working of the agencies, and we, therefore, declined to intervene in this matter.

I Whenever we have felt a doubt that a particular thing might impinge on the freedom of the Press, we have kept away from it and we have had to take some opprobrium in this House on that account. Therefore, it is unfair to accuse the Government of trying to interfere with the freedom of the Press.

I find, Sir, that there was a point made that the Government tried to offer a subsidy to the Press Trust of India. The fact is to the contrary. The Press Trust of India came to Government asking for help, because due to certain things on account of the Working Journalists Act and others, their commitments were becoming heavier, and they thought that Government might help them by increasing the subscriptions that we were paying for the All India Radio. In all these questions, we decide things on merit and that is what our attitude has all along been. I do not think the question of ever giving any subsidy as such has arisen.

I now come to the other question of the Publications Division. Much was made of it and I am surprised that fantastic charges were made.

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR: The subscription of the All India Radio to the P.T.I. was increased.

DR. B. V. KESKAR: Yes, increased. They said they had to pay heavier charges etc.

Fantastic charges were made against the Publications Division that it has become a Hitlerian organisation. If it can become Hitlerian simply by the increase of volume and the quota of books published, then this is a new definition of 'Hitlerian' which I have not heard up till now.

I would like to put before hon. Members a few facts about the Publications Division and let the facts speak for themselves. I would not like to say anything more. The Publications Division is publishing books

and pamphlets on behalf of the Government in four categories. First of all, we publish the Plan publicity pamphlets and books. They are connected with the Five Year Plans. This work is done under the guidance of the Planning Commission, not done by the Ministry itself. Then, we publish books about tourist publicity, pamphlets on tourist publicity. These might have increased and these are for use for the publicity- of the Tourist Organisation of the Government of India. We are also publishing factual and statistical books which are helpful in giving facts and figures about Governmental and commercial activities of the country, which might be of use to the general public. We do publish also a few general and cultural books.

These are the main categories that the Publications Division is publishing. Of these, I would like to point out, the major part is really Plan publicity and tourist publicity. There is very little, or a minor portion, which is done for general and cultural books. There also the objective that we keep in view is that we will not publish generally anything which is likely to be published or which can easily be published by other private parties and sold. What we keep in view is that they are publications of public interest and of cultural interest in which the ordinary book publishers are not interested because there is a risk that it may not give any profit and about books which are of use to the public, we think it is right and proper for us to publish such books.

A point was made that the Government is trying to compete with the private trade. Now, Sir, there is no monopoly of books or publishing for the private trade. . At least, we do not recognise such a monopoly. Also we do not like to do any harm to the book trade and I am quite sure that no harm has been done. We have to keep in view certain facts of the situation in our country today. Ours is a poor country which is becoming literate, in which we are trying to have schools, colleges and intellectual education on

as large a scale and as quickly as possible. For all these, books of general interest have to • be produced on a large scale and as quickly as we can. We find by experience that, if it is left purely to the private trade, a number of interesting and useful books will never be published. In fact, it is keeping this view in mind that the Government have taken a number of steps—not only- the Publications Division—for making available to the public valuable and historic publications at as cheap a price as possible. I think hon. Members are quite aware that we have established the National Book Trust which is under the Education Ministry. The Prime Minister in establishing it has publicly explained the role of this National Book Trust which is to make available eminent books, classics and books of use to the public and publish them in large quantities and make them available at as cheap a rate as possible. There is also the Sahitya Akadami which tries to prepare volumes and books which are of use to the public. Both for the National Book Trust and the Sahitya Akadami the Publications Division are the main publishers.

So it will be clear that we are not doing it on our own. All the Plan . publications and others are done in consultation with and under the advice • of the other Ministries. Most of the publications are such that the advice and recommendations of the Ministries are followed. So, really speaking, the Publications Division is only the publisher to the various Ministries and also autonomous bodies like the National Book Trust and the Sahitya Akadami. No doubt, we feel we owe a duty to the public that if certain important publications cannot be made available to them we should make them available. I give an example. You remember, only about six or eight months back, we announced the beginning of the publication of the collected works of Mahatma Gandhi which will probably go into 40 or 50 volumes, with the intention to publish everything that he wrote or said. Now, this is a

[Dr. B. V. Keskar.] colossal work. I cannot expect a private publisher to take up this work and carry it out. In fact, if the Government had not come forward and gathered together all the materials and the organization to do it, I am afraid this work would not have been carried out. I can mention many publications of this type. I can also point out to hon. Members that the utility of our publications can be proved by this fact that all our publications sell and sell well to the extent that even books and pamphlets published for Plan publicity have been sold, not one, but two, three and four editions and we have had to bring out a number of editions. For example, for books like questions and answers regarding the Five Year Plans we had to bring out the third edition. We are not trying to waste, public money, or to do something which the public does not want or which is simply distributed. For example, our total revenue from sales today is Rs. 16 lakhs. It used to be, a few years back, only Rs. 3 lakhs. The total value of our free distribution is round about Rs. 4 lakhs. We are selling for Rs. 16 lakhs getting cash, and we are only distributing" upto about Rs. 4 lakhs, of which practically everything is on Plan publicity. I am talking of free distribution. This will make it clear that we are not trying to waste public money. Whatever is being 'done is of such value that the public wants it, that the public buys it and likes to buy it. A number of cultural books have already gone into the second edition and are being published again and again.

It is our objective also that we try to publish things for public utility or what is of use to the nation as a whole and leave to the trade other sorts of books in which we generally are not interested.

So, I hope, Sir, that Members will not accuse the Publications Division of trying to be Hitlerian. I have never seen where Hitlerism comes in. But, I am afraid my hon. friend was so

annoyed that he probably stepped into an exaggeration.

I will take up the question of periodicals which was mentioned by one hon. Member. As far as periodicals are concerned, I might straightaway tell you that, so far as the Ministry and the Publications Division are concerned, we are bringing out only three periodicals of our own. It is not a fact, Sir, as was said yesterday—it is a fantastic exaggeration to say—that we are publishing 120 periodicals. There are, in all, about 20 periodicals of which, as I said, only three are being published by this Ministry directly. All the others are being published on behalf of the other Ministries. Now, this is a difficult question for me to answer. No doubt, some of the points made by some hon. Members like Dr. Ray who is sitting there has some validity. I agree that where particular periodicals overlap, that should be looked into. But, then, various Ministries have got certain objectives before them in publishing a periodical and it is not possible for me to question them or challenge whatever they might do. You might say, this is a wrong type of organisation; that is probably right. But, as far as I am concerned, I am afraid I am helpless in the matter, but I would also like to point out that it should not be construed that all these periodicals are useless. It is possible that they might be improved. For example, we are publishing the 'March of India'. It is specially meant for the External Affairs Ministry and they send it out and it gives useful information about India to outside countries. And that has been constantly under our supervision and also under the supervision of the Ministry of External Affairs, and we are trying to see how it can be improved. In that way, Sir, each one of the publications is done for a particular Ministry and we are only the publishers. It is no use trying to come down on us for all these publications and also trying to make twenty into one hundred and twenty, which I think is not fair either to the Publications Division or

to the various Ministries. (*Time bell rings.*)
I am sorry, Sir . . .

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: What are the three periodicals which you are publishing on behalf of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting?

DR. B. V. KESKAR: Yes, out of these three periodicals, there is one children's publication called 'BAL BHARATI' and then there is another publication known as 'AJ-KAL' in Hindi as well as in Urdu. And there is a history behind these three publications, Sir. These publications had been carried on by the Government of India for many years when we took over, and they are going oh well. For example, Sir, the sale of each of the Hindi publications is one of the highest in the Hindi world, and we felt that -when these publications were going on so well and they occupied a very good position in the world of literature in these two languages, it would not be fair on our part to close down what had been going on so nicely. Otherwise we would not have continued them. The other publications are all by the various Ministries.

Lastly, Sir, I will take up only one point and that is regarding the information cadre which has been mentioned here. Dr. Ray tried to put forward arguments for the unification of both, the external information cadre and the internal information cadre. As far as the internal information cadre is concerned, we are trying to have it formed into a regular cadre. In fact, the scheme has been entirely accepted and the selection of officers and their review by the U.P.S.C, is going to take place very soon. But whether the cadre should be separate or united is a very difficult question and I will not be able to answer that question straightway. No doubt, there are arguments in favour of both these things. There are arguments in favour of unification, and I might put it to him that there are arguments also against unification. So both these things will have to be considered very carefully. But certainly his suggestion is worth being

carefully looked into. Sir, I do not want to take any more of your' time. I am sorry that due to some wrong statements made about the activities of this Ministry, pertaining to the press and the Publications Division, I had to intervene in the debate. Otherwise, I would not have troubled the House at this time. Thank you.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI B. N. DATAR): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am going to intervene in this debate only on one point.

My hon. friend, Shri Shiva Rao, yesterday raised one question that the traffic control in Delhi was far from satisfactory. Naturally, Sir, he had in his mind, as all of us are having here before us, the tragic picture of the deaths of two children in an accident only a few days ago. So far as that matter is concerned, Government are taking all steps to find out the reasons that led to this unfortunate disaster, and after investigation, they will take all necessary steps so far as the avoidance of such accidents is concerned. But after making a reference to this tragic incident, Mr. Shiva Rao naturally raised the general question of traffic control, and he made a number of suggestions, some of which are fairly important and valuable. May I point out here, Sir, that so far as the traffic control is concerned, it is a matter to which the Government are giving the greatest measure of attention, because naturally traffic has to be properly controlled? But before I deal with the various ways in which this matter is being attended to, I may point out to this hon. House that there are certain fairly important difficulties which have got to be got over. One is naturally the great increase in the population of Delhi. The hon. House will be interested to know, Sir, that in 1946, the population of Delhi was only 9 lakhs. In 1951, it was about 17 lakhs or so, and according to the present figures, today's population is 23 lakhs. Now, Sir, so far as this large increase in our population is concerned, it requires

[Shri B. N. Da tar.]

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further concerted measures, and Government are alive to the need to see j to it that there is proper control over traffic.

Secondly, Sir, »there were also a number of authorities, in fact, a multiplicity of authorities, most of which now have disappeared after the establishment of the Delhi Municipal Corporation. We -had as many as 11 or 12 different bodies. And as you are aware, Sir, the question of traffic was common to the police on the one hand and to a number of these local authorities on the other, and, therefore, there were often a number of difficulties and sometimes the work was also delayed. But happily, as the House is aware, the Delhi Municipal Corporation has started functioning; and that would remove a very large number of our difficulties, and it is hoped that with the fullest co-operation of the Delhi Municipal Corporation on the one hand and of the Delhi Administration and the Delhi police on the other hand, the question of traffic will be looked into to a very considerable extent and all necessary improvements will be made in that direction.

Then, Sir, there were also some other difficulties which we have to take into account. Yesterday, Sir, a pointed reference was made by Shri Shiva Rao to the question of checking speed and also to the question of seeing as to whether licences were or were not being issued properly. So far as that question is concerned, I may point out that there is a different Controller of Traffic whose duty it is to see that certificates are issued after finding . a particular car or a truck or a bus to be fully road-worthy. Now there were certain difficulties in the way and Government have already taken up this question with the Delhi Administration to see to it that so far as the Controller of Traffic's work is concerned, the Delhi police should also be associated, because they are directly concerned with this traffic, and . therefore it is expected that by the method of co-operation and co-ordi-

nation of work the difficulties that I have pointed out will be fully removed.

Lastly, Sir, so far as the question of traffic is concerned, Government is anxious to see to it that traffic is maintained in as efficient a manner as possible. For that purpose, Sir, Government have already taken certain steps. In the Delhi police, for example, we have set up one Traffic Division for the whole of Delhi and New Delhi in charge of a special Superintendent of Police who has a Deputy Superintendent of Police under him and a large number of Inspectors, and a still larger number of Sub-Inspectors, constabulary and others. All these officers are looking after the regulation of Delhi traffic, and we are seeing to it that this regulation is improved as early as possible. Government are anxious to take all stern measures in this respect. May I point out that so far as this question is concerned, Government are not lagging behind? For example, what is being done in the City of Bombay? I have got certain figures to show that the Delhi Administration is taking steps which are not only in consonance with what is being done in the City of Bombay, but in some respects, we are taking even sterner steps so far as the control of traffic is concerned. May I point out in this z'espect some comparative figures? So far as the total number of vehicles in Bombay is concerned, in the year 1957 there were as many as 61,204. In Delhi the number was half. It was about 32,294. These are the total numbers for the two cities. The total number of accidents will kindly be noted by the House. So far as Bombay is concerned, there were 20,174 accidents in 1957 as against— I desire that the House will kindly note this—1,800 in Delhi. Taking the figures as they are, the number of vehicles is 32,000 in Delhi and the number in Bombay is almost double. I Still you will find that as against 20,000 and odd of. accidents in Bombay, we have only 1,800 accidents. 1 Now

accidents per thousand vehicles in Bombay was 329.61 as against 55.78 in Delhi. May I also point out that we are not slow in prosecuting all those who are responsible for rash driving or those who are not taking proper steps as required by the law? During the same period, the total number of prosecutions launched by the traffic police in Bombay was 41,259 as against the figure of 55,689 in Delhi. That will show that we are taking stern measures and a number of persons who are acting either rashly or who are acting under irregularities, are brought to book and Government are trying their best to see to it that all these cases are disposed of as early as possible. Government are also trying to increase the number of magistrates, if it becomes necessary, to see to it that the cases are disposed of as immediately as possible. May I also point out that we have certain difficulties also? The number of cycles in Delhi, the House might note, is more than 3 lakhs and our law was deficient in certain respects. Therefore, what was done was that certain provisions of the Bombay Police Act were made applicable to Delhi and rules are now being finalised and the moment these rules are brought into effect, there would be a proper control. So far as the roads are concerned, naturally the mileage is increasing, but Government are trying to see that islands are formed or there are certain traffic points. Where there is, very great rush, especially during peak hours in the morning as also in the evenings, special steps are taken to see to it that heavy trucks and others are not allowed to use certain roads. Therefore you will find that we are taking all the necessary steps. All the same, the suggestions that Mr. Shiva Rao has made will surely be looked into. He has further suggested that special steps should be taken to see to it that children are protected. It is not merely the children. The protection of children must be one of the most fundamental obligations of the Government but Government have also to

see that there is proper traffic and that accidents are avoided or brought down to the minimum. For that purpose he suggested yesterday that there should be security zones. Already certain items in respect of incidents of the security zone are being taken in hand and Government are considering as to whether it is necessary to increase the number of police officers and constables. Now it was found that the number was inadequate in certain respects and therefore the Delhi Administration had appointed a Police Reorganisation Committee. That Committee has not yet submitted its report but it was considered that some *ad interim* steps should be taken immediately, and I imagine that in the course of a week or so some additional constables will also be appointed and very soon the number would be brought to the extent that is absolutely essential.

Then after making this suggestion, Shri Shiva Rao made a general observation which is not very clear to me. He has stated about the morale of the Delhi Police as follows:

"I don't like to pass any strictures without evidence."

This is how he starts, but he says:

"But I do feel that the morale of the Delhi Police, especially 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."

May I point out that so far as this general question of morale is concerned, Government are fully alive to the need of keeping up the morale at a very high level. Now on the one hand you have to give the Police—the constables and officers—fair conditions of service. That is being done. So far as the other matter is concerned, you have to get the fullest work in the sternest manner from the police; otherwise things would not remain properly. Therefore Government are tackling this problem from both points-

[Shri B. N. Datar.] of view and I am happy to find that on the whole our police officers as also the constabulary are reacting very favourably to the conditions that have been given to them as also to the obligations that have naturally to be imposed upon them. Under the circumstances the hon. House will find that Government are fully alive to the need of regulating traffic in a proper manner and Government have already taken certain steps, and I assure this House that Government will take all the steps that are necessary to see to it that the traffic is maintained at the highest efficiency and that nothing is done to mar the traffic in Delhi. As I have pointed out, we are getting over all these difficulties and therefore the House will agree that the picture drawn by my friend is not necessarily correct and that Government are taking all the steps that are necessary in this respect.

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION (DR. K. L. SHRIMALI) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would not have ordinarily liked to take the time of this House at this late hour but my hon. friend Pandit Kunzru had raised certain points which need to be answered. I was rather amazed when he said that the basic education has not been accepted by the State Governments though they all gave lip-sympathy to this idea at public conferences. Sir, the concept of basic education has been debated in the country for the last several years and it is after a Kvsat deal of discussion and experimentation that we have come to the conclusion that the basic system of education is the only system of education which will suit the culture of this country, our present requirements and the future needs of the society. To my mind, there are three criteria which every educational system must satisfy in order that it may serve the needs of the society. A good educational system must suit the culture and the genius of the people and must serve the present needs and the

future requirements of the society. In this country all our culture and civilisation have centred round one thing and that is work, and the present division which exists in our society, the division between people who work with hands and those who work with brains is an artificial distinction.

And through this system of 3 P.M. education we want to bring

about an integrated social system in which those who work with their hands and those who work with their brains can participate. Though Dr. Kunzru had suggested that manual work for school children was essential and useful in an educational system, he took strong objection to socially useful work. I am afraid I cannot understand why Dr. Kunzru should take objection to this socially useful work if he has no objection to work being introduced in the schools. When the child is engaged in productive work and in socially useful work, he gets the consciousness that he is a member of the society and that he is making some contribution to the social welfare. Is this wrong in any way? If a child is to develop that kind of a social consciousness, it can come only through productive work. This is a theoretical discussion and I do not want to take up the time of the House any more on it. But I would like to make it quite clear that there is perfect agreement between the State Governments and the Central Government as far as the system of basic education is concerned. Even at the last Education Ministers' Conference held in 1956 it was agreed that all the teachers training institutions in the country should be converted into basic training institutions and all the new teachers training institutions which are being set up should be of the basic type.

SHRI N. R. MALKANK (Nominated): May I know whether ...»

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: Sir, I am afraid I do not have much time and if hon. Members intervene, it will be difficult for me to keep to the time.

I may say that the Government of India are quite aware that the State Governments are working towards this objective. Dr. Kunzru also said:

"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 must say I was rather amazed at this statement, for my own information is that we are now in the process of converting all the teacher training schools into basic schools.

SHRI N. R. MALKANI: May I know whether it is not a fact that some of the well-known educationists of the world have approved of this system?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is not much time.

SHRI N. R. MALKANI: It is only a question, Sir.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh): And it is relevant.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can put a separate question.

SHRI N. R. MALKANI: Sir, I asked whether it is not a fact that well-known educationists of the world have approved of this system.

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: As I have said, we must decide for ourselves, whatever the world might say, what type of education will suit our country and our people and we have taken the decision, and this decision is that basic education is the only system of education which will suit this country, not only for our present requirements, but also for the needs of the new industrial age into which we are entering. There is a misconception that this system of education is meant only for rural areas. I know that this misconception exists among most people, particularly in the rural areas. But we have to do our best to remove this misconception. Govern-

ment are taking steps to convert the ordinary schools in the urban areas also into basic schools. We cannot have two types of education, one for the rural areas and another for the urban areas in this country. As far as mass education is concerned, we will have only one pattern and that is the basic education system.

Dr. Kunzru raised also certain points with regard to secondary education, and he criticised the Government for not taking effective steps to check the deterioration in standards in the secondary schools. This is a problem of very great magnitude and though I cannot show quick results in this matter, I am quite certain that the steps that the Government are taking are bound to make their impact and to produce good results in course of time. I would like to name a few of the steps which the Government have taken with regard to the raising of this standard. We have prepared an integrated syllabus for the secondary schools and we have recommended this to all the Boards of Education as well as to State Governments, and I am hoping that when all the State Governments accept this integrated syllabus and plan their courses in accordance with it, the standards in secondary schools would necessarily be raised.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: With creative faculties being introduced?

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: Yes, naturally.

Government have also taken various steps for improving the educational institutions. The steps that were taken in the First Plan in this respect are being continued in the Second Plan also. They are given assistance. The State Governments are being given assistance for improving the libraries, the laboratories and other facilities in the selected institutions. The All-India Council of Secondary Education has also taken various measures for effecting improvement in the methods and tech-

[Dr. K. L. Shriman.] niques of teaching in the secondary schools and in the training colleges. I would like to mention one very important step which the Secondary Education Council has adopted. They have set up Extension Service Departments in 52 training institutions at present. The main purpose of these extension departments is to cater to the needs not only of the teachers who are in service, but also of those people who are likely to enter the teaching profession. They arrange conferences, meetings, and study groups. The whole idea is that the teachers of the area in which the training college is located should keep in close touch and contact with the staff of the teachers' college, and in that way we hope that the teachers' colleges will be able to help the teachers in raising the standards of the neighbouring institutions.

One of the important steps which the Government of India have taken, and I think it is the most important step, is that we are assisting the State Governments in raising the salary scales of teachers. It is very well-known that unless we have the proper quality of teachers, standards of education cannot improve. The human factor in education is the most important factor. The Central Government are assisting the State Governments by giving them 50 per cent, of the increased expenditure owing to the increment of the teachers' salaries. As far as the secondary schools are concerned, the Central Government have gone to the extent of telling the State Governments that even if they cannot find the matching funds, they can utilise the share of the Central Government.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Does this apply to the primary school teachers?

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: No, not at present. It will apply only to secondary schools. In the case of primary schools we are giving them grants on the basis of 50 per cent.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: But some of the State Governments are unable to use it.

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: That may be a difficulty which will have to be examined by the Government.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: What you have extended to the secondary schools you should extend to the primary schools also.

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: In the case of secondary schools the number concerned is small, but in the case of primary schools the number is very large and the funds at the disposal of government are meagre.

We have also made provision for assisting the State Governments to strengthen their directorates and inspectorates. It is also well-known that many of the directorates and inspectorates in the States are not working effectively. They do not have the suitable personnel to supervise the work of the educational institutions.

I hope that with the assistance which they get from the Central Government they will be **able to** coordinate and implement the educational schemes of the Ministry of Education more effectively. We have also made provision for the establishment of planning units and studies. Now, Sir, these are some of the steps which the Central Government have taken. AH these steps that the Government have taken are bound to make their impact in course of time. Government are seized of the problem. We cannot expect quick results in this matter.

Now, Sir, one difficulty to which Pandit Kunzru drew our attention was about having better co-ordination between the State Governments and the Central Government. Now, my submission is that during the last few years after independence one of the most significant developments that had taken place in Indian edu-

cation is that even though education is not a Central subject, with the help of the State Governments, we have been able to formulate national policies as far as education is concerned and this could not have been achieved without the full co-operation of the State Governments. I would like to say that the Central Advisory Board of Education, the All-India Council of Secondary Education, the University Grants Commission, the All-India Council of Elementary Education, etc., are all institutions which have been set up in order to achieve better co-ordination between the Central Government and the State Governments. It is a difficult and a delicate task but considering the magnitude of the problem and the vastness of our country, I think we can look upon with some satisfaction at the results achieved in this direction.

Sir, Pandit Kunzru also raised the question with regard to some remarks which I had made regarding the public schools. Now, Sir, this question has aroused unnecessary controversy in the Press also. As far as the Government of India are concerned, we have no intention of seeing that these schools close down. Some of the schools are doing good work. They maintain high academic standards and some of the boys who come out show a high sense of social responsibility but it cannot be forgotten that these schools are class schools, that they cater for a small number of people who have wealth and who can afford to pay high fees in these educational institutions. (*Interruptions.*)

Sir, I am prepared to wait if you allow me some more time.

SHRI J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh): Surely you require institutions to train the officer class.

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: They must exist. I have no quarrel with the public schools. Let the public

schools continue to serve the people who can afford to pay high fees. Now, Sir, as far as the public schools are concerned, we have been guided in this matter entirely by the recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission and, for the information of the House, I should like to read this recommendation:

"So far as the financing of these schools is concerned, we are of opinion that public schools should depend less and less on grants made by the Centre or the State concerned, and should become self-supporting as soon as possible. We believe that, in principle, in so far as they are expensive schools, largely meant for the richer classes, they have no claim to receive State aid and the Government grants that are at present given to them should be steadily reduced. Some schools like the Doon School, are at present actually self-supporting; while others are so placed that if State aid is suddenly withdrawn they will have to be closed down. We, therefore, feel that for the transitional period of about five years, State or Central assistance should be given to them on a gradually diminishing scale, till at the end of that period they will either become self-supporting or will close down, if adequate public support is not forthcoming. But the State or the Centre may provide for certain free studentships for public schools to be given on the basis of selection, the amount of such free scholarships being based on the average expenditure to be ordinarily incurred by the students."

Sir, this is the recommendation made by the Secondary Education Commission and the Government have been guided entirely by this recommendation.

SHRI SANTOSH KUMAR BASU (West Bengal): Quite rightly.

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: The period of transition is now over and We now propose to stop these grants to these

[Dr. K. L. Shrimali.] institutions from the current year. I do not by any means wish these institutions to be closed down. As I said, they are doing good work, they have good standards and I would like them to continue. In fact, I would like every average educational institution to attain the standard some of these schools maintain but in giving grants Government cannot discriminate. When we are faced with the choice of providing educational facilities in an area where educational facilities do not exist or providing a swim-mining pool or a gymnasium for an educational institution like this, the choice before Government is very clear and in this matter, I am afraid unnecessary heat and unnecessary controversy has been roused. Since a controversy has arisen in this matter, I would also like to quote the remarks which were made by a Committee which was appointed in 1942 under the Chairmanship of Lord Fleming. The Fleming Committee Report says with regard to public schools:

"Evidence of this kind makes it impossible to substantiate "the charge often made that public schools themselves created the social division of the nineteenth century. They were in fact called into being to meet the demands of a society already deeply divided . . .

I think our public schools here also have come to meet the demands of that divided society.

". . . but it must certainly be granted that once the division in the educational system had been completed it made far more difficult the task of those who looked towards the breaking down of this hard-drawn class distinction within the society of the nation. It may almost be said that nothing could have been better devised to perpetuate them than this educational development."

Sir, the Report is very clear on this point It is true that the public

schools did not create the class distinction in English society but the public schools were certainly instrumental in perpetuating this class distinction which existed in the nineteenth century and later in England. Therefore, I think the decision which the Government has taken is the correct decision. The Government of India at present are faced with the colossal problem of providing educational facilities to millions of our children. There can be no development unless we can take education to the door of every village child and that is the task which we have undertaken in this country. Here are a few schools which charge high fees. If certain people can afford it, let them take advantage of these institutions. I have no grudge; I have no quarrel with, them. In order to break the barriers and social distinctions which exist, Government have taken certain steps. We have instituted a number of scholarships for poor children. In 1955-56, fifty-two such scholarships were awarded and in the following years, 1956-57 and 1957-58, the number of scholarships awarded were 67 and 65 respectively. I would like to see the day when all the places in the public schools are filled by free scholars. Admission should be based not on the basis of wealth but on the basis of merit. That is the day to which I am looking forward to.

Well, Sir, I am getting hints from behind that I should not take any more time of the House. I would not like to bore the House. These are some of the steps which the Government have taken and in course of time they will make their impact on the educational system. The process is slow and results cannot be achieved quickly. This is really the work of generations and we will have to have patience.

One last thing I would say. I think Pandit Kunzru was quite right in drawing our attention to the fact that in this country we have to create the consciousness among our people that

unless we develop our educational system, unless we provide for elementary education in the country and make it free and compulsory, many of the objectives that we have, whether it is industrial development or agricultural production, whatever it is will not be achieved. A country will be known not by the wealth it produces but by the men of character, ability and talent which it can produce, and therefore all our efforts have to be directed towards the improvement of our educational system. That is the kind of consciousness that we have to create in this country. We have to create a kind of climate in this country when everybody begins to feel that it is only through education that social reconstruction can take place in this country. Thank you very much.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shri H. D. Rajah. 15 minutes.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: Why don't you advise the State Governments . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: ... to levy a cess if necessary to finance these institutions?

DR. K. L. SHRIMALI: That advice has been given and we are consulting the State Governments with regard to that possibility.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: I am glad to find that our hon. Minister, Mr. Datar, spent 15 minutes in defending the traffic of Delhi whereas we are given 15 minutes to talk about the entire appropriation of the Government of India. It is a very good precedent set up by you.

Now, let us go to the present position of the country's economy. Having debated on this Appropriation Bill for the last two days it is not necessary to go into the activities of the various Ministries but I find that this Appropriation Bill also embraces

many misappropriations and many spendings which are not accounted for, and then a *post mortem* examination is made by the Public Accounts Committee and their recommendations are put into the pigeon holes in course of time. But I would like to find out whether there is any possibility of these appropriations being made proper and spent properly by the Government and whether Parliament can exercise control in a proper form on the Ministries when moneys are spent. It is no use conducting a *post mortem* examination and then the Public Accounts Committee coming out with a statement that that civilian has misbehaved or this civilian has overspent without authority and so on and so forth. Then the Members of Parliament become infructuous in their activities. Many points having been touched upon by many Members in this House, I do not wish to dilate on the same subjects; I will confine myself to the political and economic aspects of our life.

What is the political situation which is prevailing in this country today? I was under the impression that we were a Sovereign Democratic Republic. To my great disillusionment I found that it was not so. When I used to ask the Prime Minister in this House why he should make an annual pilgrimage to London and why he should not inform us about his activities there, the answer was 'Oh, it is nothing. A mere membership of the Commonwealth does not denote anything specific and so you need not worry about it. We are still a Sovereign Democratic Republic. But to my utter astonishment and dismay I found one news item which I wish to read out to the House:

"BRITAIN'S COLOURED POPULATION

Coloured people are emigrating to Britain from the British Commonwealth at the rate of about 40,000 a year, the House of Commons was told on April 3.

[Shri H. D. Rajah.]

Miss Pat Hornsby-Smith, Parliamentary Secretary to the Home Office gave these figures in replying to a debate in which some members said racial prejudice might develop if the flow was allowed to go on.

Miss Hornsby-Smith said about 25,000 of the immigrants came from the West Indies and about 12,000 from India and Pakistan. Britain's total coloured population was now roughly 190,000 including 100,000 West Indians and 50,000 from India and Pakistan."

Sir, then follows this statement:

"The British Government welcomed British subjects to this country, but could not ignore the 'rising potential of this immigration' and the very grave burden it might put on the country in future. •We are certainly not complacent about this problem', she said. 'We are going very deeply into the situation and are anxiously watching it.' "

Sir, my blood boils naturally. It is not due to blood pressure but due to reading this news item in the newspapers, and you know what I did. I wrote a little letter to our Prime Minister;

"My dear Prime Minister,

I am sending herewith a statement made by Miss Pat Hornsby-Smith, Parliamentary Secretary to the Home Office. The statement says clearly that all Indians are British subjects. For the sake of convenience and for your immediate reference, I am sending herewith a cutting of the Hindu dated the 14th April 1958. I would like to know whether the Government of India have made any protest or whether the position described by her is accepted. A line in reply will enable me to understand the present position of our countrymen."

Sir, I am glad that the Prime Minister replied and the reply is as follows:

"Dear Rajah,

Your letter of the 15th April. I do not think there is anything in the statement made by Miss Pat Hornsby-Smith in the British Parliament which necessitates our protesting. In that statement, she has rather mixed up immigrants from British Colonial territories with people going from India and Pakistan. This does not mean that she considers Indian citizens as British subjects. Indeed, it would be wholly contrary to fact for her or for anybody to think so."

So, if the position is that we are a Sovereign Democratic Republic, then the Home Office has no business to say that we are all British subjects. It is impertinence of the Home Office.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: She has only said that England welcomes British subjects.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: You are a British subject because you are a Commonwealth man. When we ask why this annual pilgrimage is made by the Prime Minister of our country to London, the answer is, 'Oh, it is nothing'. It is to pay **obeisance** to the British Queen that this annual pilgrimage has been taking place. I want to say that this cannot go on in the country. There must be a wild and loud protest by this House that we are not British subjects but we are Indian citizens and we are governed by a sovereign democratic constitution and we owe allegiance to ourselves. That can be made clear only by opposing this statement and making a protest to the British Government.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: And proclaim the statement made by you just **now**,

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: I am very happy that once in his life time Mr. Saksena agrees with me and he wants me to back up that declaration by proclaiming loudly in this House that we are not British subjects, that we are a Sovereign Democratic Republic. But, it will be adding to the glory of our country if you really do so by making a statement on behalf of the Government and making the British people know that we are not British subjects but we are Indian citizens governed by a democratic constitution.

Now, the other day there was a dis-honourable member of the Conservative Party talking about Indians being parasites. I was not able to know what he meant by this. Who are the parasites? I ask in this House, who are governed by a parasitical attitude in life? Who are the blood suckers of this country? Who are the looters of this country during the last 100 years?

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY
(Andhra Pradesh): What is meant by . . .

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: Sir, the parasites are the British; not we. My complaint in this House today is that we are governed by that parasitical attitude. And people are worming themselves into the various Departments as officers. If you want to have a sound economy in this country, that economy must be based on a perfectly national economy; it should, not be governed by the economy of the previous rulers of the country. A work that can be done in two minutes time by a White man, it just is not done here for days together, and the officer will not even see it. That is what is happening in this country, and I want to make a protest against such a thing so far as our own officers are concerned.

Then I come to External Affairs. We have Ambassadors all over, in various countries, and we have High

Commissioners for the rest. Why should that invidious distinction be there? If we are really a Republic, we must have Ambassadors all over if they have work to do. But I have seen only chewing gum Ambassadors, not Ambassadors who work. They stick on; when the mouth moves, the gum moves. It is in that way the work of these Ambassadors is going on in the various countries. I would like to know whether the Government gets reports from these Ambassadors about the way in which they work for us. Sir, we have been going round with a beggar's bowl for loans from other foreign countries. I have said consistently in this House that these foreign loans do not do any good. We have butter in our hand and we are fighting for *ghee*. What is the need? If this government adopts a bold and dynamic policy—which I know these Gandhi cap-wallahs will never do—if they are able to take a patriotic attitude in their lives a method by which the foreign exploitation of this country is stopped, at least for a temporary period, there is no need for borrowing from elsewhere. Two hundred crores of rupees are looted from this country every year by these foreign firms. We have got a defence system which is modelled on the pattern of the British system. We have to go to England for arms and ammunition and other weapons. Recently an aircraft carrier was bought. I know it was discarded junk, but it was bought by us, I do not know for what. Where are these people going to carry their aircraft, to which country? Why should they have a carrier? What is the amount they have spent on the carrier? It is a story in itself. And the carrier is now re-modelled. Why should they re-model the carrier? Are you going to invade other countries? Your object is peaceful coexistence. And so long as peaceful coexistence is there, these discarded junks by other nations cannot help you and even if they are bought there is no need for them at all in this country. A re-orientation in the Defence Department is an absolute

[Shri H. D. Rajah.]

necessity. And whom are you going to fight? If Kashmir is the problem, Pakistan is your enemy. Do you mean to say that Pakistan left to itself, by its own strength will make an invasion on our country? No. If Pakistan invades, it is America which invades. If it is America which is going to invade India, then I know what repercussions it will have and what happened to Egypt will happen to India. Therefore, we are not afraid of America or even Pakistan. Kashmir problem can be solved. Sensibly, as the Prime Minister professedly says, we must have peaceful co-existence. The only method of existence is to come to terms with the major powers, by remaining absolutely neutral. Discard your junks. Do not waste Rs. 200 crores on these arms purchases. Then, reduce your army. Army is necessary for a State in order to keep internal peace of that country. That is all what we require. And if all your equipments are put together you cannot conquer, in the modern context of armed strength of other nations, one inch of territory from others. And we do not want it.

Now, Sir, take the question of Goa. How is it tackled? It has been wobbled about for ten years. We are not able to solve that little problem of Goa. What does it indicate? Your foreign affairs are weak. You have no strength to stand on your legs. You have no claim to put forward boldly and courageously. If those who stand by Goa are taught properly, Goa will be ours. But you have not thought about it. The problem is made more complex. And when a problem is made complex it becomes again a compounded problem, and you cannot solve the problem in the proper sense in which it ought to be solved. Therefore, there is lack of vision in External Affairs or Foreign Affairs or whatever affairs they are. They are only having affairs. But they are not having a solution for their affairs. This is not the way in which monies must be squandered.

Let us look at the set-up. Expenditure has mounted up in Defence. So is the case in the States with regard to Police. If a Minister has to go, the whole State Police must be summoned to his assistance. Is he not a man? Was he not a man till yesterday? Is he not representing a democratic republic? Why should he be so much afraid that if he wants to go to a place the whole district police is summoned to protect him? This is the miserable spectacle I see in South India and I think the same miserable spectacle will be seen all over North India and in other places. The Congress is cracking. But if the crack is to be healed, it is not the way in which they rule today. They must have a real outlook in life. When there is an Opposition Party in any other country, if there is turmoil, difficulty and trouble the Opposition Party men are invited by the rulers. They discuss over a table, decide their problems and do not put them in prison or use the Preventive Detention Act for muzzling the enemy or asking the Commissioner of Police to arrest five men and put them into jail immediately. The Police mentality of this Government which they have inherited as a Police State from the British is really responsible for many of our maladies.

We have entered into a new economic construction of our country. We have got a Five Year Plan to implement. That Five Year Plan can be implemented only when there is co-operation on all sides. I advise them in all humility—because I was one of them and I still continue to be a real man to do service—not to seek their self-interest always, at all times. Therefore, again, I would say call a conference. Have a national Government. This country is not fit for one-party regime, where you have inherited a name from the Father of the Nation. He said, dissolve the party. But you stuck on and what happened? When you stick on, all undesirable elements come and join it. And then you still call it the same party . . . (*Time bell rings*). It

can never be. Five minutes more, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No. It is time.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: What is the use of my telling these? I need not have spoken. Within two minutes I will finish. Therefore, with regard to the economic structure of the society, a new orientation, a new outlook is called for. The same system cannot bring and deliver the goods to our masses. If our masses are to be satisfied, there must be decentralisation. Therefore, I go back to the original idea. Dissolve this Parliament. Have five Parliaments in our country. The Prime Minister is over-burdened and he has become stale. He has no time to think. Therefore, let us relieve him. Let us have a working President in this country. Let there be five Parliaments for the five regions. Economically decentralise your country. Let them discuss their problems among themselves. There is no question of fourteen languages being introduced in one place. There will be four languages at the most in one Parliament. They will work well. The system of democracy will work well that way. Otherwise, you will head towards totalitarianism, which will be the graveyard of your party. I do not want that there should be a vacuum in this country. I stand for a national government with all the members put together, the cream of society representing the Government and doing good work. Dissolve that Government the moment an election takes place. Let the President rule. Then the ministerial abuses of using cars and lorries and canvassing for their party candidates will not arise. Only when you do such things there will be real democracy and parties will develop inherently and there will be cooperation and support for a government which is really the nation's government and not a caucus. C

With these few words I conclude my speech.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Prof. Wadia. Just five minutes.

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I do not know how much I can say in five minutes, but I shall do my best. I am glad that I have been called upon to speak at this late hour, because I have had the privilege of listening to the Minister of Education, and that is the one Ministry about which I am competent to speak, or at least I flatter myself so. I entirely agree with him in the policy that he has adopted in regard to public schools. When there is such a shortage of money in our country, it is not fair to subsidise the education of millionaires' children. On the other hand, I do not agree with him about all the enthusiasm that he has displayed in connection with basic education. I am afraid there is a lot of difference of opinion, if not between the Central Government and the State Governments, at least among educationists. I have come across very many educationists who do not believe in basic education, or if they believe in it as I do, they do not believe in it as the only system, of education. By all means give it a trial. And the one reason why I feel that it is not suited to our country at the present moment is that it is a very costly experiment. Basic schools require extremely well-trained teachers; and if you have not got those teachers, you will make a mess of this education. Our children will be knowing much less than they did at the present moment. And in order to have good teachers, you will have to pay them much more than you are doing at the present moment. Therefore, I do appeal to my good friend, Dr. Shrimali that he can encourage basic education to a certain extent. But do not make a fetish of it. After all, he has not been able to deliver the goods—I mean not merely him, but the Ministry of Education. He has not been able to deliver the goods. He has not been able to satisfy the requirement of our Constitution, and that is our prime responsibility. That has to be seen first, rather than the

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.] interests of any particular system of education.

About universities, I feel that the Centre ought to take up a much stronger attitude than they have done so far. I have always felt that it is the misfortune of India that university education is not a Central subject. If it had been a Central subject, the various questions of indiscipline, falling in standards, would not have arisen. Now, why have the standards been falling? I think there are two or three reasons for it. One reason is a mania for universities. We have got far too many universities in this country. Of course, when I say far too many, it may not be far too many in proportion to our population, but certainly far too many in proportion to our needs. We produce graduates who cannot find employment. And when they get out of hand we blame them. It is not fair. It is no use giving them opportunities or tempting them to take up courses for which they are not really fit and which the country cannot absorb.

Then, there is the number of students. I do feel that it is the business of a university to restrict admissions. I am not one of those democrats who believe that every citizen has a right to university education. I do not believe that every student has got equal abilities for university education. University education is meant for people who have got abilities of a certain type. I am not prepared to say that people who have got these abilities are necessarily superior to others. As a matter of fact I know that mere matriculates have done very well in life, not by resorting to universities, but by taking up courses for which they are really fit, and they have made themselves good and they have made themselves much better citizens than graduates of universities who are not duly qualified for it. Now in this connection we have the analogy of Ceylon. In Ceylon education is free right up to the university. I was rather sur-

prised about it and I was envious about it. But it is interesting to know that when a Government admits students free to the university, it rigidly controls the admissions to the university. It does not let anybody and everybody enter the university portals unless he is fit. It is no use wasting public money on his education, and I do not think there has been any discontent in Ceylon that this student was left out or that student was left out. It becomes a question of merit. If the same principle could be applied to our universities, we shall certainly get a better type of students.

I say, Sir, that there is a third reason for the degeneration of our universities, and that is the unfortunate principle of elections in our university bodies. There was a time when all the Vice-Chancellors in our universities were nominated. They were all very respectable men, highly educated, distinguished educationists or High Court Judges. Unfortunately under our democratic enthusiasm, some years ago we introduced the principle of election of the Vice-Chancellors. Now, all that has happened is that a tremendous amount of time is wasted by professors and others in building up parties in the universities to get themselves, the one or the other man, elected as Vice-Chancellor. Many of the University Acts in their wisdom have provided that the Senate shall recommend three names. Now, everybody knows what is happening. Three names are put up on the distinct understanding that two will withdraw. Those two are only dummy candidates. It means that you have got now the principle not of real election but of nomination, and that nomination is done by a clique of politicians. They may be professors, but they are politicians fundamentally and they are not a responsible body like the Ministry of Education of Government. I think this sort of degeneration has crept into many of our universities, and the antagonisms of the professors have affected our students, and the students become partisans of professor 'X'

or professor 'Y'. Any one of the 1 professors gets elected as Vice-Chancellor. He does not carry the same respect as the old nominated Vice-Chancellor did in our ancient days.

Sir, there is just one point I would like to refer to in connection with the Ministry of Community Development. We again and again say that India is a land of villages and that Community Development has been brought into existence for the betterment of the villages. I believe that is the very finest thing that has been done in free India. Unfortunately there is a lot of ignorance about Community Development work in our country, perhaps even in this House. They usually ask what has been done by them. When that question is raised, the answer expected is that so many schools have been started, so many wells have been dug, so many roads have been constructed, and so on. These are physical targets. They are not going to solve the problems of India by themselves. What is really wanted is a change in the attitude of the people themselves. That is the main work of the Community Development Project. Now, nobody can quarrel with this aim. A real sense of self-respect has to be developed among our villagers, a spirit of self-reliance, that spirit which existed in the ancient days before the advent of the British, which made our villages* the source of Indian wealth, which made our villages a source of pride to us. All that has gone during the last two hundred years, and something has to be done to revive that spirit, and that can only be done when you encourage the people to look for better things, to ask for better things. It does not matter if they *get* one well less or one school less so long as the spirit is there. Now I do know the defects in the working of the Community Development administration. I may be pardoned, Sir, because I speak with a certain amount of knowledge. I am afraid we do not have the right type

of officers to carry out the Development programme. We have got the Block Development Officers. They are mostly recruited from the revenue or administrative side. They have been coached up in the old bureaucratic methods of "having things done". They have not got the right approach to the people. They are not the people who have got the necessary missionary spirit to inspire the life of the people, and that is why many things are going bad. Recently I had an opportunity of reading a fairly long diary of over two hundred foolscap pages written by a village level worker. It was real education to me. I am afraid I have learnt more from it than I have from many of the pamphlets published by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. There *hj?* points out the real defects, why the Community Development project has not succeeded as it ought to. You have got red-tapism. You make these villagers ask for something, but that something should be coming to them in time. If it does not, it is no good. If they want seeds, they must come in *time* before the monsoon sets in, not after the monsoon sets in. There is a very expressive Latin proverb: *Bis dat, qui cito dat* (He gives twice, who gives quickly). Because of our red-tapism things come very late and the villagers cannot make use of them. It is wasted labour. Sometimes more is sent than is really needed. There is no proper arrangement for storing these things, and then they have to be sent back. It is a wastage of money. Then there is another evil which has been brought to my notice, and that is that officers who want to please their higher officers take the liberty of multiplying figures by adding zeros. That gives a misleading picture of the whole thing. It misleads the Minister, it misleads his officers, it does nobody any good except that a lot of money has been wasted.

May I just make one more remark about the so-called doctrine of lapse— I mean that is an inheritance of our British financial policy—that all the

[Prof. A. R. Wadia.] money should be spent by the end of the year, the 31st of March? 'If it is not spent, it lapses. What is the consequence? A tremendous amount of public money is wasted in the month of March. People begin ordering things and getting things which they really do not require, because they have not thought of them for eleven months in the year, and in a hurry, to show that they have spent the money, they order things and get things . . .

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: ... or allow it to be swallowed . . .

PROF. A. R. WADIA: I will not make myself responsible for that statement. I think a little wise policy is needed in this connection. A little assurance should be given to all the departments concerned 'that if they are unable to spend the grants by the 31st of March and if they could show sufficient reason why they were not able to spend, that money would not lapse but could be utilised in the following year. Grants to institutions should be well spent. I find many of the institutions including mine receiving grant at the end of the year. Why not do it on a quarterly basis or a half-yearly basis?

Sir, just one more point about the Ministry of Health. Again, because of shortage of foreign exchange 'so many imports have been stopped. Imports of what, Sir? If imports of things which are available in India are stopped, I can understand that, I can appreciate that. But if the importation of important drugs which are very vital for the health of the people is stopped, I think it is a calamity, Sir. No amount of shortage of foreign exchange can condone that sort of cruelty, because it is a cruelty to the people who suffer and who cannot get the remedy for the ills they suffer from.

Sir, I thank you for the indulgence I you have shown me by giving me a few more minutes.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I had waited all this time in the hope that Mr. Rajah will say something new about the External Affairs Ministry and that I will have to answer him, but unfortunately I find that he is still haunted by the same spectre, the spectre of the Commonwealth, and he produced some instances which were highly irrelevant and he had also produced arguments which he had himself answered. Therefore, Sir, I feel sorry that I waited all this time and I had to waste a little more time of the House. Last Thursday, it was referred to by the hon. Member from Assam about the instances in the Cachar-Sylhet area. He more or less accused the Government of not realising its responsibility regarding the protection of the border. I was rather hurt, because in the morning I had tried to explain to him the situation there and the special efforts made by the Government to give protection to the people living in the border areas. All the same, Sir, he accused the Government of being indifferent to those areas and also asked us what we have done during the last eleven years to bring relief to the people living in the border area. I want to refute the suggestion implied in the allegation that the Government of India have been indifferent as far as this problem is concerned.

Sir, the main problem in that area—it has been pointed out again and again in answer to questions and also in the interventions in this House by the Prime Minister and myself—has been the difficulty of coming to an agreement regarding the riverine border, namely, the 13 miles of the river Surma. For long, the whole river has been regarded as our boundary. It was only in 1950 when our settlement officers wanted to cross the river in order to make the necessary settlement regarding the border that the Pakistan Government objected to it saying that the

entire river was not the boundary; but only the mid-stream as in the case of other rivers. Since then, there has been a number of exchanges of letters and you will be surprised to know, Sir, that the last letter which was written to them on the 3rd March, 1956 has not been replied to yet. This is the kind of Government with whom we have to negotiate and come to an understanding.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: Both are British subjects; somebody else has to answer that.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: Sir, it is because Mr. Rajah still feels that he is a British subject, that he tries to say this. We are not British subjects.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: Tell me that.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: I can give you hundreds of instances to prove that we are not British subjects. I would like him to read out the Constitution to know whether we are British subjects or not. If he prefers to be a British subject, nobody can prevent him.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: That is how the Home Office in Britain takes it. I can . . .

(Interruptions.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: I am entitled to a categorical answer from the Government. When this statement is made by the Home Office of Britain . . .

(Interruptions.)

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: It is rather surprising that the hon. Member who has already written to the Prime Minister and has received a reply from him, should bring it up again and again.

SHRI H. D. RAJAH: That is not categorical and does not refer to the Commonwealth.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMI MENON: Sir, there has been an exchange of notes,

as I have said. The last note from us to the Pakistan Government on the 3rd March 1956 has yet to be replied to. It is with such a Government that we have to negotiate and the Hon. House knows how difficult it is not only with regard to this, but with regard to many other outstanding issues between India and Pakistan, and to accuse the Government of India in this matter is really understandable.

Sir, it is true that, wherever there are char lands on the border and the Pakistani nationals cultivate that area supported by local authorities and the police, we have always protested against it. Not only that, whenever there was firing, we have taken every precautionary measure to see that our nationals are not hurt and if they are hurt, relief measures have been undertaken at once to relieve suffering. It was pointed out that nearly for a whole month, there had been intermittent firing on the border and the rate of casualties should convince any Member in the House that our border authorities were not remaining quiet; they were not watching these as silent spectators, but they actually fired in self-defence and to protect our nationals.

Then, I would also like to point out that the border incidents should not be considered in isolation. The non-co-operative attitude of the Pakistan Government should be taken note of, not only in the case of border incidents, but in all matters relating to our relationship with that Government and unless this attitude changes, I do not think anything more can be done.

Sir, we were told that Indian nationals were riddled with bullets, that their entire economy had been affected and that families had to leave the border land and that we had asked them to leave the border areas. All this is not quite correct. Sir, Members base their opinion on newspaper reports and as we all know, newspaper reports are not always totally correct. Sometimes, they exaggerate; some-

[Shrimati Lakshmi Menon.] times, they bring in material which is absolutely irrelevant and also incorrect. If we look into the problem, we will find that there were moments— I should say days— when things were very bad. But there has never been a complete exodus. I believe, if a few families had gone away—for some time, they had also come back as soon as they felt order had been restored. Sir, I also want to point out, as it has been pointed out earlier in this House when I was answering questions—that a representative of our Government and a representative from the Pakistan Government have gone to the affected areas and they are negotiating for a settlement—not only the settlement of the Surma River problem, but other border disputes as well in Patharia and other places. Hence, to say that we have been indifferent is to misconstrue the whole problem.

Then, the hon. Member mentioned about our failure to demarcate boundaries. On that point also, many times questions were asked and answered in this House. The difficulty of demarcating the border land between two sovereign nations, two sovereign peoples, whose governments do not see eye to eye with regard to many things is obvious. Moreover, Sir, the demarcation of the border land is not a very easy thing. It has been pointed out that every yard of territory has to be measured and agreed upon and if the Pakistan Government says that a bit of land belongs to Pakistan and not to India, then you will find that all the demarcation operations will have to be suspended till some agreement is reached. Moreover, demarcation can be undertaken only during certain seasons of the year. You cannot demarcate the land all through the year. Even so, we have succeeded in demarcating two hundred out of the 609 miles of the boundary between Assam and East Pakistan.

What I want to convince the House about is that the pace of demarcation

is beyond our control. All that we can do is to negotiate and try to persuade Pakistan to abide by the Radcliffe Award and see that these things are done properly,

Another point raised by the hon. Member yesterday was about the infiltration of Naga people in those areas—in the North Cachar and Mikir Hills Districts. It was also pointed out how this area is under three different administrations—the Assam administration, the NEFA and Home Affairs Ministry. He accused the Government of India of lack of co-ordination between these three agencies which are responsible for the administration. It is utterly incorrect to say that because these administrations are under different agencies, they have worked in isolation. Whenever there is an event of importance or whenever a situation arises in which more than one agency is concerned, there is always consultation, but consultation takes time. It is not like a Member asking a question because he finds in the morning newspaper a report about something that has happened there. The Government cannot go merely by newspaper reports. It tries to follow the reports and invariably, we find that the newspaper reports are either exaggerated or totally incorrect. All this takes time. The co-ordinating work of the various agencies who are in charge of these three territories goes on.

Now, a question was also asked as to what steps are taken by the Assam Government in order to bring relief to the people in these disturbed areas or to ensure to them all security and protection. I would like to point out that there is the Assam Disturbed Areas Act. Since the infiltration began, there has been looting and dacoity in the Mikir and North Cachar Hills Districts and parts of these have been declared disturbed areas. **And** the declaration of a particular area as a disturbed area gives the **Armed**

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Police and the Assam Rifles certain extraordinary powers which they do not exercise normally. The hon.

Member said that we should 4 P.M. take drastic action and deal

with them without compassion. I think it is rather a hard task for the Government to be instructed to deal with them without compassion. But we really do take adequate measures to see that the situation does not affect our people adversely. Measures, Sir, are also under consideration to strengthen our police force in that area. These are the normal procedures followed by our Government in order to strengthen the protection of our border areas. I wish, Sir, the hon. Member were here to listen to this defence, because he really tried to create the impression in the House that the Government was ineffective in affording protection to the border areas, and what was more, the Government was also indifferent to the needs of the people in the border areas. Thank you, Sir.

THE MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS (SHRI B. GOPALA REDDI): Mr. Deputy Chairman, as many as 40 Members including eight Ministers I have participated in this debate. Eight Ministers were forced to intervene in the debate. That means every word that is spoken here is taken rather seriously, and therefore they like to come and explain the correct position with regard to the remarks made here. Therefore, Sir, I think that the Appropriation Bill has been thoroughly discussed and every point has been noted by the Secretarial staff and also by the Ministers, and whenever there was any need for intervention, they readily came and explained the position to the satisfaction of the House. But I am doubtful, Sir, whether the Members opposite have been convinced by what has been stated. What has been stated is not new, and what had been stated on the other side was also not new to Government. In a way, we have a public discussion for the benefit of each other and also for the benefit

of the general public, and that is how our democracy grows.

Sir, this is the last lap of the Budget. Today is the finale of the Budget discussion, and it has to receive the assent of the President today. Otherwise, from tomorrow nothing can be spent and nothing can be issued from the treasuries of the Government. Therefore, Sir, as I said, it is the last lap of the Budget discussion which began on the 28th of February. But 28th of February is the result of the various efforts made by the Finance Ministry in consultation with various administrative departments. Even in the States, Sir, the Budget preparation commences from the 1st of October or so, and it must be so in the Government of India also. What has begun on the 1st of October comes to be presented to Parliament by the end of February, and it takes full two months for Parliament to give its final seal of approval to the Appropriation Bill. Therefore, Sir, we can understand that what has commenced on the 1st of October gets the final approval of Parliament by the end of April. So, full seven months are spent in the preparation of the Budget and only five months are left perhaps for the Budget work. Sir, hon. Members can see how the Budget Section of the Finance Ministry works for full seven months. I am pointing this out because my hon. friend, Shri Govinda Reddy, began his comments on the Appropriation Bill by saying that there is a good deal of loose budgeting and more care should be taken to see that the Budget estimates are correct and they should conform to the actuals, and they go off the mark very violently, and therefore a sense of truthfulness must be instilled in the minds of the officers. I am trying to explain, Sir, that the Finance Department consults the administrative departments in October or November; they send their rough estimates; they have just a rough idea of what is likely to be spent, say, towards the close of the year. And then on the receipt side also they just have a rough idea—on the basis of

" [Shri B. Gopala Reddi.] the average of the previous years— of how much it is likely to be on the revenue side and how much the administrative departments are likely to spend in the coming four or five months. So that is the difficulty, Sir. And especially when we are now undertaking these big and huge projects and when we are now undertaking very many taxation measure, it is rather difficult to estimate correctly as to what is likely to be our revenue, say, from the wealth tax or from the estate duty or from any other item which comes before us sometimes in the middle of the year or from the 13th of December or sometimes from the 17th of November. Sometimes, to estimate correctly what is likely to be our revenue is rather difficult. And on the expenditure side also it is rather difficult for the administrative departments or for the Finance Ministry to estimate what is likely to be their expenditure at the close of the year or how much money is likely to be drawn from the treasuries. All these things are rather difficult to work out, especially when we are living in this dynamic age when big and huge things are being undertaken by the Central Government. Therefore, Sir, I would request my hon. friend, Mr. Govinda Reddy, to pardon us if some of our estimates go away from the actuals . . .

SHRI M. GOVTNDA REDDY (Mysore): There is no question of pardoning. I myself said that accurate estimates cannot be made, but as far as possible, reasonably accurate estimates should be made.

SHRI B. GOPALA REDDI: Sir, we are trying our best to do so. After all, no department would like to be away from their estimates. They would like to envisage the future or at least the coming three or four months and they would certainly try to estimate as accurately as they can. But the whole thing is so difficult. I can say that even for Mr. Govinda Reddy it will be rather difficult to budget for his own family affairs for

a year or so. Let him try to find out for 1958-59 what is likely to be his income and what is likely to be his expenditure on medical bills, on travelling bills and things like that.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: Somebody can do it.

SHRI B. GOPALA REDDI: No, no. Not even your wife can do it. It is so difficult to anticipate all these things. That is the main point.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: He is a bachelor,

SHRI B. GOPALA REDDI: Oh! I am sorry, Sir. But my point is that even for an individual it is rather difficult to budget as to what is likely to be his income in the coming year and what are likely to be his expenses in the coming year, and more especially, budgeting correctly for the Central Government in this complex system, will be so very difficult.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: With co-ordination, Sir, family budgeting can be done.

SHRI B. GOPALA REDDI: Therefore, Sir, we are trying to be as accurate as possible. But when these huge things are being undertaken in our country, it is rather difficult to do so.

Then again, Sir, somebody remarked: Why this huge amount on charged expenditure? Sir, anybody's mouth will water when he sees this figure of Rs. 7,124 crores. Somebody looking casually at the Appropriation **Bill** might feel that this amount is likely to be spent or this expenditure is likely to be incurred in the next year. Well, Sir, I wish it were so. I suppose the day is not far off when we can claim that our revenue expenditure and capital expenditure comes to Rs. 7,124 crores. In fact, I want that day to come perhaps in the next 20 years or so. When our industries develop and when our mining, agricultural and power and irrigation projects come to fruition, certainly we can claim Rs. 7,124 crores. **But**

today it is not so. The bulk of it is , a charged item. Rs. 5,649 crores odd is a charged item which is mainly on the treasury bills. Sir, for our purposes we have taken it roughly to be about Rs. 1,216 crores for the treasury bills that are lying with the Reserve Bank today. And the life of the treasury bills is roughly about three months or 91 days, and every treasury bill, as soon as it is paid off, is to be renewed, and every time it is renewed, we say that we have paid Rs. 1,216 crores. So it repeats four times, and this item alone comes to Rs. 4,800 crores odd. The rest of it of course is interest and other things that we pay and therefore the charged item in the Appropriation Bill comes to the astronomical figure of Rs. 5,649 crores. It is not as though we are spending the whole thing. Whenever we pay the treasury bills, it is taken into account and it repeats itself four times in the year—Rs. 1,216 crores into four times, it comes to Rs. 4,800 odd crores. Therefore nobody need feel that so much money is being spent on the charged item or on paying interest etc. The budget discussion is viewed from so many angles. As I said in the beginning, 8 Ministers have intervened. I don't think any major item of expenditure has been left out. From Defence expenditure to - Commonwealth Relations, Tribal Welfare, Surma Valley and food situation, I don't think any subject has been left out while the Appropriation Bill is on the tapis of this House and each looks at it from his own angle. I cannot compel Mr. Prasad Rao to look at it from my angle nor can he compel us to look at it from his angle. After all let us accept that there are differences of opinion and on the differences of opinion these political parties function in the country. We try to convince each other. We try to convert the public also to our view and thus political parties function in a democratic system. Each looks at things according to his own view-point, according to his own inclination, according to his own aptitude but I want to say that that is not the whole truth. It may be part of the truth, it

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may be partial truth but that is not the whole truth, each looking at the sun through a spectroscope, trying to examine the beam of the sun according to his own liking—perhaps he is doing some research work on ultraviolet rays and he will be looking only through that spectrum but the Government charged with the responsibility of the affairs of the country has to take the whole concept of the sun, not merely examine a particular colour in the solar beam, and we are advised not only by Members of Parliament but by experts also in the Secretariat and other places and therefore Government takes generally a *via media* and that is the policy of the Government for the present. There is no finality about it. It is always liable to change. It is always a flexible thing as it were.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: The Secretariat may not- always give you a correct angle . . .

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: According to you.

SHRI B. GOPALA REDDI: Therefore what is correct and what is incorrect also are relative terms. What is correct to you may not be correct to me. Therefore comes in the rub.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: There is nothing correct according to them.

SHRI B. GOPALA REDDI: Anyway, anybody looking from the visitors' gallery, as he listened to all the speeches of the hon. Members must have felt that there is - something wrong perhaps with the Government because what has not been done by the Government or what has been done imperfectly or what has been done with mistakes and things like that alone are being mentioned here. The Government is not given credit for anything that has been done. Rs. 300 crores have been spent on the displaced persons. Not a word of compliment comes from my friend from Bengal but what has not been done or what, according to him, is

[Shri B. Gopala Reddi.] not spent fruitfully or usefully alone is mentioned in this House. Therefore any casual visitor going through the reports of the columns of the newspapers or hearing the discussions from the gallery will feel as though the Government is accused of so many charges and the Government has no defence at all but that is not correct. There are things which have been done by Government, perhaps which received the full approval of the House. It may be that here and there there may be some mistakes, here and there there may be some wastage of expenditure and here and there something has not been done which the people have been clamouring for and therein comes all the criticisms or the vehemence in this House. Therefore I want hon. Members also occasionally, at least, to accept what has been done correctly and for the strength and vitality of the country. We don't hear anything said in favour of the Government.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: They exist by playing to the gallery.

SHRI B. GOPALA REDDI: Therefore I plead that things are being done. What has not been done to the satisfaction of the hon. Members alone is being mentioned here and that is not the whole truth.

Sir, I wanted to speak something about the displaced persons myself but after listening to the very eloquent, speech of my colleague the Minister -in charge of Rehabilitation. I have nothing to supplement his remarks. He spoke with great pathos in his heart because after all we have taken this responsibility of rehabilitating these unfortunate people. We have been spending crores. A huge machinery has been set. in motion for the last 10 years and ultimately the entire Ministry and the Minister himself and the West Bengal Government are being charged with negligence, indifference etc. After hearing Mr. Khanna, who spoke with anguish in

his heart, being a displaced person himself, I will not say anything more on that point.

Sir, the civil expenditure generally comes into a good deal of notice, adverse notice, in speaking on the Budget or on the Appropriation Bill. Hon. Rajkumari Amrit Kaurji has also spoken vehemently on this subject. She compared the figures of 1950-51 on Civil Administration with the figures of 1958-59. She said that while in 1950-51, Rs. 49 crores were spent on Civil Administration, Rs. 200 crores are being spent in 1958-59. Anybody that hears that remark will naturally feel that the Government has been indulging in extravagance or in wasteful expenditure. The answer is quite simple. In 1950-51, Rs. 22 crores were on administration proper (general administration, audit, administration of justice jails and convict settlement, police, ports and pilotage, lighthouses and lightships, tribal areas and external affairs.) The balance of Rs. 27 crores were on nation building, development and social services including Scientific Departments, Education, Medical, Public Health, Agriculture and allied services, Industries, Broadcasting etc. That was the position in 1950-51, Rs. 22 crores on Administration proper and Rs. 27 crores on these nation-building activities. The comparable figures for 1958-59 are Rs. 51 crores on administration and Rs. 149 crores on nation building, development and social services. Expenditure on administration proper is now 6 per cent, of the total expenditure met from revenue and the proportion in 1950-51 was also the same. . Expenditure on Civil Administration has no doubt increased from 14 per cent, of the total expenditure met from revenue in 1950-51 to 25 per cent, in 1958-59, but the increase is entirely on nation-building, development and social services. The conclusion drawn by the hon. lady Member that after meeting 35 per cent, on Defence and 25 per cent, on Civil Administration, not much is left for social services is thus not correct. As against Rs. 27

crores on social services, this year a sum of Rs. 149 crores is earmarked for nation-building activities. Therefore, it is not true to say that the social services like education and health are being neglected, or any other department of Government. They are all being looked after as much as is provided for in the Plan expenditure.

Another usual criticism that comes in freely is that there is no control over expenditure, that you are allowing the departments to flourish and thrive with innumerable officers and that the financial control over these administrative departments is becoming weakened. Sir, the Finance Department and the Government as a whole, are fully aware of the growth in expenditure. We are also aware that a large number of officers are being entertained year after year, also the departments whenever there is new work ask for extra staff. But Sir, it may be due to the criticism by hon. Members of this House and the other House, or it may be that the Government have themselves felt the need for it, but they are now taking great care in seeing that the departments do not ask for extra staff and that wherever there is scope they curtail their expenditure, of course, without creating an unemployment problem. Once there is wholesale retrenchment, again this House will ask us, "Why are you disbanding all these people who have been working in the Secretariat and other offices for so many years?" So the Government has to take care and see that there is no wholesale retrenchment, and there is no wasteful expenditure incurred by the various departments. Various steps have been taken by the Government. There are now internal economy committees functioning in every department. It is the responsibility of the Secretary and the Minister in charge to see through these internal economy committees that no unnecessary expenditure is incurred, to see whether anything could be deferred or dropped for some time. And Government have

issued instructions to defer building activities wherever it was possible and the result of that, drive is that a sum of Rs. 25 crores which had been budgeted and proposed to be spent, that expenditure was not incurred and that is a saving for the present. Perhaps when we are in affluent circumstances, we can take up this building work. We have details also of how things have been deferred or postponed and how savings have been effected due to the work of the various committees that are functioning today. There are the internal economy committees. There is also the Director of Organisation and Methods. Whenever a department asks for extra staff this Director comes in and looks into it to see whether there is real need for it, and in many cases he has found that there was not only no need for extra staff; but even the existing staff was a little superfluous and extravagant, and some retrenchment was effected. There is also the Central Economy Board functioning with the Finance Secretary as the Chairman and the Home Secretary and other Secretaries also participating, and this Central Economy Board is also there looking into these matters. As I have said a sum of Rs. 25 crores has been saved. On projects wholly or partly postponed or abandoned there was a saving of Rs. 22-45 crores. On posts abolished, kept in abeyance or kept unfilled there was a saving of Rs. 1-18 crores and due to reduced expenditure on purchase of stores equipment, contingencies, etc. there was a saving of Rs. 1-78 crores, making a total of Rs. 25-41 crores. This saving has been effected due to the vigilance of these various committees. As I said on a previous occasion, we are also anxious to see that we do not waste public money on any projects, that they are executed more economically and more efficiently so that whatever is saved could be used on another project, thus giving an amenity to the people who are asking for it. Therefore, we are fully alive to this matter. But I have said, govern-

[Shri B. Gopala Reddi.] mental machinery is a very complex machinery and more so the Central Government, functioning from Cape Comorin to Srinagar or even beyond, in Ladakh and other places, and we have government servants working all over, in all these places. We cannot have such a vigilant eye as one could expect, because the whole thing is so complex and there are several lakhs of officers functioning and to have a check on all of them becomes rather impossible. Even so, we have impressed upon the Heads of Departments that they must have a very watchful eye on the activities of their officers to see that they do not incur any unnecessary expenditure and that projects which could be deferred and which are not in the Plan are cut down to the bone.

In spite of all this, necessarily when we are undertaking an expenditure of Rs. 1000 crores this year on Plan expenditure, apart from non-Plan and other expenditures which are not included in the Plan, and apart from our revenue expenditure which is coming to nearly Rs. 700 crores or so—it may be less—when we are incurring this Rs. 1,000 crore expenditure this year for projects included in the Plan, we will have to set up an enormous machinery to incur this expenditure. Sometimes due to our over-carefulness, we are unable to spend whatever is provided in the Budget and there are shortfalls. And again, I know many hon. Members come to blame the Government and they ask: "How is it that you asked for the sanction of Parliament and you got that sanction and yet you are unable to spend the amount sanctioned? Does it not show the inefficiency of the Government, that what has been provided has not been spent?" On the other hand, if we over-spend, then the Estimates Committee and the other Committees also will sit in judgment and say, "You have incurred this expenditure when there is no provision in the Budget."

Therefore, it is a sort of tight rope walking and it is rather difficult for the people who have to walk on this tight rope. They have to confine themselves to the Budget limit and they have also to see that there are no short-falls. I may say that every care is being taken to see that the money is spent fruitfully and usefully.

My hon. friend Shri Deokinandan Narayan has posed a question. After the working out of the First Five Year Plan, after two years of the Second Five Year Plan, after spending so many hundreds of crores of rupees, has our poverty gone down? He has put the question to himself and to the Government, whether the poverty of the country has gone down as a result of our spending so much money. We have spent nearly Rs. 2,000 crores in the First Plan. We have spent roughly about Rs. 1,500 crores in the first two years of the Second Plan and we are going to spend another Rs. 1,000 crores in the third year of this Plan. And yet he feels that he is not able to see any change in the rural India, the unemployed people are still unemployed, the lot of the Scheduled Tribes and the Scheduled Castes is as bad as ever and there is a sort of a *status quo* with regard to the rural people in our country. That does not mean that the Government has not been functioning, either the State Government or the Union Government. They have been spending and there is no denying the fact that so much money has been spent. In some cases projects have been completed, some of them are half done or three-fourths done, and sometimes foundations only are being laid. But there is the activity. But in spite of all this activity, in spite of spending all these colossal amounts, he does not see any change. Sir, that only shows how deep is our disease of poverty. Even Rs. 3,000 crores or Rs. 4,000 crores will not make much difference. It only shows that we have to spend at least Rs. 40,000 or Rs. 50,000 crores before we can see anything tangible,

anything visible, anything which could be presentable to the people of India. The disease is so deep. It is not as if this poverty has overtaken us after independence or that it came during the British days. It is the heritage of centuries. This poverty has been handed down from generation to generation, from father to son and then to the grandson and then to the great-grandson and so on. It has been the neglect of centuries, as it were.

Therefore, we are trying to repair what has not been repaired all these years; what our forefathers could not do, what the previous administration could not do, could not contemplate to do, is being thought of. We are trying to launch these five year Plans. It is true to some extent that so far no change has been visible and may be even at the end of the second Plan no tangible improvement may be seen. Therefore it is imperative that we have to take all these Five Year plans, the third, the fourth and the fifth, ultimately spending roughly about, Rs. 40,000 crores to Rs. 50,000 crores before we can see something real, something tangible, something perceptible; Our poverty is so deep and therefore mere tinkering with Rs. 2,000 crores or a thousand crores of rupees does not make any difference and we will have to think of a time when we can say that during the last five Year Plans we had spent Rs. 40,000 crores or Rs. 50,000 crores, these are the benefits accruing from what we had spent and so on. Therefore, Sir, it is too early to ask this question. In the Bhakra-Nangal project we have spent a hundred or a hundred and twenty crores of rupees, but no benefit has yet accrued, because it is still being completed, and before it is completed, even though we have spent a hundred or a hundred and twenty crores, we cannot say whether it has given us any benefit or not. Likewise, there are other power projects. The initial capital outlay must be incurred and we will have to wait for some five or ten

years before we can see the first fruits of labour in irrigation projects. In the Nagarjunasagar project, for instances, perhaps we will have to wait for another seven, eight or ten years before the first acre could be irrigated by the waters of Krishna. Therefore, Sir, it is no use being in a hurry in these matters. A little patience would certainly give us dividends. Whether the country is making progress or not is the only question to be asked and nobody can deny that slowly and steadily we are gaining momentum and we are trying to improve matters. I know that in the first year there was perhaps a shortfall which was made good in the second year. Even the shortfalls of the second year have been made good in subsequent years. In Andhra Pradesh, in the first, Five Year Plan, for the first three years not much was spent at all, but after the Andhra Province was formed, in the fourth and the fifth year, there was no shortfall whatsoever. Whatever was provided for in the first Five Year Plan was spent and the momentum went on increasing year by year. We are gaining experience and our officers also are gaining experience and are evolving new techniques. Some of our engineers and technicians are evolving new techniques and therefore there will not be much of a shortfall. Our engineers are able to spend much more on our projects but we are unable to provide the money. Therefore it is, Sir, that some of our works have retarded to some extent.

Shri Channa Reddy from Telangana complained that some minor irrigation schemes provided for in the Plan have not been taken up. Minor irrigation projects will certainly receive very high priority and if the projects are included in the Plan, they will certainly be sanctioned, if not this year at least in the next year, so that by the end of the five year period there will not be any shortfall in regard to minor irrigation.

Dr. Raj Bahadur Gour mentioned many things right from Himachal

[Shri B. Gopala Reddi.] Pradesh to Bhilai and Rourkela, the Iranian oil contracts and things like that. Sir, we have examined very carefully. The terms we have given to the oil companies are to our advantage. Perhaps they are more advantageous to us than the agreements entered into by the Iranian Government with the oil companies. We have got all the texts. Mr. Prasad Rao need not have a smile on his lips on this because we have got the texts of the contracts entered into by the Iranian Government and by the Saudi Arabian Government. If there is a little comparison of the contract entered into by us with the contracts entered into by the Iranian Government and the Saudi Arabian Government, anybody will be convinced that our terms are certainly more advantageous. Therefore, let us not get away with the idea that the Saudi Arabian Government is getting two-thirds of the oil profits and some other Government is getting 55 per cent, whereas the Government of India is getting only one-third. There are other conditions with regard to income-tax, super-tax and all those things. If we examine them, certainly our contract is much more advantageous to us. Therefore, Sir, when hon. Members come and offer us their comments, they must be possessed with full information. They may get the information by putting questions, the Short Notice Question, Starred Question, Unstarred Question, and all the information that is available with us will be given to them. Later on, if they can come with any comments, certainly they will be more relevant for our discussion here but if they come and offer adverse comments on improper data, it will be rather difficult for Government to be answering all such issues. If Mr. Prasad Rao or Dr. Raj Bahadur Gour comes to me, I am prepared to show the actual terms of the contract. When the matter was raised here, I got the matter examined and I am convinced that our terms are certainly advantageous to us.

SHRI V. PRASAD RAO: We cannot do anything about the price fixation.

SHRI B. GOPALA REDDI: Sir, the year 1958-59 must be a very important year. In spite of our difficulties here, we are going ahead with our Plan and I hope, Sir, that all the money that is being sanctioned by the Parliament now will be spent usefully and fruitfully for the projects for which they were meant. I do not want any wastage to occur and I want this money to go to alleviate the distress and suffering of the people and give them the desired results.

One thing more, Sir. I piloted the Appropriation Bill of the Andhra Pradesh Government on the last day of last month. Just on the 31st of March, I was speaking in the Andhra Pradesh Assembly with regard to the Appropriation Bill of the Andhra Pradesh Government and today in the 'last lap' of the Budget discussion here, on the last day of the month again, I am replying to the debate on the Appropriation Bill. I have done two Appropriation Bills this year, one of the State Government and the other of the Union Government and I think it is my good fortune. I am new here and I do hope that whatever money is being sanctioned will be spent fruitfully for the projects and that many of the complaints of the hon. Members will not be there at the end of the year. The Finance Minister, Shri Morarjibhai, is an old and senior administrator, well respected in the Party, and I am sure, Sir, he will be the watchdog of the finances of this Government and, known as he is for his integrity, for his strength of character, etc., will, with his assistants in the Secretariat, I hope, be able to give a good account of the affairs of this Ministry when we look back at the end of the year 1958-59.

I move, Sir, that the Appropriation Bill be taken into consideration.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1958-59, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up clause by clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI B. GOP ALA REDDI: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be returned."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill be returned." The

motion was adopted.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER FOR SCHEDULED CASTES AND SCHEDULED TRIBES

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I move:

"That the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1956-57 be taken into consideration."

Sir, this House had the privilege of discussing the 1955-56 Report last year whereas the other House had the privilege of discussing both the Reports at the same time in the last session. I am sorry that the Report^v did not come up earlier before this

House for discussion—I mean this 1956-57 Report. However, it is there today and it comes soon after the Appropriation Bill which also would enable us in this mighty task that the country has undertaken for the amelioration and welfare of the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and the ex-criminal tribes. As the House is aware, the Government of India is spending a huge amount on this subject and means to do well by them, but somehow there is criticism in this House and outside. We are alive to the fact that the tempo in all places in the country sometimes lags because of various factors. I should remind the House that this particular problem that we are facing today is a problem that has been with the country for centuries past. Just as the hon. Shri Gopala Reddi just now said, poverty goes on in the country from sire to son; more so orthodoxy and more so fanaticism in the religious sphere and, therefore, this remains a socio-economic problem despite all our efforts. Sir, I would like to remind the House that there are many elements that go to make this scheme to be successfully implemented. It is not that just the Rs. 39 crores that we invested in the first Five Year Plan or the Rs. 91 crores that we are going to invest in the second Plan period—this money alone—is going to make us realise our goal or our objective. We have set aside Rs. 91 crores in the second Plan for this purpose. Nevertheless, as I said, there are many elements that will count if we want to achieve results. The first thing is money and money is forthcoming. Secondly, we need men and women. Men and women are there also, but along with the numbers that we count we must also count on their missionary zeal. This is not a problem that can be solved just by counting the number of heads or counting the number of rupees in our pockets. This is a subject, as I have said, that has been there for long. Just as poverty grinds you down the centuries, orthodoxy grinds you more and more and, therefore, we need the right type of people and we ourselves have to do a little heart