



MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
DEBATES

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OFFICIAL REPORT

TUESDAY, 14TH FEBRUARY 1950

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THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

Tuesday, the 14th February 1950

The House met in the Council Chamber, Fort St. George, at eleven of the clock, Mr. Chairman (THE HON. SRI R. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAJU) in the Chair.

I.—SWEARING-IN OF A MEMBER.

Sri M. Sudarsanam was sworn in.

II.—HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS.

Hon'ble Members of the Legislature,

I thank you all most sincerely for your courtesy in attending this joint session. I have often had the privilege of watching your proceedings before, but this is the first occasion I address the two Houses. A new era has just started in the life of our Nation and my presence here is only an indication of this new order of things. We have many difficulties ahead of us in this country. We must not under-rate these difficulties, but let us at the same time prepare to overcome them with a willing and ready spirit and sustained by confidence in our rulers at the helm of affairs whose leadership is one of which any nation may be proud.

Our Constitution has set forth great ideals before us and it is our duty to see that they are fulfilled. The destinies of more than fifty million of our fellow human beings have been placed in our hands, and it is our responsibility to see that these ideals are translated into action for the service and welfare of these millions. The dazzling illuminations with which we lighted up our public buildings on Republic Day can have no meaning unless we bring a portion of that light to the humblest and the meanest homes in our land and dispel the darkness of want and poverty, disease and ignorance.

Among our first responsibilities is that of bringing home to the millions of voters in this State their new duties. The elections under the new Constitution will have to be held in the near future. The new electoral rolls on the basis of adult suffrage are under print and after the new Electoral Law is enacted by Parliament, these rolls will be published as preliminary rolls, and finalized after disposal of claims and objections. My Government expect to be fully ready for holding the first general elections well in time.

Seasonal conditions have been peculiarly bad, as in September 1949 the Ceded districts as well as Krishna and Guntur were affected by floods, while the entire Circars districts suffered heavily from cyclone and heavy rains in October. Remission of land revenue and special expenditure for the relief of sufferers were sanctioned by Government promptly. In the south, the north-east monsoon failed for the third year in succession in certain central and southern districts and here also remission of land revenue will have to be

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granted. Regarding improving the lot of the agriculturists, my Government have taken action to intensify the minor irrigation works programme and a tank improvement scheme estimated to cost over Rs. 10 crores spread over a period of five years was sanctioned in August last. Schemes for the grant of subsidies to the ryots for sinking of wells have been in force since 1944 and Government have decided to extend the scheme to 1950-1951 also.

Owing to the damages caused by floods, etc., mentioned under the previous item, the food position in the State has assumed a very grave aspect. The estimated deficit is about 9.9 lakhs tons of rice and 2.9 lakhs tons of millets. Our deficits are usually made up by internal procurement and from supplies made by the Government of India. The internal procurement this year is bound to suffer very materially on account of the loss of crops due to adverse seasonal conditions already referred to. The Government of India have decided to drastically curtail food imports and this will have its effect as regards supplies by the Government of India. My Government are actively considering the steps to be taken to improve the situation so that the hardship to the people is minimized. In this connection they have undertaken a food production drive and all food production schemes will continue to receive the topmost priority. The Government have adopted a two-year plan for intensive cultivation and the scheme includes, production and distribution of seeds, distribution of manure to the ryots and schemes for mechanised cultivation by the use of modern agricultural machinery, such as tractors. The Government have also under active consideration the development of fisheries, both inland and marine, so that the food situation may, to some extent, be eased.

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The question of Land Revenue reform has been under the consideration of my Government for some time past. It was thought desirable to await the publication of the report of the Agrarian Reforms Committee appointed by the All-India Congress. The Government propose to constitute a committee of officials and non-officials to examine the present land revenue system and to formulate proposals for its improvement, if it is considered defective. The Committee will examine also the question of framing a Land Revenue Code for the State and such examination will also take into account the recommendations made by the Agrarian Reforms Committee. The Estates Abolition programme of the Government started in September last, when one batch of Estates consisting of six major Estates and 36 minor Estates were taken over. Government hope to take over the remaining estates before long. The rent reduction work in the whole State has made rapid progress and is expected to be completed by the end of March 1950.

It is a matter of legitimate pride that this State has in anticipation of Article 56 of the New Constitution been able to make a good start for the introduction of a scheme for the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. The Scheme has already been introduced in six districts and will be extended to the remaining districts without any avoidable delay. The reform has been welcomed with enthusiasm and there is every reason to hope that it will prove beneficial.

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The policy of my Government is to take all possible steps to protect the health of the people, prevent the occurrence of epidemics and provide for adequate medical relief. The rapid implementation of this policy involves large expenditure and, what is even more important, the employment of large numbers of medical men who are not available. Very high priority will therefore be given to the expansion of facilities for medical education and training with a view to increase the output of medical graduates. Water supply and sanitation being fundamental requirements in the campaign of prevention, a five year plan of new water supply and drainage schemes and improvements to existing systems will be vigorously pursued as a first instalment of a plan for the provision of protected water supply within 20 years. With the co-operation of local bodies, public institutions and individual members of the public, it is hoped gradually to build up a scheme of public health and medical relief which will cover every part of the State and provide facilities and amenities to every citizen. In this attempt, all systems of medical relief, including our indigenous systems will be encouraged so that medical relief of some kind or other will be available in the rural areas. In particular, primary health centres under the modern system will be opened in the rural areas to the maximum extent possible and village Vydyas will be trained to afford safe medical relief under the indigenous system.

In the field of Elementary Education, my Government attach the greatest importance to Basic education and they will accordingly endeavour to provide for an increasing number of Basic Training Schools and Basic Elementary Schools. The Government have initiated a scheme of adult education as a first step in their campaign for the liquidation of adult illiteracy. In the field of Secondary education, the Government will continue to implement a scheme of reorganization which was introduced in 1948. My Government have wholeheartedly co-operated with the Government of India's scheme for the formation of a National Cadet Corps.

The Government's schemes in regard to the Electricity Department contemplate the supplementing of Hydro-electric schemes with Thermal schemes wherever necessary and the investigation of new Hydro-electric sources. Owing to the failure of the monsoon, water levels in the reservoirs have gone down and this has made necessary the introduction of certain restrictions; but agricultural loads are not affected and the Government always bear in mind that connections for rural and agricultural purposes must have the highest priority. Shortage of materials is responsible for the outwardly slow development of Government's electrical schemes.

The Irrigation policy of the Government has assumed a new urgency because of the necessity to attain self-sufficiency in food by 1951. Every effort is therefore being made to accelerate the progress of the various sanctioned schemes such as the Tungabhadra, Lower Bhavani, Malampuzha and other projects. Several big and small schemes are now under investigation and it is the hope of the Government to have under execution an appreciable number of schemes in the near future.

Intensive rural reconstruction schemes which the Government initiated in 1946 provide a democratic basis for the development of

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rural areas. The scheme has yielded good results in the areas in which it has been tried and Government have decided to extend it to 50 more Firkas in the State next year. Government will continue their policy of giving all possible assistance for the development of Khadi in accordance with the scheme which has been in operation since December 1946.

Government have pursued vigorously their policy of amelioration of Harijan and other backward classes. For the efficient implementation of this policy a Harijan Welfare department was created on the 1st of April last and substantial progress has been achieved.

The Police Force continues to help to maintain law and order in an efficient manner despite the very heavy strain thrown on it as a result of the subversive activities of certain political organizations. My Government will appeal to all who have the interests of the nation at heart to co-operate with them in the task of maintaining law and order and combating subversive activities.

The following is the programme of legislation drawn up by my Government :—

(a) *The Madras Village Panchayats Bill.*—This Bill is of far-reaching importance and will enable the Panchayats to undertake nation-building activities on a large scale. The Bill has been passed by the Assembly and will come before the Council during this session. The Bill implements Article 40 of the Constitution, under which the State shall take steps to organize Village Panchayats and endow them with such power and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of Self-Government.

(b) In order to regulate the letting of all residential and non-residential buildings and to control the rents of such buildings, etc., my Government have enacted the Madras Buildings (Lease and Rent Control) Act, 1949. In working the provisions of the above Act, certain practical difficulties have been experienced and it has been decided to amend the Act in certain respects. An Amendment Bill for the purpose is expected to be introduced in the current session of the Legislature.

(c) In pursuance of their policy of ensuring the proper administration of religious institutions and endowments the Government introduced the Madras Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Bill, 1949, in February of last year. This Bill will be placed before the Legislature during the current session for its consideration.

(d) The Legislature is likely to be asked to consider during this session a Bill for amending the Madras Co-operative Land Mortgage Banks Act, 1934, so that Land Mortgage Banks could be organized in the districts of Malabar and South Kanara as in other districts of the State.

(e) There are other pieces of legislation under contemplation and they will be introduced in due course.

All these activities of my Government and all the items of legislation will duly come under the survey of your Houses. I know the great traditions of this Legislature, and I am confident in the

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trust that you will examine and decide them with the same high sense of duty and responsibility as in the past. I pray that you may be guided with faith, courage and wisdom in your counsels.

I thank you once again for your courtesy and your patience.

[Note.—An asterisk (*) at the commencement of a speech indicates revision by the Member.]

III.—DISCUSSION ON HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I have to inform the House that on the 11th instant, His Excellency the Governor was pleased to make the above speech to both the Houses of Legislature. A copy of the speech is placed on the table of the House for the reference of the Members. The discussion on this will now take place according to the rules which have already been circulated to the Members. The idea is that some member of the Government party will move a motion to present an address to His Excellency thanking him for the speech and I understand that the Chief Whip, the hon. Member Sri Adityan is going to make the motion and some one will second it. Then the question is whether some general speeches are to come first and then only the amendments. I am not inclined to follow any rigid method on this matter. I leave it to the Hon. Members of the Government to decide it. If anybody is willing to speak before the amendments I have no objection to allow them. But I suppose from one point of view, if both the motion and the amendments are before the House, Members will have an opportunity to speak on either of these. Subject to this I request the hon. Members to take up the discussion on the address of His Excellency.”

DR. V. K. JOHN :—“ I suggest that the motion be moved by Sri Adityan. After it is seconded, the amendments might be moved. Sir, we are presenting an address to His Excellency the Governor and we have to use dignified and restrained language. The discussion on this motion will be on a different plane altogether. It would be an advantage to speakers to speak both on the motion and amendments. If the motion is moved, seconded and the amendments moved and seconded, then there can be discussion on both the motion and amendments. I assure you, Mr. Chairman, and I assure the House that the Opposition wants to keep the discussion on this address to His Excellency the Governor in a very dignified and high level and only very restrained language will be used in the discussion.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I have already made the position clear. I do not want any restraint to be put upon any hon. Member. Suppose an hon. Member is prepared to speak before the amendments are moved and does not want to speak on the amendment I do not want to restrain him. That is the point. If any Member wants to speak in advance of the amendments, I do not want to shut him out.”

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SRI S. B. ADITYAN :—“ The motion standing in my name is to present an address to His Excellency the Governor of Madras State in the following words :—

‘ May it please Your Excellency,’

‘ We, the Members of the Madras Legislative Council beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the Address delivered to both the Houses of the Legislature.’ ”

“ This is the first occasion in which a motion in these terms is being moved in this House and it is known to every one that this is the direct result of the new Constitution and the new status attained by our country, a status of independence, democratic sovereign Republic, the emphasis being on the word democratic. Though this motion is in the nature of an address to His Excellency the Governor, it is only the form which is similar to the King's Speech in Parliament in England but the subject is really a discussion on the policies of the Government. This affords an opportunity particularly to the members of the Opposition to criticise if they like the policy and the activities of the Government. That is the substance. The hon. the Leader of the Opposition mentioned that he has got to be very restrained in his speech. But, Sir, the Governor in fact does not come anywhere into the picture. The speech is delivered on the responsibility of the Cabinet and the Government. Therefore, he can be as free as he likes in saying what he likes on matters concerning this motion. As I have already said, the substance is really a discussion on the Government's policies and I may again point out that this affords an opportunity, an additional opportunity to the Members of the Opposition to have their say. In other words, the emphasis, as I said, in the new Constitution is on the word democratic. In the exercise of democracy it is evident that the opposition should be given as much opportunity as they like, to have their say. This is evidence to show that the new Constitution is even more democratic than the Constitution that preceded it. Sir, this shows that the Constitution which we have now brought into force is a democratic one in the full sense of the word. Just as the Opposition should be glad to preserve the system and create conventions round this new procedure which has been started—I believe that Members on this side are also glad because the opposition can no longer say that legislation is being rushed. They are given full opportunity and full notice of all the Bills which are being introduced and it will not be proper for them again at any time to say that legislation is being rushed through and without sufficient notice being given. This is another opportunity given even at the opening of the session to say what they have got to say on the general policies of Government and particularly about the legislative programme.

“ Sir, whatever may be the form, the passing of this motion will mean the approval of the Government's policies and a general sanction for introducing the legislation and the Bills mentioned in the Governor's speech. It has been repeatedly mentioned that this Government is a secular Government. Whether the Government has succeeded or not is to be judged not by any other standard but a secular standard. How far the Government have succeeded or failed should be judged on the measure in which the Government have succeeded in increasing the earnings of the people, how far

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the Government have provided material comforts, material goods for the general public. In other words the measure of success will depend upon the measure in which the Government succeed in increasing the standard of living of the people. The primary duty of Government, as has been repeatedly pointed out by our leaders, is to increase production in the country. There should be more goods produced, more wealth produced in the country so that the average man has more of material goods. So the general aim and object of the Government is to produce more, to increase the wealth of the country. The success or failure of the Government will be measured and judged by that standard only. That is the only way in which the secular Government could be judged and I have no doubt that the Government would invite the Members of the Opposition to judge the Government by that standard. Although the objective is to increase the general standard of living, increase production of wealth, increase the level of availability of goods, that is not the immediate concern. The immediate concern is to increase food production. In the forefront of all productions is the production of food. If one looks into the Governor's speech, he will find that the major part of the speech is devoted to this subject. There is reference to the failure of monsoons and a promise of remission of land revenue. These have direct relation to the production of food.

11-15
A.M.

“ Another matter which has been mentioned is the land revenue reform. It has been promised that a committee of officials and non-officials will be constituted to examine the present land revenue system and formulate suggestions for reform. I have no doubt that any reforms that will be suggested by the Committee and later on incorporated in a legislation will have as its primary object—production of food.

“ There is also mentioned that a Bill will soon be introduced to amend the Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank Act. There was also special mention of the intensive campaign of improvement of minor irrigation works and tank improvement schemes. It has been pointed out that a sum of not less than Rs. 10 crores has been allotted for this purpose. It has also been promised that an extension of the well-subsidy scheme will come into force. It was for a while thought that the well-subsidy scheme could not be maintained. But it has now been mentioned in the speech that the scheme will continue.

“ Another matter which has been mentioned is that the rent reduction work would be completed by March 1950. Therefore the tiller of the soil will get his due share when the rent reduction comes into force. All these measures are directly or indirectly directed to increasing the production of food in the State, which is the first thing to be done by any Government.

“ There has also been mentioned the Village Panchayat Bill. It has been pointed out that when this Bill comes into force, it will enable village panchayats themselves to undertake ameliorative schemes. There has also been mentioned the Hindu Religious Endowments Bill which will regulate many of the endowments now in existence in the State.

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"Sir, I submit that the legislative programme which has been chalked out is a creditable achievement and it will do credit to any Government. Especially the food production drive that has been envisaged in the speech will help to achieve our objective—the target of self-sufficiency before 1951. As I said, the Government will have to be judged by the success with which they carry out their schemes for raising the standard of living of the people. With these words, Sir, I commend the motion to the House and if we pass this motion, it will mean approval of the Government's policy."

SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—"Mr. Chairman, I have very great pleasure in seconding the motion so ably moved by my hon. Friend Mr. Adityan. This is a new thing and it might be that the criticisms we might make may not be strictly relevant to the motion. But as it is a new thing, I hope the Chairman will overlook if we transgress the limits that are necessarily prescribed for a discussion of this motion."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"I hope the hon. Member is aware that the budget discussion is coming up very soon. Now we have got only one day and we have to finish this discussion to-day. I have no objection to wink at such transgressions if you can try to be as short as possible. I liked Mr. Adityan's speech. It was to the point and short. Similarly, if the hon. Member also speaks to the point and is short in his speech, I do not mind transgressions here and there from the limits."

SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—"Mr. Chairman, I did not want to be very elaborate or irrelevant. Even on the points mentioned by His Excellency the Governor in his address I wanted to expatiate to some extent and point out that some things which ought to have been done have not been done. I would not travel outside His Excellency the Governor's address."

"Sir, first of all, so much emphasis has been laid on the benefits that have been conferred upon the agriculturists. It is very good that this Government have been doing a lot to improve the condition of the agriculturists. The Government have granted subsidies for sinking wells under the well subsidy schemes; they have provided some amount for the improvement of minor irrigation works. Some major irrigation works also have been taken up. It is true all these things have been done, but still the condition of the agriculturists has not improved much. That is because he is himself losing in another direction. He has no incentive to produce more. So long as the prices of foodgrains are controlled by the Government and so long as the prices fixed by the Government are not remunerative to the ryot, whatever improvements might be done, the ryot will not be in a position to reap the advantages thereof. There will be no incentive for him to increase his cultivation. Only if he is able to get more money for his crops will he have an incentive to increase his cultivation and do it intensively also. No doubt, this Government may say that the fixation of these prices is done by the Central Government. I really sympathise with them, but they should put up a hard fight and see that the prices of foodgrains are not still further reduced to the great detriment of the agriculturists."

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It may be the Government's policy to bring down the prices of all the controlled commodities, but so far as the agriculturist is concerned, he has not reaped the advantage of the cut in prices with regard to the other things. Whatever he wants for producing more, he does not get to the extent that he wants. Prices might have been cut down, but that does not go all the way. He does not get his manure, his agricultural implements and other things to the extent that he wants. What the Government have done has been only to touch the fringe of the problem as it were. The Government should make further effort to induce the ryot to grow more foodgrains by offering him tempting prices."

"Sir, I should like to congratulate the Government on having introduced the system of separation of judiciary from the executive in a few districts of this State. This reform has been on the anvil for a very long time and though it has been introduced only in a few districts towards the end of last year, I hope the Government will extend it to the whole State in a very short time."

"Sir, with regard to public health also, it is no doubt the concern of this Government to provide adequate facilities for medical education. I know there has been a great rush of students for getting admission into the medical colleges, which are few and far between. The number of students seeking admission is very large and the number of colleges being very few, it is not possible for a very large number of competent and qualified students to get admission. Therefore much comment is made with regard to the admission of students to the medical and engineering colleges. Earliest opportunity should be taken to start more technical colleges like the engineering and medical colleges. But by saying this, I should not be understood as saying that whether there is adequate equipment or not, medical colleges and engineering colleges should be started in each and every place. For I know the fate of the Guntur Medical College. It is a medical college only in name, but all that is necessary to equip it and work it properly is not there. If students are sent to such colleges, it will be a waste of their time and they would not be useful to anybody. That is my experience or report that I have with regard to the students who have sought admission to the Guntur Medical College. So when I press for the starting of more medical colleges, I do not want that they should be ill-equipped ones. They should be equipped properly; otherwise, it will be a waste of money and time for the students."

"With regard to water-supply, I come from an area where there are very few wells and even the supply of drinking water is not available. This problem has to be tackled."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"I learn that Cuddapah had very good rains this year and I am told that there was a bumper crop."

SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—"All that has been washed away. As regards the bumper crop, let the Government procure some cholam also. Generally people travel on the road where the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal is running parallel and they get a wrong impression of the condition of the district as a whole."

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MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ It is a matter about which all of us should be glad. The hon. Member need not minimise his good fortune.”

SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“ I may tell my hon. Friends that we are a backward district, we do not have rains and our crops fail often. Perhaps my hon. Friend Sri Jayaram Reddi had travelled by the trunk road where the Kurnool-Cuddapah canal runs parallel and where there are wet crops and from these he has come to the conclusion that Cuddapah is in good condition.”

SRI K. MANATHUNAINATHA DESIGAR :—“ On a point of information, I should like to know authoritatively whether it is a fact that Rayalseema has got a bumper crop this year or not.”

SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—“ I cannot speak authoritatively on a point like this. My experience does not extend to all the districts. If we confine ourselves to some of the areas in Cuddapah district, I will say without hesitation that the cholam crop has been very good. I have told the Government on more than one occasion that they should immediately procure this cholam. It is the negligence of the Government in not appointing procuring agents promptly that has deprived the Government of the benefits they are likely to get from this crop. The prices of cholam are also much below the controlled prices. It is just at this time that you should make every effort for procuring all the available cholam.

11-30 a.m. “ I was submitting, Mr. Chairman, that with regard to water-supply, our problem has been mainly with regard to drinking water. I was submitting, Mr. Chairman, that our problem is mainly one of drinking water-supply. After first getting water to drink, we can think of water for irrigating our fields. In so many places there is difficulty in getting water for drinking purposes. I have myself been a member of the Committee on rural water-supply and drainage appointed by this Government, and that committee unanimously recommended that this problem should be tackled immediately, that every village should be provided with drinking water wells: but I find to my utter surprise that much has not been done to improve the condition of the villages in this direction. Irrespective of whether any contribution is made by the villagers or not, it is the duty of the Government to provide the necessary funds and see that a well is sunk and drinking water is supplied to every village. Some people coming from other villages in other areas may of course say they are prepared to bear half the amount; ‘ why not you do the same thing,’ I may be asked. I say now, and I have said it on more than one occasion, that the principle should be, not whether the people are able to give something towards the cost, but whether in any particular area there is need for a drinking water well, and whether that work should be taken up immediately and given top priority. So far as Rayalseema is concerned, this problem should be tackled at once. Much improvement has not been made

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there in this respect, and I request the present Government to make strenuous efforts to provide drinking water wells for each and every village in the area.

“ As regards electricity, though something has been done to Cuddapah by the electricity company having been taken over by the Government, I must say that much has not been done. (An hon. Member: What about Proddatur) Proddatur was a private concern and it has not been working at all for the last two years. It is a pity that some of these private concerns are allowed to go on for some time more, to the disadvantage of the consumers. The Government should take the earliest opportunity to take over the concern and provide cheap electricity for all the people there. Why I stress this particular point is this: it is not only in Proddatur that electricity is used for pumping water; if the Government are really keen on intensifying the food production drive and the grow-more-food campaign in those areas, their first duty is to see that this concern is taken over and that energy is utilized for pumping water for the purpose of increasing production.

“ One more point with regard to the Panchayats Bill. The Bill has already been passed by the Assembly and its first reading has been finished in the Legislative Council and it awaits the second reading. I do not think there will be any difficulty in having that Bill passed as the principles of the Bill have been accepted even in the Constitution Act and the Bill only implements in a certain degree what is mentioned in the Constitution Act.

“ I have very great pleasure, Sir, in seconding this motion.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ Motion moved—

“ May it please Your Excellency.

“ We, the Members of the Madras Legislative Council beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the Address delivered to both the House of the Legislature.” ”

* MRS. M. HENSMAN :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, at this time, there is a request for a planned policy to be put forward, and in this speech by His Excellency the Governor delivered to us a few days ago, there is a very definite summing up of the policy of the Ministry at this time. Mr. Chairman, I am going to let you and the House into a secret. It is a woman's way, once she is wedded to a man, not to oppose him but to bring about her reforms by suggesting to him the things she would have done in their public and private co-operative life, so that they may become his own ideas and he may implement them with far more enthusiasm than if he took his lead or his guidance from her. It is that policy, Mr. Chairman, that I follow to-day; because, no Government can be infallible. The Government and the Treasury Bench now sitting may remember their past when they were in the Opposition. They have seen fallibility before now; they also know that they cannot be infallible at this time; but in this programme put forward in this speech by His Excellency, there are so many points that have been carried out for the good of the country and there are many points that are still to be carried out for it.

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good of the country, and those are the points I would like to stress now. I would limit myself actually to the points brought out in the speech, because I know that we have only one day for this discussion. For instance let me begin with our Constitution; this Constitution has been framed in moments of high inspiration, but it is a Constitution for common man and must be treated as a matter of earnest urgency not as a matter of child's play. Next it is supposed to bring about equality, liberty and the brotherhood of the nation in a very new and very special way. When I mention 'nation,' I would like to point out that equality means the two sexes as well; and to-day I remind the public and the Treasury Bench that when it comes to the question of Select Committees for such Bills as the Village Panchayats Bill, where half and more than half the people in the village are not men, no woman has been thought fit to be put on to that Select Committee or to other Select Committees that deal with the problems of the future."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" All those who are not men are not necessarily women."

MRS. M. HENSMAN :—" I did not put it like that. (Interruption by the hon. Leader of the Opposition.) I think the hon. Leader of the Opposition should have heard me all right. He is a lawyer and I have to say that all who are not men are women and children. What I say is that, may we not ask that since our women have been thought good enough and worthy enough to follow the Government in all their sufferings and in all their sacrifices in the past, they should be assigned a place in the Select Committee. If need be, it may be limited to the women who have signed the pledge of the Government. I have no quarrel about that, we women are all one. But in the matter of the Constitution, if it is implemented according to the policy of the Ministry to-day, they must remember that equality includes all those who dwell in the country and can help them in the administration, in the actual and real responsibility of bringing home to the millions of voters in the State their new duties privileges and responsibilities. This is a very solemn responsibility for the future, because we have to have a maximum of 500 members only in each Assembly of the country and 125 only in each Council of the country, whereas we are going to have one representative for every 75,000 of the population. When this population is considered it must be noted that the majority, a very large majority are illiterate. I have had the experience of watching another country deal with adult franchise and there I found illiterate coolies were brought and rebrought at will—this defeats our purpose. So our Government, while implementing this Constitution will have to take a very strong stand and put very high ideals before the officers who should collect the votes, the executive officers of panchayats and others of like order, so that bribery, corruption and such things may not enter and may not darken the electorates of the future.

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" Now, Sir, with regard to the food position. I know that the amendment that is brought forward by those who are going to speak later deals chiefly with the fallibility of the Government in the matter of food. It is not only a Provincial subject. If the Central Government allows us a certain liberty of importing food, from the women's point of view, it would seem one of the solutions of the probable food stock maintenance of the country. How can a Government, unless it offers a fair rate of purchase for those who grow the food and a fair rate of purchase for those who buy the food, supplement enough food to supply the demand on our ration cards, the ration cards on which both rich and poor would be able to draw for the coming year the amounts at least that they have drawn in the past? Now, Sir, unless our problem of food production can be speeded up, unless food can be let in from outside the country, the very ration cards that now have been distributed, cannot be honoured except in the breach. That is one of the problems which this paragraph has dealt with at page 2 and it is for our Treasury Bench—not only the Food Minister—and the public to co-operate and bring about a sufficiency of food in controlled areas. Also what steps are being taken for the improvement of breeding cattle and cultivation of grass and everything else that means increase of milk, butter and ghee; this should be tackled; because, you will note that abroad every ration card provides, in the case of a mother who is expecting a child, or for a small child an extraordinary amount of extra nourishment which cannot be paralleled in this country. We must see to it that whatever is guaranteed to-day can be given in the future.

" With regard to health, the hon. Member who seconded the motion has dealt with most of the points. I would only add that sanitation and hygiene should be made a condition for all those who buy and sell lands in the future because it is there that dirt, mosquitoes, flies and insects breed, and where all sorts of undesirable infections accumulate, and it is those properties that are the hot-bed of bad and dangerous diseases. However many doctors you may have, and however many nurses you may have in the hospitals, they cannot meet the extraordinary amount of infection that wanders about as large a country as ours; and unless the law compels the ordinary citizen, the owner of the land, the man who builds schools or houses and people like that, to understand ventilation, sanitation and hygiene, not much of progress can we have in this direction. I would specially press the Government to note the necessity for planned cities, planned buildings for all areas being opened up, and for definite plans on a sanitary and medical basis. The Chopra Report has still to be understood before it can be implemented; I have not yet found one honourable member of the medical profession who can make a digest of the same. I expect it however means that there should be an extraordinary amount of medical relief extended to the rural areas. His Excellency's speech makes a point of dealing with the rural areas. Medical relief in rural areas should be encouraged practically by the Government by giving ambulances, buses and all sorts of motor

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vehicles to hospitals and teaching institutions for medical relief, which will take the students and doctors out beyond the City to give relief to the villagers.

“Elementary education, Mr. Chairman, Adult education and basic education are all schemes that would take half a century to implement and one century to profit by; but at this time we must have training of mind that will bring peace and honour to the country. None of these schemes will flourish unless we have what is noted in this speech, unless we have a basic citizenship sense—by citizenship we mean the need for discipline, the need for ordered thinking, the need for neighbourliness and the need to do our duty for ourselves and for others. Elementary and basic education schemes must have this foundation and this platform of citizenship if they are going to deal with all the selfishness, the greed and the indiscipline of the natural leaders of the coming generation.

“I will leave Hydro-electric and similar schemes to those who are experts; but I would suggest at this time that the Hon. Minister for Finance who is trying to get money from wherever he can, may perhaps consider it a practical suggestion if we are to have instead of National Savings Bonds, by which we are to deal with matters outside the province, a scheme of savings within the province itself—say Madras Savings Bonds, in respect of which industries and people with money would be willing to part with it in order to perpetuate and press forward hydro-electric and industrial schemes, irrigation and the many other projects which the Government have at heart and have on their programme and which cannot be implemented without money. If we feel that the money is coming back to us and will profit us in the shape of our own canals and channels, then it may be that purses that now are closed, will become loosened.

11.45
a.m.

“Sir, Harijan problem has been dealt with in the speech, but I see it has been shelved, not solved. There is no solution of the Harijan problem unless there is a group and from among that group those who want to give power to the Harijan to come forward. People who now have been put in charge of the Harijan Welfare Department are very well-meaning, are very honourable and very noble no doubt but, Sir, they are centuries behind us; they have not understood those whose interests they have to safeguard. I would ask this Government to take note of this matter and to implement more and more that the leaders and those responsible for the moneys in the Harijan Welfare Fund should be drawn from that community, which alone can deal with the problem and which alone can deal with the money in the way it should be spent for the benefit of their own type of people.

“Sir, one word about the police force and I have done. The police force are the guardians of law and order, and they should be men independent of political control and should be dependent far more on public opinion. No police force can ever keep law and order without the consent and co-operation of the people it serves. It is difficult to believe that politics and police are, for

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the first four letters, the same. Therefore, it should be on a co-operative basis, not a punitive basis, not a basis of third degree not a basis of punishment, fines, imprisonment or the Penal Code that the police operate in the land.

“I think that one or two questions that are troubling us at this time, not only in this House, but in the country as well are the questions of jails and the way they are maintained. Most marvellously we have to reform this side of our law and order. But, I would stress that nothing has been said in His Excellency's speech to bring about an implementation of that and I would ask the Hon. Chief Minister to look into this matter and to see that a small minority only is ruled and governed by force—the large majority comes in willingly and of its own accord and that is where law and order should rest.

“Bills, enactments, laws or Statute Book, can only precede reconstruction of social, political and economic life. All these lists in the programme of the Government and the future programmes mentioned in His Excellency's speech are dependent on the public and their contribution. I would point out that industrialists in the past have taken very high profits and paid very little to Government from their very high proceeds. Film industries and all industries in the past have to come to a proper level of contribution to the needs of the public.

“Retrenchment is not the solution. We cannot throw people out of employment; we have to give employment to people and therefore lesser profits will mean more people being employed. The value of purchase money must be increased; purchase value, not perhaps salaries, should be increased.

“I have lately come to know from friends and from my own relations who have been in Pakistan that all commodities other than textiles are obtainable at very reasonable prices and the rupee purchases much more than it would here and you will forgive me, Mr. Chairman, if I say that the best weapon against communism is not the increase of salaries beyond what they used to be before, but that the purchasing value of food materials, of everything, including cloth, in India should be reduced.

“The speech of His Excellency has brought forward so many thoughtful problems that will occupy us all through the ensuing year. I know that each country is supposed to get the Government it deserves. We deserve the best possible Government and we desire to help the Treasury Bench in all its ways and in all its thinking. I must support the speech of His Excellency and I trust the Treasury Bench will implement that speech not in the letter but in the spirit so that 1950 may be a real Republic year.”

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—“Mr. Chairman, we are very glad that Article 176 of the Constitution of India gives the Houses of the Legislature an opportunity to consider the Government policy, to criticise it and make constructive suggestions. Sir, I wish the Chief Minister had explained the Government policy in the beginning of the year to both the Houses and we took up that policy

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and criticised and gave suggestions. The Constitution of India, following the Constitution in England, has accepted procedure under which the Governor delivers a speech and we have to submit an Address to him. Sir, in England they always have new wine in old bottles. We have accepted a procedure similar to that in England we present an Address to the Governor and the policies are debated upon. I think, Sir, we ought to establish a convention that in the Debate on the Governor's address we use restrained and dignified language, because if we go to the Governor and criticise his advisers, the Ministers, that is the language in which it should be done and therefore, I think, we ought to establish a convention in this respect, that in considering the Address we must adopt a very high level of discussion. It is only in that spirit that I am moving the amendment to the resolution, namely :—

“but humbly regret that while our National difficulties are multiplying, particularly in the matter of stepping up production and industrial output, of unemployment, rise in the cost of living, shelter, sanitary conditions of life, medical assistance, education and recreation and other amenities for the promotion of the welfare of the commonman, the Council of Ministers, charged with the responsibility of aiding and advising your Excellency in the exercise of Your Excellency's functions, are, in their preoccupation with partisan manoeuvres, unable to lay before the House any effective measures for their solution and further are also unable to lay before the House definite measures for the protection and preservation of the fundamental rights and for implementing the directive principle of State policy contained in the Constitution of our country.”

“Now, Sir, before I criticise the policies of the Government, I think, it is my duty to compliment the portion of the speech of His Excellency relating to the preservation of order and security in this province. Sir, whatever mistakes this Government have made in the past and may make in the future, one thing is quite clear. The Government can claim the credit to have kept order and security in this state. Sir, in the conflict of ideologies in the world, the conflict between totalitarianism and democracy, this country has deliberately chosen the democratic structure of society and we have made a Constitution on that basis. Now, it is essential that if we have to work out this Constitution—and we should not forget that we are the greatest democracy in the world from the point of view of population and we have to give a lead to the world, if we have to work out that Constitution, that democratic structure of society, we cannot tolerate disorder and subversive elements, whether these elements are members of a political party or not. The Opposition in this House has very often very strongly criticised Government measures infringing personal freedom, but we have also said that we are solidly behind the Government in the enforcement of order and security which is the primary responsibility of any Government. I say this because I found very recently there was some force used in a jail. I understand, Sir, that the Communist Party of India have circulated that trouble should be fomented in jails, using force. No Government can tolerate use of force and Government have to use their resources to protect the lives of innocent persons and preserve law and order. I am glad indeed to compliment this Government, particularly on this and also to pay a very high compliment to the police. I should

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pay a very high compliment to them because they have helped so much in the preservation of law and order. I pay this compliment particularly because in a sister State, Bengal, we find things are not all good, but in this province where there is famine, we have been able to keep order and peace. I hope the Government will give priority to the enforcement of order and security in this province.

“Having said this, I do not find there is anything very much that can be said on the Government policies at all. Mr. Chairman, it was stated the other day by the Prime Minister of India that no civilized country can tolerate unemployment. Now, Sir, this Government have done precious little in solving the problem of unemployment which is the primary responsibility of any civilized Government. I note that this was taken notice of by the recent Tamil Nad Political Conference in which there was a motion that there was so much unemployment and people should be employed in constructing roads, irrigation tanks, etc. I find that the proposition itself was moved by the President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee and supported by one of the Ministers, Mr. Bhaktavatsalam. Now, Sir, you know that one plank of the Labour Party's election campaign is full employment. I ask, have this Government taken any steps whatsoever to find out how many unemployed there are in this State and have they classified them into agricultural and industrial, educated and uneducated, skilled and unskilled. We find figures published week after week in Britain and America and they place before you the number of unemployed. But, this Government have done nothing at all, not even in finding the figure of unemployed. Why? Simply because the Government do not know their own mind. I do not say the Ministers are not sincere people. They are patriots who want to attend to their duties, but somehow or other they do not find time to attend to the problem of unemployment. Sir, employment solves all other problems. Our food production, industrial output, housing, education, sanitary conditions of life, clothing all depend on employment. The common man wants not only employment but also those social services granted by Statute in all civilised countries, namely, insurance for unemployment, for old age, for sickness, provision for widows and for the maintenance of orphans. We have done precious little in solving the problem of unemployment. Mr. Chairman, Sir, if the Ministers take the trouble of visiting the cheries and slums, and there are 200 of them in Madras City, they will find the poverty, squalor and dirt, insanitary conditions and ignorance our fellow citizens live. They are not one or two but quite a large number. I take the trouble of gaining first hand knowledge of this matter because every Sunday I visit a group of cheries with a few friends and volunteers and I find, Sir, from a survey we have made that in one cheri with 53 families with a population of 261, the men adults number 102, women adults 91 and there are 68 children. Out of the 102 men adults, 61 are unemployed and 95 per cent of the women are also unemployed. I questioned some of them and they are willing to take to any work; they are starving, barely having two or three meals a week. The Government have not so far thought of the

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question of taking statistics of the unemployed and the work on which they could be kept engaged. If only the Government could invest—I do not want to say that they must spend, some money and acquire some ten acres of land they can house these people and many more of them and besides that, a few acres might be used for cottage industry, shoe-making, weaving, poultry farming and they can also do vegetable farming if more acres are made available to them. If you acquire ten acres, it might cost you Rs. 50,000 or a lakh of rupees and you can have a return out of it. If these poor people are provided with employment, they will have their own houses. The Corporation can give them sanitary conditions of life, provide them with public conveniences and bathing places and they can also give them schools. A small house, they said, costs them about Rs. 60. You can provide ventilation for these houses. Multi-purpose co-operative societies can be formed for the benefit of these people; it can assist these people and can find employment for all of them. Similarly also in the villages, the Government can acquire fifty acres of land, waste cultivable land and settle agricultural labourers on it. I want the Government to have a plan and as Pandit Nehru said a plan which will lay down priorities, which will fix the targets, co-ordinate the efforts of the Centre and the Provinces and also those of others engaged in similar activities. We must have a planning committee which will deal with the problem of solving unemployment. If that is done, we can promote the welfare of the common man through the multi-purpose co-operative stores. They can have stores which will provide them with their necessities of life at fair price. From the reports which the volunteers gave to me I find that most of them have to buy a portion of rice at black market rates to carry them through the rest of the week. Sir, millions of people in our state are unemployed and according to students of economics labour is wealth and you are keeping them idle with the result they are persuaded to join hands with subversive elements in the country. Therefore, the first thing to be done is to solve the problem of unemployment which will promote the welfare of the common man. I find nothing in the speech which gives a definite policy or programme for solving this and there is nothing mentioned about priorities or targets in this connexion. I find that in the speech seconding the resolution at the Tamil Nad Political Conference regarding employment, the Hon. Mr. Bakta-vatsalam said that he would solve famine conditions by providing employment to people on road-making and irrigation works. But that is only touching the fringe of the problem. I could see that what he has at heart is that in order to save famine conditions the question of unemployment should be solved. This is a problem not only for the Government but also for every member of society to contribute what he can to solve the problem; the Government must take an active part and all of us must co-operate with the Government and take an active part because we can never create a new India when there are millions of people unemployed. I admit that the Government are not anxious to see people unemployed but what I say is that they have no programme or policy for solving the problem. Food production is a question which

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should agitate every patriot. I must say here, Sir, that I deprecate very much the publicity that is being given to the fact that we are going to starve as that would be an invitation to unsocial elements to hoard what little they are able to corner. The Government both at the Centre and the State Government are anxious to step up production but what have they done? I would not have given the figures I am going to but for the fact that they were published in the papers. 48.7 lakhs of tons is our normal production of rice and 26.5 lakhs tons is our normal millet production but this year's figures according to the latest official estimate are 38.8 lakhs of tons rice and 23.6 lakhs of millets which gives us a shortage of 12.8 lakhs of tons of both rice and millets taken together. The Government have been spending crores of rupees which benefited only those who were engaged in the grow more food campaign and the result was next to nothing for want of a definite policy or programme as they had in Britain. Britain produced only 40 per cent of their food requirements and they were importing the rest but they have a programme assisted by the British Agriculture Act of 1947 which came into force on the 6th August 1947. They have programmed according to that Act that by 1952 they should be self-sufficient regarding food and to-day what is their performance? They are producing very much more than they produced before the war. I am referring to 'Agriculture in Britain' issued recently by the British Information Services in India. Mr. Borron, the information officer was kind enough to give me a copy. The Act of 1947 is a very beneficial piece of legislation and agricultural production has been stepped up. The act was based on the twin pillars upon which Government agricultural policy rests namely, stability and efficiency. The main method of providing stability is through guaranteed prices and markets. It is generally recognized as of equal importance to ensure that the industry shows the highest possible degree of efficiency. The State has therefore, provided a number of aids under the Act and has created sanctions that may be used to remove chronically indifferent farmers or land-owners who have not fulfilled their responsibility to the lands. What they have accomplished is what we have not tried to do up to the present moment. In spite of the good motives of the Government—I do not question their motives and their motives are good and the question of food is not a party matter: they are all anxious to produce more food but in spite of these good motives they have failed to contact the farmer on whose skill and initiative the production depends. They have gone round him but never met him at all. Under the British Agricultural Act there is an Agricultural Executive Committee for each county. It is a statutory committee consisting of 12 members, five being appointed directly by the Minister, seven from persons nominated by the interests concerned, namely farmers, two workers and two land-owners. This Committee is able to find out what the agricultural wants are and in what manner help can be rendered. Not only they establish contact with the farmers and tillers of the soil but there are 1,400 agricultural experts who are on the job of giving advice to them. Thus advisory service is available to the

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12-15 p.m. people free. These County Committees have got the power to take over lands that are badly cultivated and see that they are well cultivated. The degree of financial aid given to British farmers can be understood in the light of the activities of the Ministry of Food. Because the British Agriculture Act ensures guaranteed prices and assured markets, there is stability and everybody invests on agricultural production with confidence. Because that Act had worked successfully in England, we must copy and apply that Act here also. The Governor's address refers to schemes for mechanized cultivation by the use of modern agricultural machinery such as tractors. We have not got even one hundred tractors. In England where the extent of land under cultivation is less than what we have, the number of tractors in use during the war was 190,000. In 1948 it rose to 250,000 excluding small garden tractors and the number was expected to rise to 300,000."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Cultivation in England is more or less on the dry system. We are not able to use tractors because here it is wet cultivation mostly."

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—" According to expert opinion, the position in this country is that there is need for more tractors but that the farmers and the Government have not got adequate money to purchase them. At page 15 of the very excellent book "Wealth and Welfare in the Province of Madras" written by Dr. B. Natarajan, Economic Adviser to the Government of Madras, it is said that the cultivable waste together with fallows in this province is 21,347,625 acres. The total area under cultivation is given as about three and odd crores of acres. The cultivable waste land is about two-thirds of the area under cultivation. One acre yields half a ton of paddy. If these cultivable waste lands are brought under cultivation, there will be a substantial addition to the food resources of this state."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I will narrate my experience as I have tried the use of tractors. The bane of agriculture in our country is the fragmentation of holdings. Unless there are big holdings, it is not possible to use tractors. Besides, tractors will be useful only for dry cultivation. For wet cultivation they are of no use."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—" Even small holdings can be brought under common cultivation by co-operative farming. That is not an insoluble difficulty."

"I put the blame for failure to bring waste lands under cultivation under the Grow More Food Campaign more on the Government of India than on the Government of this state. The Government must reclaim all waste lands by the use of tractors and make them fit for cultivation. They can sell such reclaimed lands by public auction or private negotiation to farmers and allow them to pay the price in instalments spread over thirty years or even earlier if the farmers can do so. The purchasers will then grow food on those lands. What I suggest is that the Government should have

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a definite policy for reclaiming waste lands and sinking wells for water. So far the Government have had no policy and they have done nothing for reclaiming the cultivable waste of 21,347,625 acres. They should bring under cultivation cultivable waste lands of even such small extents as five acres and ten acres. The Government of India will say that they have given a block grant of five crores of rupees and that the State Government could utilize it for purposes intended to accelerate the Grow More Food Campaign. But these block grant lapse. The Government need not lose a single pie; they can even make a profit. They can recover the entire cost from the purchasers. Whenever we suggest anything, the Government say that they have no money. I say they spend the available money on various fads. What right has a man got to keep his lands waste without allowing them to be cultivated by somebody else? Why should not the Government take possession of all cultivable uncultivated lands under the Land Acquisition Act? Soon after a notification is issued under the Act and even before the price is settled, the Collector can take possession of the land. The Government must acquire and bring such lands under cultivation, and settle agricultural labourers on them."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" The Government tried to do some such thing and also published a bill but public opinion did not support it."

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—" In matters connected with the Grow More Food Campaign, every man must help the Government and give them active co-operation."

"Have the Government got any policy? They have a policy. Nothing is revealed in this address. The Government must have some experts to advise and they must take their advice. On the sufficiency of food depends all the amenities for the promotion of the welfare of the common man that I have mentioned in my amendment. Everything depends on employment and production of industrial as well as agricultural products. To please their party, to please powerful influences, the Government are wasting sixteen crores of rupees of public revenues for paying compensation to zamindars and other landholders without collecting even one rupee from those who are benefited by the zamindari abolition legislation. You, Mr. Chairman, have often said that you do not agree with me in this respect. But I must emphasize it as I think it is a great mistake and the public ought to know it. As in the United Provinces, the Government must collect money from those who are benefited by the Zamindari Abolition Act and utilize that money for nationbuilding activities and solving the problems of unemployment and food deficiency. We have not even got statistics in this state. We are deficit by thirteen lakhs of tons and we want only six lakhs of tons more to tide over the crisis. If we have normal production, we do not require anything more."

"Another point about which I am very serious is the failure of this Government in not urging the Government of India to liquidate all foreign possessions lying in this State. I have information that

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in a period of less than six months, seventeen thousand tons of rice were shipped from one foreign port Karaikal. When there are famine conditions prevailing in certain districts of our State, we cannot allow the export of foodgrains through foreign ports."

THE HON. SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—"What can this Government do to stop exports from Karaikal and other foreign possessions?"

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"Do these exports of which the hon. Member is complaining consist of foodgrains from the Indian territory?"

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—"Yes, Sir. They are foodgrains smuggled from the Indian territory and exported. This information came to me from the horse's mouth. I give this information and let the Government investigate the truth of it."

"There should not be any foreign possession within the four corners of this territory. We are an independent nation and we cannot allow the foreigners even an inch of soil. It is against the dignity and prestige of our country. The Government of this State should take up this matter very seriously and make very strong recommendations to the Government of India."

12.30 a.m. "Sir, sometime ago when I heard about the smuggling of rice into these foreign possessions bordering this State, I sent in a resolution to this House for being discussed."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"I was about to tell the hon. Leader of the Opposition that he is now getting an opportunity to speak on that subject, although he was not able to do so then."

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—"Sir, until recently the Government of India thought that by negotiations they would be able to get these foreign possessions in India merged with the Indian Union. But it was only the other day that the Paris Government have said that there will be no more taking of a referendum in regard to the French possessions in this country. Sir I want to point out that since the British rule over this country had ended some three years ago, our past ill-feelings against the Britishers had gone and we are now so much attached to them and there is absolutely no ill-will or ill-feelings against them. But on the other hand, we have full and free co-operation between this country and Great Britain. Now I want to ask, why not the French Government also take a similar stand."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"If the hon. Leader of the Opposition complains that grain is being smuggled into those territories, it is a matter for the Government to take note of and take necessary action on it."

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—"I ask the Government to investigate into that matter and find out how much of our foodgrains are being smuggled out of our State into those foreign possessions. They

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must take action to prevent such smuggling. There is not one man in this part of South India who would brook the idea of allowing foreign possessions to continue to exist in our country, after the country had become an independent republic. Except perhaps Goa, there is no other foreign possession in any other part of this country outside South India. But it is only here in our State that we are tolerating the continued existence of a foreign possession in our midst. The French Government seem to think that they can hold on their possessions in this country indefinitely and they have no idea that they must get out of this country with good grace and with good will towards them. But my point is how can we allow such foreign possessions allow smuggling into those areas rice and other foodgrains which are produced in our State. I ask the Government to investigate this matter and take prompt and immediate steps to stop such smuggling and at the same time take necessary action to see that foreign possessions are liquidated at no distant date, so that this great country, which is one of the greatest democratic countries of the world can say that within the natural boundaries of this free country, there are no foreign possession. We cannot tolerate the continued existence of a foreign possessions, after we have declared ourselves free. No free country in the world can tolerate the existence of such a state of affairs. I ask the Government to take a very serious notice of it and make a recommendation to the Government of India that there is a very strong feeling, a very wide-spread feeling and a very deep feeling of resentment in the minds of people in South India against the continued existence of foreign possessions in this State and that they should take early steps to make them merge with this State.

"Then Sir, I have one great criticism to make in regard to the financial structure of this Government. Our financial structure has considerably changed after my Hon. Friend Mr. Gopala Reddi has taken charge of the portfolio of Finance. (The Hon. Sri B. Gopala Reddi: Probably you are referring to Prohibition!). No Sir, I am not referring to Prohibition for the present. I am going to refer to the General Sales Tax, which the Hon. Finance Minister has been going on increasing from time to time. Now, Sir, the General Sales Tax yields about Rs. 12.45 crores. It is the biggest source of revenue for this Government. Land Revenue comes to only Rs. 5 crores. Now by means of the latest award in regard to the allocation of income-tax, we shall get only about Rs. 7.89 crores. But it is only the General Sales Tax that brings in a revenue of something like Rs. 12½ crores annually and it is mainly this tax that is responsible for the increase in the cost of living. It is not a tax on profits. Whether a merchant makes any profit or loss, there is no difference; he must pay the sales tax. But it is passed on to the consumer ultimately, so much so, that it is more appropriate to call it a consumers' tax. Not only does this tax increase the price of foodstuffs, but it also affects the trade between one State and another. Therefore this tax must be reduced if it cannot be abolished altogether both in the interests of the general tax-payer as well as of the inter-State trade. I must also ask the Government

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in all seriousness to reconsider their policy of enforcing prohibition. Of course, we are all agreed on the principle of the introduction of prohibition, but there is another method of enforcing prohibition without affecting the finances of the State and at the same time prevent the evils of drunkenness. In Great Britain they are adopting a method of enforcing prohibition which can very well be copied in this state and I am obliged for this information to Mr. W. W. Ladden, who recently returned from Great Britain. People are generally under a wrong impression that there is no prohibition in England. In fact prohibition is being enforced in Great Britain in one way. There the State has taken over the entire production of alcoholic drinks. They dilute these drinks in such a way that even if you have two stomachs and fill these two stomachs with such drinks, you will not get drunk at all. Suppose for one bottle of toddy you add six bottles of water and supply it to the people; even if a person fills his stomach to the full, he cannot get drunk and there will be no intoxication whatsoever. In fact, it has also got some food-value in it, because toddy contains vitamin B."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Am I to understand that all the Scotch whiskies and brandies and champagnes that are sold in shops are diluted."

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—" Those drinks are used by only rich and wealthy classes in England, but we are concerned only with labourers and working class people. There the poorer classes and workers drink only beer and it is beer that the Government have taken to manufacture and distribute in such diluted form. There the middle class man does not take any drink at all. It is only the aristocrats and lords who drink whisky and champagne; the working class people drink only beer. The diluted beer that is distributed is quite harmless and even if a person drinks any quantity of it, he cannot get himself drunk to the point of intoxication. What will be the effect if such a policy is followed by this Government also in enforcing their policy of prohibition? The Government can get about Rs. 50 crores of additional revenue. Now we have lost about Rs. 17 crores of Excise revenue. The contractors were making about twice and thrice this amount and now if the Government take over this industry into their hands and dilute the toddy and sell it to the people the revenues of the Government would be enhanced."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Then everybody can drink according to the hon. Member? Is that what the hon. Leader of the Opposition suggests?" (Laughter.)

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—" I am not saying this just for the sake of a joke or a fun, Sir. I am speaking in all seriousness. The other day I had an occasion to go to the Medical College and speak at a certain function. I have seen for myself how the students are accommodated in that college and how they are getting on. You have no idea, Sir, of the suffering that the students of that college are undergoing for want of sufficient accommodation. In a small

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room some three or four students are huddled together and they have no space to move about and no facilities to read and no place to sleep. All this is due to the fact that the Government have not got money enough to provide them with better accommodation and better facilities and better conveniences for prosecuting their studies in that college."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I thought the hon. Member was going to say that the students were suffering because there were no drinks there." (Laughter.)

* DR. V. K. JOHN :—" I refer to that institution which I have seen for myself, because that is an instance where the Government, for want of funds, could not expand and afford greater facilities to the students. By increasing the sales tax, the Government have only increased the cost of living. If the Government increase the sales tax by asking the merchants to pay more tax on all their turnover, it does not affect the merchants in any way; the tax is passed on to the consumer and this raises the cost of living of the common man. I submit, Sir, that that tax ought to be reduced considerably, if it cannot be abolished altogether. The continuance of the policy of prohibition affects the improvement of hospitals, colleges, education, sanitation, irrigation and in fact, every nation-building activity of the Government, because they have no money to attend to these things. That is the general complaint of the Ministers, whenever their departments are criticised. I would therefore seriously suggest to them that the best way to find out the money it to make the manufacture of toddy the monopoly of the Government and distribute them to the people who want to drink in a very diluted form, so as not to make them get drunk. There is nothing wrong about it. Let not the Government stand on prestige. Let them take stock of the actual realities of the situation. Are they able to enforce successfully their policy of prohibition, even by foregoing the huge revenue and at the same time spending large sums on the prohibition staff? With all their prohibition staff and with all the Police staff at their command, they are not able to enforce prohibition successfully and illicit distillation is going on in almost every house in the villages. That has been admitted by all. That continuance of prohibition will only profit the illicit distillers. The Government and the Ministers simply stand on false prestige and do not want to retrace their steps or accept their failure in the matter of enforcement. The Government of India gave them a direction to go slow with regard to prohibition, but this Government did not heed that advice, but on the other hand, introduced total prohibition throughout the State. What is the result? I may say for your information, Sir, that in Delhi there is no prohibition. Are the authorities in Delhi less patriotic or less Gandhian in their ideals? Why have they not chosen to introduce prohibition there? I submit, Sir, that this Government should seriously consider the financial structure of this Province and the ever-increasing cost of living, which is the direct result of the various policies and schemes which they are persisting in, in spite of advice from the Centre to go slow with regard to them.

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"Sir, only one word more. As I have referred to in my amendment, I want to say that this Government must pay a little more attention to the fundamental rights provided in the new Constitution of India and also the directive principles underlying the state policy. I want to refer to only one fundamental principle to which the Government must now pay particular attention. Article 16 of the Constitution provides that no citizen shall, on grounds only of his religion, race or caste, etc., be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of any employment or office under the State. That is to say, there should be an equality of opportunity for all the citizens, irrespective of caste, creed or religion, in the matter of public employment under the State. I ask the Government to reconsider their communal Government Order particularly with regard to the admission of students into schools and colleges. No doubt it is the duty of the Government to encourage Backward Classes and the Harijans and there can be no objection to an exception being made in their case. That has also been provided for in the Constitution. But to make a distinction to-day between Brahmans and Non Brahmans, or to make discrimination between one community and another is to do something which will not consolidate this country and this policy will not create a new India based on equality of opportunities to all her citizens. There should be no discrimination on the ground of caste or religion. Now however brilliant a student is, if he happens to belong to the Brahman community, there is discrimination against him and he does not get admission into colleges so very easily as others. On the other hand, it should be the policy of the State to encourage brilliant boys, to whatever community they might belong, to continue their education and to provide all facilities therefor. The remedy for the present state of affairs is not to restrict or shut out particular communities from admission to the colleges, but to start more colleges in more centres. We do not want big buildings or costly constructions. Let us not at least hereafter say that on account of community or birth or parentage, we cannot admit any particular student into the college or into Government service. I think a new orientation is required in this direction, but I am sorry to find that no mention about it is made in the address of His Excellency the Governor.

"Another thing I find in the directive principle is this. Special privileges and facilities are offered to Harijans under the new Constitution. There has been a great agitation going on in the country that Harijans and other persons who had changed their religion and become either Christians or Muslims, should not be discriminated against. This change of one's faith or religion is a purely personal affair and on that ground no man should be discriminated against. Ours is not a Hindu or a Muslim State, but a secular State and you should not make people feel that because they follow a particular faith or religion, facilities which are given out of public revenues are denied to them. I say that kind of feeling should not be engendered in the mind of any person, who is a citizen of this State.

"Sir, there are many other directive principles of State policy enunciated in the Constitution and I wish to emphasise that those

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relating to the rights of man, that is to say, that all citizens ought to have equal rights, should be scrupulously observed. At the same time, I want that our Ministers should read them every day or get them by heart and always keep them before their minds, and act according to them in their day-to-day activities. I am sorry, Sir, that there is no mention of it in His Excellency's address or any indication that steps would be taken to preserve and promote the fundamental rights of the citizens. I submit, Sir, that it is the responsibility of the State to take every step to see that the directive principles are enforced.

"Finally, Sir, I must say that we are obliged to His Excellency for the address he has presented to this House and although I fully support the motion moved by the hon. Gentleman Sri Adityan, I want that the motion must also go with the amendment that I have moved."

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, for the first time in this House we have to get accustomed to address you as Mr. Chairman instead of Mr. President. If, in the course of my speech, I falter and commit the mistake of addressing you as 'Mr. President', I hope you will please excuse me."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"I don't mind it."

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—"Sir, we, sitting on the Opposition, labour under a very great difficulty. The speech delivered by his His Excellency the Governor is supposed to be His Excellency's speech, though it is a speech perhaps prepared on the advice of His Excellency's advisers. So, Sir, if we make remarks on the policy enunciated in that speech, I hope it would be understood that it is not the intention of the critics to criticize His Excellency who is above all parties, whatever may be the party in power. The speech prepared for His Excellency by the Government reads more like an election manifesto. It does not categorically say what measures this Government propose to undertake to meet the difficult situation in which they are placed. Simply a catalogue of measures already undertaken is given. The hon. Gentleman Sri Adityan was making much of the legislative programme. What is there in the legislative programme of which this House is not already aware or seized of? Take the Panchayats Bill and the Hindu Religious Endowments Bill. There is nothing new in them. What we expected His Excellency to tell us is what new measures the Government proposed to undertake in order to meet the difficult situation in which the Government find themselves. Therefore, there is nothing new for us to get enthused over the legislative measures which His Excellency mentioned in his address. I mentioned all this because Sri Adityan made much of the legislative programme. Everything is known to us. We expected His Excellency to tell us some other measures which the Government may have under contemplation, and which would be placed before this House. His Excellency was pleased to say 'there are other pieces of legislation under contemplation and they will be introduced in due course'. I do not think

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that the legislature has been dealt with properly by this sentence. I wish the legislative measures proposed to be undertaken by the Government had been mentioned so that the public may be aware of what is to come and give their suggestions or criticisms on them.

"His Excellency in his gracious utterance made reference to the illuminations on the Republic Day, and stated that they 'can have no meaning unless we bring a portion of that light to the humblest and the meanest homes in our land and dispel the darkness of want and poverty, disease and ignorance'. No worthier ideal could have been set for a State. We all appreciate the ideal which His Excellency wanted his Government to have in view in conducting the administration of this State."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"You give the credit for this statement to His Excellency whereas you said earlier that the whole speech was prepared by his Government!"

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—"There are certain sentiments which His Excellency perhaps wanted his Government to adopt. Mention is made in the address to the coming elections. We would have been glad to know what active steps this Government are taking to educate the electorate to discharge their duties and responsibilities. By merely passing a Constitution Act and by conferring the privilege of franchise on a large population, proper working of the Constitution Act is not ensured. What measures this Government propose to take in order to educate the electorate of their duties and responsibilities? Nothing has been said about all these. This Government have a huge Publicity Department. Why not leaflets, explaining in simple language the various provisions of the Act and the part that the voters can play in ensuring that the Constitution is worked properly, and why the people should exercise their franchise, be issued? Otherwise, it may be that the number of voters who will exercise their franchise will be very little when elections take place. People must know why they should go to the polling booth and why they should exercise their franchise."

"His Excellency has mentioned about the failure of the monsoon in the South. The only measure of relief to which His Excellency has referred is the remission of land revenue. Is that enough to afford relief to the large number of people who will suffer on account of the failure of seasons? What other measures the Government propose to take in order to relieve the suffering that would be caused by the failure of seasons. I wish reference had been made also to measures which are under consideration by the Government to ward off starvation. The grain supply will be inadequate where the season has been a failure. What measures this Government propose to undertake in order to ensure that every one in that area secures at least that amount of grain that is prescribed as ration in other areas? The Government must have some scheme and some plan to afford relief to this large section that will suffer. Mere provision of works, which my hon. Friend the Minister for Public Works mentioned in a conference,

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is not enough. Any amount of wages may be paid. Coming as I do from a famine stricken area, I say that unless it is possible for the wage earner to convert his wage into something which will enable him to sustain himself, all the starting of works and other things will be of no avail. I hope, Sir, the Government will have some plans or at least will think of some plans. Now summer is fast approaching, and the suffering is bound to be acute in view of the failure of the seasons. I hope the Government have measures on hand to put through. I wish His Excellency had referred to them so that they might bring some cheer and hope to the suffering millions in those districts where the season has been a failure."

"Sir, the hon. the Leader of the Opposition referred to food deficit. From the figures furnished to us, it is seen that production itself is 12·8 lakhs of tons less this year. Normally, this State was importing foodgrains, especially rice from Burma. We were never self-sufficient. Our self-sufficiency has been rendered more difficult because of the growing population. Production has not kept pace with the growing population. In terms of production the deficit is stated as 12·8 lakhs of tons. But the real deficit must be more in this State on account of the growing population. What measures this Government have in view to meet this deficit? The Government of India have said that they would not be able to supply this State with more than three lakhs of tons of foodgrains. How are this Government going to meet the large deficit that will become inevitable, and how will this Government feed the hungry millions of this State? What are their proposals? The Government always have to think of their commitment. Their commitment is that everybody in this State is to be fed by them, not merely the population in the rationed areas. It is the responsibility of the Government to see that no one dies of starvation. So, the deficit practically is much more than 12·8 lakhs of tons. How is this deficit to be made good? My hon. Friend the Minister for Public Works has a bold policy. But that policy will bear fruit only after some time. The irrigation works that he has in view, both minor and major, are to be completed. And when the rains come, water will be retained in the tanks and then more cultivation will be possible. We are grateful so far as the Public Works Department is concerned. They are following a very bold policy."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"Did the hon. Member read in the papers of an experiment made in America? At an expense of £7 they were able to bring down rain for one hundred square miles of land?"

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—"If that is possible, I am sure the Hon. Minister for Public Works will attempt that experiment here too."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I thought you were going to refer to that experiment."

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* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ I am saying that if it is possible, and if the experiment is really successful, I am sure the Hon. Minister for Public Works will try that experiment here also. I am sure that everything possible by the Public Works Department is being done to help people. But what my point is, whatever may be done, it will take some time for us to enjoy the fruits of that policy. In the meantime, there is a great dearth of technical personnel. I appeal to the Hon. Minister for Public Works to make a wise and judicious adjustment of the technical personnel available so that no part of the country suffers, and that every part of the country which is in need of these works may not suffer for want of personnel. I appeal once again to the Hon. Minister for Public Works that backward tracts of this State should receive his special consideration.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I do not know if the Hon. Minister has read this experiment in this morning's papers. It is said to have given enough supply of water for one year.”

DR. V. K. JOHN :—“ One of the Hon. Ministers may fly to America in this connexion, Sir.”

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ Some of the suggestions which we have made elsewhere and which I think I should repeat here are that this Government should carry out the directions of the Government of India and see that they maximize their procurement and also introduce rationing on as large a scale as possible so that the available grains in this State and those that may be made available by the Government of India may be equitably distributed and that no one part of the country, because it is a surplus area and because there is no rationing there, enjoys advantages which are denied to those who unfortunately have to suffer from the failure of seasons.

a.m. “ Sir, another method by which food production can be immediately increased, to which my hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition has referred, is by bringing more land under cultivation, though perhaps under dry cultivation. This Government possesses about 163 tractors. That was the figure given in reply to a question in this House. They have brought under cultivation, according to the figures furnished to me, in 1948-49, 35,569 acres. With the addition of 50 more tractors, they hope to bring under cultivation about 40,000 acres, and altogether about 75,000 acres by the end of 1950. From the figures quoted by the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, the cultivable waste is very large and the acreage we have brought under cultivation is infinitesimally small compared with the cultivable waste we have. What proposals do this Government have in order to bring more land under cultivation with the help of tractors or bull-dozer?”

“ Then, Sir, there is the help to be rendered to the ryots to produce more by intensive cultivation such as the supply of enough good seed, manure, all in good time, so that they may produce more than what the land is able to yield now. In that regard too, I wish His Excellency's speech had made some reference to the schemes they have in view.

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“ Sir, the Leader of the Opposition referred to estate abolition. As you know, I am also one of those who feel that there is no justification to pay the compensation to the zamindars out of the general revenues. We have maintained that the benefit that will accrue is more to the intermediaries than to the actual cultivator. Why should these intermediaries acquire these rights without their having made any payment? If they have been rackrented, they have in turn rackrented the poor cultivator. These intermediaries never paid out of their pockets. If at all anybody needs sympathy, it is the actual cultivator and he should get the patta. This is one of the things to which the Leader of the Opposition refers as ‘partisan manoeuvres’. Why is this Government so anxious to satisfy these intermediaries? It is because they are the powerful classes through whom they expect votes. Moreover, when we are short of funds, why should this Government lay their hands on the Reserve Fund which can be used better to increase food production. You may spend crores, if you like, in order to make this State self-sufficient in food.”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I think the hon. Member has dealt with this subject more than once and he will have another opportunity also in Budget discussion. Therefore, instead of developing this point, he may refer to other points.”

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ Because His Excellency referred to this in his speech, Sir, but as you say, I shall have another opportunity of dealing with this.

“ Then, I go to medical relief. We all sympathize with the Hon. Minister for Public Health because however much he may like to extend medical facilities to the rural areas, he is not able to secure adequate medical personnel for that purpose. As Mr. Ranga Reddi suggested, may I ask him whether he proposes to make the Guntur and Mathurai Colleges *pucca* colleges so that at least within the course of four or five years he may secure more medical personnel and the hospitals and dispensaries which are now going without medical officers may receive the medical assistants? If necessary, I would even suggest another medical college may be started. Unless some radical steps are taken, this problem of want of medical personnel to man these hospitals will continue to exist.

“ Coming to education, I am sure the Hon. Minister for Education recognizes that the school-going population is increasing year after year. I am sure he concedes that the facilities he has provided or he proposes to provide are not commensurate with the increase in the population. Article 15 of the Constitution lays down that it is the duty incumbent on a State to see that compulsory free primary education up to the age of 14 years is provided within a period of ten years. What programme has the Hon. Minister got to see that the objective is reached before the end of ten years? Nothing is mentioned in His Excellency's speech about this. His Excellency mentions only basic education and basic training schools. But with that subject, we shall have another occasion to deal. But so far as the provision of more schools is concerned,

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nothing is mentioned in His Excellency's speech. What programme do the Government have in order to comply with the directive principle of State policy within a period of ten years? Any Government must have a programme to satisfy these directives.

"As you know, Sir, I am a protagonist of the under-dog and more especially the elementary school teacher. There is a feeling which, I am sure, is shared by the Government, that there is a gradual decline in the quality of the teaching profession. If it is allowed to decline further, it will fall below the level necessary to provide a satisfactory service. In an article in the 'Times Educational Supplement' recently a writer wrote on 'Tasks for 1950' which face the Government in England—

"The more I see of education from an office desk, the more I am convinced that it is the teacher in the class room that really matters. No one denies this truth; every one pays lip service to it; but little is done to induce the good teacher to remain in the class room. It may be worthwhile to point out that the truth is a double edged one, that while the good which a good teacher does in the class room is, beyond price, the harm which the bad or indifferent teacher does is almost beyond remedy. No effort should be spared, no sacrifice considered too great, to ensure that only well-qualified, temperamentally suited, and happy men and women are in charge of the class rooms in the nation's schools. This involves questions of selection, training, and working conditions as well as remuneration, but every attention paid to the first three will not compensate for neglect of the fourth. It is not the starting salary which matters, but adequate recognition of the teacher's maturing gifts; that is the point upon which attention should be concentrated during the coming year."

May I ask whether this Government have considered that aspect of the matter and what they propose to do in regard to adequate remuneration to teachers? This is intimately connected with the achievement of the directive principle of policy laid down of providing compulsory primary education for all boys and girls under fourteen years within a period of ten years. If a satisfactory solution is to be found, there must be much more radical thinking about the remuneration of teachers than has hitherto taken place or at any rate stated in public statements of policy.

"Then, I would like to draw attention to an article which recently appeared in the *Madras Mail* referring to the exploitation of infants by beggars. The beggar problem remains yet unsolved. No doubt the Madras City Police Act has been amended by which, if the police consider it necessary, they may arrest beggars and remove them to homes specially meant for them. But are the homes sufficient in number to take in all these beggars? What is the policy of the Government in this regard? Unless they make adequate provision, it will show that the Government are not anxious to enforce the statute. It is a disgrace to see our beggars going about begging in the streets and lying on pavements exposing their sores. Especially when foreigners come to our country, and as beggary is probably non-existent in any other part of the world to the extent in which it is found in our land, it is a sheer disgrace and derogatory to the self-respect of our nation to allow these beggars going about pestering them. What plans have the Government to tackle this problem? I wish that aspect also had been touched in His Excellency's address among the ameliorative measures which this Government have in view.

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"My hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition read from a book which he got from the Ministry of Information, regarding agriculture in England. This Government did publish a Bill, the Agricultural Bill. But for some reason they withdrew the Bill or perhaps they do not propose to introduce it. They published it in the *Gazette*, but there was a cry from vested interests. They did not want to face the opprobrium of those whose votes they want. If the Agricultural Bill which the then Hon. Minister for Agriculture felt was necessary, why is it now considered unnecessary? There were criticisms. Why not the Bill be remodelled to satisfy the legitimate criticisms levelled against the Bill instead of dropping it altogether? If the Agricultural Act in Great Britain has helped to increase food production, why not we try it here also? Why not we take power to take over all the uncultivated lands which can be cultivated or compel the land-owners either to cultivate the lands themselves or to hand them over to the State? This desire on the part of the Government not to offend the vested interests who will be affected by legislation, I think, should be given up. Under the directive principles of State policy laid down, they have great responsibilities to discharge before they can achieve the ideals set forth in the Constitution. No Government should hesitate to undertake any legislation which is calculated to fulfil these principles. I am surprised this Government quietly dropped that Bill and made the present Minister for Agriculture say somewhere in a public meeting that they would not proceed with the Bill. This is not the way a responsible Government should treat a piece of legislation which they felt at one time necessary. They should at least explain to the public why they do not think that Bill is necessary at all in the present circumstances. (Dr. V. K. John: 'They grew wiser.') If they have grown wiser, let them make us all wiser by stating the causes which compelled them not to proceed with the Bill.

"While we are grateful to the Government for what they are doing, we wish that they have a bold policy and now that we have come under this Constitution it is expected that every State will try to achieve the objectives which have been laid down. I expected that His Excellency's address will contain measures which the Government propose to undertake in order to achieve the objectives laid down in the Chapters relating to fundamental rights and the directive principles of State policy. Instead, the speech is a catalogue of what has already been done and not of legislative measures which are on the anvil. I do not think that from that point of view, His Excellency was well-advised by his advisers. As I have already said, we have nothing against His Excellency. We are grateful to him for his gracious utterance; we expect him time and again to draw the attention of his advisers to the portion of his address which I read out earlier so that he may keep them on the straight path and see that everything that they do redounds to the credit of the State."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"I want to know whether Mr. Uppi is moving his amendment."

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JANAB K. UPPI :—" I will move my amendment in the evening."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I think all the amendments may be moved so that discussion can take place on all of them."

THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI :—" Can we formally move the amendment now and make the speech later on. It seems he wants to speak in the evening."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" If Mr. Uppi is not prepared to speak now, I have no objection to his doing so in the evening. We are now nearing 1-30. If there is anybody who can finish his speech in ten minutes, he can speak."

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, I had hoped to speak in the afternoon, but . . ."

MR. CHAIRMAN : " I do not want to compel the hon. Member. The hon. Member can speak in the afternoon."

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" I will start now, stop at 1-30 and continue after lunch. This is a very remarkable time. For the first time, we have a privilege introduced in this House which has been more or less copied from an ancient and time-honoured privilege which was in existence in the Houses of Parliament in Great Britain, where before the commencement of every session, there is the King's speech. I would like to state here the implications of the King's speech. From what I have heard from the members in the Opposition, there seems to be some misunderstanding as to the significance of that speech and as to the necessity for a speech like that. I would like to make it very clear that the King's speech has nothing to do with His Majesty the King. That is the first constitutional precedent we have to establish. Therefore, although His Excellency the Governor has delivered that speech, the whole of that speech is the responsibility of his Ministers and His Excellency the Governor cannot introduce any sentiment into that speech which is not fully in accord with the views of the Cabinet of the day. This, as I gather, is the policy that is followed, and the principle that is adopted in very many places. Member after Member was apologetic whether any statement or any remarks about that speech would by implication be conceded as reflection upon His Excellency the Governor. I would like to make it perfectly clear that it is possible and it might even be necessary for Members of this House to speak very critically about the speech that has been delivered. But nothing can be taken to mean thereby as a reflection upon the gracious personality who was pleased to deliver that speech. Why, Sir? I may perhaps tell you that when the Leader of the Opposition and the Members of the Opposition have criticised this speech so severely and if a vote was taken on the speech, the resolution that the hon. Gentleman has moved may not be accepted and may actually be defeated. Defeat means the turning out of the party concerned. It cannot be said therefore that sugary words are the only ones required to implement the policy."

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MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Is there a division on this? "

THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI :—" There is division on amendments proposed."

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" In the House of Lords, there is no division. In the House of Commons, there can always be division. I can state that on one famous occasion at any rate, the Ministry of Gladstone was defeated on a motion like this, because the Opposition mustered strength and criticised the measure in a very effective manner. Having said that, I hope we will establish a precedent that we can be very free and very fair in our criticism without bringing at any stage the name of His Excellency for the honour that he has done in addressing the Legislature."

" I feel that in another respect we are probably in a very difficult position. This Council was called at the first session in 1946 and had the ordinary rules of procedure been adopted, this Council should have been dissolved by now and the speech that His Excellency the Governor was making should have been for a fresh Legislature that had been called together at this particular juncture. (Interruption.) Not in the Council, but I am speaking of the Assembly. To that extent therefore the possibility of the Ministry of the day having gone to the public and having placed all the records and tested their strength by the votes and coming before the House have to be considered. That of course has not been the position. It is a question of reviewing the activities of the Government of the day and it may also be necessary to review the speech of His Excellency the Governor in that connexion. Sir, in referring to this fact, my idea is that although this Ministry has not gone before the voters and returned, it would be for us to consider whether there is any difference in the existence of this Ministry, in the period before 26th January and the period subsequent to that. My object in referring to this is twofold. In the first place, that period was a very difficult period. That was a period when hon. Members came into this House for the first time and in several instances, except a few exceptions, Hon. Ministers themselves came to undertake the responsibility of the Government for the first time. To that extent, therefore, it was a period of trial. It was not only a period of trial, but if I may so put it, that was a period where a certain amount of emotionalism and a certain amount of ideology was gripping most of those who came into this House. That period of ideology and emotionalism is now over. They have hereafter to face realities and actual facts. I would like to say that hereafter the Cabinet will have to consider themselves as a Cabinet which has to face live issues and realities of a very important nature. Because, as matters are turning out both in this country and in the world at large, it will not be possible for us to think of emotionalism and ideological concepts without any consideration for their effects on the public and on the welfare of the country. We have often heard an expression that this country ought to be a welfare State. That idea of

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welfare State is still gripping the minds of all democratic institutions. That ideal has been gaining much more than it has done in the past. The concept of a welfare state implies obligations entirely different from what they were before 1946 and entirely different from some of the obligations that some people may have in view. Sir, I have been following closely the speech of His Excellency. I have tried to see how far it has been possible for His Excellency to give a forecast of his Ministers' activities. I can appreciate the fact that for more than one occasion, it may not be possible. This Ministry and this Cabinet fortunately or unfortunately were seized with the problem which they had tried to solve in the best manner possible. That problem did not give them any room or any time to consider other objects. At a time when they should have devoted their whole time to the possibilities of framing the future of this Province, they had necessarily to face another problem which became very imminent, that is the problem of the separation of areas in this Province. I can well understand that the Cabinet was diverted to that particular problem and all the resources of the Secretariat also were diverted to that problem. It is not my intention at this stage to refer to that problem. But I do feel that I must utter a note of warning in this connexion. It is most unfortunate that even at present time there have been utterances given expression to by prominent persons, leaders, ex-Ministers, Members of Parliament and others. These expressions are unfortunate in every respect and have been given not by one section or other, but by the leaders of both the sections. I would like to suggest that if there is to be any peace in this Province and City, if there is to be any march of events progressively towards better state of affairs, it is time that public opinion of this Province asserted itself and made it very clear that there was no place for all these blood curdling pictures to be drawn either one way or the other. I refuse to think, Sir, that it can be possible for these people to disturb the peaceful conditions especially when there is so much of attachment to each other, and to create the feeling that one section of the people are strangers and to create artificial differences of outlook. I think it is most unfortunate that leaders should come forward and make statements and make the public feel that there is something very wrong about the state of affairs. Such leaders ought to be told without any reservation whatsoever that they are not doing a thing which is good for the country and that they do not deserve the name of patriotic leaders by the manner in which they have been conducting their campaign, whatever their motives may be and however honourable or otherwise they may be.

"Sir, I said that this Ministry probably had no opportunity of looking into matters more carefully and giving us a programme of substantial values for the year to come. I, however, take the consolation that as it is provided that at every session there was to be an address by His Excellency the Governor, it will be possible for this Ministry in the course of the few months that will be open to them to come forward with proposals to meet the growing needs of the Province and to bring about such state of affairs for

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which we may well say in the long run that Madras has deserved the honourable place that it has enjoyed in the past and will continue to enjoy in the future as the most progressive State as the most law-abiding State, as a most peace-loving State and as a State that sets examples to other States in the whole of India. With your permission, Sir, I will stop now and will continue after lunch."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I now adjourn the House for lunch till 2-30 p.m."

The House then adjourned for lunch.

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

I.—SWEARING-IN OF A MEMBER.

The Hon. Sri J. L. P. Roche Victoria was sworn in.

IV.—PANEL OF CHAIRMEN.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I have to announce to the House that, under Rule 9 of the Madras Council Rules, I have nominated the following four Members of the Council to be the Panel of Chairmen for the first session of the Council as from the commencement of the Constitution of India.

1. Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar,
2. Janab K. T. M. Ahamed Ibrahim,
3. Sri N. Ranga Reddi, and
4. Dr. P. S. Srinivasan."

III.—DISCUSSION ON HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS—cont.

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR—*cont.* :—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, just before we adjourned for lunch I stated that so far as I could see the party in power—the Ministry—had had a new lease for the continuance of the prerogatives and the privileges that they were to exercise on behalf of the Government of the day. When they came to power in 1946, they were fortunately the inheritors of fortune in two respects. They were the inheritors of a bank with a considerable amount of balance behind them, the Post-war Reconstruction Fund running to several crores of rupees, and I regret to say we have no exact idea as to the state of the bank now and I am afraid that the Hon. the Finance Minister will have to confess that that bank is in a very perilous state indeed. Practically all those funds have been utilised for other purposes and there is very little of them left now . . ."

THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI :—" You mean the Revenue Reserve Fund? "

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" The Post-war Reconstruction Fund running to nearly 60 crores of rupees was built up and left behind by the Advisers' Government and I say that this Fund is very nearly exhausted. If I am wrong in my figure, I would like to be corrected."

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THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI :—“ The hon. Member is thoroughly mistaken. It was about 29 crores of rupees on the 1st of April 1946 when the Advisers left and today it is about 34 crores of rupees.”

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ I apologise for the mistake. But, in any case, the finances of this State are entirely different from what they were in 1946 and to that extent, therefore, many schemes which had been thought of as post-war reconstruction schemes, are not in a position to be implemented to-day. And, there is another fund about which . . . ”

MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ What the Hon. the Minister for Finance says is that, if anything, the finances of the State are better today. It was only 29 crores of rupees in 1946 and today it stands at 34 crores. You may say that schemes have not been taken up for execution.”

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ I shall refer to that question when I approach the Budget, with a better footing than what I stand on now. But, there is another fund to which I would like to refer. I think I can say without any hesitation—and it will be no exaggeration when I say that—that no party ever came to power with a greater amount of good-will, with a greater amount of confidence and with a greater amount of reliance than the party in power today. All shades of opinion were merged in welcoming this party because from the great sacrifices that they had made and from the hopes they had built up in the nation at large, there was every reason to expect that many of their activities would be in such directions as would promote rapidly the welfare of the people. I am free to confess that they have had many handicaps in their progress. But today it is a fact well worth noting that there has been a certain amount of public opinion—and I am not prepared to assess the amount of good-will that that party enjoys and I leave it to the party in power and to its leaders to do the job—that wants to know how far that bank of good-will is now solvent and to what extent it has been depleted from time to time. Sir, there have been many legislative measures passed in this House. I have here with me a book which records the work of the Madras Ministry in the past three years. I find in that book that as many as 79 Bills had been passed up to the end of 1948. Most of these Bills unfortunately are Bills of a nature which, in some way or the other, increase the burden of taxation on the people or Bills which must legitimately perhaps be introduced for safeguarding the lives of the people or those which interfere with the small problems connected with the administration. But there is one fundamental thing I would like to state in regard to these Bills. The urgency with which they were sometimes introduced and the haste with which these pieces of legislation were carried through, without any consolidated method of introducing legislations, had been somewhat painful to witness. In the field of local self-government as well as in other fields, it almost appears as if there has been only piece-meal legislation in the past without taking a comprehensive view of the whole aspect of the question

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and introducing legislation which will serve for some years at least without calling for any changes. I am referring to this question today in the hope that in future, at any rate, such legislative measures will not be brought in in the manner in which they have been done in the past. As far as taxation is concerned, there have been several taxation measures, taxation on tobacco, taxation on motor spirit, the well known Sales Tax, Entertainment Tax, Betting Tax and so on. I do not know how many other taxes . . . ”

THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI :—“ There was no tax on tobacco.”

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ What about the Madras Tobacco Tax (Sales and Licensing) Act? ”

THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI :—“ We have given away our powers in this regard to the Government of India. This was done during the Advisers' regime, and it was re-enacted by the Central Government.”

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—“ I was hoping that many of the several measures introduced by the Advisers would not be pursued and that relief would be given to the extent possible to the people in respect of taxation. What I am trying to suggest now is that while embarking on such taxation measures, there must be a comprehensive view of the proposals themselves and how they will fall upon the people. There are at present three sources of taxation. So far as taxation in the State is concerned, there is the tax imposed by the State Government which is done without reference to the taxes imposed by the Centre. Secondly, there is the tax levied by the Government of India which is done without reference to the other taxes obtaining in the State. Thirdly, the local bodies introduce taxes without reference to those already imposed by the Central and State Governments. So, while introducing such measures, the capacity of the individual who is to pay all these taxes must necessarily be taken into consideration. Otherwise, you will be killing the goose that lays golden eggs. There is always an impression that there is a certain class of people called rich and they must be compulsorily taxed on all conceivable occasions and even on occasions that cannot be conceived of. May I, in this connexion, appeal to the Government that in future their taxation proposals must be based on sound principles and on a sound basis? They must know the resources of the people. They must know what are taxable resources and what are not and draw up their taxation measures accordingly. Now, Sir, yesterday, I was at another place where I met the Chairman of the Committee that came over to this State to look into the question of food-supply. I refer to Pandit Lakshmikanth Mitra, Member of Parliament, and he was telling me that one of the most fundamental recommendations he would make and one which the Government of Madras should not shirk to implement, would be the relief of taxation on all food products so that food may be made cheaper than it has been in the past. Sir, I have been referring to some figures with regard to the incidence of the rise in prices of foodgrains and commercial products. So far as the

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foodgrains are concerned, if we are to take 100 as the basis for 1939, it was 251 in January 1946, more or less, the time when the popular party came to power, and in 1948, the increase had been 416. While, in commercial products, it was 100 in 1939, it was 341 in June 1946 and 460 in December 1948. I have not got the most recent figures. It is obvious that such a steep rise in the price of essential commodities of life like foodgrains and commercial products must necessarily mean a great deal of suffering to the people at large. The Government have given what are known as dearness allowance, a principle, that, I certainly took some little time to suggest, was erroneous, and a policy that will not lead to the alleviation of the suffering of the people. With the increase in the payment of dearness allowance, the prices of foodgrains also increase not proportionately but out of all proportion to it, so that the dearness allowance always made way to the third party and the person who got the allowance was the sufferer in the long run. The best way is not to increase the dearness allowance but reduce the cost of all the food-stuffs in a systematic manner by a co-ordinated arrangement with the industries concerned. The cost of living index was 240 in June 1946 and in December 1948 it went up to 460. Sir, a good deal has been spoken about food supplies and I do not want to reiterate what has been stated. But I am afraid that in this question of food-supply, we are really not in a position to have a clear picture of what it is and what we can do and ought to do to increase food production. I think the best method would be not to put all the area under cultivation as that would be a laborious process but bring all cultivable land under cultivation. My friend to my left tells me and I entirely agree with him that if only the Government were to take steps to see that the existing cultivable lands are properly utilized, making available manures and seeds, giving electric power and vouchsafing adequate water-supply, it is quite possible for us to increase the yield by two times. I feel that this is not a statement that can be brushed aside as light-heartedly made. I do hope that the Government will concentrate on this work, taking note of the fact that the Centre has come to the conclusion that after 1951 there should be no imports of foodgrains from abroad. In this connection, Sir, I notice that His Excellency's Address makes mention of certain agrarian reforms. May I state frankly that many of us feel that if an Agrarian Reforms committee were appointed it should not be a committee of one party, whatever may be the numerical strength or influence of that party.

2-45
p.m. "I venture further to state that in this large question of agrarian reform the essential interests concerned ought to have been included if not in equal number, at least in a minority to give effect to the intentions of the committee and to defend their case. I have had some little idea of the agrarian reforms committee and I can say this confidently that if the proposals of the Agrarian Reform Committee are to be implemented by any Government, it will lead to the ruin of all measures to increase the food supply of this country. I hope when the local Government, as I see here, constitute the Committee of officials and non-officials to examine the present land revenue system and formulate proposals for its improvement, they will deal with it as a non-party

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question because it is a matter not for this year or next year, not for a definite period but for all time to come and they must see to it that the Committee consisted of persons who have the experience, even the interest and also the knowledge of trying to frame proposals effectively to get a better yield from the land and also get an yield for the peasant who tills the land.

"May I refer to another statement. There has been a great deal of loose talk of fragmentation of holdings. I have heard it from the Treasury bench, the previous Hon. Minister saying that it is necessary that every man should cultivate his own land and that he should have a limited area, it may be one acre or two acres. I do not know what it is but there was a cry for three acres and a cow. But modern science has made it obvious and obligatory that if we are to get the best yield out of the land, it is not by fragmentation but by increasing the holdings in whatever manner possible and seeing to it that large areas are cultivated in an uniform manner. Years ago there was an European official who on a visit to a large area of cultivated land took some pains to see how much of land was wasted in the small bunds that were put between one person's land and another. He concluded that in a village in Mathurai district 1/3 of total cultivable land was wasted by means of these bunds. Not only was 1/3 cultivable land wasted but three times the amount of labour was involved in keeping these small areas separately cultivated. I can tell you that these are matters which require careful consideration and any committee which goes into agrarian reforms must take note of the fact and must not go on with those slogans that had been so much in vogue previously. I do hope, Sir, that after 26th January 1950 there will be no cause for slogans for those who mean to run the administration of this State effectively.

"Now coming to another point which has also been referred to, I shall not take much of your time in referring to it. My friend has drunk deep out of the cup of prohibition and I do not propose to imitate him. I was recently in Geneva in connection with the World Health Organization. A communication was received from a society for the prevention or for the restriction in the use of alcohol. I received that communication from that Society as Chairman of the Executive Board. The question that organization made was recognized by the World Health Organization. It consisted of a few States in Europe, viz., Sweden, Yugoslavia, Denmark; three or four states. I was very pleasantly surprised to find one State included, which was the State of Madras. I felt two inches taller on that occasion. I ask, are the Madras Government going to have total prohibition or restricted use of alcohol. From their signing the restricted use of alcohol, I am inclined to think that they are trying to follow the lead given by the Leader of the Opposition. It may not be long before they come to the view that diluted drinks are better than no drink at all. (An hon. Member: Some buttermilk added.) Only buttermilk added with something may serve the purpose. There are hundred and one—I say thousand and one—ways of producing drinks which no Government in India can possibly prevent. The various methods are

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so simple that every house can produce such drinks if at all they are accustomed to drink. Prohibition or no prohibition, the fact of it is that while the ideal may be very good, we as practical men have to take note of these consequences. When one is thousand miles away, one can swim in liquor but when one comes to Madras there is so little possibility of getting drink except in an indirect way. I was in a neighbouring State where I heard that consequent on the abolition of drink in one half of the State, the revenue increased to two fold. That is a piece of information that I pass on to the Finance Minister."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" From the mathematics of it, if for half prohibition half the income became twice, the increase here must be four times."

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" I agree, Sir. It has gone up more than four times. But all that is not going to Government but it is going to other people. Mathematically the table is accurate so far as my information is concerned."

" Sir, I should like to refer to a few points that have been adverted to in this document. I am glad that the question of medical relief is going to attract the attention of Government in a larger measure. There is a statement here that they propose to increase the output of medical graduates. I welcome that statement. There is only one thing that I would beg of them to take note of. The increase of medical graduates must be in conformity with the standards already laid down for efficient training. With the Hon. Minister who is himself a distinguished member of the medical profession, I do not think I have the need to reiterate the matter further. I am making a reference to this because in another State unfortunately without any decision whatsoever they simply accepted the expedient to double or treble the number of candidates who can be admitted into the medical colleges and that has created a serious problem not only for the Medical Council but for all those interested in the future of the medical education. We cannot afford to have any third rate or fourth rate graduates in the field of medical education because as in anything else the best is cheapest not the cheapest best. If you have one well qualified doctor he can serve a much larger area and protect not merely the health of the people but the economy of the people by rendering his services to a much greater extent. I may refer to the need not only for the training of medical graduates but for the training of all these ancillary personnel so essential for medical relief; nurses, midwives, public health workers, technicians, the public health engineers, etc. I am one of those who feel equally strongly with others that environmental sanitation is the most important and for the last three years we have been trying to get the Government interested in a scheme for the training of public health engineers. One of the most important methods of promoting the welfare of the people and the medical well-being of the people of the country is environmental sanitation. You will find from the papers that to-day so far as water supply is concerned, protected water supply as it is called, is available only in 52 municipalities including the City of Madras and I do not know if it is protected water supply. I

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take it, it is protected water supply, and it is available in only 10 panchayats in the whole of the State. How can any epidemic be prevented? What is the use of multiplying doctors when the whole aspect of medical relief is preventive and not curative. In fact the present trend is and I speak with some little knowledge of the trend of events that hereafter the curative side of medical relief will become insignificant compared with the preventive side of it. We have now scientific discoveries of such nature that we can revolutionize the public health of this State. If only we can get enough finances we can see that malaria is wiped out. We can see that there is no possibility of cholera. (Interruption.) My friend comes from a place where cholera is raging. I have myself been vaccinated. You can see it."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Are you coming from his district? "

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" Sir, I can export small-pox from here. Epidemics can be curtailed if environmental sanitation is improved. Better housing, better water supply better methods of sanitation, more tangible methods of controlling the quality of the food supplies, these are the essential things which we lack. I cannot help feeling that although we have got all the political rights and more or less all our political ambitions, we are far far behind in regard to these ambitions of social well-being on which the future of any welfare State will depend."

" Sir, with regard to education, I hope it will be possible for this Government to take a long step forward. My friend Mr. Suryanarayana Rao has referred not merely to the fact that even primary education is denied to such a large number of people, but also to the fact that the large number of teachers are so ill-paid that they cannot be expected to devote their attention for the training of the future citizen of the State. I should like to make it very clear that educational reform should not be tagged on to any political ideologies whatsoever. You are training people not for your political party purposes, not for any particular ideology but the future citizen, whichever political party may come into existence. I do not suggest that such an ideology is at present in existence. But care should be taken to see that so far as educational reform is concerned it is free from all political ideology. I have no remarks to make about basic education. Rather I shall reserve my remarks on basic education to myself. I want to emphasize this that in the pursuit of the slogan of basic education let us not deprive the people of the primary education they can get. If basic education is to be given properly it requires an army of teachers. There are few, if any, centres that can teach really basic education. I have had the advantage of visiting all these basic education schools and the methods of training adopted. Let me tell you this that it is one of the most difficult tasks to be a successful basic education teacher. When we want education to spread rapidly by all means, do not depress the people or do not make the people wait till basic education has taken root. At that rate it will spell disaster."

" Now, in regard to higher and secondary education, the fact remains that at least 90 per cent of our boys are being educated in

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3 p.m. non-governmental organizations. Very large number of them are being educated in missionary institutions. I plead with the Government that nothing should be done to promote a feeling of insecurity in these privately managed educational bodies which have come to the aid of the public of the State at a time when the State did not feel the moral implication of their own responsibility. And but for these great missionaries many of us would not have been in a position to stand up here and talk about the education that we have received or the imperfections of that education. I am referring to that because there was a tendency some time ago to be unnecessarily severe with these private managements because of the lapses of one or the other. Lapses are everywhere. I should say it will be a wrong policy for us to make it appear that these private managements are not doing that amount of work of which we can justly be proud.

Mr. Chairman, I shall not be long in finishing. I do feel that the party in power must revise their attitude towards certain fundamental considerations. I do hope that like everywhere else there will not be any more of these frequent changes that have taken place within the last four years and that there will not be that necessity for us to feel that important departments are the individual concern of Ministers and not the responsibility of the Cabinet as a whole. I have no knowledge of the inner secrets of the Cabinet working and I have no desire to pry into them. But I do feel that a democratic form of Government can never be a success unless there is collective responsibility, not merely in sticking together when opposition arises but also in knowing about the fundamental measures which are passed and in sharing the responsibility for them. I hope I will be pardoned if I instance one example of this kind. When the Zamindari Bill was being discussed in this House, you may remember, Sir, that I had some little share in giving expression to my views. You may also remember that my Friend the Leader of the Opposition put me in an embarrassing position by saying that there was no Minister here to hear the speech that I was making. I did not feel perturbed because there was one Minister, the Minister who promised us everything and who disappeared when the Act was actually passed, so that the promises also disappeared with the Minister. But on that occasion I happened to have the honour of dining with an Hon. Minister. I shall not mention his name. He is not now present in this House. He is now an ex-Minister, if I may say so. When I mentioned to him the particular question raised by the Hon. the Leader of the Opposition, he told me, 'This is a measure that concerns the Revenue Minister. What have I got to do with it?' I want to make it very clear that no democracy can successfully work if even such very important measures which affect the fortunes of a large number of people and indirectly the fortunes of everybody were not to be the joint endeavour of the Cabinet. I place great emphasis on Cabinet responsibility for every Bill that comes up before this House and for every important enactment which in some way or other touches the public in a large measure. I do not for a moment suggest that the Minister concerned with the department has not his own responsibility and should not be given that responsibility. But it would

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be exceedingly unfortunate for the development of true principles of democracy if that collective responsibility is not always kept in view. I do not offer this as a criticism; I offer it as a request for the Government to consider.

Then there is another matter to which I feel forced to refer. I hope it will be taken with the same amount of kindness with which I trust my other remarks will be taken. I was surprised to receive a circular some time ago asking me whether I had relations who had been given contracts for dealing in cement, iron and other things, and if so, that I should give their names and see that they are removed from the list. A circular like that is humiliating. Fortunately I had only some very distant relations who had some contracts on some remote occasions. I do not know whether I am right, but the circular was limited to the immediate family circle—sons and daughters and sons-in-law and daughters-in-law. A thing like this goes very much against the grain of democracy. I am sorry that such a state of affairs should have crept in and more sorry that a corrective like this had to be applied. I would like it to be particularly insisted upon every Member of the Legislature, whether he belongs to this Council or the Assembly, that his function is here in the Legislature and that he would be using his place in a manner prejudicial to the dignity of the Legislature if he tried to get favours from any Member of the Government or any members subordinate to that Government. It is time that public opinion asserted itself and strengthened the hands of the Ministry so that group politics may not develop and individuals who have been frustrated in their own personal ambitions may not appear in the clothes of patriotism when they attack the Government or the Ministry for reasons other than those which are conventional in a democratic assembly.

Sir, may I also refer to another matter in the hope that it will not be repeated. I have absolutely no quarrel with those who wish to see that the political sufferers are treated in a manner commensurate with the sufferings and the losses they have undergone. I can quite realize why they do so, although I cannot entirely agree with their sentiments. But having done that, to come forward and say in this Legislature that the grants that were given to them are conditional on their being loyal to the party in power takes away the grace from that act and immediately makes it one of the most unfortunate trends in democratic assemblies. I am sorry I have to refer to this. I do hope that hereafter at any rate, we shall have the courage of our convictions to believe that adherence to political parties will be dependent upon the functions of those parties, upon the part they play and the manner in which they acquit themselves and not on material considerations. You may remember, Mr. Chairman, that I raised this point and you ruled me out and I submitted to it. I asked whether such action was not tantamount to earning a salary from the Government. But I did not pursue the matter."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I do not recollect what the hon. Member is referring to."

DR. A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIYAR :—" There was a question put as to whether political sufferers were given lands and

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a statement was laid on the table of the House showing that several members of the Assembly and the Council had been given lands as political sufferers. I raised the point whether the grant of land to the Members of the Assembly or the Council, even though they be political sufferers, would not be tantamount to their getting a fixed income from the Government and thereby automatically disfranchise them from legislature. You ruled that question out of order and I submitted to it. Then a statement was made in this House that the continuance of the grants depended on the recipients continuing to hold the same political ideology and have the same party spirit. I feel it my duty in all humility to pray and hope that that attitude will not be adopted.

"Sir, I am afraid I have taken a little more time than I intended. But my object in referring to these points is this. It is in the fullest belief that the Government themselves will set an example for democratic assemblies in future and will so conduct themselves as to be in a position to correct and dictate to their own partymen what should be the proper method and procedure. They will not then be afraid of group politics of any sort. They will stand up before the Legislature for a vote of confidence instead of going before a political party. I have always held that those who have been returned to this Assembly by the franchise of the people should have a direct responsibility to the people of the Province. Once they have come into this Legislature, they must feel they are here to carry out the mandate of the people and not obey the dictates of powerful groups inside or outside the Legislature in the discharge of their functions.

"One word more, Mr. Chairman. There has been, I regret very much to say it, a reference at least by two of my hon. colleagues to certain measures adopted by the Government as vote-catching devices. I am afraid both the hon. Members were wrong in their presumption. If we are to criticise the Government, let us do it on a straight forward issue instead of imputing motives like this. I cannot believe any Government sitting here to-day thinking of vote-catching measures, when adult franchise is going to be the order of the day and when the next elections are going to be held on adult franchise. His Excellency the Governor's address has stated that 'among our first responsibilities is that of bringing home to the millions of voters in this state their new duties'. No Government, even if it has an unlimited exchequer, not even the American Government with its billions of dollars, can afford to implement measures as vote-catching devices to get the support of millions of people. Further it was suggested that these vote-catching measures were intended to get votes from a few rich people who to-day are the butt of ridicule on all occasions without realizing what they are talking about. It is most unfortunate. I do hope that in future, whatever our comments may be, they will be made in the direction of making it possible for the Government to see in what manner they can improve so that democracy may be made safe in the country and democratic and healthy procedures may be adopted in this Legislature."

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Mr. CHAIRMAN:—"Mr. Uppi Sahib is not moving his amendment. Does any other hon. Member want to speak?"

SRI S. A. S. RM. RAMANATHAM CHETTIAR:—"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே! நண்பர் ஆதித்தியன் அவர்கள் பிரேரேபித்த தீர்மானத்தை நான் மனமார விரும்புகிறேன். அத்துடன் தற்போது காலக் கோளாறின் விளைவாக பல இடங்களில் பயிர்கள் நாசமாகியும், சாலியாகவும் போய்விட்டது. மக்கள் உணவுக்கே கஷ்டப்பட்டுக் கொண்டிருக்கும் பொழுது சர்க்கார் வரிமேல் வரியாக விதித்து துணங்களைக் கட்டப்படுத்துகிறார்களென்று நண்பர்கள் பலர் பட்டென கூட்டத்தில் பேசுவதைப்போல் பேசினார்கள். நானும் அதேமாதிரியாக பட்டென meeting-ல் பேசுவதைப் போல் பேச விரும்பவில்லை—நெருமும் ஆர்விட்டது. இருந்தாலும் சர்க்காரின் வரிபோடும் கொள்கையைப்பற்றி பேச விரும்புகிறேன்."

Mr. CHAIRMAN:—"சொல்லவேண்டுமென்ற நிபந்தனையொன்றும் இல்லை."

*SRI S. A. S. RM. RAMANATHAM CHETTIAR:—"நிர்பந்தமொன்றும் இல்லாவிட்டாலும் சொல்லவேண்டியது அவசியம்தான். அதற்காகத்தான் சொல்லுகிறேன். சர்க்காரை வரிபோட வேண்டாமென்று சொல்லவில்லை. சர்க்கார் வரி போட்டுத்தான் ஆகவேண்டும் (Hear—Hear) இப்படி வரிப் பணத்தைக்கொண்டுதான் சர்க்கார் மக்களுக்கு சுகாதார வசதியும், கல்வி வசதியும் எல்லாவிதமான வசதிகளையும் செய்துகொடுக்கிறார்கள். இதற்கெல்லாம் வரி போடாமல் பணத்திற்கு என்ன செய்ய முடியும்? ஆனால் இதைவிட பட்டெனடித் துண்டு கிழும்படி ஏராளம் செலவு ஆகிறது. இந்த செலவுகளைக் குறைத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும். தற்போது பட்டெனடித் துண்டை என்று போட்டால், இப்போது 10 லட்சமாக செலவு செய்கிறார்கள். பாக்கி பணத்திற்கு எப்பொழுது sanction எடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதே கையாறு. செலவு செய்துவிட்டு அப்படிச் sanction செய்யும்படி சொல்லுகிறார்கள். ஆக செலவு செய்வதற்கு என்னவேண்டும். பட்டெனடித் துண்டு, நடுவிலேயே அவசரமாக sanction வாங்கிக்கொண்டு ஒன்றுக்கு இரண்டாக வீணாக செலவு செய்துவிடுகிறார்கள். இந்த செலவுகளையெல்லாம் குறைக்க வேண்டும். அப்படிச் செய்தால் நண்பர் ஸ்ரீ லக்ஷ்மணசாமி முதலியார் சொன்னபடி அதிகமாக வரிகூட போடவேண்டாம். இந்த செலவுகளைக் குறைப்பதற்கு ஒரு கமிட்டியை நியமித்து எந்தெந்த இனங்களில் செலவைக் குறைக்கலாமென்று யோசித்து அக் கமிட்டியின் முடிவுப்படி சர்க்கார் காரியங்களை கவனிக்கவேண்டும். எனக்கு ஆங்கிலம் தெரியாவிட்டாலும் தமிழ் நன்றாகத் தெரியும். நானே எந்தெந்த இனங்களில் செலவைக் குறைக்கலாமென்பதற்கு 10, 15 item-கள் சொல்வேன். இங்கு எல்லோர் முன்னிலையிலும் சொல்லவேண்டாமென்றாலும் தனிப்பட்ட மந்திரி அவர்களிடம் சொல்கிறேன் (ஒரு குரல்: இங்கேயே சொல்லுங்கள்) அதை இப்பொழுதும் எப்படிச் சொல்லமுடியும். பட்டெனடித் துண்டில் சொல்லுகிறேன். அதாவது குறிப்பாக எந்தெந்த இனங்களில் செலவைக் குறைக்கலாமென்கனம் பக்தவத்சலம் அவர்களுக்குச் சொல்லவேண்டும்."

"ஆகையால் சர்க்கார் செலவைக் குறைத்துக்கொண்டுவிட்டால் இவ்வளவு வரி போடவேண்டிய அவசியமிருக்காது. ஆகையால் வீணாகச் செலவழியும் இனங்களைக் கவனித்து அதன்மீது இனியும் செலவாகாமல் இருக்கும்படி சர்க்கார் நன்றாக கவனிக்கவேண்டும்."

"மற்றொரு விஷயம் His Excellency address செய்யும்போது my Government என்று சொன்னார்கள். அப்படி சொல்லப்படாது என்று பலர் சொல்லியதால் இனி சபையம் வரும்போது His Excellency our Government (அதாவது நம்ம கவர்ன்மெண்டு) என்று சொன்னால் நன்றாயிருக்கும். Your Government என்று சிலர் சொன்னாலும் என்கிறார்கள். அப்படிச் சொல்ல வேண்டியதில்லை."

Mr. CHAIRMAN:—"உங்கள் அபிப்பிராயம் என்ன?"

SRI S. A. S. RM. RAMANATHAM CHETTIAR:—"நம்ம அரசாங்கம் என்றுதான் சொல்லவேண்டும். ஆக சர்க்கார் இன்னும் சிக்கனமாக செலவு செய்யவேண்டுமென்றும், அப்போது இவ்வளவு அதிக வரி போடவேண்டிய அவசியம் ஏதும் இருக்காது என்பதோடு முடித்துக்கொள்கிறேன்."

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p.m.

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MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ I should like to know how many more Members want to speak. (Sri M. Narayana Menon rose in his seat.) Mr. Farookhi will now speak and then Mr. Narayana Menon may follow.”

*JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, we feel highly thankful to the great Constitution that has been ushered in, which gave an opportunity to His Excellency to address both the Houses of the Legislature jointly and also gave an opportunity to the Members of the Legislature to express their views on the speech of His Excellency. Sir, that great Constitution gave some little hope to the minorities as well, because minorities, particularly the Muslim minority in this State, felt that perhaps there was not a bright future for them; that Constitution said : ‘ Well, the minority can develop itself ’. Therefore I said we are thankful to the Constitution. But I must confess that in spite of the fact that His Excellency in his speech has admitted that there are many difficulties facing this State, we have not found any silver lining in the speech of His Excellency to solve those difficulties.

“ The food problem which has been given so much importance in His Excellency's speech is really a problem which baffles the administrators. People are suffering, and there seems to be no difference between the suffering of the people before the inauguration of the Independence of this country and after the inauguration of Independence. Black-marketing continues, food is short and there has been cyclone in the Andhra districts and there has been also failure of monsoon in many parts of the State. Yet, what we find in His Excellency's speech is that there is a two-year plan for the production of food. I am just reminded of a couplet which says :

ہم نے مانا کہ تغافل نہ کریں گے لیکن
خاک ہو جائیں گے ہم انکو خبر ہونے تک *

“ We grant that you will not be indifferent to us, but what will be our condition by the time you are aware of it? What is going to happen to the people of the State before this two-year plan becomes fruitful and before it is completed? What is the present position? How are we going to solve the food problem at present? By 1951 the policy of the Government is that imports will be stopped and this policy encourages the blackmarketers. They say ‘ well, let us preserve the food and sell it at a higher price later on ’. My submission therefore will be, allow free trade, allow the people to import as much food as possible, so that the blackmarketer will not flourish, let there be competition in the price of food; in that case, people will forget blackmarketing and it will be possible for us to grow more food. Then, there is one strange sentence in the speech of His Excellency and it is : ‘ Our deficits are usually made up by internal procurement and from supplies by the Government of India ’. I do not understand how a deficit can be made up by procurement; if it is procurement, it means there is food in

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the Province. If there are foodgrains in the Province, then there will be no deficit. Procurement means that you simply collect food which is already there; and so, are we to believe that there is no real deficit, or that there is a little deficit, or are we to feel that there is food but it does not come out?

“ Then, there is the question of health. I read recently only last week in the newspapers that the Health Minister of India, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur stated in Parliament that during the last two years tuberculosis has increased among students. I do not know whether it is a misfortune for us that our young men after the achievement of Independence, should develop tuberculosis. It has spread to the student population and it is increasing, they say. I do not know whether it is due to malnutrition or any other cause; but that is a problem which we have to face. Our Health Ministry has not seriously considered this question. It was put to her in Parliament whether any statistics had been taken, but she said that it was the duty of the States to take statistics as to how many students have been affected by tuberculosis during the last two years. Our young men are the future hope of our country, and if our Government are not going to look to their health, it would be really unfortunate.

“ I shall now come to education. We have recently started, only last month or I think at the beginning of this month, a week for adult education. Within a short time we are going to have general elections based upon adult franchise. I do not know how it will be possible for us to educate our illiterate adults and make them fit for exercising the franchise. Anyhow, I am glad that as the saying goes ‘ Better late than never ’, and a beginning has been made with regard to adult education. What about the education of children? In this State itself, according to official statistics furnished to us, if I am not wrong, more than 6,000 villages are without primary schools. What have we done to start primary schools in those villages? That has not been stated anywhere in the address of His Excellency the Governor.

“ The housing problem is another difficult problem. Reference has been made to rent control, to control of buildings and houses; but no reference is made to the increase in buildings, to the construction of buildings. Buildings which are taken over by the Government, I am told, are generally given to Government officials. The owners of the buildings are forced to hand over their buildings at a much lower rent than they would fetch if they were let to outsiders. It is the duty of the Government to construct as many houses as possible at least for their own officers and servants. This housing problem has not been tackled by the Government, at any rate, in any serious manner. Whether houses are required for Ministers or for Government officials, there is a great necessity for more and more houses. Housing accommodation is very short and whatever houses are available, if they are going to be taken over by the Government for their officers or servants, it will be difficult for the other people to live in the City. Therefore, the Government must try to see that as many more houses are built as possible, and that this problem of the paucity of houses is solved.

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"I shall now come to another important question, viz., the question of salaries of the low-paid officials. No reference has been made in His Excellency's speech with regard to the poor Government servants who are paid low salaries. My submission is and I have always stressed this point that no officer should be allowed to get more than Rs. 1,000. If I remember correctly, I read an article by the founder of this great Independent Republic, Mahatma Gandhi—I read in one of his articles—that no officer should get more than Rs. 500. Of course those were days when people could live comfortably with Rs. 500, but these are difficult days, I grant. When the Hon. Speaker and the Hon. Chairman and the Hon. Ministers can pull on and live a respectable life with Rs. 1,000, I do not understand the necessity for officers getting Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 3,000. Is it not the duty of our Government to see that their salaries are reduced, at least to the level of the Ministers? It is possible that this question cannot be tackled by the Ministry of this State; perhaps the Government of India will have a hand in the matter. But is it not necessary that we should make a representation to the Government of India that these high salaries should be reduced, that the salaries of the Judges of the High Court, for instance without meaning any disparagement to their ability as Judges, should be reduced? Why should the Judges, when Ministers are getting only a thousand, get two, three and four thousand rupees, I ask? If such high salaries are reduced, even taxation can be reduced to some extent. Even if taxation cannot be reduced, the amounts saved by a reduction in the salaries of high-paid officials can be paid to the low-paid servants. It is really an irony that people getting lesser salaries should get lesser dearness allowance and people getting high salaries should get higher dearness allowance. After all, dearness allowance is paid to people who cannot make both ends meet; what is the meaning of giving more dearness allowance to officers who get thousands and paying less to a man who gets only Rs. 50? My submission therefore is that dearness allowance to low-paid officials should be on a much higher scale than dearness allowance to high-paid officials, in whose case perhaps it is even unnecessary. If you reduce the salaries of high-paid officials, you will be able to reduce taxation to some extent, or at least you will be able to give the saving to the people who are getting low salaries and make them more contented than they are to-day.

"There is also a question before the Government now that those who did not join the strike should be given a bonus. I am afraid, Sir, such a proposal if put into effect, will create great discontent in the hearts of people who went on strike. It will not be a question of loyalty to service; it will be more a question of dividing these people and making them more discontented—a question of making people who are already discontented, more discontented on this account. I request the Government to give up the idea, because they will be creating division among their own subordinates. People who went on strike might have been wrong, but we must sympathize with their difficulties. It is not on account of any disloyalty, not because they felt that they should not carry on the Government in the manner in which their superiors wanted them to do; they went on strike out of mere necessity; they felt there was no

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other alternative for them; they felt that their previous representations to the Government had fallen on deaf ears, and they thought that the only possible alternative for them was to go on strike. I confess, Sir, they were misguided; but are we to punish them now for it? Are we to point out to them and remind them of what they did and say that they have been punished for that? Are we to say to the other people, the few people who did not join the strike, 'just because you did not join the strike, we give you a bonus?' I say, Sir, such a policy will be creating discontent among the non-gazetted officers who are your own subordinates.

"Now, Sir, this is really a great opportunity, as Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar has stated, and a tradition has been handed down to us from the Parliament of Great Britain, namely, a speech from the throne. As I said, there is not much in the speech itself now, but this being the first occasion, perhaps it was only a conventional speech and most probably on future occasions the speech may contain much more serious matter than what it contains to-day. However, it is a privilege that has been handed down to us for the first time and it is fortunate that such a privilege has been given to us and we made use of that, but I would request the Government, the advisers of His Excellency, who have framed that speech, to have, in future, more serious things put in it and make more concrete proposals for the consideration of the House. (Dr. V. K. John: Do they know anything?) Now, the question is not whether they know or not. We also know they really know, because they have got so much material before them which we have not got and so they really know what we do not know. In regard to patriotism of any member of the House, I think, every member of the House who is elected to this or elected to the other House has a great sense of patriotism, but the only difficulty is that on account of some conventions some responsibility is placed upon the Government and perhaps they are not able to speak out their minds, but they are not unmindful of the difficulties which are facing this country to-day. I thank you, Sir, for having given me this opportunity and as I have already stated, it is a great privilege that has been given to us by the Constitution and we are thankful to His Excellency for making the gracious speech."

3-30
p.m.

SRI M. NARAYANA MENON :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I must thank His Excellency and also the Cabinet for providing us with a statement of policy in this address. I feel that the address contains good intentions and a statement of policies well laid out in accordance with the directives mentioned in our Constitution, but it only lacks one thing, and that is the statement of ways and means of achieving them and thereby providing confidence in us. We have been told always that the Government have no money for many things. Of course, we are also convinced that this is a fact. Time and again one matter has been referred to and that is the prohibition policy; that the prohibition was bad, it took away all our money, there is not much money left and therefore nothing can be done so that even the Central Government might be

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approached for doing something for going on with this prohibition policy and so on. I submit that hereafter at least that sort of accusation or complaint cannot be possible and it is not possible under the present Constitution. Under Article 47 of this Constitution Act, 'the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purposes of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health'."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" The point is, the State shall endeavour, but not bring it about." (Laughter.)

SRI M. NARAYANA MENON :—" Yes, the State shall endeavour, but when once the State, for instance, this State, has endeavoured and brought into effect this prohibition—though it cannot be worked fully, anyhow, it is working on well to a certain extent at least—now there is no use saying something or other always against prohibition. Let us prohibit ourselves from saying anything against prohibition hereafter because the Constitution has laid it down as a directive to the State that it is the policy not only of the States but of the Central Government; and now this State has anticipated that policy and done something towards it and so do not say anything against that. (Interruption.) Now, Sir, let us take some of the questions mentioned in the address and see whether we can expect the achievement of some of them in the near future. First of all, let us take, for instance, food. Food is dealt with there under production and also distribution and all that is mentioned under it. In regard to the production of food, let us examine whether so much is possible during the two years by which we must reach the climax of our food production. I submit it is certainly not possible within these two years to reach such a climax because we shall be wanting in food even after that period when we will not be able to produce more food. Why is it I say so I will make myself clear. Major irrigation schemes are mentioned, but in the very nature of things those schemes, though started now and will be resulting in good effect in the future, will take some time before they are executed and their large expenditure met. Therefore, let us not consider very much about them now for these two years.

" Then certain other matters are referred to, for instance, minor irrigation schemes. So far as my district of Malabar is concerned, there were about 146 minor irrigation schemes proposed and those schemes must be completed within these two years if we are to reach the climax of production irrespective of the production when the major irrigation schemes are brought into existence. Now, how can these 146 schemes be executed within these two years and how are they to be distributed for so many villages? Now, the difficulty is this. Though they know what is to be done, they are not able to do it. Why is it they are not able to do? When the question is put to the engineers, they say, they have not got enough engineers to take up the works. That is no doubt a good excuse and an honest excuse, but I am asking the Government whether they can provide sufficient number of engineers within these two years to execute all these schemes? That is a very difficult point for them to

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answer. (Dr. V. K. John : " Then why do you support the Government? ") Yes, by supporting they will gain strength. Now, Sir, so far as the execution of the works is concerned, it will be very difficult for the Government to find the personnel unless they call for work all those persons who are retired. They must be requested or the request must be in the nature of an order that they must come forward and do the work and complete the same within these two years."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" On pain of losing their pension? "

SRI M. NARAYANA MENON :—" No, they will get the pension plus something more and they will not be asked to do the work merely for the pension."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" Order them on pain of losing their pension."

SRI M. NARAYANA MENON :—" I agree, Sir, but these are very difficult times and critical times and if it is honest work, they must even lose it. There are very many retired engineers who can do the work but they have been asked to go out after the 55th year and all these persons may be re-called and paid well and asked to do the work."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I think, it is being done because I know of some cases."

SRI M. NARAYANA MENON :—" Then there are subsidy schemes to be paid. I know the amounts are being paid. Only certain forms have to be filled up, the accuracies of the statements tested and the money is granted and so on. In one or two months the matter is done, but the difficulty commences when the ryot receives the money. But, how can the ryots do the work? I find the ryots are unable to command the labour. When once the labourer knows that a particular ryot is to execute a work within a particular time, he says, you must pay me not Re. 1 or Rs. 2, but even Rs. 3 per day, so that the labourers stand on ceremony and claim whatever they like which the ryot will not be able to pay; or rather with that amount of money given as subsidy together with the amount he has, he will not be able to do the work. In such cases, I would ask the Government to supply the ryot with the necessary machinery, for instance, tractors, etc., wherewith the requirements of work can be met. Reservoirs, for instance, can be sunk and also bull-dozer may be supplied for the purpose. I find, the Government, though willing to give these supplies, are not themselves able to do it because they have not got sufficient tractors and bull-dozers. Of course, I do not call in question the fair-mindedness of the Ministers concerned but I only wish to point out that they have not got the necessary machinery for that. I say, they must purchase them and help the ryots with the use of them. But, where is the money, will be the question. Perhaps, even the money can be found, but where are the things to be obtained from? And how are they to be brought? It is no doubt very difficult to get them. Then, how to solve the

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problem? The solution is there. You can easily find it, but the difficulty is in executing it. You must have a heavy machinery and you must have installations for manufacturing heavy industries. That is very very difficult, I know. But, it is not impossible and it is really possible, because I find from a reference to what Russia did in a few years—in the first five-year plan and in the second five-year plan—that they have been able to build such machinery and supply a number of tractors and bull-dozers all over Russia. It may be said against this that because those people had the entire land they were able to do it. I ask, will it not be possible by persuasion and by other means to get the co-operation of people and get all these things done and if only you can give the necessary funds they will be able to do it as Russia did within the two five-year plans. What Russia did was they got engineers from America and you can also do the same thing and get engineers from Great Britain and America and other places and get things done. But more than all, you must make up your mind to do it. Otherwise, you will be only doing superficial things which will not cure the malady which lies deeper in our nature and in our circumstance. I, therefore, request the Government to pay special attention to have these heavy industries and heavy plants built up so that at least in the future all these machineries may be made and distributed among the people.

3-45 p.m. Then, Sir, the other way of supplying help to agriculture is by giving electric current. How can that be done except by installing heavy industries in this country. We have got thermal stations and hydro-electric stations but we have not got a sufficient number of them. I am more familiar with the conditions in Malabar than in any other district and I can tell you that there are few places where electricity can be easily obtained. When you ask for it they say they have no materials and that they might be had some time hence but not now when there is drought. When that position is eased, there is the question of the availability of electric materials. Going to America or England will not solve the problem and we have to manufacture these materials ourselves. However much you may desire that these things should be done in this country, they cannot be done unless heavy industries are started in this country.

The promise has been also been made with reference to the supply of manure and fertilizers. That stands also on the same footing. The intention is there but where is the means to produce them? At present there are only two or three fertilizer plants in this country and they are not at all sufficient. In this matter also, it is not possible of realization unless heavy industries are started in the country.

Let me take the second part of the address, namely, the distribution of food. It is done in two ways, one through the normal channels of trade and the other through co-operative stores. Though the normal channels of trade may tell you that they had been tortured by the Government and have not been allowed to do things as they wanted to do, I feel, Sir, that they have failed

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and this failure I once witnessed in Malabar when the common people were unable to get their food on account of the fact that the mill-owners did not sell it at the proper rate but charged Rs. 140 per cart-load against the normal rate of Rs. 60 a cart-load. Hence it was—I believe, it was about the end of 1942 or at the beginning of 1943—that the Government introduced controls and it is on account of that that people did not die. In that event the Health Department would be prepared to say that those who died did not die of cholera and the Food Department, if they had made any enquiry, would have come to the conclusion that they died for want of food. Though rice was available, the traders would not sell it at the proper rates and therefore they died. They would have been the position, had not controls been introduced. So, if there is anything said against Government on account of controls, I feel that such a criticism is not correctly made. Control, I say, Sir, is absolutely necessary until sufficient food is grown in the country for the consumption of the people. On the other hand, if there is no sufficient food for the people and if alongside there is also no control, the result will be that the prices would be put up by 400 and 500 per cent and people will have nothing with which to buy and they will have to die for want of food. I would always advocate the maintenance of control until we are able to produce sufficient food for our requirements. I am reminded in this connexion of the P.C.C. societies; they were also started with good intentions. It is very unfortunate that some of these societies are not working satisfactorily and they require overhauling to a very large extent. They must be stabilized and they must get the support of the Government. They must work well, they must have Government support and then only people will have confidence in the working of those societies. If you go to the villages and ask the villagers anything about the societies they will tell you that there is blackmarketing and all the vices prevalent in private trade are attributed to the societies; some of them are true but others are not. The reason is that they are not properly superintended and controlled. It is a very good institution and it can easily arrange for the distribution of rice and for the export of it to other places; but on account of the irrational way in which it was working, it was not able to do good work. I cannot say that they are not doing anything good at all; some of them are good and they can be bettered if only the Government take some pains to see that the whole system is overhauled."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—"Why do not the Government do it?"

SRI M. NARAYANA MENON :—"I am asking the Government to do it. Much has been said about blackmarketing; it is a bad thing and it is a very very black business; but my point is: Will you be able to stop it even if all of us endeavoured to stop it? I believe it is not possible. Supposing a man wants to buy a pound of sugar and it is not available; let us not ask him the reason why he wants to buy it; suppose he wants to buy it, human nature being what it is, he will take it though there may be a person who may be charging ten times its normal price. I say the man who is the vendor and the man who purchases are both of them

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blackmarketers, because unless there is a purchaser, there cannot be any vendor and if there is no vendor, there cannot be any purchaser. So, what is the use of punishing a man who gets more money for a thing; why not you punish the man who purchases the thing also? Let both of them be hauled up so that it may stop. The man who has excess of money, let him not abet this crime of blackmarketing and let the other man also not sell. Are we prepared to do it? Let us ask the public to do it. Will they do it? In this connexion, I have to refer to one significant change. We are now a democratic Republic since the 26th January and it is not merely the business of the Government to stop all these things but it is the duty of every individual also to contribute to the good of the Government and the country for the maintenance of peace, law and order and the stability of the Constitution. Blackmarketing is inconsistent with democracy and it is against fair and honest life and no doubt it can be stopped by people combining together to prevent a man from selling and the buyer from buying at a heavy price. If you can apply this principle to everybody—I am not speaking from the moral point of view but from a legal point of view—and if you want to stabilize the Constitution and make it a democratic Republic for ever and ever, it is for every one of us to do it; this principle must be imbibed in the mind of the purchaser as well as the vendor; otherwise it will not stop. The man who has extra money will want to have the things in short supply and the greedy man will sell the things and the policeman cannot stop it at all. (An hon. Member: 'When control remains, it gives room for blackmarketing.') Let me tell you, Sir, that control and short supply must always go together: if there is enough production, blackmarketing will disappear as nobody will be prepared to pay more than the normal price in those conditions; but they will be prepared to pay more in scarcity conditions and the temptation will be there and so controls are necessary. There is no use complaining that the Government have imposed controls. The Government cannot do anything and they can only appeal to the people not to go to the blackmarket. Even in England, where there is a good democratic Government and in Germany where there was a strong Government, blackmarketing flourished: it will exist and it may flourish unless and until it is stopped by sufficient production of the things required."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I am not prepared to agree with the hon. Member when he says all that is black is bad. A famous Telugu poet has said:

‘*శల్ల పసుకూ నామ్యసులేదా.*’

SRI M. NARAYANA MENON:—"We have Lord Krishna, the greatest man ever born, who was black.

"Just a word, Sir, about fisheries so far as it pertains to the food position of the country. There is no difficulty about marine fishery and it will develop and there is no difficulty in the case of inland fisheries also provided there is plenty of water just as in Godavari and Krishna. But so far as our villages are concerned, unless and until there is enough water in their reservoirs, fish cannot develop or they will die."

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DR. V. K. JOHN:—"I believe the hon. Member is a fish eater."

SRI M. NARAYANA MENON:—"I am and I have seen fishes in my friends' houses also and have seen how they develop and are brought up."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I hope both the hon. Members are not fish eaters."

SRI M. NARAYANA MENON:—"We are fish eaters only. In the villages, during summer unless there is water in the reservoirs, they will not thrive and with the last drop of water taken away for agricultural purposes, they will die or will be living without any further development. Water is necessary for them."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"But not for the fishes on the dining table! I hope the hon. Member will reserve some points for the Budget."

SRI M. NARAYANA MENON:—"I think I shall have many more things to say for the Budget and these are what I must say even now.

"Much has been said about the Land Revenue reform and they have been very useful; but amending a system which has been in existence for a very long time, must be done after careful consideration, not in haste but slowly and by and by; the people must be given time to think about it, you must tell them what you are going to do and what are the defects that you propose to redress; you must get their opinion and then frame your proposals. It has been stated that the report of the Agrarian Committee is awaited; it has been published but not for the information of the public and nobody is aware of its contents and the Address also speaks of the appointment of a Committee for the consideration of the report. If that is done and if it is found that there is any defect in the system, that is the time to amend it and that is the proper way to do it. I am glad that that is the method outlined in the address. In regard to agrarian reforms also, you have to go slow; any reform which is introduced must not be done all of a sudden and people must not be made to feel the effects of the reform; they must be taken through it slowly. Any reform which the Government want must be worked up slowly so as to carry the people with them. In this connexion, I may mention the case of Malabar. People have been told that the Malabar Tenancy Act Amendment Bill is going to be introduced. At the mention of the very name of the Bill, the people of Malabar are afraid as if it is a demon because they are told that it is something terrible. I am representing the Malabar landowners here, though I myself do not own very much of lands. Everyone of them has been coming and telling me that the Malabar tenancy reform should be taken up only after the Agrarian Reforms Committee's Report is examined. If the Government of India want to introduce land reform, let that reform be uniform from one end of India to the other so that the relation between the landlord and the tenant may be settled on a uniform basis without making special land laws for Malabar or Tanjore or Visakhapatnam. If changes are

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necessary, let them be made. But let them also be uniform so that we may have one uniform land tenure system in the whole of India. The recommendations of the Agrarian Reforms Committee and their examination by another committee to be appointed by this Government will help us very much. As it is not mentioned in the address, I say that Malabar should not be treated as a field for land reform experiments. It is a district in which both the landlords and the tenants have suffered very much on account of land reform. Some improvement in the existing system is necessary. But let not the improvement confer benefits on some people at the cost of the destruction of the other people. So the matter can be taken up after the report of the Agrarian Reforms Committee is made available.

Nothing is mentioned in the address about industrial development. If employment and sufficient food are given to the poor people, the tide of Communism can be stemmed at once. If they have money wherewith to purchase food, they will take food and work. If they have no money, they cannot purchase food, and the only way for them to get food is to take possession of other people's property whether it is called Communism or by some other name. By starting new industries and helping existing industries, employment can be found for a large number of unemployed people. With the income they get from their employment, they can purchase food. If there is production of food in sufficient quantities and provision for employment, Communism will not thrive. We always think that Communism is something wrong. It is not so. By our negligence, we prepare the ground for Communism. When there is not adequate food and employment in the country, this idea which is born in Russia or some other country begins to work. There may be people not in India but abroad who may give financial help to the Communists to begin their fight. Just as we safeguard against the disease of tuberculosis by taking nutritious food, the Government must so adapt their policy as to eradicate the disease of Communism. We have heard about the activities of the Communists in Salem prison. Such tales will continue every day unless suitable steps are taken. One hon. Member suggested that houses might be built. Very many houses can be built and that will provide employment for some people. Very many embankments can be built and that will provide employment for some people. Starting of industries will provide employment for some people. Provision for employment is the first step towards stopping Communism in India.

"I feel very much against the Communal Government Order. If the children of one community, on account of their past tradition for centuries, are able to score high marks in schools, naturally they must be given scope for higher education. In Malabar there are Namбудирис, Menons, Nayars, Thiyas, etc. They are able to get good marks. But there are other people who are not able to come up to their level. If all the seats are allotted to the students of the cultured community, the students of the communities who are not so very much advanced will have to remain stagnant. I am dead against that. Preference in admission to educational

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institutions to communities who are not so much advanced educationally as others cannot be said to be wrong. The only solution to prevent this kind of communal discrimination is to have sufficient number of colleges in places where there are number of pupils fit to receive higher education. In Malabar for instance there is need for one or two more colleges to absorb without any communal discrimination all the pupils coming up from the cultured as well as the other communities. That will probably be the case in other places also. People have understood the necessity for higher education and they come up in large numbers. According to the rules of the University, if a student gets a certain percentage of marks in all the subjects in the Secondary School-Leaving Certificate Examination, he is eligible for admission to the University course of study. But all who are eligible are not given admission because there are no seats. The higher the mark, the greater the chance of securing admission. If that rule is adopted, there will be no admission whatsoever to those who secure low marks. The Communal Government Order must go and the Government must establish sufficient number of institutions in the various places.

"I once again thank His Excellency the Governor and the Cabinet for this statement of policy."

Mrs. M. N. CLUBWALA :—"Mr. Chairman, I congratulate His Excellency the Governor and his Ministers on the schemes and plans which they have put through. We know that there are very difficult problems to tackle and they are doing their very best.

"We are glad to know that a high priority is given to food. But I would like to know why the Government do not think it fit to appoint women on the Provincial Food Advisory Committee. Surely women rule the kitchen and we are the people who feed the men."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"I do not know if you know your kitchen."

Mrs. M. N. CLUBWALA :—"I do not claim to be qualified as much as other women, but I do know my kitchen.

"I have been urging this point all the time on the Hon. Minister for Food. About three months back he admitted that the non-inclusion of women was a very serious lapse. We do feel that women should find a place on the Committee and that they will be helpful to the Government.

"We are also glad to note that there is an Honorary Director for Harijan Welfare. But I should like to know when the Government are going to comply with our oft-repeated request for appointing a Director of Social Welfare if they think that a separate Minister for Social Welfare is not justified. When social workers of our Province visit the other provinces, we get a bit disappointed with our Government because other Governments like the Governments of the United Provinces, Central Provinces, Hyderabad and Bombay give very much help and encouragement for social welfare. There are two or three social workers of Madras in the

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United Provinces. If they have got a scheme ready, the Government there are out to help them. Here the Government are so used to voluntary work by others that they do not sufficiently realize how important social welfare work is and how much it contributes to the promotion of the well-being of this State. If the Government think that a separate Minister is not justified, I feel that our Chief Minister can easily take up this portfolio and give encouragement and better recognition to social services.

"We see that a high priority is given for medical relief. Whenever I ask questions, the Hon. Dr. Rajan says that everything is all right and that hospitals are adequately staffed. But I beg to differ. We visit hospitals over and over again and we know that they are not adequately staffed. I am not trying to criticise the doctors and nurses. They do their very best. But they cannot spread themselves out and see personally to the many things that happen. Certainly it is up to the Government to allot more money for medical relief. Do they utilize the service of all the available doctors? I specially refer to lady doctors. I know of two or three cases of lady doctors waiting for appointment. On the one hand they say that there are not adequate doctors and on the other hand they do not utilize the services of the available doctors. That is the condition. I hope that in the Budget there will be greater support for medical relief. We have seen that in Vellore mobile units are rendering a very useful service. I hope the Government will provide for more mobile units in small places where they cannot have hospitals.

"I see that the Government have given a high priority to the Khadi scheme. We know that khadder is very useful and provides the means of livelihood for some people. Khadder is one of the strongest weapons with which the Congress fought the alien Government. Do the Government think it necessary to insist on the wearing of khadder by the destitute children in certified schools and places like that? I say this because the cost of buying garments for these children has gone up to double the normal expenditure because they have to purchase khadder. The financial aid to these institutions is very limited and therefore they have to turn out many destitute children. If the Government do not insist on khadder for certified schools and places like that, the savings effected thereby could be used for maintaining some more destitute children.

"As the Hon. Chairman said that we should reserve some comments for the Budget, I do not want to say anything more. I only plead that the Government should bear the request of the social workers in mind."

4-15 p.m. * THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is indeed a great privilege to listen to the criticisms offered by hon. Members which had been made sufficiently attractive to us for the simple reason that all hon. Members knew as a matter of fact that our Cabinet as a whole were responsible for the preparation of the speech of His Excellency the Governor and I do indeed appreciate the fine spirit displayed by hon. Members in seeing that no attack was levelled upon the constitutional head of this State—

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I mean His Excellency the Governor—and I am glad that not one hon. Member in his speech made any statement derogatory to the dignity and the high position which he holds in this State. Sir, I am also glad to say that a debate of this kind conducted on this high level should augur well for the future of our Republic and should be a guarantee that we shall at no time descend into the vulgarity of attacking either the personality or the individual in respect of any criticism that we shall have to offer against their policies.

"Sir, I might wish that His Excellency's address had been well-timed. In fact, Sir, it had to be done as an emergency measure, because consequent upon the declaration of the Indian Republic with the advent of the New Constitution, we had necessarily to follow the procedure laid down by the Constitution Act of presenting an address by His Excellency the Governor to both the Houses of the Legislature and I may say, Sir, that that time came a bit more early than the Cabinet had prepared for it. But now that we had had it, we had to fulfil our first task, as a matter of procedure of presenting a speech through the Head of this State for consideration by the two Houses of the Legislature. That we have done and I quite realize that in doing so, we could not take into account all those many factors and things that have been brought to our notice during the course of the debate.

"Sir, I am glad that many important subjects which require national attention have been referred to at great length by hon. Members opposite in the course of their speeches. The question of food, for instance, which loomed so large in the minds of many hon. Members, especially in view of the present adverse seasonal conditions, is certainly a matter of very great importance. But I should like to remind hon. Members that this is not the first occasion that we have passed through such a crisis. Ever since food became a problem in this Province on account of conditions over which we had no control, we along with the rest of other Provinces and States and the Centre have tried to manage the food situation, —perhaps I may not say, in a very creditable way, but certainly in a way—which should satisfy any honest critic. The association of all Provinces and States with the Centre as one unit in regard to food production, food control and food distribution throughout the country has been well tested and it has stood the test of times, during these three long and critical years. This time too, we had done nothing very different from what we had been doing till now. If the Madras Province alone had to combat the food problem, then I am sure the thing would have been very grave indeed and the result would have been very disastrous. But the mere fact that we are bound together by a union of States responsible to each other for the well-being of all the citizens of this great country as a whole, should fill us with confidence that we can tide over any crisis which might beset us in the future, because of the great advantage that we have of having been tied together by a national union of States on a democratic basis under the New Constitution and at no time could I ever regret that association of States with the Government of India, because all through these troublous and

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anxious years, it is this association that has done more than anything else, to get over the difficulties that confronted us from time to time.

Now, Sir, in this Province the great havoc wrought by the recent cyclones in the Andhra districts has swept away the rice-production in a number of districts in the Andhra. Added to this, the north-east monsoon has failed for the third year in succession in the central and southern districts, which has resulted in the failure of crops. You know, Sir, that our Province depends for its food production only on seasonal rains and if they failed successively for the last three years, you can very well imagine what the results would be. But the fact that we have still managed to survive and bet on, as we have done, stands proof to the fact that we in our association with other Dominion Legislatures could very well evolve and develop strength of no mean consequence to enable us to get over any crisis that may confront us, for otherwise I should have expected famines, deaths due to starvation and epidemics and the disastrous consequences that would have ensued during all those troublous years that we had gone through. Therefore, Sir, the first democratic union which brought into association all other States with the Centre into one union, has made it possible to strengthen the hands of the Indian Dominion in the comity of the nations and give them that bargaining power which is very essential to import food into this country at comparatively reasonable prices. We are now in association with other countries of the world and also with the International organizations not only in the matter of production and procurement of food at favourable prices from other countries which are in a position to produce food in abundance, but the United Nations Food Organization has also given a place to our country of no mean order, so much so the problem of food has no longer become a local or provincial problem. It has now become a national and an inter-national problem and the entire human race in the world as such is very much interested in it. So too, in all other matters. Take, for instance, the question of health. That has also now become a matter of the whole world, and a World Health Organization has been formed to be in charge of it. So that, Sir, you will see that in fact the entire human race in the world has now come closer together and has taken a deep interest in all problems confronting humanity and is prepared to take all steps possible to solve all those problems together in the best manner possible. And so, Sir, I have every confidence that in that way our problem of food will also be solved. I am not therefore afraid of it. I am sure that our association with the Government of India and with the rest of the world will certainly save us now, as it has saved us in the past.

"I would therefore ask my hon. Friends not to have a gruesome picture about our food situation. At the same time, Sir, let it also be remembered that this Government in association with the Government of India have tried to plan out and to work out schemes to the best of their ability to increase our food production. We have fully realized the importance of the conservation of all available water-supply and water-sources and we have

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worked out schemes to repair and improve those sources, because we know that without water nothing can be done. We have sunk many wells and we have chalked out a scheme of well subsidy which we are still continuing and which is progressing day by day. In fact, we are getting periodical and monthly reports of the number of new wells sunk and the quantity of water found to meet the needs of our irrigation. Our Public Works Department has done a wonderful piece of work during these three years, not only by getting ahead with various schemes of water-supply and irrigation, but also with schemes for producing electricity from these water-sources and thus provide cheap power for irrigation and other purposes both for the cities and rural areas, because we have well realized that electricity is absolutely necessary for our economic and industrial progress. Thus, the very many schemes of this nature which we have launched and which we have fairly got through stand proof positive to the fact that we are doing everything we can to improve the condition of this Province both from the economic and from the industrial point of view. And in the address which His Excellency the Governor has presented to this House, we have given a short summary of our activities in this direction and what we have proposed to do in the near future.

"Sir, reference was made to public health in the address and I stand by every word of that statement. It was a mere presentation of the efforts which we have made and the schemes which we have launched to improve the public health of this Province. Thus, Sir, we have been doing all that is humanly possible under the circumstances for the betterment of our people and His Excellency in his address has merely given a broad outline of the schemes we have undertaken and a summary of our activities in this direction.

"Sir, Democracy, I assure you, has thrown great responsibilities on our shoulders. We are not now a foreign Government to be criticised in whatever manner people like. We are a popular Government elected by the people of this Province. We cannot therefore afford to be quarrelling between ourselves or creating troubles between this community and that, over the loaves and fishes of office. We are vitally concerned with the well-being and progress of this great Republic in this World. Therefore, realizing our great responsibilities in this direction, His Excellency the Governor, true to the democratic traditions and true to his great responsibility as the Head of this State, has given to us and to this State a broad outline of what the Government propose to do in the near future. There is nothing in the address for us to be ashamed of, about our performance in the past or our programmes and plans for the future. Every line of the address is true and we stand by it and let our record be judged by the public. Of course, ways and means are many to achieve the same object, and people may differ about them, but there can be no criticism offered against us that our basic and fundamental policies and principles, which are based on the Gandhian spirit and Gandhian ideals are either wrong or against the interests of the country or that we are insincere in our faith towards those principles. We should be

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untrue to ourselves, untrue to the nation and untrue to the principles enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of our Nation, if we had not, as a first step, immediately after we had assumed office, introduced prohibition, which was the first and foremost reform according to the Gandhian ideals, and which has been the target of attack and criticism by some of our friends opposite in the House to-day. Sir, what is the truth about prohibition? If it is our object and our aim that people should not drink and fall into that evil habit which had ruined the entire domestic life and brought untold misery and shame unto them in the eyes of the public, are we to dilute the toddy and distribute it to these people and thus make money out of the poorest of the poor, simply because we want money to run our administration? That is a most horrible advice that I could ever hear made on the floor of this Legislature by responsible Member of the Opposition—that the Government should take upon themselves the supply of diluted liquor and go on selling it to the poorest of the poor as has been done by the previous Governments, which as we all know, brought untold misery, poverty, starvation and ruin to the men, women and children of many innocent families, who fell victims to the Government policy and which resulted in human degeneracy leading to crimes, murders, dacoity and things of that sort. Are we to heed to such an advice? No, Sir: a thousand times, no."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—“ What about illicit distillation that is going on everywhere? ”

* THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—“ We know it, Sir, illicit liquor, we know. Let me come to that later. But I ask, why is it, Sir, that our policy of Prohibition has been so well received in all the civilized countries of the world and by all our people in this Province and why, not a single voice has been raised against it by any of the families of the poor who were addicted to it before? Sir, I am yet to see a single person who was addicted to drink previously coming before me and saying: ‘ You have taken away my toddy; I am suffering by it ’.”

DR. V. K. JOHN :—“ But why is it supplied to the army now? ”

* THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—“ An army is an army and it also contains human beings like us, and that is why they are excepted. But I am yet to see any man in any part of this Province or in any of the firkas where we have taken up the firka development scheme coming to us and saying: ‘ Let us have liquor; let us have toddy, even in the diluted form ’. Sir, Mahatma Gandhi who knew our country and our people best and who had lived and moved among the poorest of the poor in our villages, knew what was the root cause of all these miseries, poverty, ignorance and quarrels in the homes of these people and that is why he had placed Prohibition as the first and foremost plank in his scheme of rural uplift. Sir, if, during the pre-Prohibition days you had been to any of the magistrate's courts or any of the criminal courts, you would have traced the root cause of all the thefts, dacoities and murders that had taken place

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and of the quarrels and factions in the villages, to be the drink evil. Now, if you go to those villages and find out the number of such criminal acts, you will see that their number has considerably gone down and the common man and the ex-addict are now more peaceful, more law-abiding and more contented and their families more happy than before. If you look at the amount of money that we have put into their pockets and the savings that they have been enabled to make on account of the various savings schemes we have introduced, you will simply be astonished. It is because of this campaign of Prohibition which we have been able to launch through the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi and the willing co-operation of the people as a whole, that we have been able to achieve such tremendous results. Therefore, there is no use decrying it because there are some stray cases of illicit distillation taking place here and there. We can by no means be deceived into thinking that because there are some cases of illicit distillation of arrack or illicit manufacture of liquor or illicit tapping of toddy here and there, we should give up our Prohibition policy. That does not mean that prohibition is bad or that it is **unsuccessful** or that we have failed. For hundreds of years, drink has been going on and Government had been supplying people with toddy and liquor and so if we suddenly introduce Prohibition, there are bound to be some lapses here and there. It is barely three years since we have introduced Prohibition and these lapses are nothing when compared to the marvellous changes that have taken place in the minds of people who had been addicted to drink before.

“ Our people are good-natured people. They are law-abiding people, and therefore they have taken to the law of Prohibition. Drinking was never a social habit. It was never a national custom. Our people know this. Even in the worst days of drinking, people were ashamed to drink openly, and they would avoid it if they possibly could. The national consciousness is for supporting Prohibition. We simply acted up to the consciousness of our people. To-day there is no talk of Prohibition amongst those people who are most affected by it. I can understand friends within clubs suffer. I can understand so many other people who suffer. We in our Prohibition campaign have not these men in view. We have the poor men in our view. After the day's hard work, the poor man finds himself in the liquor shop placed there by the Government. The revenue to the tune of Rs. 16 crores was got from the poorest of the land. Should Government collect this amount from the poorest people for giving money to education or to any other purpose? Even God will not subscribe to this proposition. (Interruption by Dr. V. K. John.) I shall not go and make profit out of them. I am not going to sell liquor to them. We have saved our State and our nation from the sin to which we had been committed for the last so many years.”

DR. V. K. JOHN :—“ Why do not they have Prohibition at Delhi, Sir? ”

* THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—“ Delhi will have Prohibition, Bombay will have Prohibition and every State will have Prohibition. Why should the hon. Member be in such a great

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hurry? They are not so placed as Madras. Our State had the courage to introduce Prohibition long before this New Constitution. Therefore we have so many considerations. It is being introduced in every State. It is proof positive that the whole country will soon have Prohibition, as a national policy. We certainly are not partisans in any sense of the word. I am not going to harp upon this subject any longer. We deliberately introduced Prohibition and we stand by all the consequences of Prohibition. If there is illicit drinking and illicit manufacture of liquor, certainly we shall take care to see that it does not progress. Nor can we say from what we see that it has come to such scale that we should seriously think of giving up Prohibition. (Interruption by Dr. V. K. John.) We stand by every act we did. We stand by every line of His Excellency's address."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—" We are sorry that no mention is made of Prohibition in the address."

* THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—" It is unnecessary. Therefore it is I am bold in saying that our people have accepted Prohibition and it is unnecessary for His Excellency to refer to it at all. In this House I see hon. Members repeating parrot-like the same thing without knowing the consequences. That is why I am obliged to speak so much."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—" My complaint is that the Government give it to the soldiers."

* THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—" We know to whom we should give and to whom we should not give (laughter). So much about Prohibition."

" Sir, His Excellency has covered a good deal of ground in his address. He has referred almost in detail to many other problems. This is a State in which there are problems which are more particular to this State than general to the whole of India. His Excellency has practically referred to every one of the items which should concern the administration. The Cabinet could not lay its scheme before, because the Budget was not considered yet, thought of, and decided upon. That is why the speech was a bit ill-timed. While we are still engaged in budgeting, planning and looking at our resources, it would not be wise to come forward with huge promises without having the resources. That is why some hon. Members have stated that the address simply referred to schemes that have already been known. We have got only to carry on from where we have started. We are going to complete the legislative programme which we have undertaken. That is no mean achievement. The Panchayat Bill is not yet finished. It has not passed through both Houses. The Hindu Religious Endowments Bill will be brought forward. I want to say this to those who criticize us saying that we are rushing through legislation. For the last one year the Joint Select Committee have been considering this Bill. It is only last week they have finished their deliberations. For the last one year the Joint Select Committee have been going through the provisions of the bill in great

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detail, and no person could say that we rush through legislation. Every legislation, as far as possible, has been subjected to public criticism. We never were afraid of facing criticism fair and just. It is our intention as a democracy to take the people with us in every measure that we bring forward, and that has been our practice for long.

" With regard to medicine and public health, we have given the first priority to public health schemes. The work to be done is so great and the knowledge about these infectious diseases is so great, that it is indeed very hard for anybody to expect quick results. We all know that vaccination is a good thing. Ever since I have been in charge of public health, I have carefully verified the records of the attacks and deaths consequent upon it. I have found over and over again that vaccination has done such a lot of work with regard to the disease that it will be silly to say that vaccination has failed. But I admit that vaccination has not had that amount of public approbation, and it has not been taken to the man in the street, to enable us to say that all our men know about vaccination. Unfortunately, in our country there are some sections who criticize such an institution like vaccination, which has conferred untold benefits on the people. It is not as if people are not getting vaccinated. But the real thing has not been brought before them. They have been frightened. They are more afraid of the needle than the disease. Take cholera for example. I am getting reports almost every day from various parts of the districts. The World Health Organization institutes an enquiry, and it is prepared to give us money to carry out experiments. We wholeheartedly welcome the help. In our pursuit of fighting our infectious diseases, we do not refuse help from somebody else. We want all help to fight out these diseases. In all ways this Government have been trying their level best to use their own resources and they are also getting help from outside to acquire knowledge as much as possible for the prosecution of the various schemes that we have kept before us. Therefore, it is not so easy to know what is being done. This life-saving work has got to be carried to every humble hamlet in the village. This is no mean achievement. It is a huge problem. But we are doing all that we can. We have not in our pursuit lowered our preparations for it. We put not cheap men on the work. Our medical graduates are claimed to be equal to any in the world in the matter of knowledge, in the matter of instruction and in the matter of experience. We run all these institutions not only because we are interested in relieving the diseases and preventing diseases, but we also want to take our rightful place among the nations of which we claim to be one. But we cannot be a poor beggar getting knowledge from others. We want to grow and develop into a great nation, and also give knowledge to others. Therefore it is that in our pursuit of knowledge we know no discrimination. We want knowledge for its own sake and knowledge for the benefits it will confer not on one but on all classes and on the whole nation. In that spirit we proceed in our endeavour.

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“ With regard to the industrial and agricultural schemes it is needless for me to repeat at this hour categorically what has been done. With the knowledge and with the resources at our disposal, we are trying to do our best, and we welcome help and knowledge from others if they can be had and can be utilized for the betterment of our State. That is the idea of the Welfare State. What does the Welfare State mean? It means the welfare of the hundreds and millions of people that constitute this State and this land. The welfare of these millions is our prime concern. You would all concede that we have done our best with the best of motives to do what we concede to be right. There may be political pitfalls and mistakes in a strife for power and position. Very unseemly things might come up. But the question to-day is ‘What is the sum total of the work that has been turned out?’ Take the sphere of education, about which so much has been said. I challenge any Government before us to show whether they have spent so much money as this Government have done. We can confidently say that no administration has spent so much as we have done. This is no mean achievement. I quite agree with the statement and the caution given by Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar about basic education. I am for basic education. This Government are for it. The Government of India are for basic education. It is a very difficult process, because it requires an understanding of human nature far beyond the capacity of the elementary school teacher. It does not mean then that we should give up the pursuit of such a noble ideal which nations have tested and found to be correct. It is true that we have not many men trained. Boys are not suitably trained. But even so, we are doing all that is possible to give a thorough cultural turn to the students of our schools. In education we shall not be purely classic and we shall not be purely literary. A certain amount of industrial bent should be given to the boys in our schools. We are conscious of all that, and we are trying to do it day by day. This is not the occasion to think about all these. But I am simply here instancing events to show what this Government are at. I will not for a moment hesitate to state that we have done our best. We do assure that with the patriotism we have and our people exhibit with regard to the discharge of duties in regard to State management, we have done our level best. We have in this State a constitutional Head of whom all of us can feel very proud. He is really a constitutional head of the State. He has got such a balanced and fair judgment which he brings to bear in all matters concerning the State that we are very proud to say that in him we have got a very capable administrative head free from prejudices and partialities and yet having that innate nature of goodness and generosity that is his and which he so often exhibits, not for his pleasure, but for the welfare of the State as such. Coming from such a personage, the address is something which we all may proudly cherish and remember.

“ The problem of unemployment was also referred to by the Members. I am in charge of this; if I may say that I am in charge of anything, it is this. The unemployment problem is

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very great. We are having a number of unemployment agencies now at work in different districts. We are calling for statements in order to take a census of the unemployed. Every month I get the list of the number of people unemployed who are registered in the various unemployment organizations in this State. Even yesterday I received information for the last month when the record of unemployed people was 1½ lakhs and relief was afforded to 37,000 people. It shows that we can find some relief for unemployment. We are making people fit enough to be employed and we are trying to find out all sources for employment. Every district has got this unemployment agency. It has become an international problem dealt with by the Labour Office. Like many other schemes, it has also become a national problem and we shall do what we can as we have been doing. No doubt this Address does not contain anything about it; it cannot contain because it is only a small item. But because it was referred to by the Hon. Members, I have to make mention of it that we are not unaware of it but that we are doing something.

“ Reference was made to the poor quality of water-supply made in this State. It is no doubt true. But first of all, for water-supply, we will have to find water and for that we have to see where we have good potable water that could be supplied. As we are having a number of villages, it is a difficult problem. It is a new scheme and in fact, pipe water-supply and protected water-supply have got to be done over a very large area. In the rural areas, we are now evolving schemes by which large areas could be tacked to one scheme. Recently we have succeeded in having such a scheme in Tirumelveli where no water was available for miles around. But unfortunately it is not so easy work as could be finished in the course of a day. But I would like to mention that this Government are cognisant of their responsibility and they have been doing and will continue to do hereafter on the same lines to satisfy the public needs.

“ I wish to point out that more informed directive criticisms will be useful for we are like all the hon. Members who criticize and are being criticized. It is not because we have no knowledge; we have got knowledge but perhaps you have got better wisdom and we want to benefit by your knowledge and wisdom. All the members of this State contribute their level best either in intellect or in thought or in opinions or informed criticisms and enlighten this House or any Cabinet that may come into office of the facts and show the way to do things. We are always ready to receive them and to be guided by them. If His Excellency has come and delivered an address, it is only in a recaptive spirit because he wants to serve this Welfare State. We will receive always informed criticisms. The Governor's address is only an indication of what we intend to do. I am very thankful indeed for the helpful and informed criticisms that have come about in this House. As the first instalment of democratic regime in this State, I welcome the suggestions on the Governor's address and also the great regard and sympathy shown by those who spoke on the address. I also appreciate the remark of Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar that it was not His Excellency really that talked

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but it was really the Government that spoke and I am glad he drew pointed attention to the fact that there is nothing about His Excellency's action in this matter, because for all the actions the Cabinet is responsible."

DR. V. K. JOHN :—" I do not press my amendment, Sir."

The amendment was, by leave of the House, withdrawn.

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I now put the main motion to the vote of the House, namely :—"That an address be presented to His Excellency the Governor of Madras in the following terms :—

May it please Your Excellency,

" We, the Members of the Madras Legislative Council beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the Address delivered to both the House of the Legislature."

The motion was carried *nem con*.

* MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I would like to say a few words on this occasion by way of a review of the discussion because I suppose all of us are anxious that a proper convention should be set up which should act as a guide for similar discussions in future. The impression that has been created in me is that there is absolutely no difference between the debate that we had to-day on the Governor's Address and the general discussion on the Budget. I feel that there ought to be a difference between the speeches on these two occasions as no useful purpose will be served by repeating the same kind of speeches on both the occasions. The time of this House as well as that of the hon. Members is very valuable and so, if you bring about some method by which speeches on an occasion like this will be somewhat different from the speeches on budgets, it will be quite welcome and the time and energy of the hon. Members will be well spent.

" One obvious difference is this. There is a definite motion now before the House. During the Budget discussion there is no definite motion at all before the House except the Budget and the speech made by the Hon. the Finance Minister. Then the Members traverse all the grounds mentioned by the Hon. the Finance Minister, criticize his proposals and also give their suggestions. All those things come up quite properly for discussion. But now there is a definite motion before the House. In this connexion, two points appear to me to be relevant. One is what is the attitude which the Government party should adopt towards this and the other what are the matters that can be discussed on the motion. We find from Article 176 of the Constitution that

'at the commencement of every session, the Governor shall address the Legislative Assembly or in the case of a State having a Legislative Council, both Houses assembled together and inform the Legislature of the causes of its summons ;

provision shall be made by the rules regulating the procedure of the House or either House for the allotment of time for discussion of the matters referred to in such address and for the precedence of such discussion over other business of the House.'

Mr. G. F. M. Campion in his ' An introduction to the procedure of the House of Commons ' says :

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' The King's speech is both an act of State and a Government pronouncement of great importance, the responsibility for which rests wholly with the Cabinet. It contains two parts, divided by a formal reference to the Estimates addressed to the Commons alone—first a statement about the foreign relations and policy of the country, and secondly a statement of the attitude of Government towards matters of home policy, together with a summary of the proposed legislative programme of the session.'

These show that there is some essential difference between the two. From the words used you will see that the prime purpose of the address is to inform the House of the causes of its summons. The causes could only be that a legislative programme is before the Government which could be got through only with the help of the Legislature. Therefore, it is essential that the Legislature should help the Government to get through their proposals. I am only telling you what is the form and procedure so that when we enter upon a discussion on the Address, the discussion should also confine itself to the matters of policy of the Government relating to legislation. The Members no doubt can in the discussion give the Government their valuable advice on various matters connected with the proposed legislation. I think that that is the main purpose of a discussion on a motion like this. I am not giving a ruling on this matter but I would like the Members to study such matters more carefully so that when the time comes for a committee to be appointed for the framing of the rules of discussion, your valuable advice may be available so that proper rules may be framed and the House may be enabled to see that this discussion becomes more interesting and in a way different from what has gone on till now. I wish to inform the hon. Members that I would like to have their co-operation when the rules are to be framed so that a proper convention may be built up which will be the foundation and basis for our future discussions. I thank the hon. Members for the very high level of discussion maintained.

" As regards the speeches of the members of the Government, 5 p.m. I think on a motion like this, the prime duty of the Government and the members on their side must be to justify the activities of the Government. Of course it is the duty of the Opposition on the other side to bring in a big " but " and say, " We regret to say this and we regret to say that ". But if members on the Government side, though it may be all right to a certain extent, also say that the Government must have done this and must not have done that, then I don't know how they can refrain from voting in matters like this, along with the other side. So, when such a motion is before the House, I think there must be a clear-cut division. The members of the Opposition will certainly criticize and it is the prime duty of the members on the Government side to refute the arguments of the other side and strengthen the hands of the Government so that the Government's reply may not be so elaborate. On the other hand if they also join the Opposition and begin to criticize the Government, I do not know whether it is desirable on a motion like this. Of course at the time of Budget discussion, it is open for them to give suggestions to the Government. But on a matter like this, I think—subject to correction when I meet the members informally afterwards,—

