

**THE WORKING JOURNALISTS  
(INDUSTRIAL DISPUTES) BILL, 1955**

THE MINISTER FOR INFORMATION AND BROADCASTING (DR. B. V. KESKAR): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to apply the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 to working journalists.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to apply the Industrial Disputes Act, 1947 to working journalists."

The motion was adopted.

DR. B. V. KESKAR: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

**MOTION OF THANKS ON PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—continued**

PROF. G. RANGA (Andhra): Mr Chairman, yesterday one of our hon. friends was suggesting that India might benefit if they follow the example of Soviet Russia in working for world peace. I would like to assure the House that so far as this aspect is concerned, it is not necessary for India to follow the example of either Soviet Russia or of the U.S.A. It is wrong for some of our Members to think that we are wrong in espousing the existence of two blocs. It is also wrong for them to think that we are following in the footsteps of either the United Kingdom or of America. And it is wrong on their part to suggest that we have something to learn from Soviet Russia so far as the peace mission is concerned. Actually, Sir, we are not alone in this view. There is Indonesia, for instance, with her sixty million population. She holds the same view. She along with India likes to remain uninvolved or pursue

a policy of non-involvement and I consider that our non-involvement policy as practised by our own Government here and by the Prime Minister has been and has made an active, positive and dynamic contribution to the cause of world peace. Sir, is it not a fact that India has made a powerful contribution to the achievement of freedom in Indonesia and to the establishment of peace in that sphere? Did we not make our contribution to the settlement of Iran's oil dispute? Have we not helped Egypt in attaining the right that she had long been asking for over the Suez Canal and the Red Seas? Did we not also make our contribution to Sudan and the holding of their elections and also the settlement of the quarrel between the United Kingdom and Egypt over Sudan? Did we not, also, help only recently in the Korean problem and in the Indo-China problem? Are we not trying to make our own contribution—and a constructive contribution—to the settlement of this Formosa problem? Coming to our own problems, we had great difficulty in regard to Tibet and yet did we not come to a peaceful settlement on Tibet? Did we not also come to a similar settlement in regard to the French pockets in India? Is it not for this very reason that we are trying to have patience with ourselves in regard to Goa, however important we are naturally in regard to the freedom of the people of Goa? Therefore, Sir, we have made much more, I think, than our due or proportionate contribution to the cause of world peace and for that reason, if not for any other reason, I would like India not to follow the advice tendered by my hon. friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta yesterday and simply see only one party as a threat to world peace and, therefore, go into the embraces of the U.S.S.R. and then claim the U.S.S.R. as the biggest champion of world peace of today.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): He has mis-constructed my point.

PROF. G. RANGA: Yes I did misconstrue your suggestion. Then, Sir, I would like to take up the most important problem, a problem which affects our own internal economy,— the question of agricultural prices. I am glad that the President has made some reference to it, but I am not quite satisfied with the kind of importance he has attached in his Address to this most vital issue that is facing us. We are told not only by the President, but by a number of our own friends here, that our people are today bubbling with some kind of hope in regard to their future. And as a matter of evidence to the existence of hope, some of our friends have told us about the enthusiastic audiences that had thronged to the Avadi Congress. But I might as well inform them that today there is that part of India wherefrom I have come just now, that is Andhra. You have got there enthusiastic crowd, and gatherings, lakhs of them gathering together. Is it because they see hope in the present agrarian situation? Not because of that. They are gathering together in order to vote. They are gathering together also in order to make up their mind as to which side they should choose—the communist side or the democratic side. And when they choose the democratic side for their vote, it does not mean that they are quite so hopeful with all that has happened or that they are so hopeful of what the Government hope to do in regard to the agricultural prices and the agricultural situation in this country. But when it comes to it, they are determined to vote in favour of democracy and not to go the way of dictatorship. That necessarily means an additional responsibility on those friends of ours here who hold the reins of powers on behalf of democracy. Are we quite sure that the Government is doing all that it ought to do and expeditiously and effectively in order to protect the interests of our agriculturists? It is true that there are people in our country who legitimately and naturally insist that agricultural prices should not be too high, but at the same time it is only

reasonable for those of us who champion the cause of the agriculturists to expect these consumers—the champions of consumers to agree to pay what are known as remunerative prices. Surely, it is not contended even by the most diehard champion of consumers that the agriculturist should go to rack and ruin in order that the agricultural prices should be kept down and the consumers should be supplied with food grains at lower and lower prices. That cannot be reasonably so. We find, in any sector of our society, people who are prepared to offer their services at less than remunerative prices, less than remunerative wages or salaries or allowances. When it is accepted on all sides that clerks should be paid decent salaries, industrial workers should be paid decent wages, and officers should be given proper salaries as well as allowances, then is it not reasonable, Sir, for those of us who stand for the 70 per cent. of our population, who depend for their livelihood upon what they get from agriculture, to ask that they should be paid remunerative prices? But, Sir, actually what is happening? There was a time when the Government of India used to admit that the procurement price levels, which they themselves had fixed, were not considered to be thoroughly remunerative. They were less than remunerative, and at the same time, they insisted that the peasants should sell their food grains and place them at the disposal of the Government of India at those procurement prices. In the open market, which the Government were pleased to consider to be a blackmarket, prices were twice as high, and the peasants were prevented from selling in that open market. They were forced to sell at the procurement prices. And oftentimes, as a matter of penalty, because the peasants were not able to deliver their food grains on the dates and at the places which were notified by the Government, they were paid much less, as some penalty had to be deducted from the procurement prices. If we keep those facts

[Prof. G. Ranga.] In mind, we would be able to realise how unreasonable it is that our Government should be sleeping as it were during the last eight or nine months, while the prices have been sagging, have been falling, and falling very rapidly. If they were to look into their own statistics, which are not quite satisfactorily collected for all those areas where the depression is having its worst possible effect, they will find, Sir, that the prices have gone down by more than 30 per cent. In many places they have even gone down by more than 50 per cent. And yet all that the Government are able to offer us today is to tell us that in the case of certain commodities they are prepared to purchase certain quantities at certain specified prices. They do not assure our agriculturists that they are prepared to purchase their food grains, their surplus food grains, or whatever it is, at the procurement prices at which they themselves had insisted once that the peasants should sell to them some years ago. And for years when those procurement prices were not remunerative enough, they did not give us that assurance. They simply said "at some specified prices". The question as to what those specified prices should be was to be decided, I suppose, at random either by the local Ministers or their minions, or by the Central Ministers. And they have not even begun to extend this umbrella to paddy and rice, in which case the farmers have begun to suffer the most.

I am glad, Sir, that the U.P. Government has come forward with a positive statement that it is going to spare Rs. 10 crores to Rs. 15 crores in order to purchase wheat and other food grains in certain markets. In this respect the U.P. Government has taken the lead, and I am not surprised at that because my hon. friend, who has come over here, has left behind him a very

good tradition of care and attention to the needs of the needy, and of the masses. And I am particularly happy, Sir, to welcome the presence in the Central Government, and also in our House today, of my hon. friend, Shri, Govind Ballabh Pant, under whom, Sir, I had the pleasure of working as the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, when we were all together in the old Central Legislative Assembly.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But you are again together.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

PROF. G. RANGA: It would certainly be a privilege, Sir, for any decent man in this country to find himself in the company of Shri Govind Ballabh Pant. Therefore, whether we are in the Opposition parties or on the Government side, it is certainly a privilege and a pleasure to find oneself in the company of a man, who is second among our elder statesmen, who is second in the sobriety of his judgment, as also in the real care that he has evinced for the downtrodden people in our country. Now, Sir, U. P. has given the lead. But what is it that the other States are going to do? What is it that the Central Government has already planned to do? I have suggested some time ago, and I wish to repeat it, Sir, that it is necessary that the Government should come forward with some definite proposals to advance credit to our own farmers in order to enable them not to have to rush their food grains into the markets and thus depress the prices. That is my suggestion No. 1. Secondly, Sir, they have got to take emergent steps in order to build godowns. I know that some time ago it was announced that in some of our own port towns a few godowns of great capacity were going to be built. But that would not be enough. They would have to give every possible encouragement

to our own co-operative societies in different parts of the country to build their own godowns and big elevators. Also they have to encourage my hon. friend, the Railway Minister, to build these elevators at the Railway junctions in order to help in the storage of our own food grains. In addition to this, it is not enough that the Government are thinking of nationalising the Imperial Bank of India .....

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY (Orissa): It is only an effective control.

PROF. G. RANGA: Whether it is an effective control or nationalisation, that does not matter. Anyhow, it is not enough that the Imperial Bank is starting a large number of branches in our rural areas. It is most essential that Government should take some dynamic steps to develop co-operative credit societies and multi-purpose co-operative; in our rural areas and place enough of funds through the good offices of the scheduled banks as well as the Reserve Bank of India at the disposal of these co-operatives. This might help our own farmers to hold as much of their grain as possible in anticipation of those months when there would be a better demand in the markets. Even that would not be enough, Sir. When the Government of India were prepared to spare more than Rs. 100 crores for the purchase of foreign food grains, when the Government of India were prepared to risk the loss of more than Rs. 20 crores in certain years when they were making all these purchases from abroad, is it not the duty of the Government, or, is it too much for me to expect the Government, to be prepared to spare or to risk Rs. 20 crores to Rs. 30 crores every year, in order to see that the floor is maintained for the agricultural prices?

Sir, a friend of mine, Shri Govinda Reddy, wanted to make a distinction between commercial crops and non-

commercial crops or food crops. I do not think that kind of a distinction is ever likely to help our farmers and agriculturists to any great degree. But at the same time, it is necessary for the Government to take certain special steps in order to push up the sales of our own commercial crops in other countries. They have not done enough in that direction, Sir. On the other hand, they have done everything possible, during the last three or four years, in order to discourage trade in our own commercial crops. Take for instance groundnut oil and other oilseeds. What have they done? Have they even had the grace to abolish all the export duties on these commercial crops? Why is it that they are still maintaining their export duty of Rs. 100 per ton on groundnut oil? What is it that they have done in order to push up these sales? Nothing so far. We made the suggestion, Sir, that the Government of India should take charge of these exports and establish a corporation, or whatever it is, and then see to it that our foreign markets are developed. But they have done so little in regard to this. All that they could possibly claim to have done was to have sent a roving commission to South-East Asian countries in order to study the possibilities of pushing up the sales in the matter of tobacco. But that is not enough. We want not only some steps, but more effective steps, more serious steps, to be taken in order to push up the sales not only of our tobacco, but also of our chillies, our onions and our oilseeds. But there is no indication anywhere in regard to that. On the other hand, Sir, the Government of India proposes to establish this I.C.I. I do not grudge that. I do not mind the industrialists having all the protection that they need. But, at the same time, what is it that the Government of India proposes to do? We suggested the establishment of an Agricultural Finance Corporation. The Government of India was not prepared to accept the suggestion. But recently, the Rural Banking Facilities Enquiry Com-

[Prof. G. Ranga.] mittee, appointed by the Reserve Bank, I think, made a similar suggestion. And yet we find that the Government of India has not announced as to what its decision is likely to be, or what action it is going to take. In regard to small-scale industries and large-scale industries the Government of India is so very solicitous, and rightly so, because every sector of our own social life has got to be looked after by the Government. But my charge against the Government of India is that it has done not even one-tenth of what it ought to have done for the poor agriculturists. Sir, look at the social function that the agriculturists are performing in this country. Only yesterday or today, one of our friends was mentioning the existence of unemployment among the educated in the urban areas. It runs up to only one million at the most, and not more. But, on the other hand, out of our 249 million people, who are dependent upon agriculture, as many as 140 million people, Sir, are dependent, which means ordinarily that they would have come as unemployed. Half of them at least even if you were to deduct the old and the decrepit and also the children, 70 millions of them, are unemployed. They are being maintained by your agriculturists today, and nothing special is being done in order to see that some kind of employment is provided for these 70 million people. Then you have got also earning dependants, which means part-time employed people. They are 30 million people. What is being done in order to augment their employment opportunities, and also their own earnings? So very little. Now, that is exactly where the perspective comes in. Today, my fear is that the Government is suffering from too much of

urban perspective and too little of rural perspective.

On the other hand they say that they have got a rural bias too. They say, 'Look at the National Extension Schemes.' The main feature of these National Extension

Schemes is to make our own agriculturists contribute towards their own reconstruction, towards their own development. I welcome that aspect of it, but at the same time let it also be remembered that, whereas these people are expected to make their contributions, in the case of urban labour for many of the things that they wish to do for the benefit of the towns, it is the Governments at the Centre and in the States who have got to make most of the contributions. So, let us not forget this particular aspect of it, and therefore it is that I say that the utmost possible attention ought to be paid to the welfare of our rural people and to the welfare of our agriculturists. Are we doing that? My hon. friend, Mr. Hegde, yesterday referred to the problem of the landless. My friend from the Communist side also has referred to it. There are various points of view from which this problem can be looked at. One point I would like this hon. House to keep permanently in mind. I do not want anybody to think that a peasant is merely a landholder or a landowner. He is actually a self-reliant worker on the land and dependent on his land just as the carpenter depends upon his chisel and his hammer or the weaver depends upon his loom and his shuttle. What these implements are to the artisans, land is to the peasant. Therefore the peasant ought not to be disturbed from the enjoyment of the land that he possesses, and that assurance has got to be given to him. From the Prime Minister down to the National Planning Commission, most unfortunately that assurance has not been forthcoming. On the other hand, by the abolition of the zamin-dari system, we have been trying to give to our peasants what is known as permanency of tenure. In the U. P., they have been trying to give the peasants the right to possess land, to sell it, to bequeath it and alienate it in any way they like, and we have enjoyed that right in various parts of the country for ages and ages, I do not know for how many centuries. These peasants never approach the

Government for employment. They do not bother anybody for the employment "of their children or grandchildren or great-grandchildren. They are entirely dependent upon themselves. What is more they are not afraid of Ministries. They are not afraid of Ministers or anybody. The only prospect that these people fear is the prospect of a Communist regime coming into this country, because the Communists want to abolish the *patta* system or permanency of tenure.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We want to give land to our peasant.

PROF. G. RANGA: My hon. friend knows the history of Soviet Russia. There it is by that bait that they got the support of the peasants. Afterwards they split them into various categories and then dispossessed the whole lot of them. The poor agricultural workers there thought that, if those people came to power they would be better off, but the whole lot of them were dispossessed and crushed in Soviet Russia.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What about China?

PROF. G. RANGA: That is going to happen to the agriculturists in poor China too, and my fear is that our peasants are also going to face the same fate, if the Communists come to power. That is why I am exhorting our own peasants that unsatisfactory as this Government's attitude has been towards them, it is better for them to stand by the democratic forces rather than support my hon. friends of the Communist Party. Therefore, it is necessary that we should think of and adopt land reforms, that we should give this assurance to our farmers that their permanency of tenure is not going to be affected at all. Then there are these bigger people also. A ceiling will have to be fixed on holdings and the surplus lands taken from their hands and handed over for collective and co-operative enjoyment by our land-

less agriculturists. Now, my hon. friends say, "Do not pay any compensation". I do not accept that principle. If once you say that no compensation should be paid, that will open the door to all sorts of violence. If we are to accept the hon. Member's suggestion, what will happen will be that a naked beggar will turn against another beggar who has one loin cloth and say, "I have got a right to take your loin cloth away from you, because I have none." I am all in favour of paying compensation. It is quite another matter how much compensation you are going to allow. There was the principle of a tapering degree of compensation adopted in Bihar in regard to their land legislation. That means that the man who has the largest amount of compensation to receive will get the smallest amount of compensation for each item of property that he has got to hand over, and the man who will get the smallest amount of compensation will get the largest amount of compensation for each item of property that he has to give away. This principle is equitable and it should be kept in mind when considering the constitutional amendment that is coming up for discussion here.

Now, I do not know why there is no mention in the Address of any flood protection scheme. I know that the Government of India have constituted a Flood Commission. I do not know whether they are going to constitute a Commission for the Godavari Delta also. I want this Commission to consider not only the flood problem of Assam, Bihar and U. P., not only of Andhra, but of every State in our country, because at some time or other every river is likely to cause floods and is likely to cause terrific damage to crops. So, this problem has got to be tackled from an all-India point of view, and it is necessary to have special committees for the various rivers which are capable of or have displayed their capacity for causing overwhelming damage I within their regions.

[Prof. G. Ranga.]

Then, Sir, it is necessary and it is time that an All India Flood Assurance Fund is constituted and the Government of India should make its contribution to it every year. Similarly they should expect the State Governments also to make their contributions, so that it would be possible for the State Governments, whenever any such flood or any such calamity overtakes the people, to have the necessary funds at their disposal to go to the rescue of these people. This is one aspect of it. The other aspect of it is that when a flood comes, the landholder lose all that they have invested in their land, and nothing is being done to repair that damage. Something has got to be done in that direction and the Government of India have got to study this problem and find out to what extent they can expect contributions from the farmers themselves who are producing different crops. These contributions they can make either as part of the land revenue or as a surcharge on the sales tax realised from the sale of these crops. In that way they should collect sufficient funds so that they can help the peasants at least to the extent of 50 per cent, of the losses that they would be sustaining, losses not only on their permanent investments in the land but also annual investments. Now my friends from the Communist side were complaining that not enough was being done for the cottage industries. Not so long ago, my friends were all opposed to cottage industries.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Never.

PROF. G. RANGA: Now that .....

MR. CHAIRMAN: They are always wise and they change.

PROF. G. RANGA: Now that Government has begun to do something very big, they say you are not going fast enough. When the British were here, I thought I was a very bold man and an ambitious man in asking for a grant of Rs. 50 lakhs for

the protection of handloom weaving industry which maintained one crore of people.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Did you oppose it?

PROF. G. RANGA: I thought I was very ambitious in asking for that. Today the Swaraj Government is spending Rs. 6 crores for the protection of our handloom weavers. This one fact is enough to prove that the Government, slow as it is, is certainly going much faster than could have been expected six or seven years ago. There is no use criticising. If we are to criticise the Government, let us do it in a constructive manner. Then my hon. friend was taking the Government or the President to task for having had the courage to mouth the phrase 'socialist pattern'. I was rather surprised at it. If my hon. friend Mr. Dwivedy, for whom I have a tremendous love and affection, takes the trouble to read once again a book written by his present leader and my erstwhile colleague, Shri Jaiprakash Narain, called 'Why Socialism' published in 1936, he would realize what a long way they had to travel in order to reach the present conception of socialism. There may be socialism and socialism, there is Fourier's Socialism, St. Simmon's Socialism, Fabian Socialism, Christian Socialism also. I stand by Gandhian Socialism. My hon. friend's own conception of socialism cannot be static. It has to be a dynamic thing otherwise he would be disowning Jaiprakash of 1936 when he declaimed everything that Mahatma Gandhi had stood for in the direction of cottage industries. He ridiculed Mahatma Gandhi who stood for Charkha. There was a great controversy in the press between him and<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kumarappa over Mahatma Gandhi's affection for the cottage Industries.

AN HON. MEMBER: That is old history.

PROF. G. RANGA: This is the history of Indian socialism.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I dare say Congress socialism has a tremendous phrasemongering.

PROF. G. RANGA: This is a very happy phrase and a very happy idea. It means it is going to be a big thing, It is going to be a wide thing, a creative thing and a constructive thing in harmony with the needs of the times, a progressive thing and not a static thing. There was the social-lism of Ramsay MacDonold, the socialism of Millerand and' others. There are good and bad socialism. I can quote chapter and verse on it.

ME. CHAIRMAN; Don't bother to do all that.

PROF. G. RANGA: We have understood all that. My friend forgets the black spot in that side of the red seed. He has the Raja of Kumara-mangalam, son of our own Dr. Subbarayan on his side and his daughter also on his side. There are some of my colleagues in the other House whose properties are much bigger, much more than the properties of half the Members of this House put together, and they are Communists. They can afford to be Communists but one who has lost his patta of zamindari happens to be within the Congress. Therefore he is now titled as the Raja of Chalapatte. He appears to be a bug bear to my hon. friends. It is no good to make any such arguments. It is no sin for a capitalist or for a landlord or anybody to be in the Communist Party so long as he swears by the Communist principles. Similarly it is no sin for these people to be in the Congress or K.L.P. or P.9.P. so long as they swear by the principles of these parties. What is the principle by which the Congress swears today? The Congress swears by the socialist pattern. I wish to congratulate the Congress and I wish to thank the President also for having used<sup>1</sup> this phrase. I wish to congratulate them not because they have suddenly awakened to the realization of a socialist society. Mahatma Gandhi has

thought of it long time ago. We used the word social justice in our Ram-gaih Congress. I happened to be one of the prominent members of the Congress then and I was also responsible for seeing to it that these things were accepted by the Congress. The Congress has been moving in this direction but unfortunately for us, after the Congress has come into Government, the Government has been rather shy in accepting this-conception. Now the Government as such in a solemn fashion comes to accept this. It is not enough that the Avadi Congress has accepted it. Here is the President who has himself put his own seal of approval on this progressive phrase and it is a happy and a constructive contribution and I hope we will go in that direction. My hon. friends complained that it is vague. It has got to be vague. What we want to do is to go in the direction of social justice. Social justice can be understood from different points of view. From my point of view it should be predominantly agriculturist, from some others' point of view it should be industrial, and from some others, proletariat or agricultural workers. All these points of view have to be harmonised. It all depends upon who has the predominant voice in the Government, the democratic Government of the country. I would like to have that predominant voice in this Government and in the States so that I can put the agriculturist seal on the socialist pattern. But nevertheless one general conception there is and that is social justice and on that there cannot be any difference of opinion and by social justice the President wishes to stand and I wish to congratulate the President on that.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sumat Prasad.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, on a point of submission. Usually the procedure is this that you call one speaker from that side and another from the Opposition side. Prof. Ranga, after his performance in Andhra, should be treated as belonging to that side.-



[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] This is the rule. You have been very impartial and you should call a speaker from our side.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He does not belong to any side.

SHRI SUMAT PRASAD (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, our achievements during the past year both as regards economic development of the country as well as our foreign relations have been considerable. The output of food grains has increased beyond expectations and controls have been removed. Now the problem is to stabilise the prices of food grains.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

It was right that in the Plan top priority was given to the development of agriculture. The great river valley schemes have shown considerable progress and new projects are starting. Bhakra-Nangal has improved the production of Punjab and other areas. The country however has not achieved self-sufficiency in sugar. Prices of *gur* are considerably falling and they are not keeping parity with the price of sugar. We have to import large quantities of sugar. If the existing mills are made to increase their production capacity and more mills are started in suitable places, there is no reason why the production of sugar should not be increased in order to avoid the necessity of spending crores of rupees in importing sugar. As regards industrial development, the country is making rapid progress. The Government is attaching great importance to the development of cottage and small-scale industries. Credit facilities are being provided both to large-scale as well as small-scale industries. Great progress has been made in shipbuilding. The Telephone Cable Factory is expected to meet the requirements of the country. New steel plants are going to be established shortly and it will give great impetus to the Industrialisation of the country. Import and Export are regulated with a view to increase production. In spite of

all these achievements, unemployment particularly among the educated classes, is on the increase. The system of education has to be changed so as to enable our young men to engage themselves in production. At present university degrees are considered as necessary to secure appointments in Government services. This state of affairs is highly unsatisfactory, for no State can be expected to absorb all the recipients of university degrees in the administrative services. The Government does not seem to be unmindful of the change which is urgently needed in the sphere of education. A reorientation of the entire system is needed so as to make the students useful citizens. The system of education has to be revised so as to make our students take to production and to small-scale industries. The Community Projects have created great enthusiasm in the rural areas and people are taking a keen interest in the development of rural programmes. The State Governments are taking steps to improve the condition of the people, in the rural areas. Transport facilities have been increasing and new roads are being constructed.

Sir, in the matter of foreign relations, our worthy Prime Minister has been acclaimed as the harbinger of peace. He has always thrown his weight in the direction of solving the international tangles. Mahatma Gandhi could achieve independence for our country on the principle of nonviolence and our revered leader, Pandit Jawaharlalji, is now applying the same principle for the solution of international problems and at critical times he has succeeded in avoiding war.

Formosa is engaging the attention of the whole world at the present time. Let us hope that by the policy which our worthy Prime Minister is following, he will remove the tension that exists in the world and that the doctrine of co-existence which he has so beautifully enunciated will be found acceptable to all the countries of the

world and no country will think of embarking upon any aggressive designs.

Sir, our remaining in the Commonwealth has been criticised. But I see no reason for that. There is no disadvantage in our remaining there: it gives us a forum to discuss all matters of international importance. Ours is a sovereign, independent republic and we are not afraid of being influenced by others. If we feel that the suggestions which are made there by other countries are useful in maintaining the peace of the world, in developing the under-developed parts of the world, in removing colonialism and in advancing the cause of peace in the world, then certainly we can accept those suggestions. And moreover, we are in a very good position to influence the ideas of other nations by our actions, and deeds.

Our relations with Pakistan have not improved much, but here are signs that in the near future, our problems there may be settled by means of negotiations. The alternative to settlement by peaceful negotiations is war and that has to be avoided if human civilisation is to last. Every nation is afraid of war and we are living in an atmosphere of suspicion and fear. This atmosphere of suspicion can be removed if nations accept the five principles known as Panch Shila on the basis of which our Prime Minister negotiated the agreement between China and this great country. The policy pursued in international affairs by our Prime Minister is truly a national policy and it has been appreciated throughout our country and the country is proud of the achievements of our worthy Prime Minister, especially in the international sphere.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Since there are a large number of speakers today, do we sit through the lunch-hour? I would like to know the wish of the House. If the House so wishes, we shall sit through the lunch-hour.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

AN HON. MEMBER: No.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I think we may sit, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Very well. We shall sit through the lunch-hour. Yes, Prof. Wadia.

PROF. A. R. WADIA (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am rising to speak to welcome the President's Address. I am rather surprised to find that any Member of the House should be willing to give up the precious privilege of the House to review the President's Address which in itself is a survey of the Government's work during the past year. I heartily sympathise with the idea that every democratic constitution must have this privilege and must utilise this privilege which is by no means useless.

There is another point, Sir, and it is this. When we are surveying or reviewing the President's Address, every Member of this House is expected to do so with decorum and with dignity. I regret to find, Sir, that in yesterday's debate, this healthy principle was not observed. Under the cloak of reviewing the President's Address, various remarks were made against other parties who had nothing to do with the Government.

I share the enthusiasm of the Members generally for the President's Address, especially in connection with the work of the Government in the sphere of foreign affairs as well as domestic spheres, particularly, the emphasis that has been laid on the development of our rural areas in the form of the Community Projects Administration. I myself have something to do with it and I know the very important work that is being done. In fact, we are creating a new India through that agency. At the same time, I have got to temper my enthusiasm for the President's Address in one or two particulars. There is, for example, the reference

LProf. A. R. Wadia.] to the Imperial Bank and the expression used is that the Government mean to exercise effective control. Now, Sir, the whole question is disposed of in one solitary sentence when we know that this question is of extremely great importance. Have the Government remodelled their policy in the interests of the rural areas, as they say? It is a matter of extremely great importance but on the other hand it has also to be remembered that a very important section of the people, are interested as shareholders in the Imperial Bank. I may hasten to add that I am not one of those lucky or unlucky individuals who have anything to do with the Imperial Bank but I do know that there is a considerable amount of fear created in the mind of people in Bombay City and very possibly in other parts of India as well and the fear is that it will affect the future of the Imperial Bank. There are a number of charity trusts in Bombay who hold large investments in the Imperial Bank and they do not know what exactly is the effective control that this Government is going to exercise. There are very wild rumours in Bombay City. There is an impression about that the Government is going to take up the whole Bank and that they are going to buy out the shares, possibly with compensation but there is a fear that no compensation may be paid. We are grateful to the hon. Deputy Minister who stated the other day about this and who made this distinction between effective control and complete control. He also said that if the shares were bought, some compensation will have to be paid. The shares are very much at a premium and whether the compensation is to be paid at the rate of the face value or at the market value and on what date. These are very important questions which affect a very large section of the people in India. It seems to me, therefore, that it would have been very well if the President had enlarged this fact of the effective control that the

Government means to exercise on the Imperial Bank and I believe other State Banks are also involved in this. What is the type of control that they are going to exercise? That is a point which needs a little clarification. Unfortunately, the only thing that has happened is that it has given a very unhealthy incentive to speculation. I am not ill favour of the tremendous amount of speculation that is going on in the share markets in our country. I think it is one of the social diseases of the capitalistic age which I fully realise but what is happening is that the bulls and the bears are getting the best out of it and that is not a very healthy state of affairs. If the Government make their position clear as to what exactly they mean by this effective control that would be contributing to ease the situation.

One other point, Sir, and that is with reference to the phrase which the President has used in the last paragraph about the socialistic pattern. I am afraid, Sir, that I do not share the enthusiasm of my hon. friend Prof. Ranga in this connection; not that I am against socialism. Even in the most capitalistic countries like America and England, there is a certain amount of socialism and is bound to be. It is the cry of the age, the need of the age and one can understand this great enthusiasm for socialism but a vague phrase like "socialistic pattern" is not going to please anyone. It has certainly not pleased my friends to the right. It will not please the .....

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA (Mysore) : They are Leftists.

PROF. R. D. SINHA DINKAR (Bihar): The rest of the country is pleased with the phrase.

PROP. A. R. WADIA: I welcome the word but I am perfectly sure that there are many who are not pleased, I am not against socialism-at all. There has been a certain amount of socialism according to the present needs of the country but I do feel that the phrase "socialistic

pattern" is neither here nor there and it is very necessary to define what exactly Government mean when they use the phrase "socialistic pattern". A certain amount of elucidation would be welcome as it has created a certain scare in the minds of the ordinary capitalists. After all, there is an impression in the minds of so many that whatever profits the capitalists make go to the pockets of the capitalists. That is not correct. With the present Income-Tax law and the Excess Profits Tax, very little goes to the pockets of the capitalists. After all, the Government has a right to tax and the Government do take away a substantial portion of the profits which go to the coffers of the State. The State benefits by it and the people also benefit by it. I quite appreciate that but it is necessary that the industrialists of our country should be able to know where exactly they stand. There is a lot of fear in their minds. I find the hon. Ministers, again and again in their various speeches, not merely in this House but even outside saying that private capital is shy. They criticise that the private capitalists are not forthcoming and co-operating with Government. The point is that unless the private industrialists know or the private sector knows where exactly they stand, what the policy of the Government is in this matter, they will not be able to do anything positively. Sometimes it is said that they are going to nationalise this or that industry. It would be very worthwhile if Government took a little time over it and chalked out a clear-cut programme of the industries that they wish to nationalise in the best interests of India and of the industries that they are going to leave to the private sector. It is worthwhile to do that because it will be good for both the parties, for the Government as well as for the private sector. I take it that "socialistic pattern" does not necessarily mean complete nationalisation of all the industries but a certain clarification is necessary on that point. 108 RSD

With these two modifications, Sir, I entirely agree with and support the principles that are to be found in the President's Address and I heartily welcome it.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Hyderabad): Mr. Deputy Chairman, after giving serious thought to the speakers who have opposed the Motion of Thanks, I have come to the conclusion that the criticism from the side opposite, particularly from the Democratic front, from the Communist side and from the Socialist side has been, in my humble opinion, extremely disappointing. I put Prof. Ranga and Prof. Wadia in a different category and if time is left I would just touch some of the points that have been raised by these two speakers. I take up, Sir, first my hon. friend -Mr. Mathur. Certainly, he was honest and candid enough to welcome our external policy and I congratulate him for that honest expression but he made a very sweeping and general remark about the Services. He said that there is corruption, there is nepotism and there is inefficiency. I feel that we should not now talk in the tone that we used to when there was foreign rule. Now, the Services are our Services.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Corruption is our corruption!

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I would say, generally speaking, that there is no corruption. I know there is corruption in the non-official side, including Members of Legislatures and Parliament as well as in other non-official circles including all parties in our society. What I say is, if there is any definite allegation, it must be substantiated. After the independence, if any Service man does anything wrong. I will hold him doubly responsible. He will not only contravene Service regulations but he would be unpatriotic and, according to me, he will receive double punishment but without substantiating, without having definite facts and

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan.] figures it is not good to say that there is corruption, as my learned friend has done. I am not quarrelling much with Mr. Bhupesh Gupta because it is usual with him to make such general and sweeping remarks. But I thought this friend belonging to the Democratic Party will show more sense of realism. So I repudiate that attack on the Services and I say: They are my Services; they are quite efficient; they are quite honest, and if there is anything wrong certainly they will have to explain and they will receive the punishment. But we should not speak in such general terms and in a sweeping manner. That is very disheartening for the Services and it is not right for us; it is not doing right to our Government. It is our Government and" it is rather unfair to say that they are all *en bloc* inefficient or corrupt. So I strongly object to that charge that my friend Mr. Mathur levelled against our Services.

Now, Sir, coming to my Communist and Socialist friends, well. Sir. I would analyse and I would briefly speak on those two fronts on which they have been very eloquent (1) external or international and (2) Home or domestic affairs. Now, Sir, when my friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta rose to speak, he drew a very serious picture of war clouds hanging and SEADO meeting taking place in Bangkok. Well, Sir, after that prelude the statement that he made was that it is nonsense to speak about two war blocs, that there is only one war bloc and that is the U.S.A.—the warmonger. He did not say so in explicit words but the inference that any reasonable man would draw from his speech, from his own words if they mean what they generally mean, is "that India should join the Soviet or Communist bloc."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Peace camp you should join.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Yes, apart from their ideology if India to-

day joins any bloc I am sure not only this House but the whole country, not only the whole country but the whole of Asia, nay the whole of the world will say that the chances for peace will be considerably reduced and the opportunities for war will be immensely increased. What is the position today? Now take the burning problem of Formosa. Suppose we side with any bloc, the position will be that the efforts that our Government and our Prime Minister are making to see that war is averted will be absolutely in vain.

SHRI BHUPESH\* GUPTA: The hon. Member should know the Government of India has taken the side of China as far as Formosa is concerned.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: You have to be patient. I am stating, Sir, the position that the Government of India has taken and the unequivocal words in which the President of India has given expression to our definite stand in regard to the claim of China to Formosa will stand to the lasting credit of India. What have we said? We have said that the Chinese stand is a perfectly correct stand. No country in the world, leave aside this group or that bloc, no country in the world can come and say at this juncture when the situation is so critical that the Chinese stand and the Chinese claim to Formosa is a just claim. We have done so most unequivocally. And, Sir, even the United Kingdom dare not say at this juncture that the Chinese claim regarding Formosa is just. We have done that. Why we have done that is quite plain because we believe in certain principles. We have a certain ideology; we have certain culture and conventions. We have certain principles by which we go whether our opponent is strong or weak, whether we have got no bombs and they have got bombs, atom bombs and even hydrogen bombs— these things are quite immaterial— as these factors do not influence our basic policy. So with due respect I

would submit that if they had any propriety, I won't use any strong word, the Opposition ought to have acclaimed and appreciated the external policy that India is following in a very bold and honest manner, but it is too much to expect from our friends. Another factor that I want to emphasise in the President's Address is that while we affirm the position that China's cause is just, -we have warned both the parties, Soviet and American blocs, that the solution for this does not come through violence or war. We have put that position also in the most clear and emphatic terms. We have said to China: That won't do—to have recourse to force; that won't be correct; -that will not be right.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is the Americans who are for warring against China, not the other way round.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: America may be doing, but what is our position? We are definitely and categorically saying, as I have just now said, that the Chinese cause is good, but we definitely deny that the settlement of this issue should be through war. That is what I am saying and that is a blow to the Soviet bloc as well as a blow to the United States because what we could see is both are preparing for war—but they are paying due attention to our advice. We say: There may be a good cause; there may be a righteous cause, but at the same time the settlement of that cause should come through negotiation and peaceful methods.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do I understand the Government of India's foreign policy is directly to deal a blow to the Soviet Union?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Gupta, look here, please do not disturb. Nobody disturbed you; you had your say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I did not say anything disturbing.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I know, Sir, he is very uncomfortable because I am saying things which make him feel uncomfortable. I quite appreciate his inconvenience. What I am saying is this, Sir, that so far as our policy regarding Formosa is concerned we have warned both the parties and said that this matter should be settled through peaceful negotiation and in no case war should be had access to. Why? It is not only a question of war between China and the United States. It is not a war as we used to have where only the belligerents used to be affected. But with the dreadful prospect of the deadly and if I may say so, the satanic weapons of hydrogen and atom bombs being used, what will be the future of humanity? We are interested in humanity.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: So are we.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: But I doubt very much whether you are interested. The Soviet may be interested; China may be interested, but I very much doubt whether my hon. friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta and his Communist Party in India are interested in peace and in peaceful settlements.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : He is interested in everything which is destructive.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: What I was just saying is this, Sir. Regarding that also our President has made it very clear that it will be a very bad day when these deadly weapons would be used in warfare. What do you want in the external policy? I am not going to other details but would refer to very prominent aspects. Take the stand that we took at Geneva. Take the stand that we took at the conference that was held at Indonesia and our full support to have the Asian-African conference—which is bound to have far-reaching

[Shri Akbar Ali Khan.] effects in creating a new consciousness in these two continents and thus influencing the important political currents of the world. Take our attitude in regard to these matters where we have gone out of our way to establish peace and press for the understanding of the principles—known as Panch Shila and in particular the principle of co-existence. I think that is the only correct attitude to be taken at the present juncture of the world and without going into further details of the external policy—I say I fully support—and I am sure this House supports, the whole of this country supports—the external policy that is being followed by our Government.

Now, coming to the home front, I must say that I was distressed—not because I am not used to these strong expressions—to see that our Prime Minister was personally referred to and it was said that he made such a speech at Lahore, he made another speech at some Congress and now he was saying socialistic pattern as if he had gone back upon his principle for which he had stood throughout his life. I emphasise, I am sorry to say, that my friends who think of socialism only in terms of certain definite phrases and certain expressions used in book or in certain slogans, naturally they cannot appreciate what type of socialism India is trying to build up. We are not following any particular form prescribed in any other country. We are taking the best from all countries. The opposition has to realize the background in which we started our work. We began after 200 years of foreign domination with all its evil consequences—this must be realized. At the time when we achieved our independence we had the legacy of the refugees; we had the legacy of illiteracy, poverty, communal hatred, caste hatred and all that and added to that we had food deficit. If anybody looks to all these facts honestly and dispassionately, one cannot come to any conclusion but to this that the efforts that the

Congress Government has made during the past few years have been gigantic. They stand to the credit of the Government not only today but even the future historian will say something good about it. It is in this context we will have to see what we have done. When our friends talk of socialism, let me make two things very definitely clear. One is, we do not believe in expropriation, in taking over property without compensation.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do you believe in misappropriation?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Not at all; that is your privilege, my friend. As I was saying, that is the fundamental of our economical policy. It may be due to our culture; it may be due to our past history; it may be due to the ideology that the Father of the Nation has inculcated in us.

The other fundamental thing is that we believe in private property. We have made it abundantly clear in the 1948 resolution on economic policy—The Industrial Policy Resolution of the Congress is there if only my learned friend cares to look at it. This policy we have further clarified in Avadi Congress session.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do you believe in it?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: We believe in and act up to it. The only thing is that Communists neither believe in nor act up to it. Our industrial policy is this, *viz.*, we do want to have control over all key industries and many social amenities. At the same time we do want to have a private sector but with controls. Sir, may I ask my friend whether even China has abolished up to this day private ownership? Are there not small landowners still? May I ask my friend whether Russia—his intellectual home—has paid compensation to foreign investments?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is that? I did not follow.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I was referring to Russia—your adopted home.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My home is in West Bengal.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: I hope it will be. What I was just saying is that so far as even Russia is concerned, even during the Revolution and afterwards they have paid foreigners for their property and even China has still private ownership. And my learned friends want a type of socialism which is much more than what has been done in Russia and much more than what is being done in China. And mind you, under what circumstances? In the revolutionary period and after that practically all landowners and big people had run away from Russia. In China, the Premier of China and responsible leaders have said that it would take some 20 years more for China to establish socialism. But my friends want that by showing the Aladdin's Lamp—if there is anything like an Aladdin's Lamp—we should convert the whole Indian society into a socialist society and that also in the twinkling of an eye. Sir, this is a responsible place and I am sure my friend has come here in a representative and responsible capacity. Let us talk something which is based on mature consideration and which has a background of strong facts, real facts and not imaginary things. Opposition for opposition's sake—my friends are at liberty to do it but my conviction is that if it is not grounded on facts, if it bears no relation to existing conditions, if there is no honest approach and if it is not backed by sound reasoning, that will not reflect creditably either on my friend or on his party, nor will it help to grow this parliamentary institution which we all so much cherish.

SHRI T. BODRA (Bihar): On a point of order, Sir. My friend is criticising Mr. Bhupesh Gupta particularly. He cannot do that. He can criticise the policy of the Government but .....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order. Please wind up, Mr. Akbar Ali Khan.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Sir, I am sorry my learned friend Mr. Dwivedy said that nothing has been done regarding land reforms. Here too definite steps have been taken to abolish zamindaris and jagirdaris. Definite efforts are being made to make the tiller have his own land. All these Community Projects, Extension Service Blocks and other big river valley schemes, what are they? If you really consider this matter dispassionately you cannot come to any conclusion but that a serious effort is being made towards the objective to improve rural conditions. I do not say that there is nothing more to be done. In fact, the President has said that there is no room for complacency. My learned friend conveniently forgets such phrases. We have to work hard; we have difficult problems; we have to face them.

Before I conclude I must say, Sir, that the Government should give its immediate attention to two important problems. One that has been referred to by many of our friends is the question of fall in agricultural prices. In regard to that the President has said that wherever there are un-remunerative prices prevailing, then grains will be stocked at specified prices. That requires further elaboration and I hope that the Government will give its immediate attention to this problem.

Another thing that I want to bring to the notice of the Government is that the purchase at specified price is not sufficient. It will not be of any help to the agriculturists unless the prices of other things which the agriculturist wants like fertilisers, iron etc. are also proportionately reduced. Otherwise, I am sure there will be a very serious situation. So I would request the Government to consider these problems with all the seriousness that they demand and not only purchase stocks but also attempt to reduce the cost of other



[Shri Akbar Ali Khan.] things which the agriculturist requires.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have exceeded the time.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: One more word. Regarding unemployment also, I think sufficient attention has not been given by the Government to this very pressing and urgent matter. Sir, I make bold to give this suggestion—I have said this before also—that in the river valley schemes etc. there is a lot of scope to absorb educated unemployed. Round about these areas where cultivation has to be done, there is not sufficient population and there is a chance of making necessary arrangements to absorb our educated unemployed after giving them practical training in agriculture. This has not been tapped. I want the Government to give its immediate and closest attention to this question of the educated unemployed and of absorbing them under these various river valley schemes, which are being undertaken on a very large scale and not to treat this problem lightly. With these words, Sir, I have great pleasure in seconding the Resolution of my friend Dr. Subbarayan to thank the President.

1 P.M.

SHRI T. BODRA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to give thanks for the Address of the President on behalf of the tribals, but regret to say that Government have not been able to take effective measures for the betterment of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes all over India.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. C. GUPTA) in the Chair.]

Very unfortunately our hon. Prime Minister has never been a flower to bloom unseen and waste its sweetness in the desert air. He has been applauded for his foreign policy not only here in this House, or in the Lok Sabha, or all over India, but also internationally. Sir, I am concerned more

I about the domestic affairs. I have got some bitter remarks to make against the Home Ministry and I am very fortunate that the hon. Minister for Home Affairs is here. Under the Constitution the Tribes Advisory Council was meant to be in operation, but unfortunately the hon. Home Minister has failed to see that this has not been implemented in the right spirit and in right earnestness. I can cite instances from the State of Bihar that although there is a Tribes Advisory Council, still it is a defunct body and has not been in operation satisfactorily. Similarly there are Tribes Advisory Councils in the States of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh, but from what I gather from the Members of those States, the Tribes Advisory Councils in those States are also very inoperative.

Secondly, although in the Constitution of India it has been laid down that there should be a separation of the executive from the judiciary, still what do we find? In almost all the tracts and territories inhabited mostly by the scheduled tribes, this system is still prevalent today. There the Governments have not been able to separate the judiciary from the executive with the result that sub-deputy, deputy magistrates and district magistrates are functioning not only as executive officers /Out they also exercise the judicial powers. And I am convinced that most of the State Governments and especially the ruling party, the Congress Party, is utilising all its executive officers to suit their own purposes—I must say frankly—to increase the strength of the Congress Party in the tribal territories, because they have got a separatist tendency. Therefore, I implore upon the newly appointed hon. Home Minister to see that when there has been this provision for the separation of the executive from the judiciary, it should be implemented not only in such territories and countries where the non-aboriginals are living today, but it must be implemented in right earnestness in the territories and countries where the tribals are living. For

example Chotanagpore and Santal Parganas; Mayurbhanj; Keonjhar; Gangpore; Borai; Bamra; Surguja; Jaspore; Udaipur: Korea, and Chang-bhakar.

My last submission is that unless there is a separate Ministry to look after the scheduled tribes and scheduled castes, I do not think that the hon. Minister for Minority Affairs or the hon. Minister for Home Affairs have got any time whatsoever to look to the needs of the tribals and the scheduled castes. I again say, Sir, with much emphasis that the tribals, at least of my part of the country, are losing faith in the Government every day. There is no justice, there is no peace in the hearths and homes of the tribals; and if the Government of India—and especially the Home Minister—does not see that the State Governments really implement the policy of the Government of India in right earnest, this faith will go on decreasing every day and you will in no time lose the love and the faith of the tribals and the scheduled castes.

प्रो० आर० डी० सिंह दिनकर (बिहार) : श्रीमन्, मैं आपका धन्यवाद करता हूँ कि आपने मुझे उस समय बोलने का अवसर दिया जब बिहार के विषय में एक माननीय सदस्य ने घर से बाहर निकल कर, जहाँ कोई सुनने वाला नहीं हो वहाँ जिस आजादी से बोला जाय उस आजादी से भाषण दिया है।

सारा दंश जानता है कि आदिवासी जातियां भारखंड प्रान्त की मांग कर रही हैं और इसमें जनता की मांग उतनी बड़ी नहीं है, जितना जोर उन लोगों का है जिनको भरोसा है कि अगर भारखंड प्रान्त बनेगा तो हमारी कुछ पूछ होगी। आखिर यह प्रश्न तो बहुत बड़े कमीशन के अधीन है। वह कमीशन जो चाहे करे, लेकिन बिहार सरकार पर जो इन्होंने आरोप लगाये हैं, उन्हें सुनकर मुझे हंसी आई। मुझे सारी बातें तो याद नहीं हैं, लेकिन अभी हाल में बिहार

सरकार की एक रिपोर्ट मैंने देखी थी कि आदिवासियों की सेवा के लिए क्या कार्य किए गए हैं। आदिवासियों के लिए अनेक छात्रावास बने हैं, आदिवासियों को अनेक छावृत्तियां हर साल दी जाती हैं, आदिवासियों की शिक्षा का विशेष रूप से प्रबन्ध किया जाता है। आदिवासी ग्रामों में पीने का पानी नहीं था। वहाँ कुओं का इंतजाम हो रहा है, सिंचाई की व्यवस्था हो रही है, और किसी भी आदिवासी का कर्षा बंकार न रहे इसके लिए खास अफसर नियुक्त हैं जो सूत पहुँचाते हैं.....

SHRI T. BODRA: I have spoken about the functioning of the Tribes Advisory Council.

प्रोफेसर आर० डी० सिंह दिनकर..... और सरकार का एक कल्याण विभाग आदिवासियों की सेवा के लिए कार्य कर रहा है। मैं नहीं समझता कि बिहार सरकार को और क्या करना चाहिए।

मैंरा अपना ख्याल है कि जहाँ तक हरिजनों और आदिवासियों का ताल्लुक है, बिहार सरकार ने अन्य सभी वर्गों से अधिक रुपये इनकी सेवा पर खर्च किये हैं और खर्च कर रही हैं। मैंरा यह भी ख्याल है कि बिहार सरकार की जैसे जैसे आमदनी बढ़ेगी वैसे वैसे उसका यह खर्च और भी बढ़ेगा।

श्रीमन्, १९२० के अंत में बहुत से आदिवासियों की, जो तानाभगत कहे जाते हैं और जिनसे भारखंड वालों की नहीं पटती है, जमीनें नीलाम हो गई थीं। जब कांग्रेस सरकार आयी तो उसने "तानाभगत लैंड रंस्टोरशन एक्ट" पास कर के जो जमीनें नीलाम हो गई थीं वे जमीनें फिर से आदिवासियों को दिलवा दीं। हमारे प्रान्त में हरिजनों को उनके घर से कोई निकाल न सके, उनके घर को कोई उजाड़ न सके, इसके लिए "हरिजन होमस्टेड लैंड्स एक्ट" पास किया गया है। इस तरह के अनेक कार्य हुए हैं जिनकी सूची बहुत लम्बी है।

[प्रा० आर० डी० सिंह दिनकर]  
भारखंड के भाई साहब ने भी वह सूची वंखी होगी। इस पर भी उन्होंने पार्लियामेंट में यह आवाज लगाई कि बिहार सरकार बड़ा अत्याचार कर रही हैं और वहां अलग मंत्रिमण्डल होना चाहिए। अगर आदिवासियों के कल्याण के लिए भारत सरकार भी अलग मंत्रालय चाहे तो कोई हर्ष नहीं है, बशर्ते कि आदिवासियों को उससे संतोष होता हो।

एक दूसरी बात एकजीव्युटिव और जुडीशरी के बारे में उन्होंने कही हैं। मंरा ख्याल है कि अगर इसका विभाजन छोटा नागपुर में नहीं किया गया है तो इसका कारण यह है कि छोटा नागपुर की स्थिति विशेष प्रकार की है। विभाजन का प्रारंभ हम लोगों ने देख लिया है। दुर्भाग्यवश, गृह मंत्री महोदय यहां नहीं हैं, नहीं तो उनकी सूचना के लिए मैं यह बात कहना चाहता था कि गांवों में जा डकैतियां बढ़ रही हैं, चोरियां बढ़ रही हैं, मीनें उसके दो कारण निर्धारित किए हैं। एक कारण तो है जुडीशरी और एकजीव्युटिव का अलग होना। उसका परिणाम यह हुआ है कि खूब चोरी बढ़ रही है, खूब डकैती बढ़ रही है। अखबारों में नेता सुयश लूटते हैं, सरकार के मंत्री सुयश लूटते हैं कि ईसा, बंधाम और मिल ने जो बातें कही थीं वे सारी बातें हमने कर दीं। और उधर जो चोरी, हत्या आदि हो रही हैं, उसका ठिकाना नहीं। दूसरी चीज जो जेलों में सुधार हुए हैं उनका असर यह हुआ है कि अपराधी जेलों से नहीं डरते। दिल्ली वाले उसके बारे में क्या जानें? इसलिए, मैं अनुभव करता हूँ कि जितनी भी मूसीबतें गांवों में हैं, सब को एक एक कर के दिल्ली में पधारना चाहिए जिससे यहां के मनसबदारों की नीति सुधर सके और वे समझ सकें कि गांवों की दशा उतनी अच्छी नहीं है जितनी कि वे समझते हैं।

डा० डब्लू० एस० बार्लिंगे (मध्य प्रदेश):  
क्या आप चाहते हैं कि एकजीव्युटिव और जुडीशरी में संपर्क न हो ?

प्रांसेसर आ० डी० सिंह दिनकर : मैं समझता हूँ कि अभी नहीं होना चाहिए था। यह अच्छा

आदर्श है, किन्तु, हमने जल्दबाजी की है। परिणाम तो यही निकला कि चोरियां बढ़ गईं। जुडीशरी और एकजीव्युटिव को हमने अलग किया आदर्शवाद में आकर। जोश में आकर हमने कहना चाहा, यही धर्म है। लेकिन उस धर्म का पालन नहीं हो रहा है। उसके बुरे परिणाम निकल रहे हैं। कोई ईखने वाला हो तो गांवों में जाकर देख ले।

दूसरी बात में वैदेशिक नीति के विषय में कहना चाहता था। कल से वैदेशिक नीति के लिए भारत सरकार की बहुत प्रशंसा हो रही है और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री पर पुष्प वृष्टि हुई है चारों ओर से—बिना अपवाद के। सच बात है, जैसा कि डा० रघुजीर ने कल कहा, कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री दुवानामुप्रिय असांक के उत्तराधिकारी हैं, बुद्ध के दश के राजनीतिज्ञ हैं, महात्मा गांधी के शिष्य हैं।

दोनों सदन में कल जो भाषण हुए उनसे यह पता चला कि कुछ लोगों को ऐसा लगता है कि विदेशी मामलों में इतने जोर से उलभने की क्या जरूरत है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह दृष्टिकोण गलत है। स्वाधीन हम हुए हैं तो सिर्फ अपना पेट पालने का नहीं, कुछ दुनिया की जिम्मेदारी भी उठाने के लिए और दुनिया के मामलों में हिस्सा लेने के लिए भी। यह हमारे लिए कोई अनावश्यक कार्य नहीं है, आवश्यक कार्य है। बल्कि संसार की जो अवस्था है उसमें ऐसा दिखाई पड़ता है कि अगर भारत अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मामलों से अपना हाथ खींच ले तो जो सहयोग भारत दे रहा है वह सहयोग और किसी देश से मिलने वाला नहीं है। भारत कमजोर है, भारत निर्धन है—यह सही है, लेकिन भारत वृद्धमान है और आज भी उसकी वृद्धि से विश्व का कल्याण हो सकता है।

मुझे भारत की वैदेशिक नीति के दो कारणों से बहुत खुशी है। पहला कारण तो यह है कि हमारी नीति से विश्व की शान्ति की अवस्था इससे बल पाती है, शान्ति को शक्ति प्राप्त हो रही है। दूसरी बात यह है कि इस वैदेशिक नीति ने भाई भूपेश गुप्त की पार्टी को चक्कर में डाल दिया है। जब से भारत

स्वाधीन हुआ तब से इनकी पार्टी के सदस्य "स्वाधीनता दिवस" में सम्मिलित नहीं होते थे और यह कहा करते थे कि "स्वराज्य नहीं हुआ है यह स्वराज्य गलत है। ये कांग्रेस वाले ढोंगी हैं, देश को धोखा देने वाले हैं।" हर साल स्वाधीनता दिवस में इस तरह की बातों का ये डोल पीटा करते थे। लेकिन, इस साल उनके सदस्यों ने कहा कि "बी आर कंफ्यूज्ड" हम गड़बड़ी में हैं। संभव है, यह स्वराज्य सच्चा ही हो। मैं सोचने लगा कि क्या कारण है कि ये लोग कंफ्यूज्ड होते हैं। स्पष्ट दिखलाई पड़ा कि हमारी वैदेशिक नीति के कारण इन लोगों ने अपनी नीति बदली है जिससे ये हमारी वैदेशिक नीति के प्रशंसक हो गये हैं और अब स्वराज्य को भी झूठ नहीं कहते।

देश की अवस्था के बारे में जो कुछ भी आलोचना हुई है, मैं समझता हूँ वह अच्छी ही हुई है। इतनी विरोधी आलोचना होनी ही चाहिये ताकि सरकार का भी ध्यान अभावों की ओर आकर्षित हो। इन आलोचनाओं से यह जान पड़ता है कि देश को अपने आप में विश्वास हो रहा है, हमारा निर्माण ठीक दिशा में हो रहा है। देश उस रास्ते पर आ गया है जिस रास्ते पर उसको चलना चाहिये। जनता के उत्साह में संशय करना अब झूठ है। हमने अपने यहां जो कुछ देखा है उससे हम कह सकते हैं कि जनता में सच्चा उत्साह उभर रहा है। उदाहरण के लिए, जब कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट देश में शुरू किये गये थे तब उनके बारे में भी यह कहा जाता था कि यह नकली योजना है, ये घूस खाने वाले जमा हो रहे हैं और कुछ भी काम नहीं होगा। लेकिन, अब वह अवस्था बदल गई है। प्रोजेक्ट सफल होने लगा है और लोग उसे चाहते हैं। मैं जिस गांव में जाता हूँ उस गांव की जनता कहती है कि हमारा गांव भी कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट में आना चाहिये। इससे क्या साबित होता है? इससे साबित होता है कि कम्युनिटी प्रोजेक्ट से लोगों में आशा बंधी है। इसी प्रकार नेशनल एक्सटेंशन सर्विस की ओर भी जनता आशा से देखने लगी है।

रह गई समाजवाद की बात, जिसके विषय में अभी कई तरह की बातें हुई हैं। मुझे दुःख है कि हमारी पार्टी के एक सदस्य ने समाजवाद के विषय में अपना बचाव करते हुए, कुछ रिजर्वेशन के साथ अपनी बात कही है। यह ठीक है कि वैयक्तिक संपत्ति हमारे यहां अभी है। किन्तु, हम यह नहीं कह सकते कि जब हम समाजवाद का विकास करने वाले हैं तब वैयक्तिक संपत्ति की सत्ता का क्या रूप रहेगा? वह रहेगी या नहीं या उसका क्या रूप होगा, यह कहना कठिन है? अभी इसकी तफसील में जान का समय नहीं है। इसलिए, इस सम्बन्ध में जो लोग कुछ कहते हैं उनका मत वैयक्तिक मत माना जाना चाहिये। आवड़ी कांग्रेस का फंसला क्रान्तिकारी फंसला है, इससे देश में उत्साह जगा है, रोशनी फैली है। जनता को नई नई आशाएं बंधी हैं। अतएव कांग्रेस और कांग्रेस के दोस्तों को समाजवाद की परिभाषा जरा संभल कर देनी चाहिये।

वाडिया साहब की बात सुनकर भी मुझे बड़ी निराशा हुई। मैं आश्चर्य करता हूँ कि सन् १९५५ में, आवड़ी कांग्रेस के प्रस्ताव के बाद, कोई पूंजीवाद की रक्षा की बात भारतीय संसद् में कैसे करता है। उन्होंने कहा कि "सोशलिस्ट पैटर्न" शब्द से कोई खुश नहीं है। मेरा ख्याल है, उन्होंने एक तो अपनी ओर लक्ष्य किया दूसरे भाई भूपेश गुप्त की ओर। बाकी देश तो इस शब्द से प्रसन्न ही है।

मैं खुद समाजवाद के विषय में इस स्थिति में कुछ कहने से डरता हूँ। लेकिन सर्वोदयी विचारधारा का थोड़ा बहुत अध्ययन किये हुए रहने के कारण मुझे यह दिखायी पड़ता है कि हमारा समाजवाद कौन रूप लेने वाला है। समाजवाद का जो आर्थिक तत्व है, जो सामाजिक समता का भाव है, उसका एक कण भी भारतवर्ष में कम नहीं रहेगा। पूरी आर्थिक समता इस देश में उत्पन्न होने वाली है। फर्क यह है कि दूसरे देशों में समाजवादी संगठन में केंद्रीकरण की विशेषता रही है, सारी सत्ताएं केंद्रित हुई हैं। इस देश में हमारा कदम विकेंद्री-

[प्रो० आर० डी० सिंह दिनकर]  
 करण की ओर है। सच पूछिये तो सरकार का व्यक्तित्व भी अगर कहीं फटा हुआ है तो इस केंद्रीकरण के मामले में ही। हमारी सारी योजनाओं के आधार बड़े बड़े उद्योग हैं। बड़े उद्योग केंद्रीकरण के पक्षपाती होते हैं। वे विकेंद्रीकरण को प्रोत्साहन नहीं देते। और विकेंद्रीकरण का आधार गृह-उद्योग है। मुसीबत यह है कि जब मैं सोचता हूँ कि गांवों में क्या हो रहा है तो मुझे कम्प्यूनिटी प्रोजेक्ट और नेशनल एक्सटेंशन सर्विस, इनको छोड़ कर अभी तक और कोई चीज नहीं दिखाई पड़ती है। वह भी इसलिए कि गांवों में जिस नेतृत्व की आवश्यकता है वह नेतृत्व प्रोजेक्टों से पैदा होगा, एंसी मेरी उम्मीद है। लेकिन गांवों की असली समस्या बेकारी है। उस समस्या का निदान बड़े उद्योगों से नहीं हो सकता। टाटा की संख्या बढ़ने से गांवों में रोजगार कैसे बढ़ेगा? उद्योगपति इस दृश की सरकार की योजना के बड़े प्रशंसक हैं, विशेषज्ञ भी प्रशंसक हैं। मेरी जिन लोगों से मुलाकात हुई उनसे मैंने जानना चाहा कि जो योजना बनी है उसका गांवों पर क्या असर होने वाला है। गांवों में उनका असर क्या होगा यह किसी को देखलायी नहीं देता। गांव में रोजगार बढ़ाने का रास्ता विनोबा का रास्ता है, धरलू उद्योग का रास्ता है। ज्याय यह होना चाहिये कि किस क्षेत्र में कौन उद्योग चल सकते हैं यह अनुमान लगा लिया जाय। और फिर वे उद्योग कायम किये जायें। हमको तो तुरन्त से तुरन्त वे काम करने हैं जिनसे गांवों की जनता की उत्पादन की शक्ति बढ़े, बेकार लोग काम में लग सकें और उनकी आमदनी बढ़ सकें। इसकी उपेक्षा, मुझे भय है, द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना में भी होने वाली है। प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना में इसकी उपेक्षा की गई थी।

दूसरी बात यह है कि मुझे एंसा मालूम होता है कि जो बड़े बड़े शासक हैं वे जनता में अविश्वास करते हैं। बड़े बड़े शासकों ने विदेशी शिक्षा पाई है, बड़ी बड़ी यूनिवर्सिटीयों में शिक्षा पाई है और उस शिक्षा का परिणाम

यह हुआ है कि उनके दिमाग में भय बैठ गया है और वे जनता को अधिकार देने से डरते हैं। जनता की शंकाओं का उत्तर दिये बिना सुधार के कामों में कीठनाई होगी; उदाहरण के लिये, मैं एक बात सीरिलग की उठाना चाहता हूँ। चारों ओर से यह आवाज आ रही है कि सीरिलग बंधे, लेकिन, मुझे हैरत होती है कि पार्लियामेंट में कहीं से यह आवाज क्यों नहीं आती कि गांव के लोग सीरिलग के विषय में क्या सोच रहे हैं। अभी बिहार सरकार ने बटाईदारी बिल रखा है। सारे बिहार प्रान्त के गांवों में खलबली मची हुई है और एंसा लग रहा है कि यदि यह बटाईदारी कानून चलगा तो उसके लिये गांली चलानी पड़ेगी, जैसे कि स्टालिन को कुलक लोगों को कोआपरेटिव फार्मिंग के लिए मारना पड़ा था। यह तो हुई बटाईदारी की कीठनाई। सीरिलग के बारे में गांवों के लोग यह कहते हैं कि हम सीरिलग के लिये तैयार हैं, लेकिन, आप जो बटाईदारी का कानून बना रहे हैं वह गलत कर रहे हैं। और तमाशा यह है कि यह कानून बनाना नहीं है, वह तो बना बनाया है।

सीरिलग के खिलाफ कोई दलील नहीं है, कोई तर्क नहीं है। लेकिन जनता हमसे पूछना चाहती है कि क्या हमी धनी हैं जो हमारी छाती पर प्रहार करने आ रहे हैं। जनता पूछती है कि दिल्ली में जो पंचहजारी, चारहजारी और तीनहजारी मनसबदार राज्य करते हैं, इनका वतन क्यों नहीं घटाया जाता। जो धनी और सठ हैं उनकी आय क्यों नहीं कम की जाती है। जो लोग धन जमा कर रहे हैं उनके धन को क्यों नहीं कम करते हैं। अगर हम यह सब सीरिलग के पहले या उसके साथ साथ कम कर दें तो जनता आसानी से सीरिलग का प्रस्ताव स्वीकार कर लेंगी। जब तक यह नहीं होता, तब तक मैं सरकार को चेतावनी देता हूँ कि कहीं कहीं खतरा होगा और सरकार का हाथ भी लाल हो सकता है।

अंत में मैं एक सुझाव और देना चाहता हूँ। चूंकि हम समाजवाद की विकीन्द्रित धारा की

आरं चलना चाहते हैं इसलिये उसके कुछ प्रमाण सरकार को देने चाहियें। मेरे एक भाई अकबर अली साहब ने बड़े जोर शोर से कहा है कि भ्रष्टाचार है ही नहीं। मैं इसे नहीं मानता। मैं मानता हूँ कि बहुत सा भ्रष्टाचार ऐसा है जिसमें जनता का सहयोग है और बहुत सा भ्रष्टाचार ऐसा है जिसमें जनता का सहयोग नहीं है। एक कानून हमने बना दिया कि घूस देने वाला भी पकड़ा जायेगा। इसका नतीजा अच्छा नहीं हुआ। एक और बात है कि ठकंदार और इंजीनियर की घूसखोरी में जनता का क्या हाथ है? इस घूसखोरी को तो सरकार को खुद रोकना चाहिये। हाँ, जनता में घूसखोरी के खिलाफ जो क्रोध है उसके लिये करना यह चाहिये कि गाँव के जो द्रोगा साहब हैं, या सरकारी कर्मचारी हैं, या जो नये विलेज अधिकारी बहाल हुये हैं, ये लोग अगर दुष्कर्म करें तो इनका मुकदमा सरकार अपने हाथ में न ले, बल्कि इनको पंचायतों पर छोड़ दें। जब ये मुकदमों पंचायतों में जायेंगे तो ये लोग भी समझेंगे कि हम जनता के नाँव हैं और जनता को भी मालूम होगा कि स्वराज्य हो गया है। बिहार में पंचायतों ने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है। गंडक योजना में ४७ मील तक का बांध वहाँ की पंचायतों ने पूरा किया और जो इंजीनियर वहाँ गये उन्होंने कहा कि यह काम बहुत उत्तम हुआ है। कोसी योजना में भी वहाँ की पंचायतों काम कर रही हैं। पंचायतों बड़ा काम करने लगी हैं और सब तरह से वे राष्ट्रीय उत्थान में अपना योग दे रही हैं। क्या उनको इतना अधिकार नहीं दिया जा सकता कि वे ऐसे मुकदमों को देख सकें। इसलिये, मेरा सुझाव है कि पंचायतों के हाथ में ऐसे अधिकार होने चाहियें और उन्हें शासन की इस प्रकार की सत्ता दी जानी चाहिये जिससे कि मालूम हो कि सरकार विकेंद्रीकरण की ओर जाने वाली है और जनता को भी यह विश्वास हो कि यह राज्य हमारा है।

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA (Bombay):  
Mr. Vice-Chairman, I rise to heartily support the Motion of Thanks

which was moved yesterday by Dr. Subbarayan. Before I come to the President's speech, I want to mention that we were all deeply touched by the feeling reference he made to the late Shri Rati Ahmad Kidwai. We, who had been close to him and watched his work, fully realised his sense of judgment, his courage, his daring and dash, which revolutionised our Postal Services, in the face of all odds and opposition, to such an extent that some of the countries of Europe sent their experts to India to see how it was done. The manner in which he solved the food problem also was nothing short of a miracle. Today we do miss him, because we have pledged ourselves to the establishment of a Welfare State conforming to a socialistic pattern. A man of dynamic qualities, he did not care for conventions and by his foresight and sense of judgment he proved himself a prophet under any difficult situation.

Sir, we heard many criticisms levelled against this Government by the Opposition. In a country where a democratic Government by party system prevails, it is the bounden duty of the Opposition to criticise the shortcomings and the commissions and omissions of the ruling party but what I fail to realise is that the Opposition, instead of hurling abuses on this side, should have placed before us certain constructive alternative programmes. We have a people's Government and we are prepared to take any suggestions that would turn this country in the shortest possible time into a Welfare State. More than that, I do not want to dwell on the remarks of the Opposition. If they are prepared to give us alternative programmes, we are prepared to consider them.

Coming to the Address itself, it divides itself into two parts. The first deals with foreign relations and our foreign policy, and the other deals with the domestic scene, the economic situation and the nation-building plans that are now before the country. In the field of foreign affairs, one and all are agreed that we have

[Shrimati Violet Alva.] followed the correct policy under the leadership of our Prime Minister, which is eminently his own foreign policy behind which we all stand to a man. For India and the other underdeveloped countries, international peace and accord are most vital. India's tradition and genius have here come into full play in order to widen the area of peace between the two blocs with warring ideologies. Especially today when no single State in the world feels secure, our policy of peace and co-existence is the only one that can ease tension in all the four corners of the world. The wise statesmanship of our Prime Minister has given a new hope to humanity for the future. In the very first paragraph of his Address, the President reminds us of the threat of war which again darkens the future of humanity. The threat of total war, where the victor and the vanquished will all lie on a heap of ruins, should shake the mighty powers of the world into a sobering effect" and bring sanity to them, but for the people of this continent of Asia and the continent of Africa, peace has a new meaning. For us, the people of Asia and Africa, we need to keep the peace between the two blocs for the simple reason that it is necessary not only in the interests of the welfare of humanity as a whole but in the interests of improving our own economic progress and raising our living standards.

Therefore a policy of tolerance, based on the Panch Shila, initiated recently by the leaders of nations is the correct policy that should help in the near future to dispel these darkening clouds that appear on the horizon. In the midst of these warring ideologies and collective defence pacts, one stops to ask whether the collective defence pacts could bring collective peace. I may here quote the observation made by Mr. George Kennon, the one-time American Ambassador to Moscow who said that:

"The United States which felt secure in 1900 is now dominated by

a sense of insecurity greater even than that of the many peoples of Western Europe".

This is an observation made by a citizen of the United States. When collective defence pacts are thought of, the fear psychosis must grow and therefore the best solution to this problem would be collective security through collective peace which India stands for and it is a very pleasing fact to note that India, under the leadership of our Prime Minister, stands at the helm of this approach for a greater success in easing of the tensions leading to a permanent peace. Sir, the President has referred in paragraph 7 in the most unequivocal terms to Formosa and the off-shore islands of China. He says:

"My Government recognises only one government of China, that is, the People's Republic, and considers that the claims of this Republic are justified".

We have taken our stand and whatever war clouds may gather we shall help in the work for peace and better understanding. If our efforts could go a long way, the trigger could be kept in abeyance on the issue of Formosa. I don't see why we should be pessimistic because after the Geneva Conference if the peaceful situation could prevail in Indo-China, why should we be afraid of the trigger going off in Formosa?

Paragraphs 8 and 9 refer to the nuclear energy *viz.*, the atom and the hydrogen bomb. If war should come in the immediate future, it would be a disaster to humanity but should war be prevented for 10 years, as we as a peace loving country are trying to do so, then like the "poison gas experience" of the Second World War, this energy, atomic and hydrogen, could be completely neutralised and be used for peaceful purposes. It is a matter -if, -time., *J*\*  
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 could be utilised if sufficient time lag is given, this very energy would be so useful for the welfare of the human society all over the world.

Sir, I now come to the reference made to Goa, in paragraph 10. We have heard of the propaganda done by Portugal with the hand-Outs sent to each one of us as to how religion and culture were said to be in danger in Goa. We may remind Portugal here that neither religion nor culture could be in danger anywhere in India for the simple reason that there are three times the number of Roman Catholics in India of what they are in Portugal itself. Therefore Portugal should cease to do that false propaganda and we should tell her that in India there is complete religious freedom. Now I shall try to be brief. We come to the domestic scene. We come to our national household. We have set ourselves the task of turning our country into a Welfare State conforming to the socialistic pattern which frightens some people. They say socialism, when something is added to it, loses its flavour. What is the socialistic pattern? What else could we have but a socialistic pattern in this country when we want to achieve a Welfare State and make it a reality not by the revolutionary processes but by the evolutionary process? Nevertheless our economy in this country has to be revolutionised but through evolution. For it must become a state of affairs of the past "where wealth accumulates and men decay". We should be able to say from now on under a society based on the socialistic pattern that that state of affairs where wealth could accumulate and men decayed is a thing of yesterday. So many points have been touched from agricultural economy to heavy industries. I shall only touch a few points before I sit down.

With the increasing participation of foreign capital and the liberal facilities that our Government is giving for the remittances abroad, a vigilant view must be kept on how much foreign profit-sharing there is in *haA* busing. Our country is still tied to the British capital. We have to admit many things but we have not yet finished even a decade since independence and

by and by we shall establish our own economy, strong and independent. In the words of Prof. J. D. Bernal, the noted British Scientist— his observation in reference to our country is:

"Production machinery, unless engineered and run by your people, will be island of foreign control."

We have to be warned against thi» fact.

Shri C. V. Raman, the noted scientist, has said the same thing that we should proclaim more and more Swadeshi and become self-reliant. I have been told and, I think, it is true that in Burma today they have made laws by which in foreign and foreign controlled firms in Burma 50 per cent, of the personnel employed in the grade of Rs. 500 or more must be Burmese and 75 per cent, in the lower staff. I don't know exactly how the situation stands in our country today. There was a questionnaire issued to the foreign firms in our country. What has happened after that, what steps have been taken, what suggestions have been made, we are still in the dark. Now I come to the Prime Minister's own admission where he has said that there is a shortage of technical personnel on the one hand and a growing unemployment on the other among these employable persons. There certainly is something wrong with us. For, this statement that the Prime Minister has made is absolutely true. I see a few Indian students who have come back after being trained abroad and who want to leave the shores of this country again to find their fortunes in Canada, in United States and in other countries in Europe. There is something wrong either with the policy of the Government or there is something wrong in the training which must be inadequate, which these young men and women receive.

And this brings us to the problem of unemployment. I think the Finance Minister has under-estimated the



[Shrimati Violet Alva.] target when he said that within the next five to ten years he should find employment for 10 million people. If rightly considered, I think, on the basis of population, both in the urban and rural areas, the task would be to find employment in the next 10 years for something like 70 to 80 million people. And that is a gigantic task before the country, a gigantic task for the State which has pledged itself to become a Welfare State, conforming to the socialistic pattern. It has to go ahead and see that not a single Indian who wants to earn his bread in this country is neglected or ignored or rejected.

There is a glamour for foreign personnel even today. Our own technicians have excelled in their work, but this glamour for foreigners persists and I feel that until we have tightened our laws by which foreigners shall not be employed except on certain conditions, the situation cannot improve. We do not want our youth especially the intelligentsia, to become frustrated. And in a Welfare State, we shall have to take the additional burden of finding employment for the seventy to eighty millions in the next ten years and not only that, if we are not able to give them jobs, we shall certainly have to give them in a Welfare State the wherewithal to live.

Thank you, Sir.

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR (Travancore-Cochin): Mr. Vice-Chairman, I want to dilate on one aspect which very regrettably the President has failed to make any reference to in the course of his Address. The Government claim that they have been functioning here on a parliamentary democratic basis and that elections to Parliaments and to the Legislatures have been taking place from time to time particularly wherever there was political crisis. But if you take the case of the ordinary people, particularly the people who are organising work in the trade unions and the students'

organisations, etc., you will find that they feel great difficulty in functioning through these organisations and asserting themselves in defence of their claims, under the situation that now exists. That is one thing that I want to bring to the attention of this House and through this House to the Government of the country. Sir, in his Address, the President has concentrated, particularly in the internal affairs, on the achievements of the Government and he has enumerated so many achievements that Government was able to make in the course of the last seven years. But in the course of the same seven years, we know that our people have been suffering from neglect. It has been claimed that the purchasing power of the people and their standard of living have been increasing steadily in proportion to the increase in production etc. But as a matter of fact, the actual life of the common people show that their standard of living has not increased, but that they have been actually struggling to increase their level, particularly the emoluments which they should get in proportion to what they give to the industry by way of their labour power and all that. If we examine the situation that is now being obtained all over the country, particularly in the villages and in the industrial centres, we find that still the same process is going on and that police rule is going on simultaneously. Not only it is police rule, but the Congress organisation which is in power is also taking the power of the police, taking the law into their own hands to see that their influence and power are maintained as against the wishes of the people. Instead of generalising, I will try to enumerate certain facts here, for the Home Department should particularly understand what is going on. I would like to know whether such things are going on, with or without their knowledge, all over the country.

Recently, in the Travancore-Cochin State you may be aware of the fact that about a thousand labour disputes

and strikes took place. You will naturally be wondering how it was possible for such an enormous number, such a staggering number of strikes or disputes to take place. But such strikes do take place. Why? Taking advantage of the industrial as well as the labour policy of the Government, the employers, not only the small or medium size employers, but even the big estate owners like the British-Malayalam Planters, etc., have tried to increase the work-load of the workers and to retrench a part of the labour force. Then by and by, they cut the wages which the workers were already getting. In resistance to this, the workers have to launch strikes. First protest meetings are held, then appeals and implorings, and then finally, finding no other way out, they are obliged to resort to strikes. And those strikes are also absolutely peaceful, they do not resort to any so-called violent activities for they resort to peaceful methods only. As I said, they first make appeals to their employers. Then they approach the Government, then they approach the Labour Department and then the Conciliation Officer, all these institutions that are there to deal with labour affairs. But finding all these efforts to be in vain, the workers are obliged to resort to strikes. And these strikes were either repressed or broken or allowed to be prolonged for a long time, resulting in the continued starvation of the workers so that these workers may be disappointed in course of time. That is the tactics. In the Travancore-Cochin State, when the P. S. P. Ministry was in power, due to the pressure of the people they did not allow the Police to meddle with these affairs.

Immediately the Congress made a big uproar and said that the whole position of law and order was in jeopardy and that the maintenance of a peaceful situation in that area was being jeopardised. They also said that if the Government did not take immediate steps the Congress would be compelled to organise *shanti senas*

in order to maintain a peaceful atmosphere. Let us see how this *shanti sena* works. In Kottayam when the workers of the plywood factory were on strike, about 20,000 people were staging a demonstration in sympathy with them. Without any provocation, a police party headed by a Circle Inspector of Kottayam—who was not in the good book of the people but was liked by the employers—jumped at the procession and beat the workers without any warning or previous notice. If there were any Communists, they immediately stabbed them or assaulted them; one man was stabbed to death and another man is still in a serious condition in the hospital. In the High Range there is an estate called the Malayalam Plantations of which Messrs. Harrison and Crossfields are the Managing Agents, in which a strike has been going on for the last three months. The Congressmen of Manimala passed a resolution saying that if certain steps were not taken, that if the police did not interfere in the strike, they would organise a *shanti sena* to deal with the situation. They talk as if the problem of law and order was in the hands of the Congress and not in the hands of the Government. About 200 goondas were organised to attack the workers; they started attacking the workers. When this went on for a week, the police had to interfere and arrest six goondas, who were leading these attacks on the workers.

Now, let us see what is happening in Andhra. The Congress professes that it is the most democratic organisation and is running this Government in the most democratic way and that it is better than any other Government in any other part of the world. The other day we heard the Deputy Minister for Home Affairs reading a statement read in the other House in reply to an adjournment motion brought forth. With all humility I would like to say that that statement was absolutely baseless or it was based on certain partisan reports sent

[Shri N. C. Sekhar.] to this Government from the Police or from any other source. What is really happening is this: I will narrate certain incidents in illustrating the facts and I am prepared to fully substantiate this. I have got innumerable materials. In the Nallamada constituency when the polling was going on about 5,000 workers were prevented from exercising their franchise, not exactly by the police but by the organised goondas, organised by the Congress Committee, particularly at the instance of the Nallamada Congress candidate. That was done on the 15th and it was immediately reported to the Prime Minister.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): How many goondas are there in the State—the total number?

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR: It is not a question of the goondas in the State. These are all goondas employed by Congress leaders like you.

' SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: I wanted to know their total number.

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR: I can cite the names of hundreds of villages like that. On the 14th February the local Communist Party office was raided by more than 200 people. The candidate, Lakshminarayana Reddy and other leaders who were in the office were beaten up and the office was smashed up. All the furniture was broken and the office now is rendered useless. On the 14th again in the constituency of Ongole where the deposed Chief Minister of Andhra, Shri Prakasam, is contesting, Shri P. V. Raghavaiah, M.P. was beaten. He is in hospital. He was beaten by the goondas or by the rowdies employed by the Congress candidate. His jeep was destroyed and damaged. On the same day, in another part of Ongole, another Communist Party office was smashed up. The Communist Party in Jeggayapet was also smashed up. This was organised on the inspiration of certain political propaganda.

(Interruption.) I am not going to yield, Sir. You can ask questions later. The Congress Papers, "Andhra Patrika" and "Andhra Prabha" are encouraging this and they have given an open call for organising such attacks. This privilege has been allowed for attacking Communist party meetings and trade-union activities under the leadership of the Communists or any other party outside the Congress. Similar is the case in Travancore-Cochin. There are two Papers, "Malayala Manorama" and "Pauradwani". "Malayala Manorama" is the organ of those who have the big estates and banks. This paper has been writing articles asking people, meaning Congress, to organise and attack Communists. If such activities were to be organised by the Communists then the Preventive Detention Act would have been used freely and liberally against them. The present attack, of course, is not like the earlier movements of 1948 or 50. These are all sporadic attacks taking place at the instance of local Congressmen. The inspiration for this was, of course, taken from the speech of the Prime Minister which he made at the Ramlila Grounds. After that speech was splashed in the Press everywhere, the Congress Committees and those who profess to be Congressmen have taken resort to this kind of activities.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY: How does he account for the Congress and the Communist Flags flying side by side and Communist and Congress meetings held side by side?

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR: That way, in our part, in Malabar, in the District Board the Communists and Congressmen co-operate with each other in preparing the Budget and all that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. C. GUPTA): I think Mr. Sekhar, it is not necessary to go into all these details.

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR: There are certain parts where people co-operate.

But here in Andhra, about 200 workers in the Lingayampetti village, polling booth No. 41 of Venkatagiri constituency were forcibly obstructed from going to the polling station by a group of goondas.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI R. C. GUPTA) : Are these details necessary? You may briefly state the facts.

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR: I am bringing these facts so that the Government may take care to see that their professed democratic rights are allowed to those common people who are struggling to exercise their political right. I have received many a number of letters from Coorg where a strike is going on in the Coffee Board Research Sub-station, Chittahalle. The workers were arrested batch by batch and were beaten in the lock-up. The workers have reported that for each worker, three policemen were employed to beat them and this process went on for three days, four days and even a week. The workers come from Malabar as well as from Coorg and these people were taken to Mysore and left on the road without any food. They have got their own wives and children; there are women workers and there are child workers. Those people were left in the open and friends had to collect money for making arrangements for their feeding etc. This is what is going on in Coorg. We are going to send all these materials to the Labour Ministry of the Central Government. Hundreds of such instances could be cited but these facts were not taken into consideration by the President.

2 P.M.

We feel that it is the duty of the Chief of the State who takes everything under his control to see that the democratic rights of every section of the people, whether they agree or disagree politically with the ruling party, should be allowed under the Constitution, and not allow some sections to go headlong without minding the existence of law and order. That is what I have to bring to the

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notice of this Government, particularly to the notice of the Chief of the State that such things are going on, that the police is prevalent everywhere and wherever a strike takes place they take recourse to lathi charge. Yesterday I received a letter from Trivandrum. Near Trivandrum there is a private motor workers' strike. There is the police station at Kazhakootam and the sub-inspector led a party of policemen and attacked the people in the village Kataikonam—take down the name of this village if you want to enquire—and they attacked each and every household for no other crime of their\* than the crime that the workers are on strike in defence of their interests, for increase of wages, against retrenchment and all that. These are the things I want to bring before you. Why these things take place? These things take place and perhaps they are commensurate with their so-called socialistic ideal now promulgated by the Government. What is their socialistic pattern? Their socialistic pattern is allowing a certain section of people to grow richer and leave the majority of the people to become poorer and poorer. In the struggle of the labourers against the pilferers of the results of their labour, the pilferers want to keep them suppressed and oppressed so that they may not come on their own and assert themselves in defence of their rights. So these things take place everywhere. If they have any honesty of purpose, certainly they must see that the democratic rights of these people are allowed and their trade union activities, whether they be Communist, INTUC, P.S.P. or any other trade union, must be allowed and they must be allowed to have their trade union rights, which are universally recognised. So also the peasants must be allowed to organise themselves because the right to organize, the right to express, the right to conduct papers are recognised and allowed under the Constitution. They must be permitted and the police must be put under check. The Government should see that the Congress Committees are put in their proper places and not allowed to take law

[Shri N. C. Sekhar.] into their own hands so long as law under this Government is prevailing. That is what I want to stress again. With these words I must regretfully emphasise that this lag in the President's speech is unfortunate so far as the fate of the people are concerned.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

SHRIMATI PUSHPALATA DAS (Assam): Sir, unlike my friends on the Opposition I feel like congratulating ourselves whose views have been focussed in the speech delivered by the first citizen of India. Just now one of my friends in the Opposition finished his speech denouncing Congress rowdiness, how Congress candidates behaved in the election campaign. In case it is a fact, as a member of the great Congress Organisation I feel ashamed of it and if it is falsehood and if he is making this House a propaganda ground, I think he must apologise before this August House for this false propaganda. Let it be enquired whether he is right or we are right.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You ask the Government to institute an enquiry.

SHRIMATI PUSHPALATA DAS: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, while he was quoting something from Mr. Molotov's speech, was reading it with such a devotion and reverence as if he was reading from a holy scripture. The moment he came to the President's speech he treated it as trash. Both these things are somewhat extreme and do not show a sense of justice or decorum. The President himself has said that we must not be self-complacent and all of us agree with him. Really we cannot be self-complacent when so many problems are hanging and hovering over our heads. Mr. Gupta, when he doubted the honesty and sincerity of the President and the part played by the Government, how they are endeavouring for peace, when he doubted it, I also doubt his sincerity when he speaks on the floor of

the House. Perhaps he wanted to attack the President's speech not as a conviction but as a duty. I am glad, Sir, to quote from the President's speech; wherein it is said: "It is for you, Members of Parliament, to give shape and form to this hope and to advance the country to its cherished goal of a Welfare State and a society conforming to the socialist pattern."

Now the socialist pattern, the definition of it, has been attacked by many of our friends from the other side and among the nominated Members the only individual who has doubted it is Prof. Wadia. I will just reply to him as I have understood the socialistic pattern of society. Is it a new idea for the Congress? I do not think, Sir. Since independence Congress is trying to have a society of socialistic pattern. Now what do we mean by this pattern? As everyone has got a particular pattern of blouse and coat for example. As in Russia they have got the Stalin pattern of coat in India we prefer Jawahar coat, because for our climate in winter and summer that coat suits us. In the same way *even* in a socialistic pattern of society also we have got our own definition. Our genius has interpreted that socialism in our own way to suit our conditions and climate and whether we are right or wrong the future will decide and the whole world will decide whether we go the right path or the wrong path. When first Gandhiji preached his non-violent non-co-operation, he was criticised as a mad man. It took twenty seven years for the people of the other countries to understand what is nonviolent non-co-operation. In the same way when bloodshed was going on in Telengana just to settle the land problem, Acharya Vinoba Bhave came into the field, he showed to the world what is non-violent revolution. Even now he is giving the lead to all the people, Congressmen and non-Congressmen in the country and to the world what is non-violent revolution. In the same way Congress also in its Avadi session has passed a resolution

to affirm its faith in a socialistic pattern of society. What does it mean? Is it a conflicting idea? What does it mean? Our new Congress President Dhebarji has made it clear in his speech that we want an Indian pattern of socialism not the western type of socialism, we want that kind of socialism which will suit our conditions and in that speech he said that we have to solve the unemployment problem; we will have to encourage cottage industries and I am also glad to find in yesterday's speech of Mr. Gupta that he also wants cottage industries to solve the unemployment problem. So nothing is static in this world. Even our Opposition, when it suits them, when they see some advantage in our approach they support us. I am glad for this constructive attitude shown by them. I congratulate Mr. Gupta also for that. Now what do we want in a socialistic pattern of society? More employment, greater production and social and economic justice and whether we are aiming at it and whether we are really coming to that is yet to be seen. In Congress resolutions it is made clear and all my friends have gone through those resolutions, I am sure.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I doubt it.

SHRIMATI PUSHPALATA DAS: Our new Congress President in his speech has said that we want certain spheres for these cottage industries. Really we cannot, neglect either large-scale or cottage industries. With such a large population in China and India, in these two countries we have to encourage cottage industries and even in other countries also as the last war explains. For example, let us take Japan and Germany. These two places were ruined by the last great war. But Japan could still thrive on the ruins of Hiroshima because she believed in cottage industries. She relied on it. For Germany due to its over-centralization and its mechanisation and for all that it took such a long time to come to its old position.

Even now Germany cannot compete with Japan, with its richness and wealth of cottage industries. So in India also this pattern suits us. At the same time in certain spheres we have to demarcate. As far as consumer goods industries are concerned, we want that there must be decentralisation and it must be on a co-operative basis. That will give employment to many persons and will also increase production. But as far as key industries are concerned, we want that there must be complete control. Now, the question is whether we are moving towards this. I shall refer to that portion of the President's speech where he has said: "My Government have decided to acquire effective control over the Imperial Bank of India in order, more especially, to afford increasing banking facilities in rural and underdeveloped areas." Now, I ask: "Is it not a step towards that socialistic pattern? It may not be a revolutionary step but it is a decisive step, no doubt. In a day we cannot change the whole face of the country. We have to take a practical view. I have to add a few more things that have to be nationalised. We have to nationalise the insurance companies and banks. That will support our Five Year Plans and will also solve the unemployment problem. Then only we can be self-sufficient without having to borrow from others. If we nationalise the insurance companies and the other banks also then only the high hopes that have been raised by this resolution on the economic policy of the Government of India in the mind of the common people would be satisfied. Their dreams will come true if these two things are nationalised and along with that if the consumer goods industries are allowed to start on a co-operative basis, I think our problem will be solved to a great extent. I am also glad that the Imperial Bank money will be made available in the rural sector. Because it will help our agriculturists who were suffering all these days for want of funds and for lack of proper treatment at the hands of our Government.

[Shrimati Pushpalata Das.] The urban workers are much better than agricultural labourers. I am sure Mr. Ranga would be happy that there are some more supporters for the idea for which he had been fighting. Sir, if our organisation is powerful today, it is due to the support of these poor agriculturists. They are supporting the Congress and they are supporting what is true and where there is justice and honesty. So far they have not had sufficient consideration from the Government but now I am glad that the Government is to acquire effective control over the Imperial Bank of India in order to afford them the necessary facilities with that money.

Sir, I am also very glad to note that two steel plants are to be put up and it is an indication of our aim to progress towards self-sufficiency. We are progressing slowly but steadily and this is a definite step towards that goal. In order to achieve our objectives, to translate them into action, we have to do certain things which will revolutionise our society. We know that we have exceeded many of the targets fixed under the Five Year Plan. In the matter of food grains we have exceeded by about 4-4 million tons. We could not have expected this last year. But with all that we cannot remain satisfied until the poorest of the poor in the land realise that they are on the threshold of something great, that they are going to get economic justice. All these social and economic injustices must be done away with and that will be the aim so long as the Congress is in power. The common man must feel the throb of independence. And I am sure that this regime will be in power in future also. The Andhra elections are going to be over very soon and I think the dream of my hon. friend on that side will be a futile dream, because the Congress is coming there with an overwhelming majority.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How do you know that?

SHRIMATI PUSHPALATA DAS: Just as you know. And to achieve our objectives, Sir, we want internal as well as external security. Yesterday my friend Mr. Dwivedy was talking about Manipur, Goa and Naga Hills. I do not want to answer about Goa and Manipur; my hon. friend Mr. Hegde has answered about\*th8n. But as far as Naga Hills are concerned, no one has answered. Mr. Dwivedy asked why could not the Government of India treat them sympathetically. Now, what do they want? They want complete independence; they want to be out of the Indian Union. Does he want that we should allow them to do so? Tomorrow the people in the Lushai Hills also will ask for the same thing. Should they also be treated sympathetically? It is a strategic area. Can we do that? Are we to liquidate ourselves?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: They only want an independent legislature. They do not want to go out of the Indian Union.

SHRIMATI PUSHPALATA DAS: That is not the case. What does the resolution of the Naga National Council say? It says that they want complete independence. They do not want to be with the Indian Union. Now, Jappo Fiso, the Leader of the Naga National Council till the other day was pro-Congress at the time when we went there. But what has happened after Independence, I do not know. Now he has become an absconder and he is preaching so many things. When we went to Naga Hills he did not come and meet us. What has happened? It is said that people who were foreigners wanted to have the Naga Hills as a buffer State. Whatever one might say, I do not want to go into details. How can the Government of India accede to their demand especially in- that border area? The people there have been pampered and fondled so much that they are off their head and they want complete independence. We must be very careful in these things. Will he, if his party were in power, accede to

such a demand? I am sure they will think not twice or three times but many times before they come to any decision.

Now to achieve our objectives we want internal and external peace and so far as this question of peace is concerned, even the Opposition will agree with us that India has definitely given a lead to other countries and that her stature has been raised to a great extent through the efforts of our Prime Minister. The Indo-China problem has also been settled amicably with the moral support of India and if we recall past history we know how India stood on justice because she did not brand China as aggressor; she did not participate in that Japanese treaty; she did not sign that treaty because she felt that the Japanese people would not be getting justice by signing that treaty. Even today she is trying to check the use of atomic weapons. The power of the nuclear weapons is so great that it can destroy the whole world. All of us know that international peace today is hanging in the balance with many countries thinking in terms of rearming themselves. When in the best laboratories of the world experiments are going on as to how to kill humanity India with her age old tradition is crying halt and requesting the war-mad world to pause and think for a while what they are doing. So India's prestige is high even within this short period of seven years—we achieved independence only recently but in prestige India ranks high, and it is all due to her dynamic neutrality. This dynamic neutrality has been challenged so many times by the Opposition but now I am glad that they have come to agree with it and one friend in the other House, Mr. Hiren Mukerji, has congratulated the Government for this policy. I am glad that the Opposition has at least agreed that India has done something in the international field. So we shall hope that India's efforts to stop the use of nuclear weapons will also meet with success and atomic energy

instead of being a curse to humanity might be turned into a boon or blessing for the benefit of mankind and let our Motherland with all her majesty, grandeur and sublimity rise high in the comity of nations with all the pride and glory that she has been having from time immemorial.

SHRI T. V. KAMALASWAMY (Madras): Mr. Deputy Chairman, the country was looking forward very eagerly to the President's inaugural Address in the fond hope that they might hear in his speech the many pressing problems which confront our country today and also the solutions which the Congress Government propose to have for those problems but I am sorry to say that all our hopes have been belied because this colourless and flat speech of the President is more or less in the nature of an Administrative Report cataloguing the events of the past year and not an enunciation of the principles and policies of the Government for the coming year.

Sir, the speakers before have referred, and also the President in his speech has devoted a great part of his speech to our achievements in the international sphere. Well and good. Prof. Ranga has even out-Heroded Herod by narrating a long list of our achievements in the foreign sphere. But <sup>is</sup> right that our country should devote so much of its time and energy to the disputes between far off lands like Korea, Formosa and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and all those things, when the problem of our own people who are being just now driven out of Ceylon is not being attended to? Sir, the plight of our people, the eight lakhs of Indians in Ceylon is very miserable today. It is true that various negotiations took place and some sort of an agreement has *been* entered into between our Government and the Government of Ceylon. But not a day passes without an official of the Ceylon Government, including their High Commissioner here, making some kind of a bellicose statement



[Shri T. V. Kamalawamy.] saying that whatever be the agreement arrived at, they will somehow manage to see that the majority of Indians do not get Ceylon citizenship. Sir, at this critical juncture when more than eight lakh Indians in Ceylon are being deprived of their citizenship and are being subjected to all sorts of humiliating measures, is it not the duty of our Prime Minister to devote some time to the solution of this problem which if it is allowed to proceed at this rate will spell ruin for our countrymen there? Sir, the indifference of our Prime Minister to Indians settled in Ceylon is so great that even though three months have elapsed since our last High Commissioner was recalled, he has not cared to appoint a new High Commissioner in his place. And what about the hundreds of people who are being practically driven out of Ceylon? They come back uprooted with their families. They return to India after a long period as practically destitutes. Is it not the duty of our Government to care for them, to give them some loans and to do everything to rehabilitate them in the same way as was done in the case of refugees from Bengal or Punjab? Therefore, Sir, I would request the Prime Minister to appoint a suitable High Commissioner immediately and that person should be of a sufficiently high stature and calibre and of the highest integrity who will command the confidence of South Indians—mostly Tamilians—who are now facing a great danger in Ceylon.

Sir, the President has painted a very rosy picture of our economic condition. The facts are otherwise. Unemployment is rearing its head and the Government has not done anything to solve this problem. There is only a vague reference to the Second Five Year Plan. There seems to be no other schemes for providing employment not only to the educated but also to the rural people. I hope the Finance Minister will make amends for this in his Budget and he will put forward some concrete pro-

posals for providing employment to the millions of unemployed.

Sir, I now come to the vexed question of agriculture and rural economy. The position here also has very much deteriorated. The sudden and steep fall in agricultural prices has upset the rural economy and the Government have so far not put forward any concrete proposals for stemming this crisis. No doubt, there is a mention that Government will buy up all the surplus produce at a price so as to stabilise the rural economy. Sir, my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, gave a long list of industries and business firms which had made huge profits during the past years. I think his criticism is not unjustified. Take the case of the groundnut trade alone. Last year, Sir, there was a sudden fall in the price of groundnuts, from about Rs. 200 per candy to about Rs. 100 per candy—a fall of fifty per cent. The Agriculture Ministers of Andhra and Madras made representations that something should be done to step up this price. They wanted that an *ad hoc* export quota of groundnuts should be allowed so that the poor groundnut grower can get better prices for his produce. But the Government would not do so. They wanted to favour the manufacturers of Vanaspati and the big soap manufacturers. Therefore, these industrialists are enabled to buy the groundnuts at half the price of the previous year. But they did not reduce the price of their Vanaspati. Therefore, they were enabled to make huge profits because of this action of the Government which has favoured the capitalists. Sir, this is only one instance. The other instance will be that of the sugarcane grower. Only this morning the Minister for Food said that if it is not profitable for the sugarcane grower to grow cane, why should he continue to grow it? He says, they are getting better price than the other agricultural products and, therefore, they are still persisting in growing sugarcane. If only he will refer to the profits made by the sugar factories in South India, he will

find that there are factories which have made in a single year profit up to forty per cent, of their paid-up capital, whereas the share capital needed today for a thousand ton factory is only about a crore of rupees, I know the balance sheets of two or three factories where they had made forty lakhs of rupees every year—last year and the previous year. I hope that our Food Minister would do something to cut down the profits of these sugar factories and see that the growers also get a fair price for their cane. Both these instances show that the cry of a socialist pattern is a mere slogan and that when they carry out their policies they will somehow see that the poor man does not get his due.

Sir, I come next to the handloom industry. I was very anxious to hear from the President as to what his Government propose to do for the handloom industry. The Kanungo Report is before the Government for the past four months. The Report is absolutely one-sided and merely represents the view of the millowners. It is even said that the Textile Commissioner prepared the Report and it was typed in the office of the Minister for Commerce and Industry. Whatever it be, the entire handloom industry, the weavers, have not only been neglected, but they are sought to be stifled and extinguished. The interests of ten million handloom weavers and their dependents have been ignored. If the Government of India implements the Kanungo Report, they will be able to do what the East India Company and the British Government could not do in 150 years—they would have buried the handloom industry five fathoms deep. And the Government of India will soon be haunted by the spectre of unemployment among these ten million people. Hence I very strongly request the Government to shelve this Report and not to implement it. Where the anxiety and the feelings of the Government lie can easily be found out, because only yesterday the Deputy Minister for Commerce and Industry would not

even allow the Report to be discussed before the Government came to a decision.

Sir, the President has drawn attention to the new steel factories about to be put up in the country. I take this opportunity to record the protest of South India that they have been neglected in the matter of the new industries. Various journalists have reported that there are vast deposits of iron ore in Salem district which can be used in conjunction with the lignite of South Arcot for setting up a steel plant. As for lignite, the Government have now received the report of the technical consultants for four alternative schemes. I would stress upon the Government that they should lose no more time in choosing that scheme regardless of the capital cost involved which will give a greater return and soon implement the lignite project. There is one more point, Sir. The Government of Madras is pressing upon the Government of India for the setting up of an aluminium factory which can exploit the bauxite resources in full. Sir, unless there are going to be set up some factories also in the South, there is bound to be some trouble in the future.

Sir, I now come to the last point. I was very sorry to hear this year the President speaking in Hindi first and then in English. As we have just started learning Hindi, we would have appreciated it better, if we had the English version first, and then the Hindi version of the Address.....  
(Interruption)..... Sir, I am now concluding by saying that the nation is tired of new slogans and catchwords such as 'land reforms' and 'socialistic pattern of society'. Our masses expect some concrete manifestations of the Government's policies. It is a pity that the Avadi resolution on socialistic pattern of society is more a dead letter than a reality. The nation is marching ahead, and the Government will be left behind if it does not keep pace with the developments that are taking place.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI (Nominated): Sir, I wish to add my humble voice to the chorus of applause and general approbation which have greeted the President's Address to both the Houses of Parliament. In this connection, Sir, I am sorry to say that I do not agree with my fellow nominee of the President in this House, Major-General Sokhey, who said that he did not find that this practice of having the President's Address to both the Houses once a year had any value. On the contrary, I think, and I think that all the hon. Members of this House will agree with me, that this procedure gives us indeed a valued privilege which we may utilise in having our own observations on the state of the country during the year.

Now, Sir, I come to certain points in the President's Address, not in any spirit of criticism, but only by way of making certain observations, which could be considered by the Government who are responsible for the Address.

First of all, Sir, there is a reference to the code of international conduct which, in my opinion, follows the aim of world peace, namely, the doctrine of Panch Shila. And, I think, that is to the great credit of our Prime Minister, who will no doubt go down in history as the promulgator of this doctrine of universal peace. I also think that he has really achieved a very great political act of statesmanship in being able to convert a totalitarian State, the People's Republic of China, to an acknowledgment of these principles.....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: ..... principles of about 30 years ago.....

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: .....the principle of peaceful co-existence. However, I am coming to that

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is a historian, Mr. Gupta.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: I am giving you the full history. I

think that our Prime Minister deserves all praise for his singular feat in converting a totalitarian State like the People's Republic of China to one of the doctrines of the Panch Shila, namely, co-existence.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I think the hon. Member forgets the history.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: I say it with full knowledge of the facts of the case. I think the hon. Members would be surprised to find, if I tell them, that this is a negation of the fundamental principle upon which every totalitarian State rests. These totalitarian States will never allow co-existence, within their own domestic jurisdiction, to all the different groups and parties, as they are not allowed to function in opposition to the Government of the day. Therefore, so far as their domestic jurisdiction is concerned, there is no question of co-existence. On the contrary, the fundamental principle of a Communist Government is that all individuals must sacrifice themselves completely to the interests of the State, and the State will have complete uniformity and regimentation of thought in the country, so that no group or party will be allowed to function in opposition to the Government of the day. Therefore, Sir, I do not know whether the non-Communist world will be able to take this transformation of the Communist power in a spirit of trust and optimism, because a Communist State that does not allow co-existence within its own domestic sphere may not be completely trusted to observe their principles in the sphere of international politics, and, therefore, I think it is only due to the influence of our great Prime Minister that such a feat of statesmanship has been accomplished.

Now, Sir, there is a reference to Tibet in the President's Address. Although Tibet now figures as a colony of the Chinese Communist Empire .....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is this, Sir? Is the hon. Member speaking from history when he says .....

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: In spite of this transformation of Tibet into a province of the Chinese Empire, we Indians must all recognise that in the domain of thought and culture which India has built up since ages in that strategic territory, Tibet is an integral part of India, and the entire culture and civilisation of Tibet derives from India.....

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Tomorrow you will say that the United States belongs to .....

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: It is on record how hundreds of scholars, post-graduate scholars from the University of Nalanda were working as exiles in that snowy land of Tibet only to give to Tibet the message of Indian thought, and to introduce to Tibet the Indian religious institutions. Therefore, Tibet must always remain as an integral part of the cultural world of India. Now, this I mean in a political sense also, because my object in bringing out this point is to see that there may be free intercourse between India and Tibet, and free commerce and cultural intercourse, that has been going on throughout the centuries between India and Tibet.

Now, there is reference in the Address to a very difficult and delicate and controversial topic, Formosa. As a student of politics, I can only say that this is a very controversial issue and it is necessary to remember that there is not only one side to this question. There are other standpoints also which are shared by some of the greatest powers of the world like the U.S.A., the U. K., Canada, France and then Australia and New Zeland. I think we should not be obsessed by only one side of the question. Again our Prime Minister has tried to solve this problem by his generous acceptance of the suggestion that,

when the issue is discussed at a conference, Formosa as a State may be represented in some form or other. This great concession will, I think, serve to solve this very complicated issue.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: May I know whether it is a fact" that the Prime Minister said that Formosa as a State might be represented?

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: I do not have before me exact words that he used, but I think the Prime Minister has stood out as a maker of world peace by his very, very generous suggestion that representation might be given to Formosa in some form or another in the Formosan pourparlers, as this will lead to world peace or at least peace in the Pacific.

Now I come to the economic aspect of the President's Address. There also I think that the President has laid more stress upon the improvement in production in the country, but I cannot but take advantage of this opportunity to apprise this House and the country of some of the dire economic realities of the situation. I have in my hand a very authoritative document called 'Economic Development and Stability' which was submitted by the mission of the International Monetary Fund to the Government of India. Now, the very first sentence of this report says:

"The basic economic problem of India is the widespread poverty of its people. The standard of living of the people of India is amongst the lowest in the world. In a country in which the greater part of consumption of the poor consists of foodgrains and cloth, the amount of these goods consumed *per capita* may be regarded as a reliable indication of changes in the standard of living. The *per capita* consumption of foodgrains and of cloth is lower now than before."

i.e., in pre-war times,

[Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji.] In this connection I should like to place very briefly before you certain statistics and I am glad that the Minister for Food and Agriculture is present now in the House. What matters most is not production but the effects that increased production have on the masses in raising the standard of their living. As regards the consumption of food, the situation continues to be as desperate and unsatisfactory as before. A balanced diet including all items should amount to about 48 ounces per head. It is upon a balanced diet that the national physique of the country depends. Indians can have only 25 ounces, roughly about one-half of a balanced diet. Then, again, although agricultural production has gone up to a very remarkable extent, still that fact cannot be gainsaid that the standard of Indian agricultural production is extremely low. For instance, the average yield of paddy per acre per year amounts to 1,050 lbs. in India against 4,250 lbs. in Italy and 3,580 lbs. in Japan. This is the situation with reference to one of the primary requisites of the people, namely food. The standard of life has gone down also in regard to many other matters. Talking in terms of science, especially the science of nutrition, I find that the U.S.A. is giving to each citizen food in the form of 3,160 calories, the U. K. is giving 2,900 calories and even Western Germany gives as much as 3,070 calories, but in India it is less than 1,500 calories. How can you hope to build up the country on the basis of this colossal insufficiency of food and nutrition? It is time that the Government should prepare statistics to show how the standard of living is being modified by our programmes of production. Now that report to which I have referred, viz., that of the mission of the International Monetary Fund, states that we must assess the degree of progress achieved in regard to the standard of living of the people by reference to the primary requisites, viz., food and cloth. As regards cloth the consumption per head in India amounts to 10 yards per annum as against 64 yards in the

U.S.A., 35 yards in the U.K. and 22 yards in Japan.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: Which year?

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: I am coming to that also. Our prewar record of 16 yards per head has dwindled down to 10 yards. I have got the latest figures from some of the textile authorities. They say that the average consumption in India now is only about 10 yards. Some say it has risen to 13 yards, but that is not the matter. My point is that the Government should kindly consider that mere statistics and records of our production activities will not suffice to give a complete picture of the economic life of the country. The economic life of the country must be assessed in terms of the amount of consumption of the necessaries of life. I would be very glad to be corrected if I can be shown a higher figure of consumption.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: It is over 15 yards now.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: I doubt it. I can show you a very authoritative document issued by the textile industry itself. It has never exceeded 13 yards.

Now I have given you sufficient idea as to the lines on which the direction of thinking in the country should proceed. Now rapidly speaking, I think that I may give certain other consumption figures. Now paper, as our friends know, is a great vehicle of culture. The consumption of paper per head in the United States is about 350 lbs. and in India it is hardly 50 lbs. I shall be very glad to be corrected and to see that my figures are all wrong because I want to have a more rosy picture of the actual condition of the people. In that connection I think that the real reason why the people are not able to command the necessaries of life is this that the standard of work effort in India is also extremely low. For instance, going back to the textile industry, I find that while the United

States labourer can handle 1,500 to 2,100 spindles and the Japanese labourer 1,600 to 2,400, an Indian can handle only 380. As regards looms, there are 60 automatic looms and spindles per labourer in the U.S.," and 30 to 48 in Japan, and in India where ordinary loom is operated, only 2 looms are operated daily. That is really the reason why we are unable to provide the country with an ample measure of all the necessaries of life. I would not go into all the luxury goods like motor cars. In U.S.A. 1 man in 4 has got a car, in U. K. 1 in 16 and in India 1 in 1,000. Petrol consumption in India is 4 gallons per head per year, in U. K. 71 gallons and in U. S. A. 520 gallons. The number of vehicles on road in India is 3 lakhs, in U.S.A. 5 crores. So I am not at all in favour, as my friend says, of these luxurious conveyances but I think they throw some light on the dire economic conditions through which we are passing and therefore my conclusion is this that perhaps Government might publish side by side with statistics of production, statistics of consumption throwing light upon the improvement in the standard of life of the masses.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Hyderabad): Mr. Deputy Chairman, when discussing the President's Address, we have got to keep in view that it is a record of the achievements of work done in the past year and the programme for the coming year. I don't deny for one moment that India, a big country, has made some progress during the past year and that it will go on making progress in the years to come. This is an undeniable fact and yet we have got to examine the pace of progress. You know in the Five Year Plan it has been stated that in 27 years, the national income will be doubled. This will give you an idea of the rate of progress and if this rate of progress is continued, we will be left far behind in the race of progress. It is not the question of making some progress. The whole point is that we must progress at a sufficiently fast and rapid pace. It is after all not slogans that are going to advance the

country but actual hard thinking and strong measures to be adopted in our social economy. The President has stated that it is for Parliament to de-vtee ways and means for attaining a Welfare State of a socialist pattern. I have been reading the articles written by the hon. Prime Minister since 1930 on socialism and I submit that he is trying to follow the policy of mixed economy, trying to evolve a new policy of mixed economy which is not possible. I will try to submit to you that by a socialistic economy we mean that the means of production, that all factories which involve the employment of other people should be in the hands of the State, that any production which is carried on by the individual himself or by his family may remain in his possession but if that person wants to employ somebody else, the means of production should not be in his power but it should be in the hands of the State. I will clarify it by saying that if a man has got 5 or 10 or 50 acres of land and if he is tilling it himself by his own labour, he can certainly have that but if he wants to till even 10 acres with the help of somebody else, he has no right to it. If a man has got a small cottage industry, a small factory where he and his family are working, he is at liberty to do so, but if he wants to employ 5 or 10 people from outside, he will not be permitted to do so. In a socialistic pattern of society all means of production will be in the hands of the State except in so far as that; production is carried on by the individual by his own effort. This is the definition of socialism. The other side of it is capitalism where the means of production may be held by shareholders who may be very large in number, and that there may be all sorts of controls by the State about management and the rights of labour. Irrespective of all that both the systems have got some meifts and certain disadvantages but in a backward country, in an underdeveloped country, if you want to have a planned economy, if you want to increase the production at a faster rate than in the normal course, there is I only one side and that is the socialis-

[Shri Kishen Chand.] tic pattern. The hon. Prime Minister has tried his level best during the last 7 years to evolve this scheme of mixed economy and he has failed utterly, to the cost of our country, to the cost of our labourers, to the cost of our consumers. Because that system of economy is not possible. In a competitive economy the idea is that of the survival of the fittest. You have a large number of factories cropping up. A factory which is efficient would survive and the inefficient factories would disappear. Now, our Government, under the labour laws, must keep the labour employed and therefore must prop up even the inefficient factories. That is one side of it. On the other side the Government is putting up factories which are competing with the private sector and! the result is that in certain fields there is over-production and in others there is under-production, that the cost of production goes up and the net result is that consumption is not keeping pace with production. I submit to you that it is not possible— and no economist has been able to evolve a suitable plan for a mixed economy where the private sector and the public sector can be so harmonised that production keeps pace with consumption, that production is brought up to maximum level at the lowest possible cost. Such a synthesis is not possible and in his effort for the impossible the Prime Minister is running after a delusion and the result is that our country is suffering the consequences of that effort and attempt by the Prime Minister. 3 P.M.

Sir, I would have been happy if instead of giving a vague sentence about a Welfare State on a socialistic pattern, the Government had made it clear that they would have a Welfare State on some other principle. I do not say that some other system would be workable, but this type of a half-hearted attempt, this type of trying to reconcile the two systems is not workable. One example of it can be given. Only six months back, the Finance Minister stated that the Imperial Bank would be nationalis-

ed. The statement meant that so many banks which have some sort of contacts with the State, the Hyderabad Bank, the Bank of Baroda and so on, will all be nationalised and converted into State Banks. But what happened? Some pressure is brought on the Finance Minister or the Prime Minister and the wording is changed from "nationalisation" to "effective control", permitting up to 49 per cent, of shares to be kept in private hands and possibly 51 per cent, in the hands of the Government. The question of the other State Banks has been put in the cold storage. I have given only one example to show that mere profession, mere statement about socialistic pattern is not enough. As a grain of rice is tested in the pot, similarly the profession of the Government will be tested by the fact that have gone back on their recent statement.

Sir, we are going to put up a few steel plants. They are going to be State-owned steel plants and we have got steel plants owned by the private sector. So there will be competition between the two and I am sure the result will be that the cost of production of steel in the Government-owned steel plant will be higher than that in the plant under the private sector and in that unhealthy competition, the Government will lose heavily and the poor tax-payer will have to shell out its hard earned money to make up the loss.

Sir, I leave this socialistic pattern for the hon. Congress Members to carefully examine it and search their own hearts and they say whether they are sincere believers in it and whether they are sincerely following a policy to achieve that ideal.

I come next to the question of self-sufficiency in food. We are boasting about this self-sufficiency in food, as if this self-sufficiency has been achieved by any act of the Government. The great river-valley projects are still under construction and not a drop of water has gone to irrigate an acre of land anywhere in the country which might have increased the production

or yield. The production has increased entirely because our poor peasant has put in his very best effort, has used the manures lent to him by the Government as Taccavi loan. He had taken a lot of liability on himself in order to produce more food grains and what is the reward that he gets? The reward to him is lower agricultural prices. He is under debt to the Government for his Taccavi loans. He is in debt with the co-operative society and he is in debt with the bank. With all this debt he has produced more food grain, all in the hope that he will get more money and repay his loans and improve his standard of living and purchase some things that he needs and so on. Instead of being able to do that, the reward that he actually gets is lowering of agricultural prices. These prices have been allowed to go down to an unremunerative level. The result is that he will not be able to repay the Taccavi loans. If the Government recovers that loan from the poor agriculturist, you will see a large number of evictions and large number of lands confiscated. If the Government does not recover these loans then it means that really the Government is indirectly subsidising for this reduction in the agricultural prices. That is why I always request hon. Members on the Government benches to carefully think out these things. Simply shirking the problem will not solve it.

Sir, I visited two or three N. E. S. blocks situated in Hyderabad. You will be surprised that an N. E. S. block of a hundred villages, with a population of a lakh of souls gets Rs. 8.5 lakhs of which Rs. 5 lakhs is loan to be recovered from the people, Rs. 1.5 lakhs goes to the officers of the project which leaves only a balance of Rs. 2 lakhs for 100 villages spread out over a period of three years. That amounts to giving 10 annas per year per head of the population. And then you say, you have done a wonderful thing, that you have set up so many N. E. S. blocks. I would humbly beg of hon. Members to kindly go into the arithmetic of it and carefully see what

is the amount that is actually being given to the agriculturists in these N. E. S. blocks which is not recovered from them. They are actually being given 10 annas per year per head of population Sir, we have a very fine peasantry in our country, a peasantry which has worked hard on the land for centuries. And the reward that our Government has given them by means of their policy is the ruination of the peasantry. Sir, I was surprised to see the enthusiasm they have, the great enthusiasm with which they build roads with voluntary labour with which they build schools with voluntary labour. They are prepared for hard work. But the Government gives only 10 annas per head of population per year and still feel that they have done a wonderful thing.

Sir, you should know the suffering that is being inflicted on the agriculturists by this reduction in the agricultural prices. I happened to go to an area which was producing sugarcane and they were converting that cane into *gur*, because there was no sugar factory nearby and though they have been asking the Government to start one, nothing has been done to set up a sugar factory there. And will you believe it when I say that the price of *gur* has come down from Rs. 40 per maund to as low as Rs. 7 per maund in that area? I have got the statistics and facts for that particular area. From Rs. 40 per maund it has come down to Rs. 7 per maund which is even below the cost of production. And the result is that the people are heavily in debt and they do not know what to do. Therefore, I was saying that the Government, when they speak through the President in the Presidential Address, must be careful not to mislead the people by slogans only, but they should do something concrete for the great mass of the people who live in our villages and who are the real backbone of our country.

Sir, it is a well-known fact that the community projects are just cleaning



[Shri Kishen Chand.] up some roads or putting some drains here and there; but the common people continue to live in mud huts, in huts without any ventilation and without any filtered water supply, without electric light or any other amenity of life. This morning at question hour, the Minister for Health gave out that in this vast country of five lakh villages, at two places, they are going to experiment on the supply of filtered water. What a creditable performance on the part of our Government, that out of five lakh villages after seven years, they have now selected just two places for making an experiment on the supply of filtered water for the villagers.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: That is only under that particular scheme.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: It has been thought of only under that scheme, not anywhere else. I will be very glad if the hon. Minister says that out of five lakhs of villages two lakhs will be supplied with filtered water.

SHRI A. DHARAM DAS (Uttar Pradesh): That is the next step.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: From two villages we will jump to two lakhs of villages.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: You will experiment for another eight years.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: For two or three years the experiments will go on; after that a report will be submitted which will be examined and studied by the Government. Counter proposals will be submitted and finally they will be shelved, put in cold storage.

SHRI K. S. HEGDE (Madras): What did you do in nine months in Travancore-Cochin?

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: I have gone to villages and have seen with my own eyes the women of the villages going morning and evening to the village pond to bring water, the dirty

water. They bring that dirty water home. What happens is that when they go to collect water, they put their feet in the pond. This putting of their feet in the pond disturbs the water and all the dirt gets mixed up in the water which they collect. This dirty water is brought and it is drunk and used for every household purpose. With this record, you come round and say that you are going to set up a socialistic pattern of society. I leave it to the hon. Members to decide for themselves.

In the matter of cottage and small scale industries—I will have occasion to refer to them in detail later on—the Railway Minister has taken some steps which are going really to kill all the cottage and small scale industries. He is going to increase the freight charges for industries which are going to send small quantities. We pay lip sympathy and we are very eloquent and say that we want to encourage cottage and small scale industries but what steps are we taking? Production in steel is going up; production in cement is going up. Production of big scale industries is going up. These industries employ only about 3 million people but what about the small scale and cottage industries which employ 12 million people? Their production is going down. No statistics are kept; hon. Members do not know anything about the cottage and small scale industries; but the production in these sectors is going down and the net result is that the total production in the country is going down. Production is slowly and gradually going down; small factories are being closed down and people are reverting back to their villages, to the small bit of land they had, to some how eke out a living. I do not know what they are going to do.

Several hon. Members have spoken about the prestige that our country carries in foreign countries and they feel very proud when a foreigner visits our country and writes a report. They think that they have got a certificate from a foreigner. They think that

their country is progressing and that their country is being compared favourably with Togoland, with Iraq and with Iran, when the foreigners have said that India is making much more progress than Iraq or Iran. I suppose hon. Members feel very proud when such a certificate is given to them; they think that they have the privilege and the honour of being compared with the backward races of this world. I suppose they think that if it is stated that Indians do not live on trees but that they have got houses, we shall be very very happy. What is the prestige of our country outside? Do you think that an Indian is permitted anywhere in the world in any country to immigrate and to settle down there? Do you think that Indians are permitted in Australia? While the Australians will be very glad to get any number of people from the United Kingdom or from the United States of America, will they permit Indians to go and settle down in large numbers in Australia?

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Just try it.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: I do not want to be insulted. I leave it to others who think that they have got a certificate from the foreigners to go there and settle down.

SHRI K. S. HEGDE: On a point of information, Sir, what is the relationship between development of our economy and the immigration policy?

PROF. G. RANG A: It is about the foreign policy.

SHRI K. S. HEGDE: You are jumping from point to point.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: If you listen one more minute, I will explain all that. We are very proud of the Panch Shila. I am also very proud of Panch Shila. They are fundamental principles and I am proud that our Government has supplied those principles but when it comes to following and adopting them, I beg to submit, Sir, that the hon. Prime Minister does not interpret them

fully. The whole question is of colonialism. Has the hon. Prime Minister got the courage when he has enunciated the principle of the Panch Shila to say that Hong Kong is a colony of the U.K.? Has he got the moral courage to say that the U.K. has no right and no justification to be in Singapore, to be in Malaya? When you declare certain principles you must have the moral courage to stand up to them. Just enunciating a principle and being a happy middleman praising this side and that side, is no good.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Hong Kong is not a part of India and, therefore, the Prime Minister of India does not come in.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: I wish the Prime Minister never interferes in other's affairs, does not say anything about Formosa, does not say anything about Indo-China. Indo-China is not part of India and why does the Prime Minister say anything about it?

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: To solve the problem.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: I do hope he will also solve the problem of Hong Kong and the rest.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Wait, wait. Mr. Saksena. You will have your chance.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: The whole thing is that we try, in our politeness and in our excessive desire to satisfy everybody, to say nice things to this side and nice things to the other side and in social life a man who is full of praise for everybody is generally liked but never respected. This is our attitude in international affairs.

I will now come to two more points about which I have sent in amendments and they are unemployment and education. Regarding unemployment, all hon. Members have already spoken. The unemployment problem is increasing in this country. Even if we take 50 per cent, of our population to be available for full employment, we

[Shri Kishen Chand.] have the colossal figure of 180 million people to be found full employment. What steps has the Government of the day taken to achieve that figure of employment except opening a few employment exchanges where people's names are registered but no employment is ever found? The seekers come and go but the people continue to suffer by this unemployment. Until and unless that fundamental principle of a Welfare State on socialistic lines, on socialistic principles, is adopted, the problem of unemployment cannot be solved in this country. It is not by slogans that you can find jobs for 180 million people in this country. It can only be by proper planning; we have wasted eight years of independence in just toying with the idea between capitalism and socialism.

With regard to education, we are very very keen to evolve a national system, but one man gets up and talks about basic education, and a committee is appointed. For two years the committee goes about its work and then submits a report. The Government then considers that report for two years and then it is shelved. That has happened with Dr. Radhakrishnan's Report on University Education. This is going to happen with the Secondary Education Committee Report and the pattern of education goes on on the old basis with minor adjustments here and there, sometimes on the right lines and sometimes on the wrong lines. The fashion and the craze nowadays is to change the B.A. degree course from four to three years by transferring one year to the Secondary school course. I asked the Parliamentary Secretary several questions at question time to ascertain about the extra cost that would be involved. No consideration has been given to this aspect, there was no answer because Government has not really studied that aspect of the question. If we go on drifting in our educational policy, what is going to happen to our young men who come out with B.A. degree, after entailing tremendous expenditure on the part of

their parents? Consider the case of a parent who is earning Rs. 100 a month and who is required to spend Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 per month on the education of his son? After this expenditure, the son gets his B.A. degree and roams about from office to office in search of employment and possibly, after waiting for years, he may get a job on Rs. 50 per month. Is that the prospect that you are going to offer for the young men of our country at the same time expecting discipline and hard work from them?

Sir, I am completely disappointed with the Address of the President. I find in it platitudes; I find in it good ideas and slogans but in practice, it is a dismal failure. There has been some progress but it is so insignificant that at this rate our country cannot attain the ideal of a Welfare State.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Sir, I deem it a proud privilege and a matter of great pleasure to support the Resolution of Thanks to the President for his having consented to address the two Houses of Parliament on the 21st of this month, moved by my friend Dr. Subbarayan and ably supported by another eminent Member Dr. Raghu Vira.

I may be permitted to make just a few observations in reply to some of my hon. friends, and particularly to my hon. friend Dr. Mookerji. He drew, in my estimation at least, not a very rosy picture of the state of affairs in the country and he said that it would gladden his heart if a more rosy picture could be drawn. Now that distressing picture that he drew was, in a sense, unconsciously perhaps whittling down the achievements that the President had enunciated in his Address and therefore in order to gladden the heart of my hon. friend I would request him to look upon me and draw a fund of optimism from my humble self. I am an optimist of optimists and I look upon the achievements made by my country as a harbinger of still greater

achievements that are in store for our country.

To my hon. friend Mr. Kishen Chand I would simply say that he should take measures to set right his confused state of thinking. He has been certified to be a speaker who contradicts himself in one speech more than half a dozen times by the hon. Ministers, many of them, and therefore he gave us a specimen of the same confused state of thought at this time also. In one breath he would recommend nationalisation of industry; in another breath just the opposite of it and so on and so forth. Sir, one humble question I very respectfully want to put to those who say that the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. I may pick out any hon. Member of this House, any ordinary Member—I am not talking of the moneyed men—Sir, and enquire from him whether his income before he became a Member of Parliament was more than Rs. 400 a month and Rs. 21 a day during the period of the sessions of Parliament. Now this statement was made by my hon. friend Mr. N. C. Sekhar today and I am referring to it and I would be very glad to know that his monthly income before he became a Member of Parliament was more than that sum that I have just now stated.

Sir, I extend my wholehearted sympathy to those friends who have tabled amendments to the motion of vote of thanks, each of which begins with the word 'regret' which shows the regretful state of mind that has taken possession of these friends, the moment they went through the President's Address. It is no pleasure to find a friend in a state of sorrow and grief. They are very much distressed and perturbed by reading the President's Address because in each and every amendment that has been tabled, the wording of the amendment begins with "but regret". So far as the President's Address is concerned, it is all right, but still the movers of the amendments say "but regret". Now this regret is 108 RSD

a matter for which I am entirely in sympathy with them and therefore I extend my sympathy to them. I hope something could be done for these friends so that their sorrow may be diminished.

SHRI V. K. DHAGE (Hyderabad): By your regretting it further?

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Now a word with regard to the use of the English language, S,r, "socialistic pattern of society". That expression which finds a place in the President's Address has proved to be a bugbear to many friends. They are absolutely perturbed, they are horrified as to why that "socialistic pattern of society" has been incorporated in the President's Address as if this expression was the exclusive monopoly of somebody else. My friend Mr. Kishen Chand thinks like that because perhaps seems to feel that it is he and his party alone who are entitled to have a "socialistic pattern" of life and to be termed and designated as socialistic believers in the administration of a certain country and others have absolutely no right. Now the President, as I have understood his Address, has been careful enough to avoid the use of the expression "Socialistic State", but he says that the State that India envisages in the future will be based on the pattern of socialism. It does not say that it will be a socialism like the socialism of the U.S.S.R. or for that matter of any other country. We have got our own ideas and our own views regarding socialism and therefore we will model and prepare our society on that socialistic pattern.

Sir, I invite the attention of my hon. friends to article 87, clause (1) of the Constitution. That article requires the President to address the two Houses of Parliament meeting in a joint session at the commencement of the first session of each year. Now our gracious President did not commit any sin by agreeing to address the joint session of the two Houses of Parliament on the 21st of this month

[Shri H. P. Saksena.] <>nd giving us a message reviewing in broad lines, not in detail, the activities of the Government during the last twelve months and expressing some hope and some faith on the basis of those achievements for future. Now, Sir.....

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Madras): Whenever he chooses he can under article 86.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: I am not talking of article 86. Perhaps you did not listen to me carefully. I am quoting simply article 87 and you cannot question the validity of article 87, can you?

SHRI P. S. RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: I am only supporting you.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Now, Sir, the two Houses thought it is a matter of honour to be addressed by the President and as an expression of their thanks to the President for the kind deed that he did in coming to address them, they have proposed a vote of thanks. Now in our day to day life it so happens just for a little bit of favour, as when a friend of mine picks up the book and gives it to me, I say: Thank you. This is in pursuance of our culture, our oriental culture. In pursuance of that culture we in either of these Houses are proposing a vote of thanks to the President for having taken the trouble of coming to the House and addressing us jointly. Now this simple act of offering a vote of thanks to the President has roused a strong feeling. I thought that if this debate were to continue for more than two days Delhi may be converted into Quetta and there may be earthquakes and all that sort of thing. I do not think there was anything improper on the part of the President to have addressed the two Houses and also there was nothing improper on the part of the Houses in proposing a vote of thanks to him.

Now, Sir, let me deal briefly with the foreign policy that India has been pursuing. That policy whose chief architect is our Prime Minister, ably assisted and supported by another great Indian leader who patiently prepared the ground for him even during the days when India was not free—I mean my hon. friend Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, has been the object of praise not only by us, Indians, but throughout the world, that policy is being acclaimed from all quarters of the globe but here our friends on the right without understanding the implications and significance of what the foreign policy of a country ought to be, come forward and say, "Here this thing is wrong and there that thing is wrong; Kashmir has not been mentioned; Pakistan has not been mentioned; the canal water dispute has not been mentioned and Goa has not been touched"—Perhaps they forgot about South Africa. Sir, I know that there is a Goa to be isolated. There is a South Africa to be dealt with. I also know that the canal water dispute which has most unnecessarily in my opinion been referred to the World Bank has to be settled. I know all that. We will do it but in our way. An instance of it is the settlement and integration of the French possessions in India. Those who have got eyes to see can see how we deal with important international and national matters. I hope and trust that the question of Goa and of other Portugal possessions will be settled as amicably and as smoothly as the French possessions question has been settled.

With regard to the foreign policy we may look with pride upon our efforts in Korea and Indo-China. So far as Formosa is concerned, we are struggling and struggling and we are doing our level best to see that shooting war at least does not start in Formosa and there is no reason whatsoever why we shall not succeed in Formosa also as we did in Indo-China and in Korea.

Sir, there is a talk all round about Atom bomb and the Hydrogen bomb. There are war clouds on the horizon:

All that is true. But those who believe in the Gandhian method of nonviolence, those who believe in peaceful settlement of thorny problems by negotiations will do well to concentrate on their own efforts in their own way. My hon. friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta was reminding me today that if a Hydrogen bomb or an Atom bomb drops in Lucknow—well, he selected my town—or Allahabad, only the Communists will not be killed; that is, there is the possibility of non-Communists also being killed. I shall only wish and pray that no Communists will be killed because our game will be gone if there are no Communists left. So I want them to live for a very very long time so that their opposition may continue to give strength to our Administration which we hope will—and we mean to—continue for another 25 or 30 years. They should not think "that the Congress is going to abdicate its position and it is going to hand over the administration of the country to them. That is not going to happen. The publication of the election results in Andhra will show that.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: It will be United Front, not the Congress.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: My very clear friend, Mr. Dwivedy, has been ■contaminated by the society that he has been keeping for some time past and therefore it is no use entering into a debate with him. One omission I did find in the President's Address to which, for the satisfaction of the peace and soul of my friends on the right, I must refer and it is this. It is this that in their estimation the President ought to have mentioned in his Address that so many adjournment motions were moved by the Opposition and that all of them were perhaps disallowed or rejected. That may be an omission; otherwise so far as omissions are concerned, I tried to see if anything •worth mentioning was left out in the Address, but I did not find anything.

Now, Sir, coming to the domestic policy I wonder why the vision of some

of our friends residing in this country—our own brethren—has been blurred to such an extent that they do not see even during day time, not to say of their not being able to see during night time. These laboratories spread all over the country have no meaning for them. They have no sense for them. I simply wonder what has happened to them—as if these laboratories are a jumble of useless things. They carry no import or significance for them so far as national progress is concerned. Similarly, the community projects mean nothing to them. They would do no good to the country. The National Extension Service blocks are of no use to them. Have they got jaundice? Is there something severely wrong with their vision? I am sure something has happened to them and my whole-hearted sympathy goes to them.

Now, I would most modestly put before you my own State of Uttar Pradesh where every district, every tehsil, almost every village is bubbling with activity. There is activity everywhere. Now, Sir, without any exaggeration I may be permitted to give you a brief idea of the activities in the Uttar Pradesh, the State from which I come.

SHRI S. N. DWIVEDY: There is nothing much left for him to speak.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Now, whether you take irrigation, whether you take education, whether you take expansion of land reforms, test my State by any standard whatsoever and it will always stand first in the series. Just an instance in point is the peaceful integration of the three big States governed and ruled by the ruling chiefs of the olden times—Rampur, Tehri and Banaras. Not a sparrow was disturbed out of its nest and all these three States were integrated. They now form part of the State of Uttar Pradesh. All those people are happy that they have become members of a much bigger family known as India. The tubewells, the *shramdan* work. Vinoba

[Shri H. P. Saksena.] Bhave's movement—all these have their origin in the State of Uttar Pradesh. So much about the domestic policy. If even these are not to be designated as achievements of the Government of India, I wonder what else will satisfy those friends who have always to find fault and never a word of encouragement to utter. One friend during the debate stated that we are to be judged by practice and not by professions. Now, I accept the challenge. Entrust this work of judging us not by our professions but by our practice to an impartial arbiter. I say our Government will stand by the decision of that arbiter. But it will do no good to either party to be repeating like a slogan that there are professions of the Congress Party and the Congress Government, but if you judge them by practice there is nothing done. Now, this will not do. If you want to make this as a test case, come forward and appoint an impartial judge and let him give his verdict. If he gives a verdict in their favour, I submit that I stand condemned, but so far as you are repeating these baseless allegations is concerned, it has done nobody any good.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Not even to them.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Now, Sir, we are the messengers of peace. You will remember that Buddhism was born here in India, in our State of Bihar. We observed and professed Buddhism for centuries. We are still wedded to world peace and a peaceful way of life. Our Prime Minister is the greatest messenger of peace and he is following in the footsteps of the great Buddha. Now, with India living, with India having Jawahar-lal Nehru as its Prime Minister, with India receiving the support of thirty-six crores of people, barring a few solitary exceptions here and there, there can be no war in the world. I give this as my considered opinion and I hope and trust that my people, my friends will echo this message and

there will be no war in this world. There will be no shooting war. Nobody will be killed. There will be no atom bombs and hydrogen bombs and a time will come, is sure to come when these bombs will have to be thrown in the Pacific. With this hope I live; on this hope I beg of the world to live and I hope that my hope will not remain unfulfilled.

Now, Sir, just a word with regard to a sentence in the President's Address wherein he says: —

"No problem can be solved, no-objective achieved, by this self-destruction of humanity."

This is in accordance with the point that I was raising just now that there will be no war so long as India lives, and so long India is administered under the able guidance of the present Prime Minister so long as the hopes and aspirations of thirty-six crores of people are embodied in his way of thinking. This view of mine is enhanced by the statement made by the-President in his Address.

Now, Sir, can there be anything more unequivocal and more categorical than to say that there is only one-China, there are no two Chinas and, therefore, India cannot but recognize the China that is in reality China, that is the People's Republic of China? And yet faults are found with our foreign policy.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is time Mr. Saksena.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: I will not take much more time. Sir, the solution of the Kashmir question is very much, in sight. I was advised long, long ago by the authority concerned not to bother about Kashmir and allow him to solve it in his own way. Since then I have kept mum so far as the Kashmir question is concerned, although it has agitated me very much. Still I am hopeful that the question of Kashmir— not that this coming meeting between

the two Prime Ministers will solve the problem. I do not attach much importance to it— but the time is soon coming when the people in both the countries are getting sick of this strained relationship between the two countries. Most of them, I believe all of them want to have friendly relations restored between the two countries and, therefore, I am hopeful that the question of Kashmir and alongside other questions relating to Pakistan will resolve themselves and will be solved in good time.

Now, Sir, last but in no way the least there is the President's direction to the Members of Parliament, including my humble self, that it is for the Members of Parliament to give shape and form to this hope, and to advance the country to its cherished goal of a Welfare State. I would not repeat the wording which is so jarring to the ears of some of my friends—the society conforming to the socialistic pattern. Now, Sir, this is a very important duty. Each one of us has got to prepare the structure of society for future on a socialistic pattern. We should understand as to what is the socialistic pattern of society. There can be no disparities like those that exist today. There can be no disparities and different types of classes like the capitalist class and the labour class. There will be a classless society with very little difference between the income of one person and another. And that type of society will have to be brought to us. It will not come down to us from the sky. That is the duty that has been entrusted to us, and I hope that we shall all prove faithful in the discharge of that duty. With these words, Sir, I have done.

SHRIMATI MONA HENSMAN (Madras:)  
Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have put before you and before the House a few points that have arisen from my interpretation of the President's speech

It has been suggested in this House, Sir, that there is no need for such a convention as the President's speech

It has also been suggested, Sir, that instead of this rather broad summary of what the country has done, or is about to do, there should be a direction given by somebody the President or is other person in power, who would delineate to us the form in which we should work throughout the coming session. I beg, Sir, to associate myself today with those who feel that the convention, as laid down in the Constitution, is a wise one, because it means that both the Houses unite, that all parties of all shades of opinion can also unite in discussing—perhaps regretting, but certainly enlarging upon—the ideas and the things put forward in the President's speech.

Now, Sir, I would draw your attention first to the difficult problems that are referred to. I would mention only one or two of them. Now, Sir, the question of unemployment has indeed been occupying us from many years. And I would like to point out that during the last year some of us, in the part where I come from, have made a regular study of this unemployment problem. We tried to found a little unemployment bureau. We found, Sir, that among those who were educated many were of the opinion that they would rather remain unemployed than accept some employment that did not fetch them what they wanted. Sir, I feel that at this time when we are talking of a socialistic pattern of society and all these things, the status that the educated unemployed require—whether it is in the form of finance or something else—is not so important as something that will contribute to the world's work and to the nation's food. I feel that some kind of work should certainly be taken up by them, and an example should be set by those who have been able to have education, perhaps at the nation's expense, abroad or in this country. I would also stress the fact, Sir, that unemployment has risen greatly because there have been over-reachments in certain quarters. But this is only a temporary matter, and it may be that in the future there may



[Shrimati Mona Hensman.] be openings other than those that have now been seen. What I therefore feel is that public opinion, and public opinion from this House, should be directed towards the great idea of asking people to earn their own living, asking people to unite in the work that may be given to them, whether or not it is, for the time being less than they feel in value.

Then, Sir, reference has been made to food and other shortages. And I would just plead on the floor of the House that their prices that have been quoted as being very very low are indeed perhaps as low as they seem to be. But I would also like to point out that a year ago, or two years ago, prices were extremely high. And, if undue profits had been made in the past, perhaps it is not such a fall in the price as a reasonable and fair assessment that is now returning to the country. And, monopolies are also under the same head. The country, and the Government especially, has taken special care to see that monopolies in various articles and in various industries do not continue as before. This is a very good sign.

Then, Sir, one of the lady Members this afternoon, has spoken of the aims, the ideals and the ambitions of certain groups on the borders of our country to become completely independent and to throw off the fatherly and the motherly yoke, or whatever people may call it, or the partnership, or the Federation of States. I feel, Sir, that this is a growing danger and difficulty in our country, perhaps by rousing the country's feelings or liberty, and perhaps by giving various other things, possibly we have aroused certain ambitions that may not be fulfilled. There again public opinion must come into the picture, and we all, by our disciplined example, may show that people may be within the Federation of the States of India, and yet, Sir, they may be independent. This idea of throwing off the yoke just means that they will be open to other influences from outside. No small

bodies | on the outskirts of our country I can afford not to have the protection of the police and otherwise of the State of India, as it exists today. I dare say, Sir, that we are on the upward grade. It is a great thing that we are not hearing so much about corruption and bribery as we did two years ago in this House. Probably it means that public opinion has indeed worked, and has made it possible for such things to take their proper stand. When we first became an independent nation, there was perhaps a lot of crime, and now that is settling down. I dare say, Sir, that the omission of such things in our speeches and in the President's Address does not mean that we are contented with the lowering of standards in any way. Equality of women, Sir, has indeed come forward rightly. And when I speak of equality of women, I think more, Sir, of the social reforms that have been put forward like the various marriage

and other measures. We are 4 P.

M: still awaiting the equality

that we claim under the Constitution whereby we should not be excluded from government and other services merely on the ground that we are women or married women or not being able to have the status and stature of men, although we think ourselves to be the partners and the sources of inspiration for men. Therefore; I would stress that before this year is over, there should be a definite declaration placed on our Statute Book, in some way or other, that there will not be any differences made just because *at sex*. Such differences still exist here and there. On the other hand I do not know whether all of us would agree with the idea of some of our sex that there should be separate international conferences where women could meet. I think that women from other countries and this country should have only the same status as men in international conferences. In our representatives who have gone abroad we have been most fortunate; whether they represented us at the United Nations or went with other delegations

of cultural missions, they have shouldered a very great responsibility and done their work well, because otherwise the second paragraph of the President's Address should not have rung so true, and the representatives of other countries that have come here and our representatives who have gone out would not have been able to exchange their opinions and ideas to such great purpose.

There is mention in the Address of atomic energy. There is a fear attached to this on account of the use or rather misuse of this in taking away rather than in giving life. It is a very welcome paragraph that the President has introduced in his Address whereby he has drawn our attention to the good uses of atomic energy so that agricultural and other services may be benefited by those wonderful inventions and discoveries that would make us independent of the vagaries of wind, weather, soil and other misfortunes. We are an agricultural country as we always try to remind ourselves, and this idea of the Planning Commission to build up agricultural credit in the country is a welcome one. It is with great pleasure that we welcome the idea, not so much the idea of nationalisation as the idea to control sources of finance in order to build up rural credit. Some of us who have gone out into the country have seen that the poor men who sow the grains are not able to get enough to sow in the next year. The result is that they borrow money at usurious interest rates.

Then, there is the question of the private sector, and that I leave, with all its implications, to those who are financially much better equipped than I am, but I feel that there should be something done at this time to encourage the private sector. I am thinking not only of the banks but of all industrial enterprises. I am also thinking of entertainments. It has been my good fortune to be for some time in the past on a Cinema Censor Board, and I know the difficulties that

exist in the way of producing films. It may seem as though these producers get a tremendous amount of money, but, Sir, they have to spend it again. It is the cinema stars who get away with it every time. But the people who actually are producing the films have to be helped. Perhaps there should be a reassessment or a reconsideration of their claims.

Last year it was most interesting to find that our socialist pattern was begun with the Low Cost Housing Exhibition. It was a most interesting exhibition. We saw many types of houses built with the figures of the cost given outside, but the people concerned were not willing to produce one of those houses for anybody who had asked them to. I know that two or three gentlemen who had lands in Delhi asked the authorities to construct similar houses in the Delhi suburbs and in each case they were told that it could not be done at the cost given, because assessment for so many things had! not been made in evaluating the cost, *e.g.*, for labour and so many other things. In that case, the public should have been told that some such excess charges would have to be made, and I would say that in future if there are any such exhibitions or any such shows, some idea should be given to the public at large that that would be the position.

Sir, we have to build up the popularity of our country. This popularity depends a good deal on the visits of the foreigners to our shores, and I do not think that we are doing enough *in* the tourist centres to make such of those who come to this country feel happy or comfortable. I have noted for instance that in a country just across our border there are very beautiful rest houses for tourists where every comfort is given to them—cooks on the premises, etc. I feel that in places like Aurangabad or Mahabali-puram and our other show places distributed throughout the country, efforts

[Shrimati Mona Hensman.] should be made to run rest houses where these foreigners can stay, where not merely rice and curry would be served but the food that they might like to have. There should be a little more transport and there should be a little more care taken in these rest houses for a certain amount of security against infection through water, etc. All sorts of little plans can be worked out, but the tourist centres are not working as well as they should.

Sir, we also welcome what we saw in the newspapers about four-engined planes being introduced into this country. We are used to two-engined planes. We do not mind going in them because we know that they are safe as far as is humanly possible to make things safe, but many Americans that I have known will not bother to come down to Madras or other places because they will not fly in anything less than a four-engined plane. Therefore I am happy that such four-engined planes are going to be introduced here.

Finally, a word about education— higher education, secondary education, elementary and basic education. I am not talking of education only through the books. I am speaking of education through crafts, agriculture, etc. I think that the time has now come when in the whole of our country there should be bands of men and women, teaching the three R's. These teachers should be better paid and better housed. Extra pay does not meet the need. Even if there is a different cadre for the villages, it would not be sufficient. If there could be provision made for housing facilities and some sort of community centres which could be started it will be infinitely better for a Welfare State. A Welfare State, as we see it, is one that looks after those who cannot look after themselves and those schemes are indeed coming forward at this time. Our old Hindu constitution indeed cared for those who were in the homes, who were poor, who had been widowed, who had no means of support. Now we have certainly

not got to go back. Perhaps we have to go forward but we have to face the fact that the ordinary citizen, the ordinary tax-payer, has got to bear upon his shoulders the juvenile delinquents, the aged, the person who has, by some means of circumstance of life, had to be put aside from earning because we are not a nation who go only on the feet of those who can walk by, we are a nation who care for all within its borders.

Finally a word about the socialistic pattern that has indeed been dealt with and I need say very little more. The only thing I will say as a Member here is this House or outside is not that we are such a poor nation economically that only one person in a thousand can own a motor-car. That is not, the view-point. The question is whether 360 millions or over could ever own motor-cars. I am surprised that one in a thousand can have a motor-car. Look at our roads, look at our jungles. Where will motors go if more people did own motor-cars? A socialistic pattern means not that we should cut only at the top but we should build up from below and I would now commend that the workers, the teachers and the elementary school teachers and all the workers who have a sub-human living standard will have to be pulled up to those standards whereby they can have at least Rs. 2 a day or some such sum to live upon whereby they can at least be self-respecting and can indeed be proud of being citizens of our State.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. PHAGE)  
in the Chair.]

श्री चन्ना रंड्डी (हैदराबाद) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, राष्ट्रपति ने जो भाषण दोनों सदनो के सामने रखा है, वह यकीनन महत्वपूर्ण है और उसके लिये हम आभारी हैं। यह भाषण क्या है ? यह एक प्रजातंत्र राष्ट्र के एक साला करणामों का एक रिकार्ड है। इस भाषण में उस काम के तमाम कारणों का रिकार्ड्स मौजूद है जो अपने मंत्रालय मकसद की तरफ तेजी के साथ जा रही है। इन तमाम पहलुओं

पर न तो मैं इस वक्त रोशनी डाल सकता हूँ और न इसकी जरूरत ही समझता हूँ क्योंकि बहुत से ऐसे पहलू हैं जिन पर मुझे से पहले बहुत से आनरबुल मंत्रियों ने रोशनी डाली है। लेकिन किसान और खेती के मसाले जिनसे मेरा गहरा सम्बन्ध है और जिन से मुझे दिलचस्पी भी है, उन पर अपने कुछ विचारों का प्रकट करना जरूरी समझता हूँ।

यह बड़ा हर्ष की बात है कि हमारा मुक्त पंच साला प्लान के इतिहास से पहले ही जो उसका लक्ष्य था उससे ४.४ मिलियन टन ज्यादा अनाज की उत्पत्ति कर सका है। यह यकीनन बहुत बड़ा काम है और इसकी तारीफ हर तरफ से होनी चाहिये। अगर मैं यह कहूँ कि इसका जिक्र हिन्दुस्तान की तारीख में मुनहरं अल्फाज में किया जाना चाहिये तो यह मुवालिगा या अतिशयोक्ति नहीं होगी। लेकिन क्या कहें, हमारे विरोधी पक्ष के आनरबुल मंत्रियों इतने बड़े कारणों की तारीफ करना तो कुछ, उसकी सराहना करना तो कुछ, रिकगनाइज भी नहीं करते, तस्लीम भी नहीं करते। अगर कुछ कहते हैं, तो यह कहते हैं कि कुदरती असबाब ऐसे पैदा हो गये कि आप ज्यादा अनाज पैदा कर सकें। मैं उनसे नमूनापूर्वक विनती करना चाहता हूँ कि किसी हकीकत की भी मुक्तकंठ से तारीफ करने के लिये विशाल हृदय की जरूरत होती है और मेहरबानी करके वे उस विशाल हृदय का हासिल करने की कोशिश करें।

उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, अनाज की उत्पत्ति ज्यादा हो गई और इतनी ज्यादा हो गई कि वह बला की स्तर में नमूदार हुई है। किसी ने ठीक कहा है :

"Now we are suffering from over-production."

अनाज की ज्यादा उत्पत्ति का मसला इतना अहम इसलिये हो गया है कि आज केवल अनाज का भाव तेजी के साथ गिर रहा है। राष्ट्रपति ने अपने भाषण में यह कहा है कि हमको कुछ ऐसा इन्तजाम जरूर करना चाहिये कि जरई पैदावार की कीमत अनरंम्युनरीटिव लीवल से कम न गिरें। हुकूमत ने इस बारे

में अब कुछ कदम उठाये हैं। मक्का और चाबरा के लिये उन्होंने कुछ कीमतें फिक्स की हैं। गूड़ के बारे में यू० पी० गवर्नमेंट का बयान हाल में शायद हुआ है कि वे गूड़ को खरीदेंगे अगर उसकी कीमत ज्यादा गिरी।

श्री एच० पी० सबसेना : अगर दस रुपया मन से नीचे गिर जाय।

श्री चन्ना रंड़ी : इसके मुतालिक इतना ही काफी नहीं है। मैं हँदराबाद के जिस इलाके से आता हूँ वहाँ चावल बहुत पैदा होता है। लेकिन वहाँ बावलियों से सिंचाई करके चावल पैदा करते हैं और इस तरह चावल पैदा करने में किसान का खर्चा ज्यादा करना पड़ता है। प्राइवेट्स के नीचे जो जमीन होती है उस पर लागत ५० से ५० ६० तक फी एकड़ आती है। लेकिन वॉल इरिगेशन से दो सौ ट्राई सौ ६० तक लागत आती है। इसकी वजह यह है कि बावलियों से पानी निकालने के लिये आयल इंजिन का उपयोग करना पड़ता है। हमारे यहां दहातों की यह हालत है कि गवर्नमेंट की उस स्कीम की वजह से, जिस से गवर्नमेंट ने तकावी के इंजिन सप्लाय करना शुरू कर दिया है, हर दहात में तीन चार इंजिन जरूर पाये जाते हैं। बावली के नीचे जो काश्त होती है उसमें रेंट आफ प्राइवेट्स भी ज्यादा होता है। इसकी वजह यही है कि किसान वहाँ बड़ी दिलचस्पी के साथ काम करता है, किसान मैन्योर माइंड हो गया है, फर्टिलाइजर इस्तेमाल करता है। लेकिन अब वह मुसीबत में है। अब इस मर्तबा आबी की फसल में जो धान वह पैदा कर सका है, उसकी कीमत उसको मुतलक नहीं मिल रही है। गुजरात साल इन्हीं दिनों हमारे इलाके ने चावल की कीमत ५०, ५५ ६० फी पल्ला थी लेकिन अब ३५ ६० या ज्यादा से ज्यादा ४० ६० फी पल्ला है। यह कीमत इतनी कम है कि किसान ने जो कीमत काश्त पर लगाई है वह भी पूरी नहीं हो सकती है। अब हुकूमत का यह फर्ज हो जाता है और हुकूमत को यह करना भी चाहिये कि इंजिन में जो तेल इस्तेमाल होता है, इंजेल आयल, उसकी कीमत कम करे, कॉमकल फर्टिलाइजर्स की कीमत

[श्री चन्ना रंढड़ी]

कम करे। इसके अलावा कीमतों को एक लीवल पर लावे और उससे ज्यादा गिरने की स्मृत में हकूमत खुद खरीदे, या कोई दूसरा ऐसा प्रबन्ध करे जिससे ज्यादा कीमतें गिरने न पाये। और किसान को नुकसान न हो।

इसके अलावा हकूमत को इस बात पर भी तवज्जा देनी है कि मशीनों के पुर्जे जो बाहर से (विवालयत से) आते हैं चीक उनकी कीमत बढ़ रही है इसलिए इन सारी चीजों को हमें अपने यहां तैयार करना चाहिए। जब तक हकूमत ऐसा नहीं करेगी तो आज जो हम यह गर्व और फस्र कर रहे हैं कि हमने अनाज की समस्या का हल कर लिया है वह ऐसा उल्टा पड़ेगा कि लेने के देने पड़े जायंगे।

इसके बाद मुझे जिस दूसरे मसले को आपके सामने रखना है वह दही इलाके के क्रीडिट के सम्बन्ध में है। यह मसला जो किसानों को कर्ज देने का है। कांग्रेस के लिये यह कोई नई चीज नहीं है। १९३१ में कराची के संशुन में जहां कि बड़े बड़े महत्वपूर्ण रिजाल्यूशन पास किये गये उनमें से यह भी एक रिजाल्यूशन शामिल था। फिर सन् १९३७-३८ में जब कांग्रेस की हकूमत मुस्लिम लीग सूबा में बनी उस वक्त भी बहुत से रूलस एंड रंगुलेशंस, कानून, बनाये गये। अब भी हकूमत यह कोशिश कर रही है कि इस बार में कोई न कोई कदम उठावे। लेकिन ये जो सारे कानून, कंट्रोल और रंगुलेशंस हैं इनका आस्पेक्ट निगेटिव होता है। कर्ज देने का जो तरीका अब तक था, साहूकारों से जो कर्ज किसानों को मिलता था उसके खत्म होने से जो कमी हो गई है दही इलाकों में वह कमी पूरी नहीं हो सकी है। इसकी तरफ तवज्जा देना बेहद जरूरी है। राष्ट्रपति ने बड़ी मिहरबानी से इसका भी जिक्र अपने भाषण में किया है, और बड़े हर्ष की बात है कि रिजर्व बैंक ने रूरल क्रीडिट की सर्वे करके अपनी रिपोर्ट भी दे दी है। उसके अनुसार रूरल क्रीडिट ऑर्गनाइजेशन भी बनने वाला है। लेकिन इस सिलसिले में जितनी भी तेजी की जाय उतनी

ही कम है। इसके अलावा, जैसा कि प्रां० रंगा साहब आज सुबह कह रहे थे सिर्फ रूरल क्रीडिट ऑर्गनाइजेशन कायम करने से ही काम नहीं बनेगा। यह एक अच्छी बात है कि इंडीस्ट्रियल फाइनेंस कोर्पोरेशन मौजूद है। सनता को तरक्की देने के लिए, उनको मदद देने के लिए, यह भी बड़े हर्ष की बात है कि इंडीस्ट्रियल डेवलपमेंट कोर्पोरेशन बन रहा है और इंडियन इंडीस्ट्रियल क्रीडिट और इन्वेंटमेंट कोर्पोरेशन भी बन रहा है। लेकिन हमारी मंशा तो यह है कि दहाती इलाकों के किसानों और खेती करने वाले लोगों को भी अपना हिस्सा बराबर मिलना चाहिए। जैसा कि खुद रिजर्व बैंक की कमिटी ने भी सजेस्ट किया है, जब तक एग्रीकल्चरल डेवलपमेंट कोर्पोरेशन का कायम नहीं किया जायगा उस वक्त तक किसानों की जरूरतों को पूरी तरह से शायद हम पूरा नहीं कर सकेंगे। चुनावों में यह प्रार्थना है कि सरकार इस बार में बहुत जल्दी तवज्जा दे और किसानों को आज कर्ज न मिलने की वजह से जो दिक्कत पैदा हो रही है उसको दूर करने में दिलचस्पी ले।

इसके बाद नेशनल एक्सटेंशन ब्लॉक के बारे में दो चार शब्द आपके सामने रखूंगा। नेशनल एक्सटेंशन ब्लॉक और कम्युनिटी प्रांजेक्ट ब्लॉक्स का काम, जैसा कि राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में मौजूद है, १/५ आबादी को अब तक कवर किए हुए हैं और इस सेकेंड फाइव इयर प्लान के इस्तिताम तक पूरे दहात इस प्लान के नीचे आ जायंगे। यह बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि हम तेजी के साथ तरक्की कर रहे हैं। पब्लिक कोऑपरेशन की कमी भी अब कुछ नहीं है। कोसी के प्रांजेक्ट का तजुर्बा भी ऐसा ही है। अपॉजेशन के एक मंम्बर साहब बयान कर रहे थे कि पब्लिक कोऑपरेशन हर तरफ से आ रहा है, बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर आ रहा है। और खुद हमारा तजुर्बा भी यही है कि जहां नेशनल एक्सटेंशन ब्लॉक में कुछ अच्छे पब्लिक कार्यकर्ता गवर्नमेंट को सहकार करने के लिए

मिल जाते हैं वहां पब्लिक कोआपरेशन की कमी नहीं होती। मैं इस चीज को कहते हुए खुशी महसूस करता हूँ कि पार्ट "बी" स्टार्ट की हद तक हैदराबाद की जो नेशनल एक्सपर्टिशन सर्विस है और कम्प्यूनिटी प्रोजेक्ट का कार्य है वह प्रथम श्रेणी का है। जैसा कि माननीय सदस्य, श्री किशनचंद साहब, फरमा रहे थे, कि वे हाल में एक, एन० ई० एस० के एक इलाके का दौरा करके आये हैं जहां के काम की उन्होंने बड़ी तारीफ की है। लेकिन मैं जो डिफिकल्टी महसूस कर रहा हूँ वह वही है जो तकरीबन किशनचंद साहब महसूस कर रहे हैं। वह यह है कि हर नेशनल एक्सपर्टिशन ब्लॉक के लिए साढ़ आठ लाख रुपया रखा जाता है जिसमें से ५ लाख रुपयें तां कर्ज की सूत में खर्च जाते हैं। एक लाख रुपया हर साल परसोनल पर खर्च होता है और ५० हजार रु० ट्रांसपोर्टेशन में खर्च होता है। इस तरह से बचा खुचा के दो लाख रु० बाकी रहते हैं जो वहां के कॉशियल वेलफेयर के काम में यह गान्ट-इन-एड की सूत में दिये जा सकते हैं। अब हमें इस रोशनी में सोचना है कि पब्लिक कोआपरेशन जो हमें मिल रहा है वह बहुत काफी मिल रहा है और हम यह देखें कि यह साढ़ आठ लाख रुपये में ही ज्यादा से ज्यादा फायदा देहातों को हम किस तरह से पहुंचा सकते हैं।

इस सिलसिले में एक बात का जिक्र दिये बगैर मैं नहीं रह सकता। वह यह है कि नेशनल एक्सपर्टिशन ब्लॉक और कम्प्यूनिटी प्रोजेक्ट्स के सिलसिले में गवर्नमेंट जो काम कर रही है या उसमें जो पैसा खर्च कर रही है वह कोई ज्यादा नहीं है। असल में इसी बहाने से हमको जो पब्लिक का कोआपरेशन (सहकार) मिल रहा है और उसमें जो कॉशियसनेस पैदा हो रहा है वह कोई कम चीज नहीं है। जनता में जो बदारी बढ़ रही है और उसमें कॉशियसनेस पैदा हो जाने से कम से कम हम यह तक्कों करते हैं कि सैकेंड फाइव ड्यर प्लान के इख्ताम तक इंतजार करने की जरूरत नहीं बल्कि उससे पहले ही हमारे देहातों का

नकशा ही बदल जाय। जैसा कि हम चाहते हैं, देहात हर तरह से साफ सुथर रहें, उनमें हर किस्म की फॉसिलटी हो। यह चीजें तभी संभव हो सकेंगी जब पब्लिक कोआपरेशन हर तरह मिलेगा। इसलिए गवर्नमेंट जो बहुत कम पैसा खर्चा कर सक रही है उससे हमें माथूस या निराश होने की वजह नहीं।

उस के बाद, उपसभापति महोदय, आपकी तवज्जो गामोचोग (विलेज इंडस्ट्रीज) की तरफ ले जाना चाहता हूँ। मैं इस बात में पूरा यकीन रखने वाला हूँ कि सिर्फ एग्रीरियन रिफॉर्म या लैंड रिफॉर्म करने से ही काम नहीं चलेंगा, जितनी सर्प्लस लैंड है उसकी मुनासिब तकसीम करके ही हम मुल्क की गुरबत या दीरद्वता दूर नहीं कर सकते हैं। जैसा कि आपको मालूम है कि हमारे मुल्क की ६० फीसदी आबादी जरायत पर बसर करती है और यह प्रेशर इन्तहाई प्रेशर है। जब तक पॉपुलेशन के इस दबाव को जो जरायत पर है उसको दूसरे शोबों पर न ले जाय, विलेज इंडस्ट्री की तरफ न ले जाय उस वक्तर तक हमारे देश की गुरबत जाने वाली नहीं है और हमारा यह मसला हल होने वाला नहीं है क्योंकि जमीन का मसला तो ऐसा है कि जमीन ज्यों की त्यों रहती है और आबादी बढ़ती जाती है। हमारे देश में तो आबादी बढ़ने की रफूतार बहुत ज्यादा है। बताते हैं कि हर साल साढ़ चार मिलियन लोगों का इजाफा होता रहता है। जमीन में तो कुछ इजाफा होता नहीं है। जो कुछ जमीन हमारे यहां एवलेबल है, मुहैया है, काबिले काश्त है, उसको अगर हम काश्तकारों में तकसीम करें तां शायद पर हेंड पॉन एकड़ आयें। इससे हमारा मसला कभी हल होने वाला नहीं है। यों तो जमीन के मसले को हल करना है, सरप्लस जमीन को तकसीम करना है लेकिन इस मसले को हल करने से ही देश का कल्याण नहीं हो सकेगा। मैं ये सारी वज्हात इसलिए बयान कर रहा हूँ क्योंकि मैं यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि विलेज इकाओं की के लिए विलेज इंडस्ट्री को बढ़ाने की सख्त जरूरत है। इस तरक्कीपता जमाने में भी विलेज

[श्री चन्ना रंडी]

इंडस्ट्री की अर्हामयत बड़े बड़े तरवकीयाफता मुमालिक में भी हैं। मिसाल के तौर पर जापान को लीजिए, चीन को लीजिए, स्कैंडिनेविया को लीजिए, स्विटजरलैंड को लीजिए, जहां पर छोट-छोट घरेलू उद्योग धंधे परवान चढ़े हुए हैं। ये किसान के लिए एक जिमनी जरिया फराहम करते हैं।

इसी तरह से दहाती इलाके का सबसे बड़ा प्रॉब्लम आज अइंफ्लॉयमेंट और अंडरइंफ्लॉयमेंट का भी है। हमारे पास इंफ्लॉयमेंट के जो ऑफिस हैं वे सिर्फ टाऊन और सिटी में जो बेरोजगार हैं उन्हीं की तादाद को लिखते हैं, लेकिन वे जो दहातों की तरफ बड़े तो उनका सीना दहल जायगा। दहातों में तो अंडर इम्प्लॉयमेंट इस तरह कसरत से है कि वे उसका कोई हिसाब ही नहीं लगा सकते। इस अंडर इंफ्लॉयमेंट को दूर करने का अगर कोई जरिया हो सकता है तो यही विलेज इंडस्ट्री का तरीका है। इसकी अर्हामयत को राष्ट्रपति ने भी पूरी तरह से महसूस किया है और उसे अपने एड्रेस में बयान किया है। लेकिन मंस जहां तक ख्याल है, जो विलेज इंडस्ट्री का मसला है वह खादी और विलेज इंडस्ट्री बोर्ड या हैंडलूम इंडस्ट्रीज बोर्ड से जो अब तक कायम किये गये हैं और जो कि यकीनन बहुत ही अच्छा काम कर रहे हैं, इन्ही से हल होने वाला नहीं है बल्कि हमें कुछ फंडामेंटल तरीके से सांचकर इन चीजों की ओर ध्यान देना चाहिए। सब से बड़ी बात रूरल एलीक्ट्रीफिकेशन की है। आज बहुत बड़े बड़े प्रोजेक्ट्स बन रहे हैं। तुंगभद्रा प्राजक्ट में काम हो रहा है और कुछ साल के बाद बहुत काफी तादाद में बिजली बनने लगेगी लेकिन तुंगभद्रा प्राजक्ट के जो कर्ता धर्ता हैं वे भी यही सांचते हैं कि शहरों को कैसे बिजली सप्लाई की जाय। उनका ध्यान दहातों को बिजली सप्लाई करने की तरफ जाता ही नहीं है। मंस कहना है कि हमको इस तरह से सांचने का तरीका बदल देना चाहिये। हमको हर मानों में दहातों को एलीक्ट्रिफाई करने के लिये ज्यादा से ज्यादा कोशिश करनी चाहिये

और उसी सुरत में स्माल स्कैल इंडस्ट्रीज या विलेज इंडस्ट्रीज एक टैनजीबल सुरत में तरवकी कर सकती हैं। मुझे उम्मीद है कि सेंकेंड फाइव ईयर प्लान के इस्तिताम तक विलेज इंडस्ट्रीज के अन्दर हम बहुत बड़ी तरवकी करेंगे।

अंत में मैं सांशिलिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ सांसाइटी के बारे में सिर्फ दो चार जुमले कहूंगा। सांशिलिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ सांसाइटी का जो ध्येय या आशय हमने मुल्क के सामने रखा है वह बहुत ही सुन्दर है, इससे किसी को इंकार नहीं है। आवड़ी संशन में अगर यह रंजाल्युशन नहीं आता तो पूरा संशन एक बड़ा तमाशा बन कर रह जाता। इस आशय को मुल्क के सामने ला कर कांग्रेस और कांग्रेस की सरकार ने तरवकी की तरफ एक बहुत बड़ी करवट ली है। लेकिन सिर्फ इस आशय को रखने से ही कुछ होने वाला नहीं है। हमको उस आशय को हासिल करने के लिये कुछ साधन भी ढूंढ निकालने होंगे और उन साधनों का स्पेंडेंटकूलर तरीके से दुनिया के सामने रखने होंगे। बजट आ रहा है और कई महत्वपूर्ण रंजाल्युशंस हम ला रहे हैं। हमको यह साबित कर के दिखाना है कि हमारी नियत बिल्कुल साफ है। जैसा कि विरोधी दल के लोग कहते हैं कि यह जो सांशिलिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ सांसाइटी का नजरिया है यह एक फ्राड है। एसा नहीं है, we are sincere, हमने नैकीनयती के साथ इस आशय को, इस ध्येय को, मुल्क के सामने रखा है और इसको हासिल करने के लिये हम मीन्स की तलाश में भी हैं और उस तलाश में लगे हुये हैं। कांस्टीट्युशन का चौथा अमेंडमेंट लाया जा रहा है और मैं समझता हूं कि वह इस मिलीसिल में हमारी हुकूमत का एक बड़ा कदम होगा। इसके अलावा हर स्टेट में लैंड रिफार्म किसी न किसी तरीके से किया गया है और बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि हैदराबाद इस मामले में आगे है। उसने आमदनी की बीसस पर लैंड की सीलिंग की है, मतलब यह कि उस कानून के अमल में आने के बाद किसी काश्तकार की आमदनी तीस रुपये मासिक से ज्यादा नहीं

होगी। बड़ी खुशी की बात है और इससे हमको विरोध नहीं है। मुझे यह भी शिकायत नहीं है, जैसी कि बाज लोगों को थी कि सांशलाइजेशन का तरीका पहले एग्जिक्यूटिव फील्ड में लाया जा रहा है और इंडस्ट्रियल फील्ड में नहीं लाया जा रहा है। इसकी हमें शिकायत नहीं है क्योंकि कहीं ना कहीं से तो शुरू करना ही है और अगर हम यहाँ शुरू करते हैं तो बड़ी अच्छी बात है। लेकिन अगर आप जिंदागी के दूसरे शोबों में २ हजार, ४ हजार और १२ हजार महीने की आमदनी को रखा रखेंगे तो इन कार्रवारों को यकीनन हमारी हकूमत से शिकायत होगी। आपको मालूम ही है कि कार्रवारों का तबका हमें यहाँ एकसप्लायट किया जाता रहा है। अगर उनको यह मालूम हो जाय कि कांग्रेस सरकार भी उनको अपना तख्तयमशक बनाना चाहती है तो कार्रवार तबके का जो पूरा स्तम्भ सरकार पर रहा है वह बाकी नहीं रहेगा। इसलिये अगर पूरी तरह से नहीं तो जिस हद तक हो सकता है उस हद तक सांशलाइजेशन का गवर्नमेंट ऑफिशियल्स की संलरीज और इंडस्ट्रीज के फील्ड में भी इंट्रोड्यूस करना चाहिये।

एक बात की आगाही में गवर्नमेंट को करना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि जहाँ कॅप्टललिस्ट्स होते हैं वहाँ बड़े आर्गनाइज्ड होते हैं। किसान या जमींदार लोग बड़े डिसआर्गनाइज्ड किस्म के होते हैं और उनसे आप जमीन ले सकते हैं, उनकी जायदाद ले सकते हैं, वहाँ एजीटेशन करने वाले नहीं हैं लेकिन कॅप्टललिस्ट्स बड़े ही आर्गनाइज्ड होते हैं और उस फील्ड में जब आप सांशलाइजेशन को शुरू करेंगे तो आपको यह काम बड़ी हिम्मत से करना होगा वरना कुछ होने वाला नहीं है।

हमारे प्रोफेसर किशनचन्द साहब ने इसके बारे में इशारा किया था कि पहले इम्पीरियल बैंक को नेशनलाइज करने वाले थे लेकिन इन कॅप्टललिस्टों के दबाव में आ कर नेशनलाइजेशन के लफ्ज को हांशियारी के साथ उड़ा दिया है और कह रहे हैं कि एफोक्टव

कंट्रोल किया जायगा। उस हद तक मुझे इखलाफ नहीं है कि कॅप्टललिस्ट बहुत मुत्तासिर कर सकते हैं लेकिन मेरा कहना है कि वह फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब की उस स्पीच को फिर से पढ़ें जो कि उन्होंने इस बार में दी थी। उसमें फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने एफोक्टव कंट्रोल करने की बात कही है, उसमें कहीं भी नेशनलाइजेशन का लफ्ज नहीं कहा गया है। अलबत्ता अखबारों ने इसको मुस्तलिफ तरीके से प्रेश किया था। फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने इतनी हांशियारी तो जरूर की है कि नेशनलाइजेशन का लफ्ज उन्होंने कहीं इस्तमाल नहीं किया है।

बहरहाल, राष्ट्रपति ने जो महत्वपूर्ण अभिभाषण किया है उसके लिये हम यकीनन मशकूर हैं और मैं उस मांशन का हृदय से तमर्बन करते हुये अपनी जगह पर बैठता हूँ।

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: Mr. Vice-Chairman. I rise, and do so with great pleasure, to support the motion for conveying our respectful thanks to President so ably moved by my hon. friend Dr. Subbarayan. I suppose, Sir, I am the last speaker for today.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE): You are ensuring that you will speak till five!

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: I am not sure, Sir, but it all depends. We take our instructions. Being a lawyer it all depends upon the instructions which, in technical parlance, are the fees that a lawyer can get.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: You are not then speaking from conviction? You are speaking only as a lawyer.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE): He is clever to understand that he will speak till 5 P.M.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: I was asking whether he was speaking without conviction and merely as a lawyer.



SHRI R- U. AGNIBHOJ (Madhya Pradesh): These interruptions would prolong his-speech. That is what he means.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: My hon. friend must understand that I am a bit of a trained person and I can adjust the length of my speech to the time available and the mood of the House.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Which professors can't.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: Which, of course, it is difficult for professors. I know some of these professors start boring their students with their lectures, whether they like it or not. It they confine themselves to their profession, I think. Sir, it would be doing a great deal of good. I do not refer to all professors but only to certain professors. When certain professors trespass into the domain of politics. I am afraid they commit the blunders to which my hon. friend Mr. Saksena referred.

Anyway, Sir, the President has given, in his Address, a fine and a suc-cint summary of what the Government has been able to accomplish in the past and indicated briefly, as it should, what the plans are for the future. Roughly, the Address can be divided into two parts, that which relates to international affairs and that which relates to internal affairs. I have listened to the speeches made by hon. friends opposite, the Communist friends, the P.-S. P. friends, each one vying with the other in trying to condemn the Address—as much as possible and seeing nothing. That is good in it. There is a saying that none is so blind as one who refuses to see.

I am wondering whether any other Government placed in the position that our Government has been during the last seven or eight years could have achieved anything better than what has been accomplished in India during these years. Possibly to them the Congress Party winning the freedom

of this country too is not so welcome, is not a matter to be appreciated, much less so perhaps the way in which the Congress won the freedom, the way of truth and non-violence, because at any rate one of the opposing parties is not wedded to non-violence by any means. On the other hand they extol violence. To them means are no matter at all to reach the end that they have in view; no means is good enough. If non-violence is not their creed much less so is truth for them a creed. I have listened to some of their election speeches. Goodness gracious, what is it that they feed the poor ignorant populace with! I do not want to go into the details of those things. I have it from an eye witness that a person was mentioning that in the ceded districts dam works are not built at proper places. Now it looks as though they must build dams where there are no rivers. They say: Have they opened dams anywhere in the neighbourhood? They forget that Tungabhadra had been built to take the fertilizing waters to these very dry areas where they were haranguing to the populace that they had not done any major irrigation work in that particular area.

Another method which they adopt is this. This is in another place. If there is to be a mass meeting they get hold of a person and get him to remove the ordinary clothes that he wears, put some rags on and make him president and then ask him to make a speech, harangue to the audience and show up what colossal poverty is reigning in that place. Now it gives me no pleasure to refer to these things. This great land which has entered on its freedom has had a glorious past but for some reason or other during these centuries there have been dark clouds and we have passed through difficult times. We have passed through slavery and bondage and all the consequences of it. We have been exploited and impforyshed. Here is a wonderful and golden opportunity for all the people of the land to put their

shoulders together, to put their heads together and re-build this nation and make it a prosperous and worthy nation. Now I ask my friends to put their fingers on their hearts and say in all conscience whether they have this idea in view and whether their utterances and their actions are going to contribute to the building up of this new and strong, prosperous and united nation.

I referred, Sir, to the background of truth and non-violence with which we won our freedom not without an object. The great Father of the Nation enabled us to win our freedom against a mighty and powerful nation through non-violent means. We are, I suppose, to continue to adopt the same means in all our activities and actions after attaining freedom in maintaining that freedom, in building up this nation and in our relations with foreign countries. We cannot adopt one means for the purpose of winning freedom and take pride in that method and adopt quite a different method in our foreign relations and in our other activities in rebuilding this nation. I want my friends, especially the Communist friends, to remember this fact, and then, I suppose, they will more readily appreciate the policy that the Congress Government is adopting ever since we attained freedom under the able leadership of the hon. the Prime Minister.

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR: What is going on in Coorg? Is it non-violence or -violence?

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: My friend Mr. Sekhar lives far away from Coorg.

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR: I am very near to Coorg: I am living in Cannanore, very near from there. You are only in Mysore; I travel all over the count-TV.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: I must tell Mr. Sekhar that I not only live much "nearer Coorg than himself, but I was j

born in Coorg, bred in Coorg, educated in Coorg. I have also got my friend here sitting, the direct representative from Coorg. I would like to know from Shri Sekhar whether he can speak with a more authentic voice than myself or my friend Shri Karum-baya from Coorg. Anyway, I do not want these small little happenings even if there is a modicum of truth in what Mr. Sekhar says to influence our judgment. I do not think that has any bearing whatever on our international affairs with which I am just now dealing.

SHRI N. C. SEKHAR: Do not sermonise, please.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: They have only just to apply their mind to what the status of India was prior to freedom in the councils of the nations. I want them to apply their mind to what the treatment was that was accorded to India prior to 1947 and what it is subsequently after the Prime Minister entered on the scene and the Congress Government took charge of the country's foreign affair's. I want them to tell us whether India has not been put on the map of the world and when she has not secured an honoured place. It is not merely the securing of an honoured place for India; he has secured an honoured place for the whole of Asia. Who has contributed more Irtian the Prime Minister or even as much as the Prime Minister for the respectful place which Asia has secured today? And it is not only Asia, Sir. As the hon. the President of the Union has mentioned, we are now having a conference with the independent Governments of aeBa and Africa. Now here is another fine development which is making and which is going to make history in the world. All these do not count for anything in the eyes of our Communists.

Then. Sir, the grand strike at Chet-tahalli estate was referred to. The chettahali estate in Coorg is an estate which was in the possession of my uncle for about 30 to 40 years. I have

[Shri H. C. Dasappa.] gone there, lived there for a long time and I know how the estate was run. Alter all how many workers are there on Chettahalli farm? And if just a handful of those farm workers are treated, possibly for very good reasons, in the manner in which Mr. Sekhar has indicated, he thinks that that is such a huge crime that it should blind him to all the good things that the Congress has achieved in the international sphere. I do not think I should make further mention of the achievements in the international sphere. It has been done by so many speakers. I want my friends to believe that India has a particular mission to fulfil in the world, a great role to play in the world. Now what should that be. I tried to follow the speech of my friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. No other man tried to contribute to that aspect as to what exactly is wrong with the policy that India has adopted. I have made notes here—I could not get the original copy—and he said that we must align ourselves with the Communist bloc. That is what I have noted down here. But when my friend Mr. He<sup>g</sup> referred to it, he disclaimed it. *ai* would not say what exactly he wanted India to do. What different course of action should have been taken in the international affairs? My friend Mr. Ranga referred to it but again Mr. Gupta disclaimed it. He said that he did not want India to walk over to the Communist bloc. And when Mr. Akbar AM Khan referred to it, then also he disclaimed. What is it that he wants India to do other than what has already been done? Sir, it is obvious that he is not sure of his own mind. His mind is a chaotic mind just in keeping with the objective that he and his friends have, that is, to create confusion in the land. I can find no other explanation for the attitude of my friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta. Let us see what others think in his own party. In the Lok Sabha for instance his counterpart had bouquets to offer to the Prime Minister for the fine foreign policy that was being pursued but

here Mr. Bhupesh Gupta had none whatever. So as you will see, Sir, the party itself has confusion in its mind. And that is the kind of thing which this House is called upon to seriously listen to. I am glad that he is here. I was missing him. So it will be seen.....

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: Whatever you say is falling on deaf ears.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE): You have only seven minutes more.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: I wish my friend was here but that does not matter.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have got seven minutes.

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: All that I can say is that it would not have been possible for anybody to have adopted a better and a sounder policy than what has been followed by the Prime Minister all these year... It is a thing of which every Indian must be proud and must be grateful. And this great mission which India has been predestined to play, I am sure she will play very well in the future. Not only India but the whole world is possibly envious of the part that she is playing. In any case both the nations on the Communist side and those on the Democratic side welcome the part that India is playing in world affairs and therefore let us not by any action of ours, try to belittle the role that India has to play in world affairs.

With regard to internal affair.-, I have a good lot to say. My friends there, Sir, belong to the pessimist group. If a bottle is half full, a person who thinks he can accomplish something and who is an optimist, will say that the bottle is half full. But here there are these friends, always downcast depressed and frustrated because of their past, • who say that the bottle is half empty. They say we should not consider that we have done everything..

Why should they say so? The President has himself stated that there is no room for any complacency. I agree with this. I endorse the view most strongly. I agree with my friends when they say that the tempo should be raised; I agree with Mr. Govinda Reddy, with Mr. Hegde and with Mr. Ranga when they say that we must stabilise our prices. We cannot allow 80 per cent, of the people to suffer by this fall in the price of foodstuffs. That will ruin the economy of the country. It is only when there is some sort of a staying power, some purchasing power, in the masses of the land that we can do anything with all the production that we are talking of in the land. Therefore I agree that stabilisation of food grain prices has got to be attended to. There are so many things that have been referred to by our opponents. I cannot go over all of them. I have to correct certain figures in regard to handlooms. I have got the latest figures. It was mentioned that the per *capita* consumption of cloth has been reduced to 10 Sardis per head. This was at one time; today it is not the position. In 1952-53 it was 14.98 and in 1953-54 it was 14.77.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What was pre-war?

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA: Pre-war, it changes—12, 13, 14; once it shot up to 17; then it came down to 9 and so on. The point is today there has been a very steady rise in the per capita consumption of cloth.

Now, Sir, I only want to refer to one thing to which pointed attention was not drawn by other hon. Members and that is with regard to mass education or primary or elementary education. We are talking of socialistic pattern; but of what avail would all this pattern of society be, all the facilities that the Governments, both the Union and the State Governments, can place before the masses be, if there is gross ignorance among the masses of the land? The late Gopala Krishna

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Gokhale on the very floor of this Central Assembly used to cry hoarse for years and decades that the first thing that we have got to do is to provide free and compulsory education to the masses. We have not taken it up. A great ruler of a State once visited Mysore and saw the Institute for the Blind. In recording his minute he said that excellent work was being done in the institution but for every blind person in that institution there were lakhs of people outside who had eyes but yet who were blind because they could not read or write. That is the remark that he made years ago and that is the position today. I want the Government, now that we are having the Second Five Year Plan, to apply its mind to this question of introducing free and compulsory education throughout the country. I ask, what right have we got to tax the people to provide higher education? *You* take money from these poor people and provide higher education to just a few depriving many of even basic education. I would say it is a crime to tax the many and educate the few. First meet the basic educational requirement of all the people to the extent of the three R's at least and then we will be justified in thinking of other types of education.

In conclusion, Sir, I wish to say we have a glorious opportunity. As the Prime Minister has said, it is a mighty adventure. I might add, it is a sacred mission. It is for all of us to do *out* utmost to see that we make this nation strong, united and prosperous.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. K. DHAGE): The discussion on the Motion of Thanks to the President will conclude tomorrow.

The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday the 25th February 1955.