

**THE PREVENTION OF CRUELTY TO  
ANIMALS BILL, 1953**

SHRIMATI RUKMINI ARUNDALE  
(Nominated): Sir, I beg to move *fir*. leave to introduce a Bill to p-ovide for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide lor the prevention of cruelty to animals."

The motion was adopted.

SHRIMATI RUKMINI ARUNDALE: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

**ALLOTMENT OF TIME FOR CONSI-  
DERATION OF THE APPROPRIA-  
TION (No. 3) BILL, 1953**

MR. CHAIRMAN: In pursuance of sub-rule (2) of rule 162 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Council of States, I have allotted Friday the 10th, Wednesday the 15th, and Thursday the 16th April 1953, for the completion by the Council of all the stages involved in the consideration and return of the Appropriation (No 3) Bill, 1953, including the consideration . and passing of amendments, if any, thereto.

**THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 3) BILL,  
1953**

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR FINANCE  
(SHRI M. C. SHAH): Sir, I beg to move :

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year, 1953-54, as passed by the House of the People, be taken into consideration."

Sir. this Bill provides for the drawal out of the Consolidated Fund of India moneys that become available to meet expenditure charged on that Fund and those voted by the House of the People. The figures in the Bill follow the

provisions shown in the Budget documents and are inclusive *oi* the sums made available through the Appropriation (Vote on Account) Act of 1953 for a month's supply.

The Members are already in possession of the Budget documents nnd there has been a general discussion on the Budget in this House. I do not 1 here-fore, wish to take time of the House further at this stage but 1 shall try to deal in my reply later with such points as may arise during the debate.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion nnve4:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of i striata sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year, 1953-54, as passed by the House of the People, be taken into consideration."

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA (Madras): Sir, I oppose the passing of this appropriation Bill because the various items of appropriation for the different Ministries are such that they don't envirage a Welfare State but a Police S'tate. For instance, out of the Rs. 800 crores of revenue that is being spent both by the Central Government and the State Governments, only a very small portion is being spent on Social Welfare. The rest is being spent on Defe.ice, Police; Administration etc. I have tanpn into account even the State expenditure because the nation building activities that are being budgeted are the responsibility of the State Governments. Therefore, when we analyse both the Central and the State revenues, the approximate picture is this—Defence, Administrative Services and Debt Services. These Debt Services don't include the money spent or interest paid on the money spent on irrigation or other productive purposes, as they are mainly unproductive—a total amount of Rs. 500 crores is being spent out of R.;. 800 crores *i.e.*, 62-5 per cent, is being spent on Defence, Administration and the Debt Services. Education said Health, both at the Centre and also at the State

levels do not cover more than Rs. 120 crores which means only 15 per cent, out of the total revenue of the States and the Centre is spent on them whereas Agriculture, Irrigation, Industry and Civil Works come to only Rs. 180 crores *i.e.*, 22.5 per cent. only. This is what after a lot of working in this bulky volume of the Budget; we get. But these figures are imperfect because the revenues of the Municipalities and Local Boards are not there nor does the Government present the Budget in such a form that we could understand what is being spent on the Social Services and on Economic Development Schemes and what actual amounts are being spent on unproductive departments like Defence, Administration, Debt Services etc. I hope this Government will at least in future present every year not only these figures but figures from the Local Boards and State Governments and details as to how much money they spent so that we can compare how far the Welfare State idea which they have put before the people is being achieved.

I oppose the grants for the External Affairs Ministry for its failure to stop the facilities extended to transit Gurkha soldiers through the Indian soil. The argument might be given that this facility was given to the British Imperialists before the Malayan situation actually developed but in Malaya the British Imperialists are using the Gurkha soldiers for the last 5 years to suppress the Malayan people's struggle for independence, and in spite of this the Government failed to stop these Gurkha soldiers from being allowed to cross through Indian territory so that the British may not use them to suppress the Malayan People's struggle. The result is that our country's name is being degraded and is being bracketed with British Imperialists by the world public.

I oppose the Grant to the External Affairs Ministry also for its continued link with the British Commonwealth. Whatever reasons they might give again and again that this does not curtail the freedom of our own actions, the very actions of the Government show

that it is completely tied to the British Commonwealth and it is this that prevents them from even developing trade relations with the Soviet Union. End they always depend either on America or Britain.

Then I oppose the Grants for the Ministry of Defence because for the last 5 years from 1948 to 1953 there has been continuous increase in expenditure on Defence Department and it has risen from Rs. 145 crores to more than Rs. 200 crores and there is no effort to reduce it though our own country is suffering from serious economic difficulties. Even after spending every year more

P.M.

and more moneys on the Defence, our Defence forces both in personnel and equipment are very defective and we are not at all independent but we depend even for our minimum equipment on the British imperialists. Not only that; we also depend for some of the important key military posts on foreigners. So the Government failed to build up an efficient independent defence force in spite of these huge and vast sums of money that are being spent. It is for these reasons that we oppose the grant to the Defence Ministry.

Then we also oppose the grants for the Ministry of Home and States because they have become adepts, and good adepts at that, in following the British footsteps in continuing repression. They believe in continued repression rather than in meeting the needs of the people. Last year the Home Minister said that they would be considering the Telangana question. The previous Minister for Home and States, Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, said that later on they would consider the Telangana question and see that the prisoners were released or see whether their cases could be sympathetically considered. But what actually happened? What is happening now also? New and new cases are being foisted on the Telangana prisoners and in the villages the landlords are being armed and with

(LShri P. Sundarayya.) •police help these landlords and their agents are attacking village after village. To give one example of it, during the last bye-election in last September even members of Parliament like myself and Shri R. N. Reddy were beaten and our legs broken, and the culprits have not yet been brought to book. The same Dy. S. P. responsible for law and order, who did not take any steps to bring the guilty to book, was simply transferred to another taluk and is continuing the same game of encouraging the landlord goondas with arms. Therefore the Ministry of Home believes more in continued repression and suppression of the people rather than in meeting their just demands. They believe in supporting the landlords and the Raj-pramukhs rather than in meeting the needs of the people and the result is that in Province after Province we see Security Acts being passed as if the existing repressive machinery itself is not enough. On the top of it, while this is their attitude towards the people, they have got a very soft corner for the Rajpramukhs and the landlords. The other day, in the House of the People, the Home Minister said that they were to plead with the Rajpramukhs and persuade them for a cut in their Privy Purses and also that the Ministry was not prepared to reveal the huge amount of properties which these Rajpramukhs have taken away from the people, have seized from the people, have robbed the people of. They refused even to give the figures of the Rajpramukhs' properties and other Princes' properties. That is the reason why we should not approve the grants for the Ministry of Home and States. Instead of abolishing these Rajpramukhs and also rationally redistributing the States on the basis of language, culture and economy, they are continuing to keep up these Rajpramukhs and these artificial States with the result that the people have to suffer plenty for these things and as such this is another reason why the Ministry for Home Affairs and States should not be given any grant. The way in which the

Minister for Home Affairs and States behaves even in the Parliament whenever questions are put makes one feel that he is the sole dictator of the whole Government. As such this Ministry should not be given any grant.

Now coming to the Minister for Labour, he is very complacent even when there is growing unemployment and lakhs and lakhs of workers are being thrown out in different parts of the country from employment or under employment. Instead of coming out with measures of immediate unemployment relief or other relief, he goes on touring and then speaking about the harmonious development between labour and capital. When there was shortage of labour, when the industrialists wanted the workers to work on even without any interruption, the Government rushed with all its arbitration, adjustment, tribunal schemes and laws. But today, due to the depression, as a result of the economic policies that have been adopted by the Government, workers are being thrown out of employment. The Government does not go to the rescue of the labourers but preaches that the labourers themselves should negotiate amicably with the capitalists. So it is curious, this inability of the Government to solve the unemployment problem both of the working class as well as of the middle class unemployed people. It is this that makes us not to vote anything for the Labour Ministry.

Now, coming to the Ministry of Food, famine is spreading throughout the whole country but the Minister for Food is very complacent. He goes on giving figures of the reduction in prices. Only Heaven knows from where he gets these figures. The figures of food prices are the highest when compared to any other period earlier. He might have compared the famine area where the prices were the highest and said that there was some reduction as compared to the blackmarket prices which might be more. This is nothing but deceiving

the people. Prices have shot up from Rs. 18 to Rs. 20 per bag of paddy; in Godavari and Krishna deltaic areas it is today Rs. 30. The Government of India and the Minister for Food are very complacent and the Minister goes on saying that the prices are coming down and that there is no difficulty.

Then I come to the Ministry of Education. Whenever we bring the question of illiteracy and the inadequate facilities for literacy, the Minister for Education says that the Centre has not got much to do in this regard because it is a subject concerning the States. I have calculated the figures of the amounts which are being spent in the States and here. It is only about 70 crores of rupees on Education and on Scientific Departments etc., whereas they themselves in their Plan say that to provide literacy for the children between 6 and 11 years of age, 400 crores of rupees would be required to be spent every year, and for this they make a provision and actually spend about 70 crores and hope to spend at the end of the Five Year Plan another 30 crores extra every year. Therefore it only means that with the growing population there will be growing illiteracy instead of a reduction in illiteracy. They stick on to English and in certain places there is the attempt to introduce forcibly Hindi as the medium of instruction in the Universities, whereas the demand is that the various regional languages should be made the medium of instruction and that is the general desire of the people. So the regional languages are being neglected and even the regional universities are sought to be taken over as in the case of the Osmania University, "by the Central Government and converted into Hindi University against the wishes of the people there. Sir, I may say that this Ministry for education should rather be called the Ministry for illiteracy, because under this Ministry what we find is that the people are not going to be more literate, more educated or cultured, but to be more and more uneducated. That will be the fate of the people if the present policy of the Education Ministry continues.

Now, take the Ministry of Health. Here also the same argument is given—that it is a State Government's concern. But the total amount of money spent on medicines and other things, by the States is only about Rs. 50 crores. Of course, it is proposed to increase this amount to Rs. 100 crores at the end of the five-year period. Take the small numbers of doctors and nurses that we have at present—doctors and nurses are the crying need of the day, especially in the rural areas. Government itself has admitted that today we have only one doctor for every 6,000 of the population. Whereas we have only 60,000 doctors we have got a population .....

MR. CHAIRMAN: The figures are not correct.

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA: We have got only 60,000 doctors for our total population of 360,000,000 which works out at about one doctor for every 60,000 of the population, whereas we require, according to civilised standards one doctor for every one thousand of the population. The position as regards the number of nurses is, of course, much worse.

Then they have the Ministry of Housing. It is in fact the Ministry of de-housing. That would be the proper name for this Ministry because while setting out the requirements of the people—they do not bother themselves about the rural populations which comprise more than 80 per cent, of our total population—they take into account only the towns and they say that they require about 70 lakh houses for these people in the cities. They say that they want Rs. 2,000 crores to build these 70 lakh houses which is their estimated figure in the Five Year Plan. What they actually propose to do is this. They do not take all the towns *i.e.* places where more than 5,000 people live. They take only those places where more than 1 lakh of people live and they say that in those towns every year they require 1-1/2 lakh houses if they are to house the increase in the

[Shri P. Sunderayya.] population—not the existing population. Every year we require 1-1/2 lakh houses and they say they would be prepared to help co-operative societies or individuals who are prepared to build houses and they expect these co-operative societies and individuals, with this help, to build 1,25,000 houses only. That means that even for the growth of population, every year there will be 25,000 houses less even in the towns of more than 1 lakh population. The result will be if this same rate of progress is maintained, more and more of our population will find themselves without houses and that will be de-housing the population and not housing them. I really think that this Ministry of Housing, instead of being keen on building more houses for the people are more particular to evict people who are already occupying houses. Of course, they are very partial against the Communists. They take particular care to see that even Members of Parliament, if they belong to the Communist Party should be thrown out of their houses so that they may not carry on their functions effectively. As far as the Congress Members are concerned, they are helpful in providing them with houses—especially the General Secretary of the Congress—with single houses—one person, one bungalow—though the Rules Committee says that the bungalows should be allotted to two persons and the Ministry of Housing and the whole Government are conveniently winking at these things.

SHRI GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Many of us are also in the same predicament in which the hon. Member says he is.

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA: Yes, yes. Then please join us so that we may wage a common fight.

As if the present powers are not sufficient, they have now the police and the army and all these are brought in to evict Members of Parliament also. No law is necessary for them. Their laws are just an eye-

wash, to show that they are going to be very law-abiding and all that. Actually they have got a Bill for the eviction of people from government premises. That means that they are more interested in evicting people than in providing them with houses. They are more interested in evicting people than in constructing more houses and providing people with houses. Actually, as we all know, there are about 50,000 employees of the Central Government and of them about 30,000 are still on the waiting list for being given houses. Therefore I fail to understand what purpose this Ministry of Housing serves. It is sheer waste of money keeping up this Ministry of Housing. Therefore I say we should not give any grant to this Ministry of Housing.

Then I take up the Ministry of Parliamentary Affairs and I have got much to say about this Ministry. Last year, in the Joint Committee we suggested in the interest of our people a radical cut in the allowances that are being given to Members of Parliament as the first step and as an example so that the higher salaries may be brought down all round. But the majority party did not agree to our proposal to have a salary of Rs. 300 per month and Rs. 10 as daily allowance when in Delhi. With great reluctance they accepted a cut of Rs. 5 in the daily allowance of Rs. 40. But even this cut of Rs. 5 has not yet been implemented, though it is eight or nine months since this recommendation was made by the Joint Committee. So far the Government has not taken any steps to carry out even this decision to which they themselves were a party.

As to the disrespect which the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs shows to this Upper House, we have had to draw attention to that on a number of occasions. But still the same state of affairs continues. We will certainly support the Government if they come forward with a Bill to abolish this Council of States. They should do that if they do not mean to take it seriously. But if they want it to continue,

then they certainly must take it seriously and see that the rights given in the Constitution are given to this House and the rules for the proper functioning of the Council of States are adhered to. Though we have been here for one year now, what is the position today?

Still, this Council of States is not considered as part of the Parliament but as a House which unfortunately somehow came into existence and whose existence should be ignored as much as possible. Even now, the House of the People Secretariat continues to be the Parliament Secretariat and it does not comprise both the Secretariats. The Secretary of the Council of States has no voice in the control of the Parliament Buildings, has no voice even with regard to the library and other facilities connected with it or even with regard to accommodation in the Parliament House itself. All these things depend on the Secretary of the other House. Not only that: the rules that were made by the Provisional Parliament earlier were never sought to be submitted to the Chairman of our own House as to whether he agrees with them or whether he wants any modifications. • The earlier rules are binding. This is the way in which the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs functions.

Though this House, by the Constitution, is entitled to discuss, even to initiate, a number of legislation, even important legislation excepting Money Bills, Government refuses to introduce any important legislation. Even the few that they brought forward, like the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill, are not being proceeded with. I do not know why Government refuses to proceed with those Bills. The result is that naturally we are kept here waiting for ten days, twenty days, etc., awaiting the sweet pleasure of the other House to send us Bills so that we can rubber stamp them and send them **back**.

This is the way in which the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs is con-

ducting the affairs of this House. Then, he has got and the whole Government has got contempt, I would say, for the Opposition—there is no other word to use—because it is an unheard of thing that Members of the Opposition like A. K. Gopalan in the other House and myself in this House are thrown out like ordinary felons, from the house which we were occupying. Though the question is hanging for the last month and a half, Government still is not prepared to do anything because that is the respect with which they are dealing with the Opposition and also because they do not want to displease the Secretary of the Indian National Congress. That is the way they are treating the Opposition. Let me warn them; if that is the way that they are going to treat the Opposition and if they proceed in this way, let them remember—it is not only a question that they may be very glad that ultimately they have been successful that with all their military and police and with all their prestige they have been able to throw out A. K. Gopalan and Sundarayya from No. 1, Windsor Place, a great achievement of which they are proud, they can be proud of it and torn it to the whole world—but let them remember that these things will make the people see what worth Parliament has got, this Parliament which cannot protect even the rights of the Leaders of the Opposition. If this is the way that the Government is going to proceed, then the people will estimate as to how much this Parliament can really protect the interests of the millions of the people. If the Government treats Parliament like this, treats Opposition like this and if they want to continue these things, by all means they can do it and people will draw their own lesson from it and the people, when the time comes, will teach them a good lesson; about it I have no doubt whatsoever.

Now, coming to the Minister of Finance and the whole Budget which he had prepared, what is the sum total of this Budget? I would suggest that the whole Budget can be summed up in three slogans: 'More taxes on the

[Shri P. Sundarayya.] poor', 'more relief to the rich' and 'giving a free hand to foreign investors to exploit the resources of our country'. This is all that emerges from the Budget year after year. Instead of answering the basic criticisms which we bring, instead of trying to implement the radical policies which we suggest, he says that he goes on hearing day after day for three weeks and more the debates in the Parliament and he becomes weary in mind and, most probably, in body also, because the same arguments are being repeated again and again. Yes, what else could we do when the Government continues the same policies and when they refuse, with the doggedness of a bull, to see how the situation is worsening?

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: That is just their symbol.

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA: Exactly, that is the reason.

They refuse to see the necessity for improvement. What else are we to do except to go on repeating again and again that their policies are leading the country, leading millions of our people to ruin? Therefore, change it. This we will go on repeating; if our repetitions are not liked by them, we cannot help it because we also have to suffer hearing day after day, week after week, month after month, and year after year the same old inept policies by which our country is being brought to ruin. We will continue to repeat our policies, to repeat our criticisms of the Government and of the steps day in and day out here and outside and if he gets weary of it, if he gets tired of it, we cannot help it but, the people will not be tired and the people will want to know why it is that their condition is getting worse and worse and what the Members of Parliament whom they elected are doing about it. Therefore, all that we can tell them is "We have been repeating your grievances; we have been suggesting policies which would certainly radically improve your situation but the Government Benches and the Congress Leadership and the great

men of the Congress refuse to listen to these things. So, all that we can do is to go on talking in the Parliament and coming and telling you that this is what we have talked. In spite of the Minister for Finance refusing to listen to us, in spite of the whole Government Benches getting tired of our repetitions of your difficulties—they are tired when they hear our repeating your difficulties and problems—this is all that we can do. Therefore, we are only talkers and we will continue to talk till you yourself tell us as to what more we can do to see the policies of Government change." It is because of these things, Sir, that we oppose this Government whose administrative and security measures day by day go on costing hundreds of millions of our peoples' money. Earlier the Administration, including Pakistan and including Burma was being carried on by 8 Executive Councillors, if I am not mistaken—it may be a few more, but that does not matter—but, today, from 8, our Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries have jumped to the figure of 40. This is how Government is functioning; more and more Ministers, more and more high salaries for themselves and less and less wages to the lower paid employees, to the working classes and more and more retrenchment. This is the policy which the Government is pursuing and, as such, it does not deserve any grant from us. I oppose this Appropriation Bill and we should vote against the return of this to the other House.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have omitted the Ministries of Communications, Commerce and Industry and Production.

SHRI RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Madras) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I was not prepared to speak on this Appropriation Bill, and inasmuch as Mr. Chairman has called upon me to speak, I wish to say a few words.

Firstly, I wish to express my opinion with regard to the lack of work in this House. Sir, we are all aware that to pass the PEPSU Resolution and the

PEPSU Budget we were summoned on the 25th of the last month and we had only four days' work and thereafter this House adjourned for nearly 11 days. Sir, I do not know where the Central Government is going to debit the expenditure for passing the Resolution on the PEPSU Government and also the expenses incurred for summoning the Council of States. I feel, Sir, that it should be done. At the same time, I wonder why this House has been given a respite of nearly ten or eleven days. If only we go through the list of business that has been circulated in the beginning of the Session, we find that as many as 50 to 60 Bills are sought to be introduced in both the Houses of Parliament. Sir, it is true that Money Bills cannot be introduced in this House, but I am not able to understand why the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs has not chosen to introduce some of the non-Money Bills in this House.

SHRI SATYA NARAYAN SINHA: But the Bills are not ready yet.

SHRI RAJAGOPAL NAIDU: Sir, there are many important Bills that have been circulated, for instance, the Special Marriage Bill and the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill. The Special Marriage Bill has been circulated for eliciting public opinion returnable by 31st December 1952. Nearly three months and odd have elapsed and I do not know, Sir, why it is not seeing the light of day. Secondly, the Hindu Marriage and Divorce Bill has been circulated for eliciting public opinion returnable by 1st March 1953. Nearly more than a month has elapsed and even that Bill has not seen the light of day. I am only suggesting why during these eleven days these two Bills could not have been introduced in the Council of States so that this House could have fully discussed them before the two Bills are referred to the Joint Select Committee.

Again, Sir, I would like to point out the enormous time that is being spent not only by this House but also by the

other House on the motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Sir, our Constitution provides that the President at the time of the commencement of the first Session of the Parliament and at the time of the commencement of the Budget Session each year shall deliver an Address at a joint sitting of both the Houses of Parliament. Sir, it is a statutory obligation. It is not an obligation which is voluntary and which he does of his own accord and when it is a statutory obligation, I wonder why the rules framed for the Council of States should provide for a resolution for a motion of Thanks, then inviting amendments on that and why the time of the House should be wasted for nearly four or five days. Sir, the same things is repeated at the time of the Budget Session and I fail to see, Sir, why this should be provided for and why this should not be stopped.

Secondly, Sir there is a provision in the Directive Principles of State Policy that the Judiciary should be separated from the Executive. It has not been fully given effect to in all the States in India. We have judged the results of the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive in certain district in Madras State and I find it is working well. I would like to know, Sir, why this has not been experimented in the other States in the country. It is high time that the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive should be implemented as I early as possible.

Then I would like to say a few words about the lack of support given by the Central Government, so far as Madras State is concerned, in the matter of helping the Madras Government with money to tide over financial difficulties. An enormous amount is being spent by the Madras Government for the relief of the famine stricken areas. I find that last year as much as 10 crores of rupees were spent by the Government of Madras for the relief of distressed areas. The famine that had been raging all over the Ceded Districts has now moved down to the



[Shri Rajagopal Naidu.] South, to the Tamil Districts of the Madras State. Surprisingly, Sir, though a short notice question has been given by some of the Members from this side of the House including myself, it has been returned saying that there are no such conditions existing in Madras State. At the same time, some of you would have heard speeches delivered on the floor of this House and the utterances of a Madras Minister that people in the South in a particular district look like walking corpses. That is the state of affairs in Madras State and no provision has been made by the Central Government with regard to financial assistance to bring relief to the distressed people in the famine stricken areas of the South. Sir, I would earnestly urge the Central Government to help the distressed people in the South.

In today's papers I saw that the electricity cut has been increased from 66-213 per cent, to 75 or 80 per cent. I have seen that agriculturists owning pumping sets are not able to get current even for two or three hours in a day. What can we expect from these agriculturists, Sir? Do you think that we can expect these people to grow anything with these two or three hours of electric supply? Even that supply is given at dead of night and not during day time. Sir, we have been suggesting to augment the supply of electricity by installing thermal stations here and there so that there will be a continuous supply of current, but, unfortunately, though much has been said, we do not find any thermal stations being installed in the South to augment the supply of electric current for agriculturists.

Then, Sir, I would like to say a few words about agricultural credit. I find that though a sum of nearly 130 crores has been provided in the Five Year Plan for each year for the provision of agricultural credit, I find that nothing concrete has been done by the Central Government so far. Nothing has been done by the Central Government to implement the scheme laid down in the Five Year Plan. Sir, agri-

culturists, at any rate in the South, are suffering from want of credit. Co-operative societies are not able to fully meet their demands. The indigenous banking system has failed by the enactment of various laws on the part of the State Governments. Agriculturists are thrown to the winds and the State is not coming to their help. Even the *taccavi* loans that are given by the State Government, even though they are aware of the famine stricken conditions, are being recovered though it is possible to postpone the collection of these *taccavi* loans. In my district of North Arcot I find that in spite of representations being made even the *feist* collection is not being postponed. I do not know, Sir, why that is not postponed. Perhaps the State has not been able to find adequate resources. In spite of their being fully aware that there are scarcity conditions everywhere, they are not in a position to postpone *feist* collections or recovery of *taccavi* loans.

Then, Sir, in the Audit Report on the Defence Services circulated yesterday I find lots of scandals mentioned, regarding the jeep deal and also regarding some other deals. I thought there was only one scandal regarding jeeps, but there seems to be a second scandal which is as big as the first scandal. In the absence of a thorough study of the Audit Report of Defence Services, I am not in a position to go into details, but while going through the last chapter, viz. Chapter VII, I came across some revealing things showing how these jeeps were purchased, how the intermediaries that were appointed by the India Government acted against the interests of the India Government, etc. If only a little greater diligence had been shown, our country could have saved nearly Rs. 19 lakhs in the matter of the purchase of these jeeps.

Lastly, as I have already said, I was not prepared to speak on this, but with all that I feel once again that this House is not given enough work as it should be, that we are kept idle, and that the resources of this House are not being fully utilised by the Minis-

ter for Parliamentary Affairs. I would once again suggest that we should be made to be a little more active and we should not be left to idle away our time and energy in this city of Delhi.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Hyderabad) : Mr. Chairman, we are discussing the Appropriation Bill. I shall try to confine myself to the Appropriation Bill. I would point out that it requires fundamental modifications. At this stage the Government may not agree to any modifications, but my suggestions, though not acted upon this year, may be found to be of some use in future years.

When we discuss the Appropriation Bill, we must consider certain fundamental principles of economics and public finance, and I beg to submit that if we look at the Appropriation Bill from that point of view, it will be found wanting in many items. The usual practice followed by the Finance Minister in the preparation of his Budget is just to see the expenditure of previous years and to add a few items here and there, and if the expenditure is in excess of the income, to impose some tax. I beg to say that this should not be the procedure. He should first of all draw up a list of the essential expenditure which is required for making this country into a Welfare State, and then, after fixing that expenditure, he should fix a reasonable level of tax which the average income of this country can bear, and this will give him the income. Subtracting the expenditure on the welfare items, it will leave some balance for the services—the Civil Administration, the military departments and the police services. If this procedure is followed, greater emphasis will be laid on the welfare activities of the nation, and only the balance will be appropriated for services like Civil Administration, military, police, etc.

Some days back, discussing the PEPSU budget, I had submitted that democracy was a farce unless it had compulsory primary education and mass literacy. I had submitted that if we assumed that 15 per cent, of the

population consists of children between the ages of 5 and 15, then in our country, with a population of 360 million, 15 per cent, would roughly amount to 5 crores of children between the ages of 5 and 15. These 5 crores children must be educated. I do not agree with Mr. Sundarayya's statement that for the education of these 5 crore children Rs. 400 crores will be required. For expenditure on primary, middle and secondary education, a rough estimate of Rs. 30 per student per year will be a reasonable amount and this will give us the figure of Rs. 150 crores per year for primary, middle and secondary education. If the States or the Centre can provide this amount of Rs. 150 crores every year, we can have compulsory primary, middle and secondary education free of all charge for every citizen of this country. I submit that the adult population between the ages of 15 and 40 also requires suitable steps to be taken for its education. It may be possible that by some economies in the expenditure on the education of the children and utilisation of same teachers, extra money may not be required for adult education. So, the minimum requirement for education in this country is about Rs. 150 crores a year, besides what will be spent on higher education in the universities.

Similarly, for health services, on the basis of incidence of disease and prevention of disease and the cost per patient, it has been roughly calculated that for a population of 35 crores, with our climatic conditions, and with the prevalence malaria, and expenditure of Rs. 2 per head of population will suffice. So, for a population of 35 crores we require a sum of Rs. 70 crores. If the Government of India together with the States can provide a sum of Rs. 220 crores, we shall be getting nearer our ideal of a Welfare State.

Then, Sir, several hon. Members have pointed out in various speeches on the Budget and on other matters that as 80 per cent, of our population lives in the villages, any budget, whether it is of the Centre or of the States,

[Shri Kishen Chanel.]

which does not ameliorate their condition is not a suitable budget for this country. The hon. Member who preceded me has pointed out that the crying need of the rural population is credit facilities. Some time back, the village sahuakar, at tremendous cost to the poor cultivator, used to provide those credit facilities. But those credit facilities used to take away such a large share in the form of usurious rates of interest that the poor cultivator often had to sell his land. We are very glad that the Government had passed legislation which had stopped that type of usurpation, but no other agency has been created to supply that deficiency. Let us estimate roughly the dimensions of the credit facilities that will be required for our rural population remembering that nearly 28 crores persons are cultivating a land acreage of nearly 25 crores per year. The total agricultural production is estimated at about Rs. 4,500 crores per year in this country and if credit facilities to the extent of only 18 or 20 per cent, are required, it means that at least Rs. 800 to Rs. 900 crores will be required. I should like to know, Sir, if the hon. Finance Minister has ever tried to take any notice of the requirements of the agricultural population. (Interruption.) Yes, when the requirement is for Rs. 900 crores per year, efforts are being made to provide about Rs. 40 or 50 crores by the Reserve Bank of India. I leave it for the consideration of the hon. Members whether the credit facilities of Rs. 40 crores, when the requirements are for Rs. 900 crores, are of any intrinsic value or will fulfil the needs of the population of this country to any extent. We have got to take drastic steps. I am afraid, Sir, this type of palliative measures—placing before a hungry man just one morsel—may satisfy some hon. Members, but I do not think that our country is going to sit quiet from year to year with this type of palliative measures. Similarly, it has been pointed out that the poor peasant passes almost all his life in a thatch roofed cottage, generally of the size of 8' by 10' and the height of which does not exceed 8'. The poor

peasant with his large family passes his life in that type of a hut—at least a great portion of it. (Interruption.) Yes, the hon. Member says that it is the ideal of plain living and high thinking. I wish the entire population follows that precept and does not prescribe it only for the poor peasants. If we estimate that there are five members in a family, this population of 28 crores requires at least five crore houses and if each house costs about a thousand rupees, this raises a problem of Rs. 5,000 crores before us. Is the hon. Finance Minister making any efforts towards the solution of this problem? Is he paying any attention to it? I submit, Sir, that these items are entirely ignored and the Centre has given no thought to this problem. We are all the time thinking of the Defence Budget, Civil Administration, tax collecting departments etc., but what happens to the 28 crores of people in the villages living in thatched hovels, is not the concern of the hon. Members. And so, Sir, as I was pointing out, in framing our Budget we should consider the fundamental needs of the country and then consider what should be the maximum expenditure on non-productive departments like Civil Administration, military and so on and so forth. Our Budget is for Rs. 400 crores. This has been estimated in world conditions when prices of agricultural products were pretty high. Even now we see that the market is tumbling down and prices of many things are going down. Only in yesterday's paper there was news that the price of tin had suddenly dropped and it had created havoc in the market.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

I submit, Sir, that the expectation of income from taxation is not so rosy now as it was some time back. I do not think that the hon. Finance Minister will be able to get the amount from import duty or the export duty that he has estimated in his Budget figures. Sir, I think the profits of many of the industrial concerns and of private concerns have been going down considerably during the last year and this year. I have my own doubts if the income-

tax revenue will attain the figure that has been estimated by the hon. Finance Minister in his Budget. This is the income side. Every item seems to be going down.

And now let us look at the expenditure side. There every item seems to be going up. Expenses seem to be increasing. I do not want to go into details, but I submit, Sir, that an expenditure of Rs. 215 crores on defence is very excessive and has no justification at all. As I stated in the beginning, this is an appropriation stage and therefore no alterations can be done now. But we have got to take stock of it so that similar mistakes are not committed in future. Now, if we analyse the defence expenditure of Rs. 215 crores, we will find that the expenditure on salaries, pensions etc. does not exceed Rs. 90 crores. The rest of the expenditure is incurred on equipment, on the purchase of equipment; and it is in the purchase of equipment that all the big blunders occur. I do not think any economy is possible in the expenditure on salaries, because I do feel that the salaries paid to our army officers are already on the low side and no further reduction is possible. The entire economy can be effected in the purchase of military equipment, in the contracts given for the construction of military barracks, in the purchase of materials for clothing etc. for the army. On all these items, there is a huge waste, waste on such a scale that an economy of about 30 to 35 per cent, is quite easy. We are spending nearly Rs. 120 crores on the purchase of equipment and if we make an economy of nearly 35 per cent., it will make a saving of Rs. 40 crores. That I think is quite possible. But suitable steps are not taken to consider this question from a new angle and effect these economies.

Then, Sir, I come to the question of Civil Administration. There also year after year the expenditure goes on increasing. Usual explanation is given that the nation is expanding; it wants more departments and therefore the expenditure goes up. Well, Sir, our income is not expanding; our income

is not increasing and if the expenditure goes on increasing, how are we going to balance our Budget? I have, some time before, pointed out that a few years back the expenditure was only Rs. 48 crores, but this year it has gone up to Rs. 60 crores. In the big four volumes that are supplied to all hon. Members, every post is mentioned and if you go on watching from year to year, in every department there is one or two clerks added on, one or two superintendents added on. We have got to decide fundamentally in this connection whether we want to pay our people decent living wages and extract work out of them or we just go on adding numbers in our offices on low scales of pay and increasing our expenditure without any increase in efficiency or output of work. I submit that a ceiling be fixed to expenditure on Civil Administration and any new post or any additional expenditure in any Department should be met by suitable saving in some other section of the same Department. If this principle of budget making is adopted, the entire outlook will be changed. We have got to desire ways to see that the expenditure is kept down without any loss of efficiency.

Thirdly, I come to the question of Public Debt. Here also the Government is not following a policy to the advantage of our country. Our interest charges on our Public Debt amount to nearly Rs. 75 crores per year. Our Public Debt is nearly Rs. 2,500 crores—I am not exact about the figure—and the average rate of interest paid by us is about 3 or 3-114 per cent. I submit that it should be possible to arrange that the entire backing of the paper currency is a portion of the public debt of India, which means that securities worth about Rs. 1,200 crores be transferred to the Paper Currency Reserve, the interest payable on\* that Reserve being only a book adjustment. We will not have to pay interest from the public finances. Similarly if we insist that as we are paying at least 3½ per cent, interest charges, the Sterling Balances being the balances of the Reserve Bank of India in the Bank.

[Shri Kishen Chand.] of England should also yield to us at least 3 per cent, so that we will be able to recover interest on Rs. 700 crores. The interest charges on that Rs. 700 crores will be recovered from England. Instead of that we have kept out of Rs. 700 crores, about Rs. 300 crores as Reserve for Foreign Exchange, and Rs. 300 crores have been kept for trade purposes. We earn about 1 to 1 per cent, on Rs. 700 crores *i.e.*, about Rs. 6 crores while we should have got nearly Rs. 22 crores per year. So, the Government of India or the Reserve Bank are losing nearly Rs. 16 crores every year. In this connection I beg to point out that foreign firms are earning huge profits on their investments in this country and are repatriating all those profits out of our country. The hon. Finance Minister has accepted in reply to one of the questions put in this House that foreign investments were of the scale of Rs. 320 crores in 1948 on book value and the profits on this amount was Rs. 38 crores. On the present value in 1952 foreign investments are of the scale of about Rs. 500 crores and they are earning not less than Rs. 60 to 65 crores every year. Besides this there is a loan from International Bank on which we are paying interest. A circular has been circulated among hon. Members showing the numbers of foreigners employed by these foreign concerns in India. The number of highly paid officers is over 1,000. If the average pay of these officers is about 2,000 a month, that means these 1,000 officers will be getting about Rs. 20 crores a year, as salaries in India and if they save about 33 to 40 per cent, and remit it, it means another one crore is going out of our country. In this way if you add up, we are nearly paying Rs. 75 crores every year to these foreign firms and foreign officers and this amount of Rs. 75 crores is repatriated out of our country. How can our balance of trade be favourable? We have been bled to death. How can our economy be sound? Some steps must be taken. This type of *laissez faire* policy is no good. Things

are drifting and economically we are becoming weaker and weaker every day. The wages have increased but the prices have increased more rapidly. The standard of living or the actual purchasing power of the common working man or middle-class people or Government servant is less today than what it was in 1939. An officer who was getting Rs. 200 in 1939 does not get Rs. 800 now. He gets only about Rs. 500 but the prices have gone up fourfold. So on paper we find that the *per capita* income of our country has increased from Rs. 110 to nearly Rs. 255 but this is deceiving ourselves. Therefore I will come back to this Appropriation Bill and submit that the hon. Finance Minister has not laid down certain fundamental principles. A budget should be really made not for one year but for 5 years. A certain policy has to be laid down for 5 years and from year to year he has to make changes. That policy should be that such and such percentage of the national income and Central Revenues should go to nation-building departments, such and such percentage should go to the defence of the country and such and such percentage to Administration etc. We want to see a picture, a true picture of our economy. Such large numbers don't convey any concrete idea to many people. They are misled by those large numbers. If they are presented in the shape of percentage, it will be much easier to comprehend and to compare from year to year the trends of our national economy. So I submit that in the Central Budget the hon. Finance Minister should see that the Defence expenditure does not exceed Rs. 160 crores and any excess of it must be cut out. We cannot afford it. We are not in the forefront in our Defence Forces in the world. We are far behind: whether we spend Rs. 215 crores or we spend the entire amount of Rs. 400 crores—our entire revenues—yet, we will remain far behind great powers in our Defence Forces. So what is the point in spending Rs. 215 crores and depriving the entire nation of its benefits? We have not achieved anything on the De-

fence side while we have lost a considerable thing on the social side. So I will submit with all respect and with due deference to the very good job done by our armed forces, that we do not want to reduce their emoluments. As a matter of fact we want to increase them. The entire economy is to be effected in the purchase of equipment in the effort to make that equipment in our country as far as possible and trying new methods of economy. Then I would submit that he should fix a percentage for Civil Administration and I referred to the figure of Rs. 50 crores which was the figure two years back. And then, Sir, though it does not relate to the Central Budget, I may be permitted to say a few words about the State Budgets because the welfare activities of the nation are really related to State Budgets. There also, as was pointed out by an hon. Member, a large part of the State Budget is spent on Administration and police force. Law and order is very good but law and order at the expense of education and the health of the nation is not right. We cannot sacrifice the education of our young children and the health of the nation by spending such huge amounts on law and order, on police, on Preventive Detention Act and things of that type. So I would suggest that the provision for education and public health calculated by me should find a place in State Budgets. The Centre should adjust its contributions to the States by earmarking them for all nation-building activities. The Central Government can insist that the share of the income-tax that is given to the States and the share of the Excise Duty which is given to the States are entirely spent on Education, Public Health, etc., besides what the States are already spending on these departments and if that were done, our objective of complete literacy in the next three years may be practicable and not a dream.

Therefore, Sir, in conclusion not opposing the Appropriation Bill but pointing out certain fundamental defects in it and submitting certain suggestions

21 C.S.D.

for future consideration of the hon. Finance Minister I resume my seat.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): Sir, I rise to support the Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1953. To me it was a very great surprise how our revenue of about 400 crores of rupees could suddenly jump up to 24 hundred crores and odd, as stated in the Appropriation Bill. That was, of course, due to a defect of my understanding and I did not know that the entire field of money business and transactions of income and expenditure and all that, had been added together and has raised the figure of approximately 400 crores of our revenue to 24 hundred crores including, a very big amount of 14 hundred crores as the debt that the State has got to pay. Now, Sir, after a very masterly exposition and a very thorough post mortem conducted by my hon. friend Mr. Kishen Chand of the various items of the Appropriation Bill, it would be futile for me to point out any good points that may possibly be found in this Bill.

SHRI S. N. MAZUMDAR (West Bengal): It is very very doubtful.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: My friend on the right says "it is very very doubtful". I wish he had the same vision and the same insight in examining the Appropriation Bill as I possess. Sir, governments all the world over, stand only to be condemned. Whatever they do is bad. Whatever the other side thinks is always right and correct. If these very friends were on the Treasury Benches and had formulated an Appropriation Bill, they would have been subjected to the same criticism and condemnation as are being levelled against this Bill.

SHRI M. S. RANAWAT (Rajasthan): It is the fault of the Parliamentary system.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: If it is the fault of the Parliamentary system, stop coming to the Parliament from tomorrow.

[Shri H. P. Saksena.]

Now, Sir, if the Budget provides a sufficient amount of money for guarding the frontiers of the country, the cry is raised that a lot of money is being wasted on defence and that we should never do it. And the question is asked: Where is the necessity during these days of peace for such a huge expenditure on defence when there is no enemy knocking at the door, when all is quiet and when the war in Korea is coming to an end. If, on the other hand, something goes wrong somewhere, they would then say, "Look here, these people do not even know to guard the frontiers of the country. You see such and such a thing has happened in Assam or in Kashmir or anywhere else." As I said, the governments of the day, wherever they may be, are to be condemned.

Now, Sir, there was a talk given by my hon. friend Mr. Kishen Chand that if a Welfare State is the ideal and the objective before our eyes, Education and Public Health alone should be given priority. Of course, he did not say it in so many words. He said that very little money was to be spent on these subjects whereas more and more was spent on Defence, Civil Administration, etc. I wonder what would happen to a country which did not have a nice and admirable Administration on its civil side and did not take care to safeguard its frontiers. What will happen to the health and education of the people of that country? Who will teach and who will receive education if there was no order and if there was no stability in the Government? Who will be in a fit state of health if there are enemies prowling this way, that way and the other way? Now, Sir, these departments are interlinked and interrelated and you cannot make any exception in these matters. My friend who just preceded me appeared to me to be a victim of economic theories. Perhaps he studied those theories long long ago but still he is clinging to them. My

whole complaint and grievance against him is that he has not got an iota of the revolutionary spirit in him. If he had been feeling like that even once in his life he would have never condemned the Appropriation Bill. He should have thought that if things go amiss, "I do possess courage enough, strength enough to set them right." That is the spirit of a revolutionary, and if this spirit is imbibed by the majority of the Members of this House, whether they belong to the right or to the left, then things will shape themselves differently and progress will be visible even to those who refuse to see, who have got eyes to see, but they see not.

Now, there was a talk of hunger, that hunger will grow, my hon. friend there suggested. I submit that hunger does not require any prompting for it to grow. It grows if it is there, and the very fact that hunger has not grown is proof positive of the fact that there is no hunger. People are more or less satisfied with their present lot. I was very sorry when my friend suggested that the 28 crores of people living in the rural areas should have the same sort of palatial buildings as this House is, for themselves. I would be the last man to advise them to come to this sort of a place. They are far happier where they are. They are far happier than we are and I do not believe that they are hungry, that they are ill-clad and that they are ill-fed. During the last few years the shape of things has been entirely changed. There is no reason to believe that they are starving, or that they are ill-fed or ill-clothed. May be that as compared with our standard of living, that is to say, the standard of living of the people living in big cities, they may not be enjoying the same privileges and conditions—air-conditioned chambers and all that—but certainly, so far as the nutritional values of life are concerned, they are in a much better position than the people living in the cities.

Sir, this Appropriation Bill shows that each and every item of the Welfare State has been given attention. Each and every item has received due care and attention and a reasonable amount of money has been provided for each and every department. Of course, the amount varies and is proportioned to the total income of the country. There is a wide consensus of opinion that the level of taxation has reached—taking into account the present income per capita—its highest level and no further taxation is possible. With that in view, it is not possible to raise our income. And if there is no possibility of our income rising then that is a conclusive proof that there is no possibility of a rise in our expenditure. So we have got to cut our coat according to the size of our cloth. To say that a few lakhs of rupees should have been saved from the Defence Budget or from the Police Budget or from the Civil Administration Budget and placed under the head "Education" or "Public Health" is not the solution. The real solution lies in raising the wealth of the country. I have been repeating this point that the standard of living which is being artificially tried to be raised at present is not the solution of the problem. The solution of the problem lies in the augmentation of our wealth and our wealth can only be raised if we faithfully, • honestly and conscientiously work for the implementation of the Five Year Plan. I would beg of my friends on the opposite side to say good-bye to all the differences that they might have with the Government or the Party in power, and to put their shoulders to the yoke of the Five Year Plan: that has got to be successfully implemented. If that is done, I am dead certain that while they may be wondering what is going to happen to our country, the shape of things would be changed materially. The present Government is to stay and my friends ought to know that. It is not going to be overthrown very soon. With that picture before our mind's eye, is it not an act of statesmanship, an act of wisdom and even an act of expediency, to

co-operate with the present Government? And if you are really honestly inclined towards the poorer sections of the people, then it becomes your duty to co-operate in this business and improve their conditions of life. That can be done only through co-operation, not by opposition. My hon. friend Mr. Kishen Chand very wisely and in a prophetic mood stated towards the beginning of his discourse that even if his suggestions were not accepted today, they would be of very great value to the framers of future Appropriation Bills during succeeding years, during the coming years. I think the entire House should be thankful to him for having given those suggestions. Certainly if some of them are acted upon, and if he is also allowed and invited to work out these suggestions, then certainly the progress that he dreams of would be achieved.

Sir, there are a few items on which the expenditure appears, on the face of it, to be enormous. But then, circumstance as we are, placed as we are, whether it is Chandernagore, or the External Affairs or the Tribal Areas, the amounts mentioned there have got to be spent, and if we were to place some confidence in those persons to whom the duty of preparing these Bills has been entrusted, we would certainly come to the conclusion that they have done their level best.

Now, Sir, there was a talk of the fall in prices. As I said once before, I am not at all frightened by the fall in prices and I always would remind people, whenever they lament over the way that the prices are falling that the prices were not so high as they are today, even after the current fall. Economics, of which they are so fond, will shape itself and the slump does not come for ever and ever. It comes and goes just as the high prices did not stay for ever and ever; it too would not stay for long. If economics means anything, it means this that if the prices rise, a time will come when they will fall. So, there should be no worry, no anxiety in the fact that the prices



[Shri H. P. Saksena.] are tailing down. If the prices fall down, everybody benefits; if the prices rise only a few people are benefited. So, with that as our hypothesis, I submit that the fall in prices should not be a cause of any terror, or should in no sense frighten us.

Sir, the greatest defect in a human being is to be pessimistic. I found my hon. friend, Mr. Kishen Chand, was suffering from an acute disease of pessimism; he does not see any good before our country; to him all looks dark and gloomy; while I always picture to my mind a rosy, rosy thing, which is just going to blossom. I feel the fragrance of it even before it has blossomed. But, then, Sir.....

*(Interruption.)*

You have spoken in such a low voice that I find.....

SHRI T. PANDE (Uttar Pradesh): Just like a young man.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: I wish young men had even half of the optimism that I have.

Now, a very wonderful suggestion was made by my hon. friend, Mr. Kishen Chand, that the Defence expenditure should be cut down. As I said in my speech on the Revenue Budget discussion, I would be the last man to cut down our Defence expenditure. Defence expenditure is the only investment that is appropriate and proper and it should in no way be cut down. If it comes to cutting down the Defence expenditure, well, let the Korean War end; let so many other hostilities, the cold war and the hot wars between the two blocs end; and then, certainly, no country will be so foolish as to engage an Army and a Navy and an Air Force for nothing. Of course, we will maintain them for the sake of emergency but actively we will not be following the policy of adding to our Defence expenditure.

Sir, I will suggest to my hon. friend, to whom I am not tired of referring,

that the hands of the clock cannot be turned backward. They shall have to be turned forward, whether he likes it or not. Now, his doctrine of pessimism, the theories that he propounded, will, I am afraid, carry us backwards and this is a thing which no country can permit.

Now, Sir, as I have already stated, I see a bright future for my country. I only wish that our manpower, the whole of it, the greater part of it, were utilised in making the country brighter and more prosperous.

SHRI S. MAHANTY (Orissa): Mr. Deputy Chairman, we are in the last stage of passing the Budget. So, at this stage, my purpose is very limited. I want, on this occasion, to reiterate my earlier complaint that though every year this Parliament is sanctioning huge sums for specific purposes, it is not being spent either according to the intentions of the Parliament or according to the very purposes for which they were sanctioned. I will, also on this occasion, make a reference to the Five Year Plan and its progress. It is only because of the fact that we are in the third year of the first Five Year Plan, of necessity, we must examine how far we have progressed in achieving the targets which have been fixed by the planners.

In this context, first I would begin with the Ministry of Production. Sir, the scope is too vast: I cannot do justice to it within the very limited time at my disposal. In this context, I would only draw attention to the iron and steel project which finds top priority in the public sector of the first Five Year Plan. As late as 1948, as this House is aware, the Government thought of setting up an iron and steel plant in the public sector and, for this purpose, they entrusted certain foreign experts of U.S.A. and U.K. with the task of preparing a blue-print and that cost us a total sum of Rs. 10 lakhs and seven thousand. The report was submitted to Government and till 1952 it was kept in cold storage. In 1952

again, the Government woke up to the necessity of having an iron and steel plant and so many things happened thereafter. Only this morning, during question hour, the Minister for Production told us that another technical body that went into the whole question have now submitted their report and as the House might have been aware, the Government has not still made up its mind whether to set up a steel plant at all or whether to help the existing steel plants to expand their production and if they are going to set up an iron and steel plant, where it is going to be located. But, it has in the borne in mind that in the Appendix to the Peoples' Five Year Plan that has been circulated to us—Statement I—we find that by the end of 1955-56 we expect to produce a total amount of 3,50,000 tons of pig iron out of this plant. I do not know if our Production Minister has entered into a pact with Lord Vis-wakarma so that overnight he can produce 3,50,000 tons of pig iron, but, I should call it a fraud which is being perpetrated on the Indian Parliament, on the tax-payers and on the people as a whole. A Government, having a little more sense of self-respect, a little more sense of responsibility, should have behaved in a manner different from this.

Now, Sir, I will invite your attention to the Housing Factory. Here, Sir, you will find that this factory, after it was set up—after it was set up not by the fallible Indians but by those heaven born foreign experts—was found unworkable. It was again handed over to another body of experts and on their recommendation has been converted to a private company. Now, what will they produce? Not the prefabricated houses as contemplated earlier but certain materials like wooden frames or door frames or window panes for house building and God only knows when their researches into concrete for roofing will be completed and the products of their researches will be available to the consuming public. This is the record. This is the record of an impudent De-

partment of the Administration; this is only one aspect of the whole show of inefficiency and muddleheadedness and I do not want to waste my time in these criticisms because the whole affair is so nauseating.

I will now come to the question of foreign experts. Now, Sir, you will find from Votes No. 63 and 64 and I think from Vote No. 129 also, that huge sums of money are being provided for multi-purpose irrigation projects and river valley schemes. In this connection, you know, Sir, some time back we had an occasion to be told in this House how many foreign experts have been engaged in the river valley projects. At that time a statement was circulated and from that statement it was found that many persons without having any ostensible technical qualifications, many inexperience, young men probably in their 25th or 26th year, awaiting their degrees from the universities, had been employed in the Bhakra project and were drawing salaries like 20,000, 30,000 and 40,000 dollars. I had put in a question asking whether the Government in Planning Department assessed the availability of local technical personnel in India before importing foreign experts and I was astounded and amazed to get a reply that Government did not take any comprehensive step, but that the matter still lies with the Ministry of Education. I wonder how the Ministry of Education can be interested in the building of projects and what the Minister of Education will understand of the technical aspects of an engineering concern. Whatever it might be, only this morning we heard the amazing reply that no adequate steps were taken to assess the availability of local technical personnel here. And we are going on importing experts at a fabulous price—experts who have no ostensible technical qualifications, and I maintain, with all sense of responsibility, that they are just scrap engineers for all their worth. Here we say that we are suffering from a paucity of experts in our own country, and what do we do on the other side? We are

SHRI S. MAHANTY: ] sending out experts to Burr a on t :< later's termination of technical aid programme with U.S.A. I think it Was only yesterday the Deputy Minister for Finance was pleased to tell us that five experts from India had been sent abroad.

SHRI M. C. SHAH: I said they came to India. I even gave the bieak-up of figures.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: YOJ said something different.

SHRI M. C. SHAH: Perhaps you heard different. I said about 100 students from all these countries came to India—eight from Burma and so on and so forth.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: Whatever it may be, the Government of India seems to be in need of another body of experts which will screen what sort of experts they want to import and what sort of experts they want to export. Here, on this occasion, I will, with all the emphasis at my command, try to impress on the Government of India that they should immediately stop this mad game of importing foreign experts. After all, what is the record of these foreign experts? I will cite a few illustrations about the record of these experts and I will give the illustrations from the Ministry of Production's Report itself. The Sindri Fertiliser Factory was entrusted to the Chemical Construction Company of the United States of America. They were supposed to be experts in th's field of construction and so the construction of the Sindri Fertiliser Factory was entrusted to them. The original estimate of this project was Rs. 10 crores but ultimately it went up to Rs. 23 crores. Then take the Machine Tool Factory. On page 12 of the Report—I have referred—you will find that the Government have imported 13 experts for this purpose. Now what V6 they doing? The House will be interested to learn what they are doing. Out of the 13 foreign technical experts recruited, four of them have since arrived at the site for supervising the unloading and storage •f the machinery. Four of

these experts are being utilised only for unloading and storage *tit* machinery. It is a shame. The Ministers and the Deputy Ministers night have been denuded of their v;oainionsense. but do they believe that in our country we cannot even find au.uified personnel to supervise the unloading and storage of machinery and chat foreign experts have to ne recruited for this purpose? And now what about the others? The remainder are under training and instruction preparatory to taking over \*.heu- duties at Jalahalli. That means that these nine experts are not experts at all. They are still undergoing training and after finishing their training they will come to this country as experts. Here is another illustration of our experts. I go to the Housing Factory. It is a scandal. It is still more nauseating and I do not want to scandalise a scandal. But the fact remains to be said that here in our own country Indian engineers. Indian technical personnel, young men with bright hopes, have been ignored by this Government in every possible manner. After we had a discussion in the last Session about foreign experts. I have received no less than half a dozen of letters from eminent engineers who have written to say that even though they have degrees much higher than, and much superior to most of the American experts, they have -been serving under these tin gods who have no ostensible technical qualification. One such engineer is working in the Design Section of the Bhakra control and he writes to say that in spite of 20 years of foreign training and field experience, he is working under a young man who has just completed his studies in an American university. And I am constrained to draw the attention of the House to another aspect of these river valley projects. This House must have been aware that a few days back the Public Accounts Committee has submitted its report about the Hirakud Project and I am ashamed that the hon. Minister for Planning should have gone all the way to defend those per-

sons who should have been condemned by all canons of administrative *justice*. And what is found in that Report is an amazing story of cheating, fraud and hoax. A note has been circulated to us regarding the steps, the Government were going to take to correct the irregularities found out by the Public Accounts Committee. But the fact remains to be said that such unsocial fraud and misappropriation of public money was least expected from a set of responsible persons charged with Administration. A proper tribunal should be appointed to try their cases. Another big hoax you will find in the Central Water and Power Commission. The gentleman who is the presiding deity has been burdened with too many port-folios which he cannot possibly manage. As today we are importing U. S. experts in preference to our own technicians, similarly in Orissa we find that engineers from a particular State, who are probably the near and dear ones of that presiding deity, are being brought in—retired persons, persons who have been suspended from their jobs for many a scandal. They have been imported and have been left in charge of the whole show. Who on earth, except in India under Congress Raj, would believe that bullocks were not available in Orissa and had to be imported therefore from Punjab on a rental of Rs. 300 per month?

KHWAJA INAIT ULLAH: (Bihar):  
These are the best.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: Probably the hon. Member is of their kind and knows them intimately, but unfortunately I am not in a position to sit in judgment and say whether they were good or bad.

So, what do we find? We find that every year this Parliament is sanctioning huge sums, and the hon. Finance Minister, backed by a majority—whom I would not like to qualify—is getting the grants passed. But what next? Certainly they ought to answer that question, if not to us, the Members of the Opposition, at least to their own

: conscience. They ought to answer that question for the benefit of the country.

I will now come to another aspect, and that is the granting of loans to the States. I am not in a position to say what is the total amount of loans sanctioned for the States, and whether the loans are interest-bearing or not, and, if they are interest-bearing, whether the States are paying the interest and the instalments of the loan regularly. I am not in a position to say anything on that, but I have a statement with me showing the loans granted by the Government of India to the Government of Orissa since 1946-47 up to date. Here, I find that for "other schemes" a total sum of Rs. 32 lakhs has been granted to the Government of Orissa. I made inquiries as to what those "other schemes" might be. It appears that for the promotion of cottage industries a vast sum was given to the Orissa Government as a loan. As any hon. Member from Orissa would confirm, not a single pie has been spent on cottage industries there. The sum might have been paid to some of the persons who are in the good books of the Party in power there. Whatever it is, not a single pie has been spent for the development of cottage industries in Orissa.

Another item I found was Rs. 25 lakhs—I speak subject to correction—which has been granted to the Orissa Textile Mills as a loan. This is unfortunate. The Orissa Government is taking a loan from the Government of India who incurs a loan from foreign countries, and is giving that loan to a private industrial undertaking.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is a matter for the Orissa Government. It is not relevant here.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: But I am pointing out that this sum has been paid by the Government of India.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: As to how it is appropriated, is a matter for

[Mr. Deputy Chairman.] the Orissa Government, and the Orissa Assembly is the proper forum for discussing it. ' abjectly, have failed dishonourably,, have failed miserably.

SHRI T. S. PATTABIRAMAN (Madras): Mr.

SHRI S. MAHANTY: NO. The Central Deputy Chairman, it is with, great pleasure that I Government has advanced this loan to the rise to support the Bill that is before the Government of Orissa. The Government of House. The picture that was presented at the India has to answer for this. It has been time-of the presentation of the Budget and the specifically mentioned that the loan has been Finance Minister's reply then and on later given to Orissa Textile Mills. So my question occasions gives us a feeling of confidence about is relevant here. You are advancing loans to our future. But I may also be permitted to the State Governments. The State bring to the notice of the Government and oi! Governments are being burdened with these this House that conditions in Madras State have loans which are interest-bearing loans. And for not been so rosy as have been presented here. what purpose, are these loans utilised?

From all this, one comes to the painful conclusion that, what with the lack of social conscience, and what with inertia, the tax-payers, though exploited in a thousand and one ways, are not getting the benefit which they should expect from a Welfare State. It is not a question of getting things done through the majority at your command. It is a question of giving serious consideration to the query. Whither is the country drifting? Whither are the people drifting?

In conclusion, I cannot help making a reference to our much esteemed friend, Mr. Saksena, who unfortunately has left the House. He said everything was rosy. He saw roses everywhere. And even in his parched nostrils he got the fragrance of those roses. But he should have known better. There is the summer, and all those roses have gone the eternal way. While he was speaking of roses. I was reminded of the picture of Omar Khayyam—with whom our friend Saksena has a faded resemblance—who sat beneath a tree. "With a cask of wine, a book of verse, and thou beside me". I wonder if the Deputy Minister for Finance is willing to go to that extent. But we are not here discussing poetry; we are here discussing the hard, concrete facts of life. And what do we find? We find that the Government have failed

I hope it will not be out of place for me to refer to the calamities that have been successively visiting the Madras State during the past five years. During the past five years there has been a considerable fall in the average rainfall, and this year we have had the unique experience oi seeing all the lakes drying up. Never in the history of Tamil Nad has there been such drought. Even the Periyar Lake and the great Cauvery Lake at Mettur have completely dried up. There is famine looming before us. Our industries have also suffered. As the House is aware, the State of Madras, especially the Tamil districts of Madras, are dependent upon hydro-electric power for their industries. Power supply has been cut to the extent of 75 per cent, this year. The hon. Minister for Industries there stated that the production of cloth, yarn, cement and other industries has been affected to the extent of more than 50 per cent. Today, the cut in power is 75 per cent. and in a few days I am sure there will be a cent per cent, cut in electricity. That means that during the months of April, May and June the industries will remain idle. Agricultural labour will be idle because there will be no electricity for irrigation purposes. Industrial labour has already become useless. Industries have been affected. The big managements are not able to cope with the situation, and industrial labour has been forced to live on semi-starvation wages. This is the general condition that is prevailing in 12 dis-

tricts of Tamil Nad. It is very difficult for the people who come from the South to make the people here appreciate what are famine conditions and what is water scarcity and what is drought. It is very difficult for them to realise the difficulties brought about by water scarcity. I can tell the hon. Members of this House that in many districts people have to stand in queues for hours to get one or two pots of water. If you tell them about the Five Year Plan and the great achievements you expect from it, they are not interested, standing in the hot sun for a pot of water. I had the honour of approaching the Madras Government and seeing the Ministers. They simply said, "We are not able to do anything, because we have no finances." The State's finances are already overburdened. The State is not able to do anything. During the past three or four years there has been a considerable amount of famine relief in Raya-laseema and other areas which were famine-stricken. In the Five Year Plan, Rs. 15 crores have been allotted for the relief of famine areas. I want to know from the Finance Minister how much of this Rs. 15 crores has been granted to Madras State to enable it to give succour to the famine districts in that State. I am reliably informed that the Madras Government asked for a lump-sum grant of Rs. 10 crores. It is intended not only for carrying on famine relief works, but also for helping drought-stricken areas and also the deltaic areas.

5 P.M.

Sir, the Madras Government wanted Rs. 10 crores, but the Government of India has been generous enough to give Rs. 2 crores and that also is to be treated as a loan. Sir, when the people are dying of starvation, when they are suffering for want of water, the Centre has not been able to give an equitable relief and the Madras Government says that they cannot afford to give any relief and at the same time the proposed inauguration of the Andhra State has come in the way of all progress in the

State. There everything is at a standstill; everybody takes cover under the proposed Andhra State and it is generally said: "Wait till the Andhra province comes into existence." We are not against the Andhra province, but the hungry people, the water-thirsty people, the suffering people cannot wait for provinces and states to be born. They will have to be given some relief. The Government should not stand in their way on account of technical or legal grounds and they must be able to rush immediate aid to the people of Tamil Nad, Sir. So I will request the Finance Minister on behalf of those suffering people that they should be kind enough to give at least Rs. 5 crores as a lump-sum grant and save the people of Madras from the impending calamities facing them.

Sir, the famine relief should be given adequately. The hon. Prime Minister here has been saying that there is no finality in the Five Year Plan; the schemes that are proposed in the Five Year Plan can be adjusted and modified according to times and needs of the country. Sir, with the presence of the Railway Minister here. I think I can take up courage and request him to take up seriously the construction of one or two railway lines in the famine-stricken areas of Tamil Nad as a part of famine relief. Sir, this might *not* be in the regular Plan, but still when famine conditions exist and also the Five Year Plan is not yet final and it can be adjusted according to the times, and needs of the people, Sir, the Railway Minister can take up the construction of one or two railway lines *e.g.* the dismantled lines and save the people from starvation and also give them work and give them employment. That will go a long way to relieve the distress of the people.

Sir, another thing that I would like to point out is this. Last year when the water situation was very severe, the army was rushed to go and help the people of the Madras State. Today also there is water scarcity; the wells have become empty today also and

[Shri T. S. Pattabiraman.] people are in great distress due to scarcity of water, Sir, the Defence Minister can very well use his army for helping the agriculturists and the poor people of Tamil Nad by boring more wells there and as last year, the people of Tamil Nad will be very grateful and will always be thankful to the Defence Ministry for this great humanitarian work.

Sir, I wish to submit one more thing. After the separation of Andhra as from the 1st of October, the residuary Madras State will be left without any major irrigation works or projects. Today the Tungabhadra project and the Machkund project are the two great projects that are given to the Madras State, but both these projects will be given to the Andhra State when it is formed and the Madras State will be left without any development plan or project and it is for the Government now to reconsider the position in the light of the creation of the new province and to see whether some more projects can be given to Madras State for its development and I think this question will receive the surest sympathy from the Minister concerned.

Sir, finally I would like to know about one thing as a matter of policy. -In recent days, Sir, we have been hearing something about the activities of the Peace Council. The Constitution of India does not recognise the conferment of any prize by a foreign Government, but today we are faced with one of the gravest and rather most important questions whether a foreign Government can confer a cash grant upon any nation. Sir, it is a very serious problem affecting the prestige of this country. It is a problem that requires serious consideration. Sir, when Dr. Kitchlew was received in Moscow and received by Marshal Stalin, he was conferred a prize and was given one lakh of rupees—in money, in cash—and that was transferred to the Peace Council in India. Sir, it is a matter of policy that should be decided once for

all. Is it a sound policy on our part to appreciate such things when foreign political States confer cash grants upon Indian nationals for carrying on propaganda? The Peace Council, as you know, is a show-body of the Communist Party of India. It is a fact that Communism and peace do not go together, and that Lenin and Stalin stand for violence and for revolution. Inqlab-Zindabad has been their slogan and I think it is still their slogan. Sir, while the Communist Party of India carries on the slogan of Inqlab-Zindabad on the one hand, on the other they talk of establishing peace, establishing world peace. Sir, they have been playing a dual role and wherever they have been able to go, they have been able to catch some political orphans and they have tried to address their meetings. They have been talking about Russia and saying that everybody in Russia wants peace. Today under Nehru's leadership India has been fighting for peace but it is most unfortunate that in the Peace Council meetings there is not a single mention of Nehru's effort or the Government of India's effort for bringing about national peace. Today we find that they are doing nothing but Soviet propaganda, a propaganda for one nation in the name of Peace Council and for this purpose Dr. Kitchlew has been found a medium of exchange and he has been given one lakh of rupees which in turn he has given away to the Communist Party of India. Sir, this is rather suspicious: it is a very serious thing for an Indian national to receive money from a foreign political body. Sir, there is no comparison between this prize and the Nobel prize. The Nobel prize is not given by any Government. It is given by a Trust: it is given by a Charitable Board and it is conferred for the sake of efficiency in art or literature. And today, Sir, for the propagation of peace, for political purposes, people are rewarded and they are paid by a foreign nation and a foreign Government and that money is being utilised in this country for carrying on their propaganda. It is a

very serious thing. Sir, and it should be considered very seriously. If these things are permitted, then it is quite possible that some other people will go to America or some other country, get some money and carry on propaganda on their behalf. Sir, are we going to allow a foreign Government's money to come here and to be utilised here for their propaganda in this suspicious manner? Sir, this is a thing which should engage serious attention of the Minister and I think that such a practice should be entirely stopped and our nationals should not be allowed to accept any grant from any foreign nation. With these few words, Sir, I thank you.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ (Madhya Pradesh) :

श्री आर० यू० अग्निभोज (मध्य प्रदेश) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, जो बिल (Bill) अभी सभा भवन में पेश किया गया है उसका समर्थन करने के लिए मैं खड़ा हुआ हूँ। यह बिल जो पेश किया गया है वह इसलिए पेश किया गया है कि एक वैधानिक कमी है उसको पूरी करनी है। अब प्रश्न यह है कि जो नया साल शुरू हो रहा है और जो भारतवर्ष की राज सत्ता और भारतवर्ष के शासन को चलाने के लिए पैसे की आवश्यकता है वह पैसा सरकार को दिया जाये अथवा नहीं। कोई भी समझदार व्यक्ति, कोई भी समझदार भवन, कोई भी समझदार संसद् यह कभी नहीं चाहेगा कि हमारे देश की सरकार जो इतने बड़े देश का इतना बड़ा शासन चला रही है वह पैसे के अभाव में काम न कर सके और समाप्त हो जाये। इस बिल का विरोध करना या इस बिल को पास न करना, इसके यह अर्थ हैं कि देश में अराजकता पैदा कर दी जाये और छोटों से लेकर बड़े अधिकारी तक किसी को भी पैसा न मिले, किसी भी काम में एक पैसा भी न लगाया जाय और यह देश बिना पैसे के अराजकता में पड़

जाय। यदि इस सिद्धान्त से देखा जाय तो, इस बिल का विरोध लोअर हाउस (Lower House) में तो हो सकता है परन्तु अपर हाउस (Upper House) में, इस भवन में, जहाँ के लोग समझदार समझे जाते हैं और जहाँ के लोग लोअर हाउस के कामों की गवेषणा ही नहीं करते वरन् उनका परीक्षण भी करते हैं, इस बिल का विरोध करना, मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सदन को शोभा नहीं देता।

मेरे मित्रों ने विशेषकर मिस्टर मुन्दरैय्या ने दो तीन बातें कहीं। एक बात तो यह कही कि जो पार्लियामेंट (Parliament) की बैठकें होती हैं उनका इंतजाम ऐसा होता है कि दो चार दिन की हमें छुट्टी मिल जाती है। मैं उनसे निवेदन करूँगा कि यह पार्लियामेंट के मिनिस्टर (Minister) साहब का अपराध नहीं है, इस पार्लियामेंट के सेक्रेटरी का अपराध नहीं है, इस पार्लियामेंट के अध्यक्ष या उपाध्यक्ष का अपराध नहीं है। विधान में हमने निश्चित कर दिया है कि जो काम वहाँ से भेजा जायेगा वही काम यहाँ पर आयेगा। तो जब तक वहाँ पर काम पूरा नहीं होता तब तक यहाँ पर काम आना एक तरह से असंभव है। यह संभव है कि एक दो बिल इस सदन में, जोकि हिन्दू विवाह आदि के सम्बन्ध में हैं, पेश किये जा सकते हैं और उन पर विवाद हो सकता है परन्तु जितने भी आवश्यक बिल हैं जब वे वहाँ से पास होकर आते हैं तभी हमको काम मिल सकता है। हमारे मित्रों को काम की कमी के कारण और जो भवन की बैठकें बराबर नहीं होतीं उनसे बहुत ही अफसोस होता है, परन्तु मैं उनसे यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इस भवन की तरफ से जितना साहित्य, जितनी पुस्तकें, और शासन के सम्बन्ध में जितना साहित्य उनके पास भेजा जाता है उनको क्या वे ठीक से पढ़ते हैं। क्या



[Shri R. U. Agnibhoj.]

हमने बजट को जिसका कि यह एप्रोप्रियेशन बिल (Appropriation Bill) है, आखो-पान्त पढ़कर देखा है। हम काम तो करते नहीं और दोष देते हैं पार्लियामेंट के मिनिस्टर को और भवन को, यह हमें शोभा नहीं देता।

मुन्दरैया साहब ने कहा कि विंडसर प्लेस (Windsor Place) में एक बंगला था वह पुलिस, पलटन और सरकारी अधिकार से खाली कराया गया है और यदि इस तरह का व्यवहार सरकार का रहा तो क्रान्ति पैदा हो जायेगी। मैं कहता हूँ कि एक बंगला एक मित्र से, जोकि सदन के सदस्य हैं, खाली कराया गया और वे स्वतः इस भवन में भाषण देते हैं कि चूंकि मेरा बंगला मुझसे खाली करा लिया गया है इसलिए देश में बड़ी भारी क्रान्ति हो जाने वाली है तो यदि देखा जाये तो दुनिया पर, देश पर, शासन पर और उनकी पार्टी पर इसका कोई मारल अफेक्ट (moral effect) पड़ने वाला नहीं है। एक बंगला उन से खाली करा लिया गया इसलिए यह एप्रोप्रियेशन बिल पास न हो इससे मजेदार बात दुनिया में और कोई हो नहीं सकती। तो ऐसे ऐसे विरोधों के कारण एप्रोप्रियेशन बिल पास न किया जाये यह बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है।

मेरे मित्रों ने कहा कि इस शासन ने अधिकतर शहराती दुनिया की उन्नति की तरफ कदम बढ़ाया है और देहात की तरफ नहीं देखा है इसलिए यह बिल पास नहीं होना चाहिए। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा देश एक पुरातन देश है, इसकी मनुष्य संख्या के बराबर चीन को छोड़ कर संसार के किसी देश की मनुष्य संख्या नहीं है और हमारी जो बीमारियां हैं, कमजोरियां हैं, वे आज की नहीं बल्कि शताब्दियों की हैं। भूख, बीमारी, अशिक्षा, गरीबी पिछड़ापन

ये सब हमारी शताब्दियों की कमियां हैं और यदि हमारे मित्र यह चाहें कि सारी कमियां हम १९५३-५४ के बजट में ही पूरी कर दें तो यह असम्भव बात है। बड़ी बीमारियों के लिये, राजरोग को हटाने के लिए समय की आवश्यकता होती है, परिश्रम की आवश्यकता होती है, पैसे की आवश्यकता होती है सतत प्रयत्न की आवश्यकता होती है। अतः आप इस बजट और एप्रोप्रियेशन बिल को इस दृष्टि से देखिए कि इसमें सरकार की नियत ईमानदारी की है अथवा नहीं, सरकार की मंशा हमारे देश की तरक्की करने की तरफ है या नहीं, उसकी मंशा देश में शिक्षा का प्रचार करने और देश के स्वास्थ्य की उन्नति के लिये प्रयत्न करने की ओर है या नहीं? तो मेरा कहना है कि यह जो लाखों और करोड़ों रुपये लिये जा रहे हैं, यह जो दो सौ करोड़ रुपये के करीब हमारे डेवलपमेंट प्लान (Development Plan) के लिये और पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिए रखे गये हैं वह सब किसके लिए हैं? यह जो खेतों में तरक्की होगी, यह जो नहरें निकलेंगी और नहरों में जो पानी आयेगा और उससे जो आर्थिक उन्नति होगी वह शहराती उन्नति के लिए है या उससे किसानों की उन्नति होनी है? क्या उसमें किसान की उन्नति नहीं है? यह जो सैकड़ों और करोड़ों रुपये खर्च करके बांध बनाये जायेंगे उनको बनाने के लिए जो मजदूर काम करेंगे उनको क्या कुछ नहीं मिलेगा? आखिर यह जो निधि हम प्राप्त कर रहे हैं उसका पैसा धीरे धीरे उन्हीं लोगों के पास जायेगा जिनके पास जाना चाहिए। इसके अतिरिक्त यह मानी हुई बात है कि बड़े बड़े कामों के लिए बड़े बड़े इंजीनियर्स (engineers) की जरूरत होती है। इस तरह की योजना को बनाने के लिए अधिक उत्साही और अधिक अनुभवी लोगों की आवश्यकता होती है और

इसलिए यदि हमारे देश का अनुभव कुछ कम है और हम एक नवीन राष्ट्र का निर्माण करने जा रहे हैं और दो चार या दस विदेशी लोगों को बुला कर काम कराते हैं तो उसमें कौन सी आश्चर्य की और दुःख की बात हो गई। हम जहां पर करोड़ों और अरबों रुपया खर्च कर रहे हैं उसमें अगर थोड़ी खराबी आ जाये तो हमारा बहुत सारा रुपया व्यर्थ हो जायेगा। यदि उसमें जरा सा लीकेज (leakage) हो जाये, सबटेरेनियन कैनल (subterranean canal) उसमें से बहने लगे तो हमारा करोड़ों रुपया व्यर्थ जा सकता है। मध्य प्रदेश में ऐसा हुआ कि एक दो तालाब पहले, २०, २५ साल पहले, बनाये गये, उसमें सब कुछ ठीक बना और कोई शिकायत नहीं हुई लेकिन बाद में देखा गया कि वहां की ज़मीन पोली है और परकोलेशन आफ वाटर (percolation of water) हो जाता है। तो ऐसी हालत में जो पैसा उसमें लगाया गया वह व्यर्थ हो गया। ऐसी स्थिति में यदि हमने अनुभवी इंजीनियरों को बुलाया जिन्होंने कि दुनिया में काम किया है और उनको अपनी नौकरी में रखकर राष्ट्रीय निर्माण का कार्य कराया तो इसमें हमारे मित्रों को शोभ नहीं होना चाहिए।

एक दो मित्रों ने और श्री सुन्दरैया ने कहा कि जो पैसा हम जिस काम के लिए देते हैं उसमें नहीं लगाया जाता है। मैं उनसे निवेदन करूंगा कि किसी भी सरकार में या किसी भी अर्थ मंत्री के विभाग में ऐसा नहीं होता है और यदि दूसरे विभाग में लगाया जाता है तो वह मंत्रिमंडल और अर्थ मंत्री की इच्छा और सलाह से लगाया जाता है और वह काम ऐसा होता है जो कि बहुत उपयोगी समझा जाता है और उस काम से जिस काम के लिए पैसा रखा गया है अधिक महत्व का और ज़रूरी होता है। ऐसे ज़रूरी और महत्व के कामों के लिए ही अर्थ विभाग रिअप्रोप्रि-

येशन ( Reappropriation ) से दूसरे विभाग को रुपया देता है। अब जब कि राष्ट्रीय सरकार है और जब कि अब राष्ट्रीय कर्मचारी हैं तब वे कभी भी ऐसा नहीं करेंगे कि पैसा होते हुए भी काम न करें या पैसे को बर्बाद करें।

इसके अतिरिक्त देश की हालत कुछ ऐसी हो गई है कि अर्थ की कमी है और काम बहुत अधिक है, खाने वाले बहुत हैं और अन्न बहुत कम पैदा होता है। देश के निर्माण के लिए पैसे की बहुत बड़ी निधि की आवश्यकता है। हमारी मांगें बहुत बड़ी बड़ी हैं और पैसे की कमी है इसलिए जिस गति से और जिस चाल से हम चल रहे हैं वह मैं समझता हूं कि संतोषजनक है।

अभी पट्टाभिरमन साहब ने कहा कि आन्ध्र स्टेट बन गया है और हमारा प्रान्त विभाजित हो रहा है इसलिए बड़ी मुश्किल आ रही है और हमें और पैसा देना चाहिए। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपसे बहुत नम्रता से निवेदन करूंगा कि मैं स्वयं व्यक्तिगत रूप से भाषावार प्रान्त के खिलाफ हूं। जब तक हम अपने राष्ट्र को ठोस न बना लें, उसका निर्माण न कर लें तब तक हम एक नाम पर या दूसरे नाम पर देश के टुकड़े करना पसन्द नहीं करते। जिन्ना साहब ने धर्म के नाम पर देश के टुकड़े करवाये और उसका परिणाम हमें यह भोगना पड़ा कि आज ६ साल होने को आये हैं लेकिन अभी तक लगभग एक करोड़ आदमी, ५० लाख पाकिस्तान में और ५० लाख यहां बेघरबार, बेरोज़गार पड़े हुए हैं। तो इसमें जितना पैसा खर्च हुआ, जितना भार हमारे ऊपर पड़ा वह न होता। जितनी हमारी राष्ट्रीय निर्माण की शक्ति थी उस शक्ति का व्यय और नाश इसमें हुआ। यदि इन पांच सालों में वह शक्ति हमें बर्बाद न करती पड़ती और राष्ट्रीय

[Shri R. U. Agnibhoj.]

निर्माण का कार्य उससे करना होता तो हमारा देश अब तक बहुत आगे बढ़ गया होता परन्तु वैसा नहीं हो सका। अब भाषावार प्रान्त के नाम पर भी धीरे करने जा रहे हैं। खुद वे मित्र जिन्होंने अपने प्रान्त के टुकड़े करवाये कहते हैं कि हमें मद्रास में पड़े रहने दो, आन्ध्र मत बनाओ। दूसरी ओर तामिलनाडु वाले कहते हैं कि हम क्या करें प्रान्त के दो टुकड़े हो गये इसलिए हमारा काम स्टैंडस्टिल (standstill) हो गया और हम बड़ी मुश्किल में हैं इसलिए हमें दो करोड़ की जगह पांच करोड़ रुपया दो। तो ऐसी स्थिति में भाषावार प्रान्त के बनाने से हम अपने ऊपर एक और अधिक जिम्मेदारी को ले लेते हैं और इससे अर्थ विभाग के ऊपर और हमारी धैली के ऊपर बहुत बड़ा बोझ पड़ने वाला है। इसलिए जहां तक हो सके इस भाषावार प्रान्त की रचना को अभी बन्द कर दें, रोक दें तो अच्छा है। अनुभव और एक्सपेरिमेंट (experiment) के लिए आपने आन्ध्र प्रान्त बनाया। मैं तो कहूंगा कि आपको आगे चल कर इसका वही अनुभव होने वाला है जोकि आपको हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान का अनुभव हुआ।

इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि वह लोग जो तामिल भाषा नहीं समझते हैं उनको आन्ध्र से भगाया जायेगा और जो लोग आन्ध्र भाषा नहीं समझते हैं उनको तामिल की ओर भगाया जायेगा। इसके साथ ही साथ वहां की सर्वसेज (services) में, वहां की जनता में, वहां के व्यापारियों में और दूसरे लोगों में एक उथल पुथल मच जायेगी और इस तरह से सारे देश में पाकिस्तान की तरह जगह जगह टुकड़े हो जायेंगे। इसलिए इस मनोवृत्ति को हमारे देश की सरकार को और जिम्मेदार लोगों को अधिक मजबूती के साथ रोकना चाहिये।

प्रत्येक भारतीय का जीवन बहुमूल्य है, विशेषकर इस प्रजातन्त्र राज्य में उसकी अमूल्य कीमत है। परन्तु हम दो चार आदमियों के मर जाने से लाखों लोगों की लाश तैयार करेंगे, देश को बरबाद करेंगे और इस बड़े देश के साथ अन्याय करेंगे। इसलिए आर्थिक दृष्टि से, राष्ट्रीय एकता की दृष्टि से, उन्नति की दृष्टि से और आगे बढ़ने की दृष्टि से यह आवश्यक है हम भाषावार प्रान्तों को बनने से रोकें और देश को अधिक बटने न दें।

अभी हमारे एक भाई ने कहा कि उनके प्रान्त में पानी की काफी तकलीफ है। हम चाहते हैं कि वह तकलीफ दूर की जानी चाहिए। अगर ५ करोड़ की जगह पर १० करोड़ रुपया भी दिया जाये तो मेरा इसमें कोई भी विरोध नहीं होगा। अगर इस एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल में पैसे की कमी है तो सप्लीमेंटरी डिमान्ड (Supplementary Demand) मांगी जा सकती है। उसके लिए यह आवश्यक नहीं है कि यह बिल पास न किया जाय। यह बिल पास होना ही चाहिए और जब भी आपको आवश्यक कार्य के लिए पैसों की आवश्यकता पड़े तो आप सहर्ष सरकार से मांग कर सकते हैं।

अभी हमारे भाई महन्ती जी ने आइरन और स्टील (iron and steel) के बारे में जिस ढिलाई की चर्चा की वह कुछ हद तक ठीक ही है। केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से इस योजना में अवश्य ढिलाई की जा रही है। जब हमारी सरकार कई सौ रुपया इस राष्ट्रीय कार्य पर खर्च कर रही है तो यह आवश्यक है कि वह उस कार्य को हर दृष्टि से देखें। आर्थिक दृष्टि से भी उसे देखना चाहिए और अनुभवी लोगों की सलाह लेनी चाहिए। दुनिया में जिन देशों में यह कार्य किया जा रहा है उनकी सलाह ली जानी चाहिए

जिससे कि सरकार को इस कार्य के पूरा करने में किसी तरह की कठिनाई का सामना न करना पड़े। मैं विश्वास के साथ कहता हूँ कि अगर इस तरह की सलाह ली गई और इस बात की पूरी जांच की गई तो इस तरह के आइरन और स्टील प्लांट (plant) को मध्य प्रदेश में ही पहली जगह मिलेगी, जहां पर कि हर तरह की सुविधायें मौजूद हैं।

A HON MEMBER :

माननीय सदस्य : बिहार में क्यों नहीं होना चाहिए

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ :

श्री आर० यू० अग्निभोज : मैं यह कहता हूँ कि हमें इस मतभेद में नहीं पड़ना चाहिए कि कहाँ पर यह बनना चाहिए, इससे तो आपस में मतभेद पैदा होगा और प्रान्तीयता का विषय फैलेगा। हमें यह देखना चाहिए कि इस तरह के कारखाने को कायम करने में आर्थिक दृष्टि से कहाँ ज्यादा फायदा होगा। यदि आर्थिक दृष्टि से और दूसरी सुविधाओं को देखकर बिहार, उड़ीसा या और किसी दूसरी जगह पर इस का कायम किया जाना देश के हित में है तो उस जगह में इसको बनाना चाहिये। परन्तु मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार से बलपूर्वक और साहस के साथ यह कहूँगा कि यदि आइरन स्टील का कारखाना कायम करना है तो वह बैना, छत्तीसगढ़, और बस्तर के आसपास हो सकता है। अगर दूसरी जगह यह बनाया गया तो वह आर्थिक दृष्टि से कभी भी कामयाब नहीं हो सकता।

इसी तरह से मैं आपसे यह भी कहता हूँ कि हमारे प्रान्त में पानी की भी कमी है अगर प्रान्तीय सरकार, म्युनिसिपलिटियाँ

और वहाँ की जनता स्वयं यह इन्तजाम कर सकती हैं, अतः इसके लिए आपको कष्ट नहीं देना चाहिए। हाँ, यदि यह बात उनकी शक्ति के बाहर होगी तो अवश्य वह आपकी सहायता के लिए आयेंगे और मुझे पूरी आशा है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की ओर से यह सहायता अवश्य प्रदान की जायेगी।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस एप्रोप्रिएशन बिल का हार्दिक अभिनन्दन करता हूँ और उसका स्वागत करते हुए अनुमोदन करता हूँ।

[For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No. 98.]

SHRI M. MANJURAN (Travancore-Cochin): Mr. Deputy Chairman, there are a lot of things to be said but I will say this much that this is an annual festivity when people take it up with wonderful agility and speak on it whatever they like and it has been customary and conventional that certain objections will be placed and I certain replies will be given and the society will go mostly by its own.

AN HON. MEMBER: You are growing philosophical.

SHRI M. MANJURAN: It is not philosophy; it is quite an ordinary thing. It is a piece of knowledge philosophically systematised. It is the authority to test life.

I think that this Central Government has got so many items of Administration and so large a number of Ministers which are not justified. Yesterday we were hearing the Home Minister saying the usefulness of decentralising the Administration, I mean the judicial Administration, but when we look at the Constitution of India we find that anything that is worthwhile is done at the Centre, and the States Ministries are practically doing nothing except quarrelling among themselves and creating all uncongenial situations in the country.

We have heard that in Rajas-than the quarrels in the Ministry are creating more troubles than anything good that could be done by that Ministry for the people. The same troubles have practically been found in every State Ministry.

SHRI T. PANDE: Question

SHRI M. MANJURAN: Pardon?

AN HON. MEMBER: He says "Question".

SHRI M. MANJURAN: Question? Question what?

AN HON. MEMBER: Your statement.

SHRI T. PANDE: What about the Uttar Pradesh Ministry?

SHRI M. MANJURAN: Oh, the Uttar Pradesh Ministry is the Government of India. It is not a State Ministry; it is the Central Ministry itself.

Well, I would take the example of my own State because I do not want to wound the feelings of other people. There, in my State, four Bills have been passed during the course of one year, according to the State Ministry's Report for the current year. These Bills relate first, to nurses. That is one Bill. Then there is the Travancore-Cochin Co-operative Bill, that is number two.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Manjuran, you cannot reflect upon the proceedings of the legislature of a State.

SHRI M. MANJURAN: I am not referring to the proceedings of the legislature, but I am speaking of the entire quantum of legislative work done by that legislature and it has been the passage of just four Bills. And even they are not original Bills but only amending Bills. There was a Cochin Co-operative Act and there was also a Travancore Co-operative Act and these have been \_\_\_\_\_

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Whatever it is. I think the rules prevent the

criticism of the proceedings of a State Legislature.

SHRI M. MANJURAN: I do not criticise the proceedings at all. It is not the proceedings that I refer to, but the outcome of the entire legislative activity that has been there. And this is so because the Centre is saddled with too much work and the States have nothing left to be done by them.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): That is the Constitution; we cannot abrogate the Constitution.

SHRI M. MANJURAN: But I felt that there were very important things that the State Ministries should actually handle, and which they cannot handle under the present circumstances. I am sorry; I did not want to cast any reflection on the proceedings of the Travancore-Cochin Legislative Assembly. But these are the only Bills that were passed there. And in a matter that is of any serious import to the people of Travancore-Cochin, for instance, for the industrialisation of that State, nothing could be done by that Ministry and everything has to be done by the Ministry here. According to the answers given to certain questions in this Council, no industrial survey of that State has been conducted^ so "Tar. It has been also stated that some of the items of public works that were going on in the State have been incorporated in the Plan and nothing else has been done. This means that the Travancore-Cochin Government themselves cannot do anything and the Central Government here could not do anything. I would say that the two items that the Department of Natural Resources have conducted are the testing of clay at Kundara and the other the tests carried in of rare earths. Unfortunately, if my information is correct, both these things were done by foreign firms and not now but probably a long time ago. All what I mean to say is that in the Centre there are so many Ministers and the Centre has got so many things to do. So they are not able to do all that. In the States also there are so

many Ministers and they have nothing to do in the States with the result that they quarrel there, and for the Central Ministers, who do not know the local conditions, it is not possible to do anything. Things do not move at all. This is my experience. For instance, recently there has been terrific unemployment and industrial break-down in Travancore-Cochin. Almost all the factories have been closed for want of electricity or for other reasons. Today I think there are one or two factories working, but tens of thousands of industrial workers are unemployed. Of course, it is a State subject, but the State Government has always the excuse that they have not got the necessary funds to look after these matters. The Central Government have the excuse that the State Government should look after these things. So, between these two authorities, not being fixed either at the State nor properly centralised, the whole Administration is showing symptoms of considerable deterioration and not progress. I am suggesting that more power should be given to the States and that is the only way in which the Central Administration could curtail its expenses. I do not know exactly what is the present number of the Ministers here. I think their number should be—with all the Parliamentary Secretaries and the rest of them—about 39, and that is a very huge number. In other federal constitutions, the number of subjects dealt with by the Centre is very few with the result the Central subjects are properly administered and the State subjects are also properly administered. But here, the responsibility not being properly apportioned, either party has got an excuse and blames the other and the result is that the people are always suffering. Regarding the State Ministry's activities also, they have stated in their report that many things have been done by them in the whole of India and they have got a system of a network of informants to give them sufficient information about the working of the various State Ministries. This was there even earlier, before the present Independent Government took 21 C.S.D.

charge of things and when the British Government was here. They also had a network of informants in every State which was controlled by the Residencies. But I do not understand why today these informants should be kept in the various States. This is something that is acknowledged by the Ministry's Report and I am afraid that more than their quantum of authority is being abused in the State by the Central Government. Every State has got the inherent right to work for itself and rise on its own legs. I am afraid the Central Government will not be able to understand the local conditions and will not be able to guide everything properly. So the very first thing to be done is to have greater decentralisation, and thus the expenses of the Central Government should be reduced by the reduction of the number of Ministries here and by the handing over of various subjects to the State Governments. We have got here a Department of Labour. The other day I put a question to the Minister for Labour to supply me the statistics regarding unemployment and employment in India. I wanted him to tell me how many skilled workers were employed and how many of them were unemployed and the categories of these workers.

Unfortunately, the Labour Department has acknowledged its inability to provide these figures as they have no statistics in the matter. I want to know what the function of the Labour Ministry is at all. I do not want to compare with advanced countries; there are historical reasons why they have advanced but in this country the Labour Department has not kept a reasonable record of unemployment or employment with the result that it is impossible for us to understand the intensity of the problems that are actually confronting the country. When that is the position, when the responsible Department is not able to give the relevant information on the point, we, who are not having the convenience to get the details of it, are not even able to criticise the Government conducted in this anarchic fashion. There

[Shri M. Manjuran.]

should be some knowledge somewhere; without this, the only conditions that prevail are anarchical. No law regulates employment and no law regulates unemployment with the result that the vast number of unemployed people will remain unemployed for years to come in this country. With all these, the Labour Minister and the Deputy Labour Minister have been going round and round the country advocating the people to join the Indian National Trade Union Congress, advocating people to join this labour organisation and advocating people not to join that labour organisation. We have noticed this with great regret. In a democratic country, the Ministers who have never been able to discharge their responsibilities properly, who have never cared to understand the serious problems confronting them, who cannot co-ordinate the figures of employment with unemployment and who could not give a reply for the information of the country, are going round the country canvassing support for a particular trade union movement to the detriment of the other trade union movements. Now, if that is the condition that is going to prevail in the Labour Ministry, the serious questions that confront the people of this country can never be solved. I have referred to matters in my State. There, it so happened that a particular case was referred to an adjudicator where a company retrenched some of its staff. It so happened that the President of that Union happened to be the Labour Minister also. After the Appellate Tribunal had pronounced its verdict on the matter, the President of the Union who was a complainant in the case decided that the Appellate Tribunal's decision should be set aside. Such are the enormous misunderstanding of labour matters at the State level and at the Central level because it is not in an objective manner that these questions are studied and these questions are dealt with. We do not want that the whole country should be under a scheme of convulsion; we do not want that a sudden

revolution should upset all calculations. But we have got a right to demand normal existence under a scheme of things. That is not found here because sufficient information on any matter is not forthcoming. What does it show? It shows gross inefficiency on the part of the Labour Ministry. With all that we are going to vote for this Ministry, this Ministry is only going to further abuse the amounts that it has at its disposal. So, what we want the Labour Ministry to do is to immediately collect vital statistics with regard to employment of the people and vital statistics with regard to the manner in which they could be usefully employed. Here is talk now about the Plan; there is much denunciation of people talking against it, but when proper assessment has not been made of the manpower of this country and the directions in which it could be usefully utilised, they cannot work an economic plan on a scientific system; it would be merely haphazard; it should be just like the old conventional system where people did what they did and things moved because they did what they liked to do. There is no other meaning that can be presently attached to the Five Year Plan, but it should have been the duty of the planners as well as the Labour Ministry and all other associated Ministries to find where human energies are being idly wasted, to find what amount of national regeneration could be whipped up by usefully canalising them; but, nobody is there to think over it. My friend there was speaking against linguistic States. I was surprised to hear it. He said that it was something like Mr. Jinnah wanting Pakistan; it was something like cutting this country right as under and giving part of it to devils. I am surprised at the gross ignorance displayed about such problems. This country has never been scientifically divided into States so that organised Governments could function effectively and efficiently in all parts. That has been the trouble with this country. History teaches us that this country has been for centuries un-

de, foreign domination. It was ruled by one invader at one time and it was another invader who ruled *at another* time with the result that there has been apportionment, there have been divisions which were never logical, which were never practical. It only used to be according to the convenience and according to the type of the foreign invaders, but the country has passed that stage. We are now in an independent country. We want the things to be changed properly. All people talking the same language should be grouped together. My friend there does not realise the inconvenience that he was causing when he was talking in Hindi which we could not follow. Actually, we were sitting here without properly understanding him and murmuring something else. Here, I am reminded of a story in the Bible where it is said that the Jews wanted to build a ground *gopura* to heaven and because God became jealous of this great enterprise, he divided the people to talk different languages so that there should never be uniformity among them.

It has been a fundamental fact and it is a fundamental national unity on which the problem of language rests. It is not a very simple thing. We want a common understanding. The ordinary labourer wants common understanding; he wants to know what the other man talks about. In a country where Tamil is talked, where Malayalam is talked, where Kanarese is talked, where Telugu is talked and where various other dialects are talked, people do not understand each other. People coming from the South are threatened practically by the people of the North that they will talk only in Hindi because they want the other people to learn it. It has almost become an obsession with some people to take that attitude. Talking Hindi in a particular sphere is not going to propagate Hindi; on the contrary, it is going to be opposed because labourers in our country, peasants in our country, common masses in our country, are not going to learn this language for another 20 years even if the greatest of efforts were to

be made. What are you going to do with them? The Government runs at the Centre, with a majority of the people talking in Hindi, and in insisting that Hindi should be forced on the minority languages it is doing a terrible thing which will be resisted. The first resistance against this tyranny is the demand for the linguistic provinces. If the people of the North who are now professing too much love for their language, who did not have the courage to profess this affection and love during the times when the foreign invaders came to India and conquered them, if they want to send that tyranny to us in the South, we are going to resist and it is our democratic right to resist.

SHRI R. U. AGNIBHOJ: You are going to cut yourself off from the rest of the country.

SHRI M. MANJURAN: I do not understand this. A country can never be cut and put into the sea. It is a mere wilful legendary fiction that you are creating that the division of the country into linguistic states will be cutting one place and putting it into some other place. We are not going to join with, say, even Russia; we are not even going to China; we are not going to join with Europe; we are going to remain where we are but we want a linguistic redistribution of the country. Even in this small State of Travancore there are two kinds of people, one talking Tamil and another talking Malayalam and there are interminable dissensions between these two sections. We want to put a stop to this discord which has arisen out of this linguistic problem. We want a scientific organisation of this country and we know that a scientific system requires a proper classification of everything under proper categories. You cannot take an assorted view and say that you have made a scientific analysis. A proper analysis of this country into its linguistic units will be the only solution and these linguistic units should have greater administrative powers if necessary.

My place which is inhabited by 1,015 persons per sq. mile on an average and



[Shri M. Manjuran.] which has between 2,500 to 5,000 persons per sq. mile on the coastal areas where the population is so dense, yet it has not got an industry of its own which could give employment to the people. Now, when I look at Bombay, when I look at Madras, when I look at Calcutta, all these places are studded with industrial organisations and industrial enterprises. There is something wrong that has been happening to my place, not because capital formation is bad there but because the policy of the Central Government has not always been fair to us. If we are to be honest, these large numbers of people inhabiting—over 1,015 per sq. mile—the area should have proper work every day, should have proper wages every day. It is not a fantastic demand that we are putting forward. We are only asking for our right to exist, which right is denied to us. The pressure on land there is very heavy and even today I am ashamed to say that the statutory ration provided there is 4 lb. You might not have it here in the North. The problems there are entirely different. Here you have got 16 oz. of rations or 12 oz. perhaps. But I come from a place in India, from the same undivided India, indivisible India, I come from a place where the ration is only 4-1/2 oz. The Food Department will say, "We have been meting out justice to everybody." The Agriculture Department will say, "We have been stepping up production to create a paradise out of this country." I was looking the other day at a pamphlet about the Japanese method of cultivation, an elaborately illustrated pamphlet, distributed very generously by the Department of Agriculture. I found that per acre the agriculturist should put 200 cartloads of cow dung or compost manure, 200 pounds of chemical manures and he should go on watering if he is to have an yield of 30 maunds per acre. I quite agree with this proposition but the question is whether the agriculturists of this country can afford to put 200 cartloads of cow dung or compost manure per

acre, 200 pounds of chemical manure and can afford to water the field sufficiently. This question has not been thought about. You say to the peasants, you go on watering and you will have more crops. I think even the silliest peasant, the most unintelligent man in India knew this for the last so many centuries and I could have shown the Agricultural Minister better system of cultivation prevailing in our place. But what is the average\* acreage? That is the trouble. There are various factors—erosion of the soil, due to percolation and so many other things. Nothing is dealt with in this; particular pamphlet but certain illustrations are given there to tell the peasantry of India that they could increase the agricultural yield by putting more manure and giving more\* water. Nobody ever contested that point. Does it require any wisdom to state such an obvious thing, such a platitudinous thing? I should have thought that the Agriculture Ministry had as its function to provide greater amount of manure to the country and greater amount of watering facilities to the peasant rather than talking to them that it is water that gives more-yield. These are too common things and however ignorant the Indian peasant may be, he does not need to be told these things. I remember having read of these things even in the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture. Our people may be unintelligent, but they understand their work. Their literary abilities might be poor, but it is not that they do not know the art of cultivation. The point is that for the last so many centuries the soil of India is being exploited. There has been considerable erosion, considerable scarcity of water, want of manure and all these things. Everybody knew it. I could repeat almost with veracity these suggestions were there in the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture which was published. I think, some 25 or 26 years ago.

Why burden the people with further literature? Here the question is different. The Agriculture Minister went

■all the way .to Ernakulam recently to teach the people about coconut cultivation. I could tell him with almost the veracity of all the Research Officers here as to what is to be done for a coconut to grow and yield properly. We have been cultivating coconut for hundreds of years and we have those hundreds of years of experience of coconut cultivation behind us. We know every point about this. But the trouble is want of land again. You cannot go and cultivate coconut trees ■on the tops of mountains. They do not yield there. But these things—what is the position, what is to be done, how it is to be distributed, how it is to be used—these problems have never been faced by the Agriculture Ministry. They go on advising everybody -as to the necessity of increasing production if he wants to eat more. Well, I knew as a child of six—and I think others knew it much earlier than me— that there was no need of telling all these things. Practical ways have to be devised to whip up national production. We want the people of India to work. Working hard is the only way to progress. Whatever may be the suggestion, the suggestion should be practical, to harness the people into a system of hard work, not to create idealistic conditions. It is not a question of saying we have got a Community Project here, a *panchayat* here, which cannot carry conviction with the poor "people. "Take the Community Project in my place; they are building roads, "but all the time, as far as I remember, there has been no scarcity of roads. And they say, they are going to build wells and for all the years I have lived in the country there, we have never known scarcity of water. I do not know how these Community Projects are working, what relevancy they have got to the place. Of their application. The trouble is that

somebody remotely sitting, with almost a yogic detachment, is making plans which are not likely to work. That is the trouble. "What is required is a mobilisation of the peasantry of the place. The peasantry of the place

has to understand that this country has to be worked up by them and there fore work only could produce results. That was done in Russia, and that is being done in China.

When we refer to that, people say, "Oh, they are different." I for one do not subscribe to the view that anybody should go to Russia or to China. One can stand on one's own legs and work with one's hands to improve conditions in this country. There is no point in looking up and blinking always. The point is, the Ministers here should harness the energies of the people. The people every day are losing working time. The people are idle. Their health is deteriorating for want of proper food. I could understand if Government was doing something. Government is not doing anything at all. Nowhere is anything being done. Now Government will say that they have got a scheme of industrialisation, they have got schemes like river valley projects etc. All these big schemes are good for propaganda purposes, but they are not good from the practical point of view; they do not produce more. Even if what is contemplated in the Plan is taken for granted, it will require years before the present penurious condition of the Indian population can be relieved.

What actually we want is a situation in which our Ministers take a more active interest in knowing the people of India and in knowing the kind of work that should be allotted to them. What happens in the case of foreign experts is this. They come here. They are not interested in the advancement of this country. It is because we feel that this one aspect, national advancement, cannot be properly tackled by foreign experts that we have been consistently opposing their employment. Further, there is this difficulty, that this Plan has always been opposed by economists on the basis that it is an agricultural plan and not an industrial plan. Some literature has been placed in our hands to show that there is an effort to industrialise the country more and more. But we do not see it

[Shri M. Manjuran.] that way. I do not think that any industry is going to come to my State for many years to come. I have seen the development schemes. Nowhere is it mentioned that there is a scheme for setting up a factory or for increasing the production of existing factories. And how could it be done? It could not be done, because no proper survey has taken place.

So, it is the first duty of the Government to give more responsibility to the States and ask them to do things for themselves, and only to exercise such supervisory powers as are quite necessary. It is for the Central Government to take Communications, Foreign Affairs and such items of Administration as are dealt with by other federal governments, and to leave the States free to develop by their innate virtues, by the innate virtues of their people. It is only by the innate virtues of the people that they can progress by themselves. In that way we can progress in a systematic manner, in a scientific manner, and in that way we can do things much better.

Regarding the Health Ministry, I found while travelling in the trains that a lot of lepers were going around in this country. I also found, whenever I went to a place of pilgrimage or a place of festivity, that a lot of lepers were around. I do not know the incidence of contagion that is caused by the free movement of lepers in railway trains and also in the country, especially at places of pilgrimage. I do not know what action has been taken to prevent such free movement; I do not know what action has been taken to concentrate these people and give them sufficient facilities to live so that they are not at large in the country spreading contagion from place to place. This is tragically true not only of leprosy but of other diseases like tuberculosis. A lot of interest is evinced by the Government, and conferences are held, and large sums of money are spent. But all this has not been very useful even in controlling the movement of people who have contracted the deadly disease of

leprosy. More care has to be taken. This is an instance how practical issues are being forgotten and we live in a kind of ethereal world preaching virtues to every one. I could listen to the Ministers' laborious speeches on policy and so many other things. But I cannot understand what practical effect they have. We could listen to speeches on the virtues of self-contentment and abstinence and so many other things. A lot of books have been written on that subject and we have read some of them at least. But what we want now is a practical method by which the general condition of the country is improved. In my State of Travancore-Cochin, most of the factories are now not working on account of 60 per cent, cut in electric power, followed by a hundred per cent, cut.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member is repeating the point.

SHRI M. MANJURAN: This is in-order to get on to another point.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member has already taken 40 minutes.

SHRI M. MANJURAN: I thought nobody was interested.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House is very patient. The hon. Member should finish now.

SHRI M. MANJURAN: So, Sir, these matters have to be looked into and we have to be given an assurance that the question of employment will be dealt with more energetically and more efficiently than it is today. Whether we passed this Bill or not it does not matter, because it is not going to affect its passage. But I wish it Godspeed, because there is no use in stopping it. But let it be used for the good of the country.

[Khawaja Inait Ullah.]

خواجہ عنایت اللہ : ڈپٹی چیئرمین

صاحب - آج ہم لوگ سنہ ۱۹۵۱ء  
کے ایپروپیشن بل (Appropriation)

(Bill) پر بحث کر رہے ہیں - میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ایک مہینہ سے زیادہ ہوا کہ ہم لوگ بجٹ پر پورے طور سے بحث کر چکے ہیں - اس ہاؤس میں بھی ہم لوگوں نے اور ہمارے اعتراض کرنے والوں نے کافی سے زیادہ اعتراضات کئے اور یقیناً ان سب اعتراضوں کا منہ توڑ جواب بھی دیا جا چکا ہے - آج اس بل کو لانے کا مطلب صرف یہ ہے کہ کانسٹی ٹوشنل ایک رقم حکومت کے لئے منظوری دینا ہے کہ وہ اس طرح سے منسٹری میں خرچ کی جا سکے آج اگر ہم ہر منسٹری پر اعتراض کرنے بیٹھ جائیں اور ہر منسٹری کی غلطیوں کو نکالنا شروع کر دیں تو میرا خیال ہے کہ یہ بے وقت کی شہنائی ہوگی - میں نے ابھی تک جتنے مخالفت کرنے والوں کی تقریر سنی ہے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ وہ مخالفت کرنے کے لئے ہر اچھی سے اچھی بات میں کوئی نہ کوئی قصور اور کوئی نہ کوئی غلطی نکالنے کی کوشش کرتے ہیں - اگر وہ لوگ بجٹ غلطی نکالنے کے اور خواہ مخواہ کے اعتراض کرنے کی بجائے اپنے قیمتی وقت کو اور اس ہاؤس کی شان کو اونچا کرتے ہوئے صحیح جذبات سے کام لیں اور صحیح اعتراضات کریں تو میں بھی ان کے اعتراضوں کے ساتھ شریک ہو سکتا ہوں میں حکومت کی ہر بات کی نائید کرنے والوں میں سے نہیں ہوں - میں

جانتا ہوں کہ حکومت غلطی بھی کرتی ہے اور حکومت میں کچھ خامیاں بھی موجود ہیں - جتنی ترقی اس وقت تک ہمارے ملک میں ہوئی چاہئے نہی یا جتنی ترقی کی ہم کو ضرورت ہے اور جتنا جن تکلیفوں کو برداشت کر رہی ہے وہ ہمیں درر کرنی چاہئے - وہ یقیناً ہم درر نہیں کر پائے ہیں - اگر ہم ٹھنڈے دل سے غور کریں تو ہم اس نتیجے پر پہنچنے میں کہ اس وقت تک جتنی تکلیفیں ہمارے دیس میں ہیں یا جتنی خامیاں ہماری حکومت میں موجود ہیں جن کو اعتراض کی شکل میں ہر روز کسی نہ کسی بہانے ہم لوگ پیش کرتے رہتے ہیں اگر ہم ان کی اصلی وجوہات کی طرف غور کریں تو ہم کو معلوم ہو جائے گا کہ ان اعتراضوں کی کیا حقیقت ہے -

ابھی ہمارے ایک دوست نے فرمایا تھا کہ اس بجٹ کی رقم کو دیکھکر معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ خرچ بڑھتا جا رہا ہے اور آمدنی گھٹتی جا رہی ہے - یہ ان کا اعتراض تھا - میں کہتا ہوں کہ یہ چھڑکے خرچ بڑھتا جا رہا ہے یہ کوئی اعتراض کی بات نہیں ہے یہ تو ہماری حکومت کے لئے تعریف کی بات ہے - جس ملک میں غلہ کی کمی ہے جس ملک میں کپڑا پہننے کو نہیں ملتا اور جس ملک

[Khawaja Inait Ullah.]

میں دیہات ے رہنے والے تھے پگاؤں چلتے ہیں اور ایک وقت کا کہانا بھی نصیب نہیں ہوتا ہے - جس ملک کے رہنے والے جھونپڑیوں میں رہتے ہیں اور کافی مکان رہنے کے لئے نہیں ملتے ہیں جس ملک میں کھیتی کرنے کے لئے پانی نہیں ملتا ہے جس ملک میں زندگی آرام سے بسر کرنے کے لئے کوئی موقع نہیں ملتا ہے اگر اس ملک کی حکومت ہر سال اپنا خرچہ بڑھاتی نہ رہے ہر سال اپنا بجٹ زیادہ نہ کرے تو وہ کس طرح سے اپنے ملک کی ان سب تکلیفوں کو دور کر سکتی ہے - ان سب کاموں کو ترقی دینے کے لئے ہماری حکومت کو ہر سال خرچہ بڑھانا ہی ہوگا - اگر یہ بڑھانے کا کیا تو ہم یہ کہیں گے کہ ہلدوستان کی ترقی روک دی گئی - مثال کے طور پر ایک کسان اپنی کھیتی میں غلہ پیدا کرتا ہے اگر وہ چاہے کہ اپنے کھیت میں زیادہ غلہ پیدا کرے تو اس کو اپنا خرچہ بڑھانا ہوگا - کس طرح سے اس کا خرچہ ہوگا اس کو ایک کنواں کھودنا ہوگا کچھ بیل خریدنے ہونگے کچھ زیادہ مزدور رکھنے ہونگے تو اس طرح سے اس کا خرچہ بڑھتا اور ساتھ ساتھ اناج کی پیداوار بھی زیادہ ہوگی - اسی طرح سے اگر ہم کو اپنے دیہوں کی چلنا کی تکلیفوں کو دور کرنا ہے تو ہمیں لازمی اپنے خرچہ کو بڑھانا ہوگا کیونکہ ہمارے خرچہ

بڑھائے ہوئے ان سب تکلیفوں کو دور نہیں کر سکتے اور نہ ملک ترقی کر سکتا ہے -

اس کے علاوہ میرے ایک دوست نے یہ بھی کہا کہ بجٹ میں ۲۱۵ کروڑ کی جو رقم فوج کے خرچہ کے لئے رکھی گئی ہے وہ بہت زیادہ ہے - جس روز بجٹ پر بحث ہو رہی تھی اور ہمارے ٹیفینس مینسٹر صاحب یہاں بیٹھے ہوئے تھے اگر مجھے موقع ملتا تو میں ان سے کہتا اور دنیا کا نقشہ ان کے سامنے دکھاتا کہ اس وقت ساری دنیا میں جنگ کے بادل چھائے ہوئے ہیں - آپ ایران کی طرف دیکھ لیجئے افریقہ کی طرف دیکھ لیجئے اور مشرقی ممالک میں ہر جگہ ایک طوفان سا چھایا ہوا ہے کہ کب لڑائی چھو جائے - کوریا کی لڑائی تو چل ہی رہی ہے جس سے ہر وقت ساری دنیا میں ایک عالمگیر جنگ پھیل جانے کا خطرہ بنا ہوا ہے تو ہمیں اپنی حفاظت کے لئے غریبوں کی حمایت کرنے کے لئے دنیا میں صلح کو قائم کرنے کے لئے کچھ نہ کچھ فوج پر خرچ کرنا ضروری ہے - کم سے کم ہمیں اپنے بچاؤ کے لئے فوج کی ضرورت ہے ہی ہے - آج ہماری حالت کیا ہے - ہمارے پاس نہ کافی ہوائی جہاز ہیں نہ ہمارے پاس کافی سٹوری جہاز ہیں نہ ہماری فوج اس طرح کے سازوسامان سے لیس ہے جس طرح سے کہ

دوسری فوجیں نئے قسم کے ساز و سامان سے لیس ہیں۔ اس پر بھی ہمارے دوست کہتے ہیں کہ فوج پر بہت زیادہ روپیہ خرچ کیا جا رہا ہے۔ میں تو کہونگا کہ ہماری فوج پر بہت کم خرچ کیا جا رہا ہے۔ یہ خرچ ہم کیوں کم کر رہے ہیں کیونکہ ہم کو دوسری اشد ضرورت زندگی کی چیزوں کے لئے پیسے کی ضرورت ہے۔ اگر ہم کو ان چیزوں سے نجات مل جائے تو ہم اپنی فوج پر زیادہ خرچ کر سکتے ہیں۔ مثلاً پیسہ بھرنے کے لئے اناج کی ضرورت ہے پہلے کے لئے کپڑے کی ضرورت ہے کھیتی کرنے کے لئے نہری پانی کی ضرورت ہے تو اس طرح سب چیزوں کی ہمیں ضرورت ہے چنکو کہ ہم پوائنٹی دے چکے ہیں۔ آج جب کہ دوسرے ملکوں میں فوج کے لئے سائنٹفک طریقوں سے ایٹم بم وغیرہ جیسے مہلک اور طرح طرح کے خطرناک طریقوں کی چیزیں بنائی جا رہی ہیں اس کو دیکھتے ہوئے یہ اعتراض کرنا کہ ہماری فوج پر ۲۱۵ کروڑ روپیہ کا خرچ زیادہ ہے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ یہ ان کا اعتراض نہایت ہی غلط ہے۔ بلکہ ان کو تو یہ کہنا چاہئے تھا کہ دنیا کی ان حالتوں کو دیکھتے ہوئے یہ بجٹ بہت کم ہے مگر وہ الٹا اعتراض کرتے ہیں کہ فوج پر بہت زیادہ خرچ کیا جا رہا ہے۔ ہمارا ملک ہندوستان ایک بہت بڑا ملک ہے جس کے تین طرف سمندر ہے جسکی

ہمیں حفاظت کرنی ہے۔ اس کے لئے ہمیں ایک بہت بڑے اور مضبوط سمندری بیڑے کی ضرورت ہے۔ آج کی جو لڑائی ہے وہ ہوائی جہازوں کی لڑائی ہے اس کے لئے بھی ہمیں اپنے ملک کو تیار کرنا ہے گو کہ ہم جنگ کرنا نہیں چاہتے اور نہ کبھی ہم جنگ کرینگے لیکن ہمیں اپنے بیچاؤ کے لئے ضرور انتظام کرنا ہے اور اس کے لئے ہمیں فوج کی ضرورت ہے۔ اگر ہمارے اعتراض کرنے والے دوست جیسا کہ دوسرے ملکوں کا حوالہ دیتے ہوئے ہم پر اعتراض کرتے ہیں اور ہم کو انہیں ملکوں کی طرح بنانا چاہتے ہیں ان ملکوں کی حالت پر غور کریں تو انہیں معلوم ہوگا کہ وہاں ان کی فوجوں پر کتنا روپیہ خرچ کیا گیا ہے اور کتنا خرچ کیا جا رہا ہے۔ میں آپ کو بتاؤں کہ روس میں جب آزادی ملی تو اس نے اپنے ملک کی کل آمدنی کا  $\frac{1}{3}$  حصہ اپنے ملک کے دیولپمنٹ میں لگا دیا۔ ہم بھی اس طرح زیادہ روپیہ خرچ کرتے اگر ہماری حکومت ایک ڈکٹیٹر شپ کی حکومت ہوتی یا ایک پارٹی کی ایسی حکومت ہوتی جس کے سامنے کسی کی مجال نہ ہوتی کہ وہ کسی قسم کا اعتراض کر سکتا تو ہم بھی من مانے ڈھنگ سے ٹیکس لگاتے۔ جس کا چاہتے گھر لوٹ لیتے جس کا چاہتے خزانہ لوٹ لیتے اور ہر طرح

KHWAJA INAIT ULLAH:

سے جیسا چاہتے کرتے مگر ہم جمہوریت پسند ہیں۔ ہماری روایات تو یہ کہتی ہیں کہ ہم امن و صلح سے رہیں۔ جہان تک ہو سکے آسانی سے بغیر کسی امیر غریب کا امتیاز کئے ہوئے اپنے ملک میں خوشحالی لائیں اور ترقی کرتے رہیں بڑھتے جائیں اور یقیناً ہم بڑھ رہے ہیں۔

میرے ایک دوست نے کہا کہ شہر میں تو لوگ بڑھ رہے ہیں مگر دیہاتوں میں جا کر دیکھئے تو لوگوں کی وہی حالت ہے جو پہلے تھی۔ مجھے تعجب ہوتا ہے کہ اس ہاؤس کے اندر ایک انٹریبل مسٹر ہندوستان کے دیہاتوں کے متعلق یہ کہتا ہے کہ ہندوستان کے دیہات اپنی پرانی حالت پر ہیں۔ ہندوستان کی اسی فی صدی آبادی نے کچھ ترقی نہیں کی ہے۔ میں جانتا ہوں کہ میرے دوست صرف شہر ہی میں رہتے ہونگے۔ انہوں نے کبھی دیہات میں جانے کی تکلیف کوارا نہ کی ہوگی۔ اگر وہ دیہاتوں میں گئے ہوتے تو ان کو معلوم ہوتا کہ آج سے پانچ سال پہلے کسانوں کی جو حالت تھی اس میں اور آج کی حالت میں کتنا فرق ہو گیا ہے اس کو بتانے کی ضرورت نہیں۔ میں جانتا ہوں کہ آج سے پانچ سال پہلے جو

کسان کبھی پاؤں میں دیہاتی جوتا بھی نہیں پہن سکتا تھا وہی کسان آج بوت اور شو پہنتا ہے۔ دیہاتوں میں آج جگہ جگہ ریڈیو لگے ہوئے ہیں دیہاتوں میں سرکیں بن چکی ہیں اور کئی طرح کے منیجمنٹ کام کئے جا رہے ہیں۔ آپ کو معلوم ہونا چاہئے کہ اس تھوڑے سے عرصے میں ہندوستان کی چلتا میں کتنی تعلیم بڑھا دی گئی ہے کتنے اسکول کھولے جا چکے ہیں کتنے کالج کھولے جا چکے ہیں

AN HON. MEMBER:

ایک انٹریبل مسٹر: یہ آپ کہاں کی بات کہ رہے ہیں۔

KHWAJA INAIT ULLAH:

خواجہ غلامیت الہ: میں اپنے صوبہ بہار کے متعلق تو کہتا ہی ہوں مگر پنجاب دلی یوپی اور کئی دوسرے صوبوں کے دیہاتوں میں ہماری سرکار کی طرف سے اس طرح کی تعلیم کا بندوبست کیا گیا ہے اور کیا جا رہا ہے۔ آج دیہاتوں میں پرائمری اسکولوں کی تعداد بہت بڑھ گئی ہے اور وہاں پر ہزاروں ماسٹر دیہاتی چلتا کو تعلیم دے رہے ہیں۔

AN HON. MEMBER:

ایک انٹریبل مسٹر: تب ہی آج کل ماسٹروں کی ہوتا جا رہی ہے۔

KHWAJA INAIT ULLAH:

خواجہ غلامیت الہ: آپ لوگوں سے جو غلط راستہ ان آرٹس کو بتایا

ہے اسی کی وجہ سے ان ماہیروں نے یہ راستہ اختیار کیا ہے۔ یہ لوگ اپنے سبق کو تو بھول گئے ہیں کہ جس سے وہ بچوں کو تعلیم دیکر سدھار سکیں لیکن آپ لوگوں سے ایک غلط طریقہ سیکھ لیا ہے جو آج کل وہ عمل میں لا رہے ہیں۔ ہماری حکومت دیہاتوں کی سڑکوں پر مدرسوں پر اور دیہات والوں کی صحت پر کافی دھیان دے رہی ہے۔ اگر آپ بجٹ کو اچھی طرح سے دیکھیں تو آپ کو معلوم ہوگا کہ ہماری سرکار نے دیہات میں جو اسی فی صدی چلتا رہتی ہے اس کے لئے بہت دھچکا کیا ہے اور کر رہی ہے۔ یہ اس بات سے ثابت ہوتا ہے کہ آج سے دو سال یا چار سال پہلے دیہاتوں کی جو حالت تھی وہ آج نہیں ہے۔ ہماری سرکار چاہتی ہے کہ ہم اپنے دیہاتوں کی حالت کو سو فی صدی سدھار دیں اور وہاں ترقی کر دیں تاکہ ہمارے مخالف لوگوں کو یہ کہنے کا موقع نہ رہے کہ ہمارا رویہ بیکار میں ضائع ہو رہا ہے اور کوئی کام ترقی کا نہیں ہو رہا ہے۔ صرف شہر والوں کی ہی ترقی ہو رہی ہے اور گاؤں والوں کی نہیں ہو رہی ہے۔ یہ تو ایسی بات ہے کہ چورنگ ہوتے ہوئے بھی نوٹی اپنی آنکھ بند کر لے اور یہ کہے کہ اندھیرا ہو رہا ہے تو اس طرح کی بات کو دنیا ماننے کو کبھی تیار نہیں ہوگی۔

آپ کی زبان اپنی ہے آپ کہتے رہیں

اور ہم سنتے رہیں گے۔ دنیا اس کو جانتی ہے کہ ہندوستان کتنی تیزی سے ترقی کر رہا ہے اور خاص کر ہندوستان کے دیہات اور غریب کسان کتنی ترقی کر رہے ہیں۔ کیا اس حکومت نے مزدوروں کے لئے قانون نہیں بنائے۔ کیا اس نے دیہاتوں کے لئے مائٹر اور مینجر پروجیکٹس (minor and major projects) نہیں بنائے۔ آپ یہ سب جانتے ہیں لیکن اعتراض کرتے وقت بھول جاتے ہیں اور سمجھتے ہیں کہ جو بھی ہو رہا ہے وہ تو ہو ہی رہا ہے مگر ہمارا کام اعتراض کرنا ہے اس لئے اعتراض کر دیں۔

اس میں کوئی شک نہیں ہے کہ جو پرفیکٹنس (perfectness) آپ چاہتے ہیں اس کو ہم آپ سے زیادہ چاہتے ہیں۔ جس طرح آپ ہندوستان کو دیکھنا چاہتے ہیں، جس طرح آپ ہندوستان میں جگہ جگہ پھول دیکھنا چاہتے ہیں۔ اسی طرح ہم بھی ایسی حالت آپ سے زیادہ دیکھنا چاہتے ہیں مگر فرق یہ ہے کہ آپ یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ الہ دین کے جادو کے چورنگ کو رگڑ دیا جائے اور مشکل بن جائے اور ہم چاہتے ہیں کہ یہ پریکٹیکل وے (practical way) عملی طور سے ہو اور اس طرح ہو جس طرح کہ دنیا نے ترقی کی ہے۔ جس طرح کہ دنیا کے دوسرے ملکوں نے ترقی کی ہے اس طرح ہم بھی ترقی کرنا چاہتے ہیں اور جو ترقی دوسرے ملکوں نے پچیس اور پچاس



[Khawaja Inait Ullah.]

برس میں کی ہے وہ ترقی ہم ۱۵  
برس میں کرینگے اور وہ پریکٹیکل  
وے میں کرینگے۔ ہم لوگوں کو غلط  
راستہ پر لکانے کے لئے ان کے سامنے غلط  
نقشہ پیش نہیں کر سکتے۔ ہم کہتے  
ہیں کہ تم بھوکے ہو اس کو ہم مانتے  
ہیں اور تم کو روزانہ آٹھ چھٹانک غلہ  
چاہئے اور آج چار چھٹانک مل رہا  
ہے اور اسی کے ساتھ ساتھ یہ یقین  
دلاتے ہیں کہ چار سے ساڑھے چار  
چھٹانک دیں گے ساڑھے چار سے پانچ  
دینگے اور پانچ سے ساڑھے پانچ اور چھ  
چھٹانک دیں گے اور اسی طرح آٹھ  
چھٹانک بھی دیں گے اور ایک وہ دن  
آئیگا جب کہ ہم رشیا سے زیادہ کھانا  
کھلائیں گے کیونکہ ہمارا ملک رشیا  
اور امریکہ سے اچھا ملک ہے۔ لیکن  
اس کے لئے وقت کی ضرورت ہے۔  
ساتھ ہی ساتھ ہمیں ایسے لوگوں سے  
بچنے کی کوشش کرنی چاہئے جو  
ہماری ترقی کے راستے میں ہر طرح کے  
روزے اٹاتے ہیں۔ کبھی کشمیر کا مسئلہ  
اٹھاتے ہیں کبھی جن سنگھ بٹانے ہیں  
کبھی کارخانوں میں ہوتال کرتے ہیں  
اور کبھی دیالوں کی پٹنیاں اکھاڑتے  
ہیں۔ ایک ہم ہیں جن کو کہ  
انہیں بدھی اور عقل دینی ہے اور  
ان کی عقل کا بھی سدھار کرنا ہے  
اور ساتھ ہی ساتھ غریبوں کا بھی  
سدھار کرنا ہے۔ دونوں کام کو کرتے ہوئے  
ہم اپنی ترقی کے راستہ پر آگے بڑھ  
جاتے ہیں۔

اعتراض کرنے والے اعتراض تو کر  
رہے ہیں اس ایروپریشن بل پر لیکن  
چونکہ اس پر انہیں کوئی بات نظر  
نہیں آتی اس لئے وہ کانسٹی ٹیوشن  
کی خرابی نکالنے لگے۔ کہتے ہیں کہ  
کانسٹی ٹیوشن غلط ہے سنٹر کو  
بہت پاور ملی ہوئی ہے۔ اس کے لئے  
تو ارد موقع ہیں اور اس موقع پر  
بولدے سے چوکتے بھی نہیں ہیں لیکن  
چونکہ تھوڑی سی باتیں ان کے پاس  
اعتراض کی ہیں دو چار گنتی کی  
باتیں ہیں ان کو ہی وہ ہر موقع پر  
ٹھونس دیتے ہیں۔ کوئی بھی  
موقع آوے تو ان باتوں کو رکھ دیتے ہیں  
اگر بہت سی باتیں ہوں تو موقع کے لحاظ  
سے کی جائیں مگر باتیں تو دو چار ہی  
ہیں یعنی غریبی ہے بھوک ہے کسان  
کو غلہ نہیں ملتا ہے کانسٹی ٹیوشن  
خراب ہے لنگویسٹک پراونس  
(linguistic province) بلنا چاہئے  
یہی دو چار گنتی کی باتیں۔ تو  
جو بھی موقع آوے چاہے ایروپریشن  
بل ہو یا لیبر بل ہو یا کوئی اور  
رفارم کا بل ہو یہی باتیں پیس  
کی جاتی ہیں۔ ورنہ ایروپریشن  
بل کے وقت کانسٹی ٹیوشن کو چیلنج  
کرنے کی بات کرنا یا لنگویسٹک پراونس  
کی بات کرنا کیا معنی رکھتا ہے۔ یہ  
ایسی باتیں ہیں جن کی امید ہم  
پوچھ لکھ لوگوں سے نہیں کرتے کہ  
ایسی انکونسیسٹنٹ (inconsistent)  
غیر متعلقہ باتیں کرینگے جسکا اس  
بل سے تعلق نہیں ہے۔

SHRI S. MAHANTY:

श्री एस० महन्ती : आप तो बिल के बारे में बोलिये ।

KHWAJA INAIT ULLAH:

خواجہ عنايت اللہ : اس بل

میں لیبر کے بارے میں کچھ خاص کہنے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے - اس وقت لیبر منسٹر یہاں نہیں بیٹھے ہوں اس وقت تو آپ کے سامنے فنانس منسٹر بیٹھے ہیں جو آپ سے کہتے ہیں کہ آپ نے اتنا بجٹ پاس کر دیا ہے اور اس پر تسکین ہو گیا ہے اس لئے کانستی ٹیوشن کے مطابق یہ ایڈیویشن بل آپ کے پاس آیا ہے اور اس لئے آیا ہے کہ آپ اسے واپس کر دیجئے - یہ نہیں کہ آپ اس کی منظوری دے دیجئے بلکہ اس کو واپس کر دیجئے - اس پر سنجیشن کر سکتے ہیں لیکن سنجیشن کے معنی یہ نہیں ہیں کہ آپ خالی اعتراض ہی کریں - میں ایک سنجیشن دیتا ہوں سلیے وہ سنجیشن یہ ہے میں اس بات کو مانتا ہوں کہ ہماری جنتا میں بعض چیزوں کے لئے بڑی تکلیف ہے اور تمام لوگ یہ چاہتے ہیں کہ ان کو آرام ہو ایڈیویشن والے دوست بھی چاہتے ہیں اور ہم بھی یہی چاہتے ہیں لیکن ان کے اور میرے چاہنے میں فرق ہے میرا چاہنا دوسرے طریقے کا ہے - میں کنسٹرکٹو طریقے سے چاہتا ہوں اور وہ ڈیسٹرکٹو طریقے سے چاہتے ہیں -

SHRI S. MAHANTY: May I know to which number of Vote the hon. Member is referring.

KHWAJA INAIT ULLAH: I am referring to the Bill, the whole of the Bill.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order, Mr. Inait Ullah, you are following the same steps. You confine yourself to the Bill.

KHWAJA INAIT ULLAH: Sir, when we have to reply, we have to reply them in their own coins.

تو میں عرض کر رہا تھا کہ کئی باتوں کی ضرورت ہے اور ایک چیز کی بہت سخت ضرورت ہے اور اس میں شک نہیں کہ ہماری حکومت اسکے لئے بہت کافی سے زیادہ کوشش بھی کر رہی ہے - ہمارے سرکاری کرمپٹاریوں اور خاصکر چھوٹے اور درمیانی قسم کے جو کرمپٹاری ہیں ان کے متعلق یہ بہت زیادہ شکایت پائی جاتی ہے کہ وہ رشوت لیتے ہیں اور اس کا اثر ہماری جنتا پر بھی پڑتا ہے اس کی وجہ یہ ہے کہ ہمارے کرمپٹاری ہمارے نمائندے ہوتے ہیں اور جب وہ کوئی غلط کام کرتے ہیں تو ان کے مارل (اخلاق) کا اثر ہماری جنتا پر بھی پڑتا ہے جب کوئی نوکر ہمارے نام سے حکومت کرتا ہے تو وہ جتنا بھی غلط کام کرتا ہے اس کی ذمہ داری ہم پر ہوتی ہے اور اس کا اخلاقی اثر ہمارے اوپر پڑتا ہے اور ہماری جنتا پر پڑتا ہے - نتیجہ یہ ہوتا ہے کہ جہاں ہمارے کچھ کرمپٹاری کرپٹ ہو جاتے ہیں تو ہماری جنتا بھی اس طرح کی بات سوچتی

[Khawaja Inait Ullah.]

ہے - میں جانتا ہوں کہ اس کو روکنے کے لئے بہت سختی سے حکم ہم نے دے رکھے ہیں اور ہم نے اس کے لئے قانون بھی بنائے ہیں اور مجھے یہ جان کر خوشی بھی ہوتی ہے کہ دن بدن یہ برائی کم ہوتی جا رہی ہے مگر ابھی ختم نہیں ہوئی ہے - اگر آنریبل ہوم منسٹر صاحب ہوتے تو میں ان سے درخواست کرتا - مگر اب ان کی بجائے آنریبل فائنل منسٹر صاحب سے یہ درخواست کروں گا کہ وہ آنریبل ہوم منسٹر صاحب سے اس معاملہ پر خاص طور سے زور دینے کے لئے عرض کریں اور ہم سمجھتے ہیں کہ اگر اس بیماری کو جلدی سے جلدی دور نہیں کیا گیا تو ہمارے دیس میں جتنی تیزی سے ترقی ہو رہی ہے وہ ترقی اگر ختم نہیں ہوگی تو کم سے کم اس ترقی کی رفتار ضرور کم ہو جائیگی -

ایک دوسری بات مجھے یہ عرض کرنی ہے کہ ہم نے رفیوجیز پر بہت روپیہ خرچ کیا ہے اور اس بل میں بھی ہم نے اپنی طاقت سے زیادہ روپیہ اس کے لئے رکھا ہے - مگر تاہم یہ کام ابھی سٹیسفیکٹری - satisfactory (تو) نہیں ہے اور جتنا روپیہ ہم نے پہلے منظور کیا ہے اور اب کر رہے ہیں اس کا خرچ اگر صحیح طریقے پر سو فیصدی ہو تو بہت کام ہو سکتا ہے - اگر سب سے پہلے نہ ہو تو کم از

کم اس میں سے کچھ روپیہ یقیناً برباد ہوتا ہے - تو میں چاہوں گا کہ اس روپیہ کو بربادی سے بچایا جائے اور جو ہماری اصلی خواہش ہے یعنی رفیوجیز کو آرام پہنچانا اس میں ہی خرچ ہو -

خاص طور سے میں کنگس وے کیسپ دہلی کے متعلق کچھ کہوں گا - کچھ دن ہوئے میں وہاں گیا - اگرچہ ہم نے مکانات بنائے ہیں اور لوگ مکانات میں رہتے ہیں مگر جس روپیہ سے جتنے مکان ہم نے بنائے ہیں اسی میں توڑی سی تبدیلی کر کے بناویں تو زیادہ اچھا ہے - جہاں لوگوں کو دھنا ہے ان کی ایک کمیٹی بنا کر ان کے مشورے سے اتنا ہی روپیہ خرچ کریں جتنا کہ ہم پاس کر چکے ہیں تو ان لوگوں کو زیادہ سہولیتیں مل سکیں گی اس لئے میں آنریبل ری ہیبیلیٹیشن منسٹر صاحب سے درخواست کروں گا کہ ان باتوں کی طرف خاص دھیان دیں -

اس کے بعد میں اس بل کی اور اس کے تمام آئٹمز (items) یعنی مددات کی لفظ بہ لفظ تائید کرتا ہوں اور اس کو سپورٹ کرتا ہوں -

(For English translation, see Appendix IV, Annexure No. 99.)

SHRI K. B. LALL (Bihar): Mr. Chairman, at this fag end of the day I have taken my chance to speak and in the very beginning let me say that I am not going to speak as vehemently as the Member who preceded me but I must not be misunderstood that I am

not supporting the Government and that I am not supporting the Bill. The only thing that I want to say is that I am not going to spend my time in criticising the Opposition who have their own viewpoints to place. I am going to devote my time to some of the departments about which I am going to make some constructive suggestions.

I first take up Education. Of course, others may be tempted to say that this department has been treated step motherly but I will not say even that. I would say that in the condition in which our country is passing through today there should be more education. It is education that after all is going to solve the problems on all the fronts. We always make complaints of this kind or that kind. We say that there is corruption there.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is a State subject.

SHRI K. B. LALL: But it is surely wire-pulled from the Centre. It has the hold of the Centre and the ultimate responsibility for everything that is passing even in the States rests upon the shoulders of the Central Government. No State Government can start an independent policy of education without the Centre. It is the Centre that guides the policy, the whole policy of education. I understand that some of my friends are labouring under the impression that it is purely a State subject, and this may be a good excuse to shift the responsibility. But I may tell my friends here that they should never labour under the impression that the State is totally independent of the Centre with regard to the policy of education. It is always the Centre that guides the educational policy of the country. No State can exist without its educational policy being guided from above. This is my idea and perhaps it is the idea that has been guiding the Government of this country from the very beginning and the Central Government cannot absolve itself of

the responsibility that rests upon its shoulders in this regard also, namely guiding the general policy of the education that is being imparted in this country. Even yesterday there was a question with regard to the Conference about the University Bill that is on the anvil. I think the Vice-Chancellors have been invited. I do not understand what would be the purpose of the Central Government taking the initiative in this matter if they are not to guide the educational policy of the country. It was being guided by the Central Governments before and it is still being guided by the Central Government of today. I only wish that my friends should not labour under the impression that it is a State subject and the Central Government has nothing to do with it. I am placing most humbly before this Central Government my viewpoint that if they have got no hand in formulating and guiding the educational policy of the country they should now either amend the Constitution or they should, under the Constitution, as far as the power lies in their hands, take the initiative and put their hand to the educational policy of the country. I am not going to be under the delusion that it is a State subject. I know that a conference of the Vice-Chancellors is going to be held and they may formulate some policy. I put a question yesterday whether the Vice-Chancellor of the Gurukul University had been invited and the Education Minister replied that he was not aware. When we are going to formulate the policy about the education of the country our Education Minister does not even know whether the Vice-Chancellor of the Gurukul University has been invited or not, as if that that University is not at all to be taken into consideration.

AN HON. MEMBER: How can it be so in a Congress Government?

SHRI K. B. LALL: I am not concerned with that. I only make my suggestions from the bottom of my heart so that our Government may be alive to that necessity and I think that if you had also offered constructive cri-

[Shri K. B. Lall.] ticism in the spirit in which I am offering, perhaps Government would take them into consideration. So I was just placing before the Government that the Gurukul University is not a thing that should be so much brushed aside or that it should not come within the purview of our educational policy. Gurukul used to be visited by all the Viceroys and any Viceroy paying a visit to Hardwar would have also paid a visit to the Gurukul University there. Even now our President of the Republic paid a visit to the Gurukul University and it is admitted on all hands that the Gurukul system of education is surely needed for the country and they are giving something new—not new actually—but in the context of the educational policy and the educational system followed by our British masters they were certainly demonstrating something before the country which should not be brushed aside or which should not be neglected. When we are thinking today about our educational system Gurukul should not be neglected. That is my object. What is its system of education, I wanted to tell that, in the context of the situation that is prevailing in our country today.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is unnecessary here. You need not explain what Gurukul system of education is.

SHRI K. B. LALL: I will only say how it differs from the present system of education.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not necessary here. Please come to the Appropriation Bill.

SHRI K. B. LALL: Sir, I think I said at the very beginning that, so far as the money to be spent on education is concerned, I am going to suggest something that they might take into consideration, namely in the matter of how they are going to spend this money, allotted for education, over education, and I think I should be given the same latitude to speak on that subject a little just as others spoke of everything under the sun.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right, go on in your own way. SHRI K. B. LALL: Thank you, Sir.

I was suggesting that the present system of education has brought about all kinds of evil in our country with the result that today we are seeing that the other House is debating for several days now the corruption in the Administration, corruption in our Government services, in fact corruption in the whole society and in the whole country. Well, what is this corruption due to? It is all due to the system of education that has been imparted. It has been deliberately brought about by the previous rulers who wanted to make something like that. And that is the reason why we are where we are today. We are what our masters, wanted us to be and we are today shedding tears over our present state in every department of life. Every man who is a Government servant if he is caught red-handed taking bribe, he deads the excuse. "What am I to do? My stomach is empty." The man who to mite my contribute to competent am to get a thousand more. The man who\* gets Rs. 2,000 wants to get anotl-2,000 and the man who draws Rs. 4,000 wants to get still more money and so on it goes. We know proceedings are in progress in a court against a Secretary to Government in a very important department.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order,, order.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: It is sub-judice.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You: cannot refer to it.

SHRI K. B. LALL: Yes Sir. I have spoken only that which has come out in the papers. I am not passing any judgment that the person is guilty and all that. My friend here is always dropping out gems from his mouth: and.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order Mr. Lall, you cannot refer to anything that is sub-judice.

SHRI K. B. LALL: Yes, Sir. I am only referring to that which has appeared in the papers. I am not going to pass any strictures or any judgment. I am only saying that the man is being prosecuted and that is in no way against the law, or against parliamentary decorum or practice. I think I should be given the opportunity to speak out my mind.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, but not irrelevant things.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: He quoted the case as an instance of corruption and it definitely shows that he is accusing the man who is still being tried.

SHRI K. B. LALL: My friend, he is not being prosecuted for spreading morality in the country.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Go on Mr. Kailash Bihari Lall.

SHRI K. B. LALL: I am only speaking of corruption and how things are going on. I never interrupted Mr. Saksena when he was vomiting jewels and gems and I think he should keep calm and give me an opportunity to speak out.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member should not reflect upon the speech of another hon. Member.

SHRI K. B. LALL: Sir, I was only showing how the present system of education was responsible for our degraded condition and the degraded condition of our society in general in every walk of life. You find the universities holding their examinations and every year thousands and thousands of graduates are being sent out and all of them are out to secure jobs and services. Hon. Members here must have had experience of their own young men and how when they become B.A.s they want employment. They want to get into service. How can any Government do anything if it is to bother its head with finding out employment and posts for all these people? That is the situation in the

21 C.S.D.

country. That has been brought about by our system of education. Every graduate as soon as he gets out of the university, wants to secure a post. This is because of our system of education and because of our system of Administration which depends on or calls for a university qualification. That is the reason why I say a university qualification should not be made the criterion for obtaining jobs in the Government. I say education should be for the sake of education and not for securing a job or a post. That kind of a system of education has to be evolved which aims at education for the sake of education. Education should not be for producing a salable commodity. The whole thing now moves in a vicious circle. The jobs are so much pampered, I mean jobs under the Government and also private service, that every young man who comes out of a college wants to go into service.

Why have you made the condition of the services like that? A man who comes out of a university still thinks of getting Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 5,000. It is our education which aims at giving job to the people that makes people do like that and our young men never think of going to serve the country or the society on any other lines to end corruption from the life of the people. When the very idea, the very aim of life is to secure service after passing the examination and the education is also meant for holding examination and giving certificates for securing jobs, that system of education will never solve our problem. It is for that reason that I was pointing out that the first thing that our education should aim at should be that the education should be for the sake of education and not for securing services and the services should not be so much pampered.

And this brings me to the other subject of Agriculture. This country is said to be predominantly an agricultural country. 85 per cent, of our population is engaged in agriculture but what is the condition of agriculture? The other day I narrated the

tShri K. B. Lall.] story of a farmer who owned 400 bighas of land wanting his son who had passed his B.A. to secure a service. The same condition is prevailing everywhere and every man must have this experience that nobody thinks of improving the condition of land and the condition of land can improve only when we depart from the path that the Britishers had shown. The Britishers had chalked out a path for strangulating agriculture in this country. Every raw material that was produced in this country was so much kept down and the raw material that used to fetch only Rs. 2 when it used to come as a finished product from the foreign countries, it used to bring Rs. 40. That was the condition of agriculture during the time of the British. When the Britishers used to send despatches to this country, they used to say that India must be bled white. That policy of India being bled white was followed by the Britishers. Now, if we compare, what is the difference? What is the level at which the agricultural prices are kept up? Today, the same thing is happening. We have not tried to raise the level of agricultural product. If a man used to get Rs. 40 per maund from rice then we begin to think that "Oh! this is too much. It must be brought down. This is blackmarketing and control must be introduced and all that". Why should control be introduced? I have just said the other day that this is the time to help agriculturists of our country. Let them improve their conditions so that those who are getting Rs. 4,000 or Rs. 5,000 etc., in the Government services may pay to those very agriculturists. Why should there be amassing going on in the town and they should get every kind of allowance and should be pampered with all kind of amenities in the town life whereas the agriculturists should be kept starving. If that be the policy ■of starving agriculturists then you can never hope to change the conditions of society. How-much-soever we may formulate plans, how-much-soever we may give the country plans, the people will take it very carefully

and And out whether those plans are going to help those people who are sitting here in the cushioned seats and who are formulating the plans. I say that we have to devote our mind very peacefully and calmly to this question as to how we are going to help the 85 per cent, of our population, how we are going to raise the level of agriculture. If we are not going to raise the level of agriculture, if the agriculturists do not raise their head as high as of those in service, it will be a bad thing. Those who are serving are supposed to be the servants and they are flourishing better than the masters. In Hindi there is a proverb:

**“देवी पतली बकरा मोटा”**

The sacrificial goats are getting fatter and the Goddess Durga is getting thinner. Those who are meant to serve the people are getting fatter and those who are being served are getting thinner. How are you going to improve them? That is the problem. Agriculture can be improved only by raising the price level of agricultural products.

That was what my friend Mr. Ranga was always telling us. If you want to change the face of the society, the very structure of the society, you have to turn your attention to Education. Today Education is moving in such a way that our young men are not at all fired with the spirit of serving the people or serving the country to bring about a satisfactory condition of the society or to shape the things according to our ideals. On the other hand every man is running at break-neck speed to amass money as much as possible. We say, let us have a classless society, but every man is against it, against the very idea that he professes. He is working in such a way—how he should beat down everybody in getting richer and richer and how he could amass as much wealth as possible. Otherwise how we can pay 4,000 to 5,000 rupees to our servants? The same is the case with private

firms. I am not prejudiced against any particular class of persons. My friends in Government service may feel that I am always harsh against them. That is not the thing. Even in private firm they are getting 5,000 and 6,000 rupees. Unless you bring down this level, unless you see that this is controlled, unless they are made to give up their greed, unless their temptation is checked in that respect, you cannot help the other section of the people. You cannot bring about a condition of society in which they will prosper according to our chalked out ideals, that is, we want to have a classless society. That is our professed ideal—on our side. Our friends on the other side may have something more glamorous from other countries and they are talking in season and out of season about that. But the fact remains that neither are they sincere in bringing about these conditions in the society, nor are the other persons on our side. The only bridge between us and the other side is that they want to take every opportunity, in season and out of season, to criticise us and to show to the world that they alone have love and affection to the masses. They want to destroy capital. They may not destroy capital, but they are destroying the very fabric of society. They want to destroy capital, they want to destroy Government; they want to destroy everything. They have only a destructive programme and they openly profess that they have this because they want to bring down this Government. But I might sound a note of warning to my friends also. Even in the interests of politics it is not always sound to take every opportunity without any principle to criticise the Government. It is a wrong thing, whether it is on our side or on their side. We are also sometimes guilty of pandering to the evil tendency of the people. Take for instance the case of Zafrullah Khan who was here in this country. He was most instrumental in bringing about Pakistan and he took advantage of the religious feeling of the people, just as some people in our own country are doing

even today and rousing the passions of the people. You can see how it is recoiling on the head of Zafrullah. He is being hounded out. His own persons are being murdered like goats and dogs—these Ahmediyas. This is how Nature takes the revenge. I may tell my friends there, never take advantage in an unprincipled way of any situation in the country. You may think that any stick is good enough to beat the Congress Government, but that will recoil upon you. Every opportunity is taken advantage of by the Opposition. They feel it is their responsibility to criticise the Government. They feel that whatever the Government has done is wrong. Sometimes I feel they are doing wrong. They say, all right, this is a stick with which to beat the Congress, let us beat the Congress. It may be good for the time being, but I sound a note of warning: the time may come when the responsibility may fall upon your head, and then you will meet with the same fate as Zafrullah Khan in Pakistan. You must be very careful in formulating your policy.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Only five minutes are left now.

SHRI K. B. LALL: Is there any time limit for this Bill? I thought there was no time limit.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member has already taken 25 minutes.

SHRI K. B. LALL: The other point to which I wanted to refer was about linguistic provinces.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not relevant here.

SHRI K. B. LALL: The practice in this House from the very beginning has been that on such Bills anything and everything is relevant, because the money that we are granting.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sorry. Please be relevant.

SHRI K. B. LALL: I bow to your ruling. I wanted to refer to the question of linguistic provinces because my friend on the other side



[Shri K. B. Lall.] spoke for half an hour on this subject. I wanted to show how it affects the very fabric of the Government and how it will recoil on our heads.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: There will be other occasions. Not on the Appropriation Bill.

SHRI K. B. LALL: Occasions may come. Occasions always arise. I was trying to take advantage of the fact that this thing is fresh in the minds of the people and a feeling is generated in this House about linguistic provinces. I do not want to say much. I would only say this, that I have sympathy with those persons who want linguistic provinces. I do not know what would have been my feelings if Bihar had also been in the same position. I have every sympathy for them, but what I say is that the feeling should not be carried so far as to antagonise others. For instance, while referring to the subject, my friend on the other side spoke about Hindi. I know how they feel. It may not be intentional. Hindi is accepted as the national language. The necessity of one national language is also accepted. But then, whenever an occasion arises, anger is shown and it is said that those who want Hindi, want to impose it upon others. This is not a good thing. Even though those who want Hindi may have a certain desire to impose it upon others, sympathise with them, pity them and tell them that they should not take advantage of a certain situation in a very bad way. If there is any man who wants to impose Hindi on others, if that is the feeling, that is surely a very mean feeling, a very base feeling. But how does it prevent you from feeling in a particular way? If you have adopted Hindi, you have not done it out of any kindness for somebody. You have not been merciful to others in adopting Hindi. You have

done it as a part of your duty, because you cannot do without one language in the country. It was not good for us to continue under a foreign language.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is time. The hon. Member has already taken half an hour. Is that the last point?

SHRI K. B. LALL: No. Sir. I had one or two points more.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No further points. Please wind up.

SHRI K. B. LALL: Then I had to say something with regard to the industrial policy .....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am sorry; you have to wind up. It is 7 v>'clock now-

SHRI K. B. LALL: Sir, with regard to the industrial policy I was going to suggest to the Government that there should not be vacillation and the Government should not adopt an unsympathetic attitude towards industrialisation. As I am being asked to conclude my speech, I have no other option but since I had to suggest some other points also, I shall take some other opportunity for them.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Thank you.

#### TIME OF SITTINGS OF THE COUNCIL FROM 14TH APRIL 1953

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: From Tuesday 14th onwards, the House will meet from 8-15 A.M. to 1-15 P.M. The House stands adjourned till 8-15 A.M. on Tuesday.

The Council then adjourned till a quarter past eight of the clock in the morning on Tuesday, the 14th April 1953.