

MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

FIRST SESSION OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA.

Volume I (Nos. 1 to 7).

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Saturday, the 3rd May 1952.

	PAGES
Personnel of the Government of Madras	i
Principal Officers of the Madras Legislative Assembly	ii
List of Members of the Madras Legislative Assembly with their constituencies	iii-xiii
I Swearing-in of Members	1-7
II Papers laid on the table of the House	7

Monday, the 5th May 1952.

I Swearing-in of Members—cont.	9, 11
II Business of the House for 6th May 1952	10

Tuesday, the 6th May 1952.

I Election of Speaker	13-16, 19
II Election of Deputy Speaker	17-19

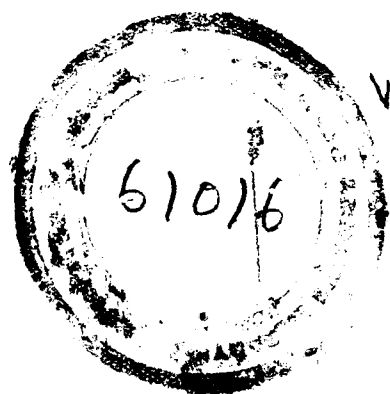
Wednesday, the 7th May 1952.

I Adjournment motions re—	
(1) Promulgation of an order under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, in Madras City on 6th May 1952	21-24
(2) Alleged Police lathi charge and some arrests on 6th May 1952	24-26
II Congratulatory speeches on the election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	26-60
III Government Motion re Public Accounts Committee	61
IV Message from His Excellency the Governor	61-62
V Government Bill—The Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 (introduced)	62-63

Thursday, the 8th May 1952.

I Privilege motion	65
II Discussion on His Excellency the Governor's Address	65-142
III Papers laid on the table of the House	142

<i>Friday, the 9th May 1952.</i>		PAGES
I Privilege motion re issue of orders under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, with special reference to certain Legislature Parties ..	..	147-165
II Discussion on His Excellency the Governor's Address—cont. ..	..	165-176
III Cancellation of the motion for the election of members to the Public Accounts Committee ..	..	177-210
		176
<i>Monday, the 12th May 1952.</i>		
I Condolence Resolution re the death of Dr. U. Rama Rao ..	..	211-212
II Questions and Answers ..	..	212-225
III Resolutions—Waiver of notice under rule 120 of the Assembly Rules ..	..	225
IV Panel of Chairmen ..	..	225
V Government Bill—The Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 ..	..	225-245
VI Government motion re Exclusion of certain citizens of Ceylon from rights of citizenship ..	..	245-273
VII Paper laid on the table of the House ..	..	273



THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Saturday, 3rd May 1952.

FIRST SESSION OF THE FIRST LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY CONSTITUTED UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Government Estate, Mount Road, Madras, at eleven of the clock, Temporary Speaker (THE HON. SRI P. T. RAJAN) in the Chair.

I.—SWEARING-IN OF MEMBERS.

TEMPORARY SPEAKER (Sri P.T. Rajan) :—“ Hon. Members are no doubt aware that I have been appointed by His Excellency the Governor under clause (1) of Article 180 of the Constitution of India to perform the duties of the office of the Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly till a Speaker is chosen under Article 178 of the Constitution. I have great pleasure in welcoming you to this first meeting of the new State Legislative Assembly constituted under the Constitution of India.

“ Under Article 188 of the Constitution of India, hon. Members have to take the prescribed oath before taking their seats, and I have been appointed by His Excellency as the person before whom they should take the prescribed oath.

“ In accordance with the practice followed in the Legislature, I propose to ask the Secretary to call upon the Hon. Ministers first to take the oath, then the Leader of the Official Opposition, the Leaders of Parties whose names have been sent to the Legislature office, the ex-Ministers, the ex-Speaker, the Government Whip and then hon. Members in the order in which their names appear in the alphabetical list of members of the Madras Legislative Assembly.

“ Members will be called upon in twos and as they are called they are requested to approach the Secretary's table for the purpose of taking the oath. Forms of oath, or affirmation to be made by them will be handed over to them by the Secretary.

“ After taking the oath or making an affirmation and after signing their names in the register kept for the purpose, hon. Members will be entitled to take their seats as Members of the Assembly. I may say, except for the Members of the Government, no seats have yet been reserved. The Speaker who is to be elected on 6th May will allot seats under Rule 51 in consultation, no doubt, with the Leaders of Parties concerned. In the meantime, hon. Members may occupy any available seat in the House. I know it would be tedious for hon. Members to sit for long in their seats doing nothing and simply watching other Members taking their oath before the Speaker. But the solemnity of the occasion would require their attention and presence throughout in the House, and I would therefore request hon. Members to remain in their seats till after the last Member has taken his oath.

[Temporary Speaker]

[3rd May 1952]

"Before concluding my remarks, I wish to remind hon. Members that the latest hour for the receipt of nomination papers for the Speakership and the Deputy Speakership is 12-noon, Monday, the 5th May 1952. The nomination forms are available with the Secretary."

The Secretary then called the names of the members to take the oath.

The following members took the prescribed oath* :—

Serial number and name of member.	Serial number and name of member.
1 The Hon. Sri A. B. Shetty.	25 Sri Anandan, L.
2 The Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam.	26 Sri Anantha Pai, T.
3 The Hon. Sri K. Venkataswami Naidu.	27 Sri Anjaneyalu, G.
4 The Hon. Sri V. C. Palaniswami Gounder.	28 Sri Anthony Peter.
5 The Hon. Dr. U. Krishna Rao.	29 Sri Anthony Pillai, S. C. C.
6 The Hon. Dr. R. Nagan Gowda.	30 Sri Appala Naidu, K.
7 The Hon. Sri N. Sankara Reddi.	31 Sri Appu, A.
8 The Hon. Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker.	32 Sri Aranganathan, K.
9 The Hon. Sri K. P. Kuttikrishna Nair.	33 Sri Ari Gowder, H. B.
10 The Hon. Sri Raja Sri Shanmuga Rajeswara Sethupathi.	34 Sri Ardhanareswara Gounder.
11 The Hon. Sri S. B. P. Pattabirama Rao.	35 Sri Ardhanari, T. S.
12 The Hon. Sri D. Sanjeevayya.	36 Sri Arumugam, R. S.
13 Sri T. Nagi Reddi.	37 Sri Arumugam, S.
14 Sri V. V. Ramaswami.	38 Sri Arumugam, S. R.
15 Sri S. S. Ramaswami Padayachi.	39 Sri Arumugam, V.
16 Janab K. Uppi.	40 Sri Arunachalla Mudaliar, A. J.
17 Raja Muthiah Chettiar of Chettinad.	41 Sri Atchannaidu, T. C.
18 Sri B. Parameswaran.	42 Sri Audinarayana Reddi, Y.
19 Sri J. L. P. Roche Victoria.	43 Sri Ayyaru, A.
20 Sri J. Sivashanmugam Pillai.	44 Sri Balanarayana Reddi, K.
21 Sri Adikesavalu Naidu, K.	45 Sri Balarama Reddi, A.
22 Sri Adityan, S. T.	46 Sri Bapaiah Chowdary, M.
23 Janab Ahmed Kutty, C.	47 Sri Bapanna Dora, K.
24 Sri Aiyyanar.	48 Sri Bapanayya, G.
	49 Sri Bapu Naidu, P.
	50 Sri Basivi Reddi, D.
	51 Sri Bhakthavatsalu Naidu, B.
	52 Sri Bomman, K. H.
	53 Sri Chadayan, M.
	54 Sri Chandra Ramalingaiah.
	55 Sri Chellapandian, S.
	56 Sri Chellathurai, P.
	57 Sri Chenchu ama Naidu, N.
	58 Sri Chengam Pillai, O.
	59 Sri Chidanandam, V.

* Please see Appendix on page 7 also.

[3rd May 1952]

Serial number and name of member.	Serial number and name of member.
60 Sri Chinnakaruppa Thevar, S.	99 Sri Ishwara, K.
61 Sri Chinnama Reddi, P.	100 Sri Jagannatham, H. M.
62 Sri Chinnasami Naidu, V. S.	101 Sri Jagannathan, M.
63 Sri Chinnathambi Thevar.	102 Sri Jayarama Beddiyar, S.
64 Sri Chinnayya.	103 Sri Jeevanandam, P.
65 Chitrambalam, G., Dr.	104 Sri Joseph, G.
66 Sri Chokkalingam, P.	105 Sri Kaliannan, T. M.
67 Sri Chokkalingam Chettiar, AR. A. RM.	106 Sri Kalyanasundaram, M.
68 Sri Darmalinga Nayakar, V.	107 Sri Kandasami, C.
69 Sri Dasarathan, D.	108 Sri Kandasamy Gounder, P.
70 Sri Dasaratharamaiah Naidu, D.	109 Sri Kandasamy Padayachi, M.
71 Sri Deivasigamany, S.	110 Sri Kandaswami Gounder, S.
72 Sri Dharmalingam, M.	111 Sri Kannan, V. K.
73 Sri Doraikannu, M.	112 Sri Kanaran, C. H.
74 Sri Doraiswami Gounder, A.	113 Sri Karuthiruman, P. G.
75 Sri Durugaprasad Veerabhadra Deo Bahadur, V.	114 Sri Kasireddy, S.
76 Sri Elaya Pillay, V. T.	115 Sri Kattimuthu.
77 Sri Elumalai, T. P.	116 Sri Kempai Gounder.
78 Mr. Fernandez, W. J.	117 Janab Khadir Sheriff, S.
79 Sri Gajapathi Raju, P. V. R. (Raja of Vizianagaram).	118 Sri Kolkebail, S. S.
80 Sri Gajapathi Reddy.	119 Sri Kondayya, G. C.
81 Sri Ganapathy, T.	120 Sri Koran, O.
82 Sri Gangappa, M.	121 Sri Kosalram, K. T.
83 Sri Gangayya Naidu, B.	122 Sri Kotaiah, P.
84 Sri Gopala Gounder, V.	123 Srinathi Kotamma Reddi, Thamma.
85 Sri Gopalakrishnaiah, Vavilala.	124 Sri Krishna Ayyar, V. R.
86 Sri Gopalakrishnan, P. K.	125 Sri Krishnamurthy Gounder, D.
87 Sri Gopalakrishna Reddi, P.	126 Sri Krishnamurthy Rao, B.
88 Sri Gopala Menon, N.	127 Sri Krishnan, R.
89 Sri Gopalan, K. P.	128 Sri Krishna Rao, K.
90 Sri Gopalan Unni, K. C.	129 Sri Krishna Rao, Y. V.
91 Sri Govindan, G.	130 Sri Krishnasamy Ayyangar, P. S.
92 Sri Govinda Rao, K.	131 Sri Krishnasamy Padayachi, V.
93 Sri Govindasamy Nayagar, A.	132 Sri Krishnaswami Naidu, R.
94 Sri Govindaswamy Naidu, V.	133 Sri Kumarasamy Rajah Bahadur (Raja of Karvetnagar).
95 Sri Gunnayya, P.	134 Sri Kune Rao, M.
96 Sri Hanumantha Rao, M.	135 Sri Kunhan, E. T.
97 Sri Hanumantharaya Gounder, A. K.	136 Janab Kunhi Muhamed Shafee.
98 Sri Indrayya, Ch.	137 Sri Kunhirama Kidav, P.
	138 Sri Kunhirama Kurup, C.

SWEARING-IN OF MEMBERS

[3rd May 1952]

Serial number and name of member.	Serial number and name of member.
139 Sri Kuppuswami, R.	179 Sri Nageshwara Rao, G.
140 Sri Lakshmana Das, L.	180 Sri Nal a Gounder, P. S.
141 Sri Lakshmana Kandar, C.	181 Sri Nallasamy, B. K.
142 Sri Lakshmana Narayana Reddi	182 Sri Nallasivam, K. R.
143 Sri Lakshmanaswamy, M.	183 Sri Nanjappa, O. A.
144 Sri Lakshmayya, D.	184 Sri Narasa Raju, K. R.
145 Sri Lakshmi Narasimham Dora, R.	185 Sri Narasimha Reddi, P.
146 Sri Lakshminarasa Raju, B.	186 Sri Narayana, Kavali.
147 Sri Lakshmipathy Naicker, K. S.	187 Sri Narayana Kurup, M.
148 Sri Latchanna, G.	188 Sri Narayana Nambiar, M.
149 Sri Madanagopal, V.	189 Sri Narayana Nambiar, T. C.
150 Sri Madhavan Nambiar, K.	190 Sri Narayana Raju, D.
151 Sri Mahalingam, N.	191 Sri Narayanasamy, M.
152 Sri Malakondayya, K.	192 Sri Narayanasamy Naidu, G.
153 Sri Mallayya, T.	193 Sri Nataraja Mudaliar, R. A.
154 Sri Manickasundaram, M.	194 Sri Neeladrirao Reddi, Asi.
155 Sri Manickam, P. G.	195 Sri Packirisami Pillay, S.
156 Sri Manjaya Shetty.	196 Sri Padmanabha Raju, K. V. S.
157 Sri Marimuthu, M.	197 Sri Padmaprabha Gounder.
158 Sri Masilamani Chettiar, A. K.	198 Sri Pais, L. C.
159 Sri Menon, K. B.	199 Sri Palaniandi, M.
160 Janab Mogral, M. S.	200 Sri Palaniappan, R. M.
161 Janab Mahamed Salih Maraikayar.	201 Sri Palanimuthu.
162 Janab Moidu, K.	202 Sri Palanisami, N. K.
163 Sri Mookiah Thevar.	203 Sri Palanisami Gounder, V. K.
164 Sri Mottaya Kudumban.	204 Sri Panchaksharam, S.
165 Sri Mounaguruswamy Naidu, N.	205 Sri Pandan, R. S. K.
166 Sri Muni Reddi, M.	206 Sri Paramasivam Udayar, N.
167 Sri Munisami Pillay, M. S.	207 Sri Paramasvami N.
168 Sri Munuswamy Gounder, P. M.	208 Sri Pentannaidu, M.
169 Sri Murthy Raju, Ch. S. R. V. P.	209 Sri Periasami, M. P.
170 Sri Muthiah Pillai, C.	210 Sri Potha Raju, T.
171 Sri Muthu, V.	211 Sri Prabakara Choudary, C.
172 Sri Muthukumaraswamy.	212 Sri Pulla Reddi, C.
173 Sri Muthukumaraswamy Naidu, T. D.	213 Sri Pundarikashacharyulu, V. P.
174 Sri Muthuramalinga Thevar, U.	214 Sri Radakrishnan, S.
175 Sri Muthuswami, A.	215 Sri Raghava Mudaliar, E. L.
176 Sri Muthu Thevar, B. R. M.	216 Sri Raju, D. K.
177 Sri Nagabhushanam, G.	217 Sri Rajagopal, N.
178 Sri Nagarajan, V. R.	218 Sri Rajagopala Gounder, P. R.
	219 Sri Rajagopala Rao, K.
	220 Sri Rajam Ramasami, C.

SWEARING-IN OF MEMBERS

3rd May 1952]

Serial number and name of member.	Serial number and name of member.
221 Sri Rajan, P. T.	236 Sri Ramamurthy, K.
222 Sri Rajaram, K.	237 Sri Rama Rao, G.
223 Sri Rajeswara Rao, M.	238 Sri Rama Rao, N. V.
224 Sri Raju, K. T.	239 Sri Rama Rao, P.
225 Sri Rama, T. K.	240 Sri Pama Rao, V.
226 Sri Ramabhadra Raju, N.	241 Sri Ramasamy Doss, K.
227 Sri Ramabrahmam, D.	242 Sri Ramasamy, K. V.
228 Sri Ramachandran, M. R.	243 Sri Ramasamy, Thota.
229 Sri Ramachandra Rao, P. S.	244 Sri Ramasamy Kander, N. C.
230 Sri Ramachandra Reddiar, A.	245 Sri Ramasamy Mudaliar, V. K.
231 Sri Ramakrishna Ayyar, N.	246 Sri Ramasamy Naidu, S.
232 Sri Ramakrishnan, K.	247 Sri Ramasamy Thevar, A.
233 Sri Ramakrishna Reddi, B.	248 Sri Ramesam, K. V.
234 Sri Ramalingam, S.	249 Sri Rami Reddi, A.
235 Sri Ramamoorthi, P.	

The House adjourned for lunch at 1-30 p.m.

(After lunch—3 p.m.)

The following members took the prescribed oath: —

Serial number and name of member.	Serial number and name of member.
250 Sri Appalaswami, Bojja.	270 Sri Sankara Varma Raja, E. K.
251 Sri Appa Rao Bahadur, Rajah Meka Rangayya.	271 Sri Sankarayya, B.
252 Sri Narayanappa, S.	272 Sri Sannasi, T. V.
253 Sri Raja Chidambaram, P. B. K.	273 Sri Santhappa, K.
254 Sri Ramiah, K.	274 Sri Sattyanarayana, G.
255 Sri Ramiah Choudary, K.	275 Sri Sattyanarayana Dora, H.
256 Sri Ranga Rao, K.	276 Sri Sattyanarayana Reddi, P.
257 Sri Ranga Reddi, P.	277 Sri Seetharamiah, D.
258 Sri Rangasamy Naidu, P. S.	278 Janab Seethi, K. M.
259 Sri Rangasamy Gounder, R.	279 Sri Selvaraj, P.
260 Sri Rangasamy Reddiar, P.	280 Sri Shanker, M. G.
261 Sri Rathina Gounder, N.	281 Sri Shanmugham, K.
262 Sri Rathinam, A.	282 Sri Shanmugam, T.
263 Sri Rathinaswami Pillai, P.	283 Sri Sivasappa, Ijari.
264 Sri Ratnaswami, A. M.	284 Sri Sivaprakasam, V. S.
265 Sri Sambandam, A. M.	285 Sri Sivaraj, N.
266 Sri Sambasivam, A.	286 Sri Sivarami Reddi, N.
267 Sri Samia Koorayar, G.	287 Sri Sivasankara Reddi, G.
268 Sri Sangam Naidu, P.	288 Sri Somasundara Gounder.
269 Sri Sankaranarayana Menon, V.	289 Sri Somayajulu, C. V.
	290 Sri Somayajulu, S.
	291 Sri Soundaram Ramachandran, Dr. T. S.
	292 Sri Sridharan, K. T.

SWEARING-IN OF MEMBERS

[3rd May 1952]

Serial number and name of member.	Serial number and name of member.
293 Sri Sri Krishna, V.	328 Sri Veeranna Padal, K.
294 Sri Srinivasalu, K.	329 Sri Veloo, A.
295 Sri Srungaram.	330 Sri Vema Reddy, K. V.
296 Sri Subbaraj, A. S.	331 Sri Vemiah, S.
297 Sri Subba Raju, B.	332 Sri Venkaiah, K.
298 Sri Subba Reddi, K.	333 Sri Venkatakrishna Rao, C.
299 Sri Subba Reddi, M.	334 Sri Venkata Jagga Rao, R.
300 Sri Subbaraya Goundar, A. K.	335 Sri Venkata Kurmi Nayudu, K.
301 Sri Subbiah, A. K.	336 Sri Venkataramaraju, Alluri.
302 Sri Subramaniam Gownder, K. S.	337 Sri Venkataramiah, N.
303 Sri Subramaniam, M. P.	338 Sri Venkata Setty, K.
304 Sri Subramania Pillai, I. K.	339 Sri Venkatasiviah, P.
305 Sri Suryachandrarao, P.	340 Sri Venkatasubba Reddi, M.
306 Sri Suryanarayana, K.	341 Sri Venkatasubba Reddi, O.
307 Sri Suryanarayana Raju, Raja Sagi.	342 Sri Venkatasubba Reddi, T. N.
308 Sri Suryanarayana, G.	343 Sri Venkatasubbayya, P.
309 Sri Suvarna, N. N.	344 Sri Venkatayya, N.
310 Sri Swaminathan, R. V.	345 Sri Venkatesha Sholagar, P.
311 Sri Swayamprakasam, S.	346 Sri Venkateswarlu, Pillalamari.
312 Sri Syamsundra Rao, P.	347 Sri Venkatnarayana Dora, K.
313 Sri Thangavelu, R.	348 Sri Venkatrama Ayyar, S.
314 Sri Thangavelu, P.	349 Sri Venkatramaiah, A.
315 Sri Thiagaraja Pillay.	350 Sri Venkatramana Gowda, K.
316 Sri Thimma Reddi, P.	351 Sri Venkatswami Reddi, P.
317 Sri Thinakaranasami Thevar.	352 Sri Venugopala Gounder, M.
318 Sri Thirumurthi, P. K.	353 Sri Venugopalakrishnasamy.
319 Sri Urkavalan, P.	354 Sri Vinayagam, K.
320 Sri Vadivelu.	355 Sri Virupakshayya.
321 Sri Vagheesam Pillay, G.	356 Sri Viswanatham, Tenneti.
322 Sri Vaikunta Baliga, B.	357 Sri Viswanathan, K. R.
323 Sri Vaikuntam.	358 Sri Yellamanda Reddi, G.
324 Sri Varadachari, K.	
325 Sri Varadan, T. R.	
326 Sri Varadarajulu Naidu, Dr. P.	
327 Sri Veerabhadram, M.	

TEMPORARY SPEAKER (Sri P. T. Rajan) :—" We have finished a great portion of our work. There are only a very few Members to be sworn in. Possibly they had not arrived here thinking that the meeting would continue on the 5th also. We are meeting again on the 5th. When we commenced our proceedings this morning, I requested that all hon. Members should be present in the House throughout and I gave out the reason for my request. Members possibly may not have had the necessary convenience to be here. When we meet on Monday, I hope Leaders of Parties and Members of the Treasury Bench will be present in full numbers and this applies more to the Leaders of Parties than to the Members

SWEARING-IN OF MEMBERS

7

3rd May 1952] [Temporary Speaker]
of the Government. When we meet next on Monday, I think our work will be only for a few minutes—probably for half an hour or so. As we have done to-day's work, I adjourn the House now to meet again at 11 a.m. on Monday, 5th May 1952."

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m. on Monday, 5th May 1952.

APPENDIX.

Sri P. T. Rajan, Temporary Speaker, took the prescribed oath before His Excellency the Governor at Raj Bhavan, Guindy, on 21st April 1952.

II.—PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.

1. *The Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) (Madras Amendment) Amendment Ordinance, 1952 (Madras Ordinance I of 1952).*

2. *Notification appended to G.O. No. 212, L.A., dated 16th February 1952, regarding inclusion of a certain area in Tiruppur Municipality.*

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Monday, 5th May 1952.

The House met in the new Assembly Chamber, Government Estate, Mount Road, Madras, at eleven of the clock, the Temporary Speaker (THE HON. SRI P. T. RAJAN) in the Chair.

I.—SWEARING-IN OF MEMBERS—*cont.*

TEMPORARY SPEAKER :—“ The swearing-in of Members will continue.

“ The following Members took the prescribed oath^a :—

- (1) Sri V. Balakrishnan.
- (2) „ K. Koti Reddi.
- (3) Raja V. V. Krishnam Raju Bahadur.
- (4) Sri M. P. Mangala Gounder.
- (5) „ N. V. L. Narasimha Rao.
- (6) „ A. S. Sahajanandam.
- (7) „ K. R. Sambandam.
- (8) „ A. Senapati Goundar.
- (9) „ R. Siddanna Gowd.
- (10) „ M. Subramanya Nayakar.
- (11) „ C. Velukkan.
- (12) „ A. Venkatasubramaniam.”

TEMPORARY SPEAKER :—“ Practically all the Members have either sworn or affirmed their allegiance to the Constitution as required by the law. There are only three more Members and it is hoped that they will take their oath before the election of the Speaker tomorrow. Otherwise, once the Speaker's election starts, they will not be entitled to vote. I hope that this information will be conveyed to these hon. Members, if they want to take part in the election.”

RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR or CHETTINAD :—“ Sir, may I know the names of those hon. Members? ”

TEMPORARY SPEAKER :—“ Yes. They are Sri Kotra Basavana Goud, Sri S. Parameswarappa^b and Sri C. Subbarayudu. These are the three hon. Members who have not taken the oath.”

^a See Appendix I on page 11 *infra*.

^b See Appendix II on page 11 *infra*.

[5th May 1952]

II.—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE FOR 6th MAY 1952.

TEMPORARY SPEAKER :—“ The election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker will take place tomorrow morning. At 5 p.m. His Excellency the Governor will address the Members of the two Houses of the Madras Legislature assembled together in the Assembly Chamber, Government Estate, Mount Road.

“ The House will now adjourn and meet again at 11 a.m. on Tuesday, 6th May 1952.”

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m. on Tuesday, 6th May 1952.

5th May 1952]

APPENDIX I.

Sri V. Nadimuthu Pillai took the prescribed oath before the Temporary Speaker on 5th May 1952, at his (Mr. Nadimuthu Pillai's) residence.

APPENDIX II.

The following Members took the prescribed oath before the Temporary Speaker on 5th May 1952, in his Chamber in the Assembly Buildings :—

- (1) Sri S. Parameswarappa.
- (2) „ Kotra Basavana Goud.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 6th May 1952.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Government Estate, Mount Road, Madras, at eleven of the clock, the Temporary Speaker (THE HON. SRI P. T. RAJAN) in the Chair.

I.—ELECTION OF SPEAKER.

TEMPORARY SPEAKER (Sri P. T. Rajan).—“ Item I of the Agenda for to-day is ‘Swearing-in of Members.’ As all the hon. Members have already been sworn in, I now proceed to the next item on the agenda, viz., ‘Election of Speaker’. The election of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker under Article 178 of the Constitution is to take place this morning. Nominations for these offices have already taken place. Under rule 13 (4) of the Madras Assembly Rules, I have first to read out to the Assembly the names of the Members who have been duly nominated for the Speakership, together with those of their proposers and seconders. They are—

<i>Member nominated.</i>	<i>Proposer.</i>	<i>Seconders.</i>
Sri J. Sivashanmugam Pillai.	Sri G. Latchanna.	Sri P. Thigama Reddi.
Do.	Sri Raja Sagi Suryanarayana Raju.	Sri G. Suryanarayana.
Do.	Sri R. Thangavelu.	Sri A. S. Sahajananda.
Sri S. Swayamprakasam.	Sri P. V. R. Gajapathi Raju (Raja of Vizianagaram).	Sri V. V. Ramasami.

“ As more than one Member has been duly nominated, the Assembly will now proceed under sub-rules (4) to (7) of rule 13 of the Madras Assembly Rules to elect a Speaker by ballot. Four cubicles have been provided to enable hon. Members to record their votes. I have directed the Secretary to call the Members according to the order in which their names appear in the alphabetical list, and as each Member approaches his seat, he will be handed a ballot paper. After getting his ballot paper, each Member is requested to go into one of the cubicles, record his vote and after doing so, deposit his voting paper in one of the ballot boxes provided for the purpose.

“ In this connexion, it has been brought to my notice that the procedure of voting may be explained in all the different languages, namely, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada. May I request the Members of the Treasury Bench to come to my rescue and explain the procedure to hon. Members in those languages. Before I call upon the Secretary to call out the names of hon. Members, to avoid suspicion that canvassing is going on in the House, hon. Members are requested to remain in their places, go to the Secretary’s seat as they are called, mark their votes within the cubicles, put the ballot papers in the ballot boxes

[Temporary Speaker] [6th May 1952]

and then return to their seats. They are requested to avoid talking either before or after voting so that the secrecy of the ballot may be maintained.

"I now request the Members of the Treasury Bench to explain the procedure of voting in the respective languages."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"I hope, Sir, you can very well do it in Tamil yourself."

RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—"Sir, we all agree with the suggestion of the Hon. Leader of the House."

TEMPORARY SPEAKER :—"If the Hon. Leader of the House wants me to do it, I have no objection."

SRI V. V. RAMASAMI :—"Sir, are we to put a tick or a small cross?"

TEMPORARY SPEAKER :—"As usual, the cross mark will be adopted. There are only two candidates and there is no preferential voting."

(Temporary Speaker explained in Tamil the procedure to be adopted in voting, the Hon. Dr. R. Nagana Goud explained in Kannada, the Hon. Sri S. B. P. Pattabhirama Rao in Telugu, and the Hon. Sri K. P. Kuttikrishna Nayar in Malayalam.)

TEMPORARY SPEAKER :—"I hope the procedure of voting has been made clear to all the hon. Members of the House. Before I call upon the Secretary to call out the names of hon. Members, I may say that the election of the Deputy Speaker will be conducted by the newly elected Speaker. The procedure to be followed then will be the same as that to be followed in the case of election of the Speaker."

"This morning, the two candidates for the Speaker's Chair, namely, Sri J. Sivashanmugam Pillai and Sri S. Swayamprakasam, came and informed me that they would refrain from voting. That is a tradition on the lines of the House of Commons. With the permission of the House I congratulate both of them on creating that tradition here. (Applause.) I hope this is only a forerunner of many traditions that are to be created by hon. Members of this House irrespective of their political affiliations."

"Now, I call upon the Secretary to call out the names of hon. Members."

(The Assistant Secretary then called the first four names of the hon. Members in the alphabetical order.)

SRI P. RAMAMOORTHY :—"Sir, is a nominated Member of the House entitled to exercise his vote for the Speaker's election? I would like to have this point clarified."

TEMPORARY SPEAKER :—"I believe once a person becomes a Member of this House, he is entitled to vote. If this point had been raised earlier, I would have quoted authority."

(Voting was in progress. The Hon. the Leader of the House was seen making some representation to the Speaker.)

6th May 1952]

TEMPORARY SPEAKER :—"It has been pointed out to me by the Hon. Leader of the House that two hon. Members who are ill have come here to take part in the election, and they may be given permission to vote from their seats even now, before their turn comes. Also it has been brought to my notice that another hon. Member finds it difficult to move about easily and that he may also be permitted to vote from his seat. The Assistant Secretary will take the ballot papers and the ballot box to them to enable them to record their votes. With your permission, I propose to show this courtesy to these three hon. Members, namely, (1) Sri K. Varadachari, (2) Sri V. Nadimuthu Pillai, and (3) Sri M. Kalyanasundaram."

(The Assistant Secretary took the ballot papers and the ballot box to these hon. Members. As the Assistant Secretary took the ballot paper and box to Sri Kalyanasundaram, the Temporary Speaker said, "Hon. Members sitting near and behind Sri Kalyanasundaram may please go a little away from him so that the secrecy of voting may be maintained. Voting by these hon. Members then took place.")

TEMPORARY SPEAKER :—"This is my ballot paper. I thought I should refrain from taking part in the election lest it should be prejudicial to my functioning as Speaker. As, however, I am advised that my voting will not in any way interfere with my functioning as Speaker, I am also taking part in the election. I wanted to refrain from voting for the reason that in case of a tie, I might have to give my casting vote. That this impression of mine was erroneous, was made clear to me by friends whom I consulted and who are, and ought to be, in a position to advise me. If there is a tie to-day, it shall be decided by casting lots. In the circumstances, I propose to exercise my vote. In so doing, I need not go into the cubicle, as I suggested to other hon. Members, because I can maintain secrecy here, and secondly, as Speaker I cannot leave the Chair. Therefore, I propose to exercise my franchise by marking the ballot paper from my seat and depositing it into the ballot box in front of me."

(After saying this, Temporary Speaker marked the ballot paper and deposited it into the box in front of him.)

TEMPORARY SPEAKER :—"Have all the hon. Members exercised their franchise? I am told by the Secretary that three hon. Members have not exercised their franchise. They are, (1) Sri S. C. C. Anthony Pillai, (2) Sri D. Dasarathan, and (3) Sri P. Thimma Reddi. We have waited sufficiently long, and I do not think that we should wait any longer. These three hon. Members for some reason or other, have not exercised their franchise."

"As voting is over, counting of the ballot papers will now commence. The Secretary and the Assistant Secretary will count the votes in the Chamber itself here and now. I nominate Messrs. K. Rajaram Naidu and P. Venkateswarlu as Tellers. They will be there to watch the interests of their respective candidates. After counting is over, I shall announce the result."

[Temporary Speaker]

[6th May 1952]

(Votes were then counted by the Secretary and the Assistant Secretary in the presence of the Tellers, Sri K. Rajaram Naidu and Sri P. Venkateswarlu. After counting was over, the Tellers approached the Chair and presented the figures, arrived at by the counting of votes, to the Temporary Speaker.)

1 p.m. TEMPORARY SPEAKER:—"Order, order. As many as 370 hon. Members have taken part in the voting, three hundred and sixty-eight votes were valid votes and two votes were invalid. I shall now announce the figures of voting. The following are the figures supplied to me by the Tellers nominated by me:—

Sri J. Sivashanmugam Pillai—206 (loud applause).

Sri S. Swayamprakasam—162."

(At this stage, some persons in the Visitors' Galleries clapped their hands.)

TEMPORARY SPEAKER:—"Order, order. Those who are in the Visitors' Galleries should not take part in the proceedings or clap their hands. I now declare that Mr. J. Sivashanmugam Pillai has been duly elected Speaker of this Assembly. (Applause.)

"Now, the only thing that remains for me to do is to congratulate Sri Sivashanmugam Pillai on his success and before I call upon the Hon. the Leader of the House and Mr. Nagi Reddi, Leader of the Communist Party, to conduct Mr. Sivashanmugam Pillai to the Chair, I would like to inform the House—rather I would like to suggest to hon. Members of the House that the congratulatory speeches be taken up tomorrow, because the election of the Deputy Speaker will have to take place to-day and at 5 p.m. His Excellency the Governor is addressing both the Houses of the Legislature. So, if my suggestion is acceptable to hon. Members of the House, the speeches may be reserved for tomorrow.

"One thing more. When the Hon. the Speaker goes to occupy the Chair, hon. Members of the House will stand up and resume their seats only after the Speaker has taken his seat. Now, I would call upon the Hon. the Leader of the House and Sri Nagi Reddi to conduct Sri J. Sivashanmugam Pillai to the Chair."

(Then the Hon. the Leader of the House and Sri T. Nagi Reddi conducted Sri J. Sivashanmugam Pillai to the Chair. As the Temporary Speaker was vacating the Chair, he shook hands with Mr. Sivashanmugam Pillai and wished him the best of luck. Before taking his seat, Sri J. Sivashanmugam Pillai said, 'I am thankful to hon. Members for electing me a second time as Speaker of this Assembly' and took his seat amidst cheers. He then said:—

It is now 1-20 p.m. For the Speaker's election, we took two hours and more. I do not think we will be able to finish the work regarding election of the Deputy Speaker before lunch time. So, we will take up the election of Deputy Speaker after lunch. The House will now rise and meet again at 2-30 p.m.)

The House then rose for lunch.

6th May 1952]

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

II.—ELECTION OF DEPUTY SPEAKER.

MR. SPEAKER (the Hon. Sri J. Sivashanmugam Pillai):—"I announced this morning that the election of Deputy Speaker would take place in the afternoon.

"Under sub-rule (4) of rule 14 of the Madras Assembly Rules, I have first to read out to the Assembly the names of the persons who have been duly proposed together with the names of their proposers and seconders. They are—

Member nominated.	Proposer.	Second.
Sri B. Bhakthavatsalu Naidu.	Sri D. Krishnamurthy Gounder.	Sri A. Doraisamy Gounder.
Do.	Sri V. K. Kannan.	Sri M. Subramaniya Nayakar.
Srimathi Thammasa Kotamma Reddi.	Sri A. Rami Reddi.	Sri A. Venkatramiah.
Do.	Do.	Do.
Sri K. Varadachari.	Sri K. Adikesavalu Naidu.	Sri B. Krishnamurthi Rao.
Do.	Sri P. Venkataswami Reddi.	Do.
Sri K. R. Viswanathan.	Sri V. Gopala Gounder.	Sri M. Jagannathan.
Do.	Sri K. Vinayagam.	Sri K. R. Sambandam.

Of these Srimathi Thammasa Kotamma Reddi and Sri K. Varadachari have since withdrawn their candidature. There are thus only two continuing candidates for election, viz., Sri B. Bhakthavatsalu Naidu and Sri K. R. Viswanathan.

"As, however, there are still two candidates for election, the Assembly will now proceed under sub-rules (4) to (7) of rule 14 of the Madras Assembly Rules to elect a Deputy Speaker by ballot. Four cubicles have been provided to enable hon. Members to record their votes. As in the case of the election of the Speaker, I have directed the Secretary to call the Members according to their order in the alphabetical list, and as each Member approaches his seat, he will be handed a ballot paper. After getting his ballot paper, each Member is requested to go into one of the cubicles, record his vote and after doing so deposit his voting paper in one of the ballot boxes provided for the purpose."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, will you please get the statement translated? Translation becomes very necessary because most of the Members here do not know the English language."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I am unable to follow the hon. Member."

RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD:—"Just as was done this morning, he wants your instructions to be translated into the various regional languages."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have no objection; but the procedure is the same as the one followed in the morning in the case of election of Speaker. It will be mere repetition if we now begin to translate."

[6th May 1952]

RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—“ I agree, Sir, that the procedure followed in the morning will be followed again. But the hon. the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Nagi Reddi, has a doubt that many hon. Members may not be able to follow the procedure now since there are more names than two proposed for the Deputy Speakership. Also some of the candidates have withdrawn their candidature. We do not know whether the ballot paper contains all the names or only the names of the two contesting candidates.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The ballot paper contains only two names. The other two names have been struck off. I wish to know whether Mr. Nagi Reddi still wants that the instructions should be translated.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ Not necessary, Sir.”

MR. SPEAKER :—Some hon. Members are not keeping good health. To facilitate their voting, the ballot papers and the ballot box will be taken to their seats. They need not go to the Secretary.

“ I now call upon the Secretary to call out the names of hon. Members.”

(Then the Assistant Secretary called out the names, four at a time, and voting went on till about 4 p.m. As two hon. Members, Sri K. Varadachari and Sri M. Kalyanasundaram, were unwell and found it difficult to move from their places, the ballot box was taken to their seats by the Assistant Secretary and these Members recorded their votes and deposited them in it.)

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I wish to know whether there are any Members who have not voted so far. The counting is going to commence.”

(A few hon. Members later turned up at the Secretary's table and voted.)

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I must now inform the House that the Chair has not taken part in the election as the Chair is above parties. Usually, candidates for Deputy Speakership are party candidates and, therefore, I refrain from voting.

“ The Secretary is going to count the votes. I appoint Messrs. K. Rajaram Naidu and P. Venkateswarlu as Tellers.”

(Votes were then counted by the Secretary and the Assistant Secretary in the presence of the Tellers, Sri K. Rajaram Naidu and Sri P. Venkateswarlu. After counting, the Tellers presented the figures of voting to the Speaker.)

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I am now going to announce the result of the election. Sri B. Bhaktavatsalu Naidu has secured 198 votes (applause) and Sri K. R. Viswanathan, 164. One vote has been declared invalid. I declare that Sri B. Bhaktavatsalu Naidu has been duly elected Deputy Speaker of this Assembly. (Applause.) The congratulatory speeches may be made tomorrow.

6th May 1952]

[Mr. Speaker]

“ I now wish to remind the House that at 5 p.m. to-day both the Houses of the Legislature will assemble in this Hall to hear His Excellency's Address and the Assembly will meet again at 11 a.m. tomorrow. In consultation with the Hon. the Leader of the House, 11 a.m. on the 8th May has been fixed as the hour for the commencement of the discussion on the Governor's Address, and 3 p.m. tomorrow as the last hour for notice of amendments to any motion which may be notified under rule 5 (1) of the Madras Assembly Rules.

“ I now adjourn the House to meet again at 11 a.m. tomorrow.”

The House then adjourned till 11 a.m. on Wednesday, the 7th May 1952.

APPENDIX I.

Sri C. Subbarayudu took the prescribed oath before the Temporary Speaker in his Chamber at 10 a.m. to-day.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 7th May 1952.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Government Estate, Mount Road, Madras, at eleven of the clock, Mr. Speaker (THE HON. SRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI) in the Chair.

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

I.—ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS.

- (1) ADJOURNMENT MOTION *RE* PROMULGATION OF AN ORDER UNDER SECTION 144, CRIMINAL PROCEDURE CODE, IN MADRAS CITY ON 6TH MAY 1952.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ There are no questions to be answered to-day. The hon. Member, Mr. Viswanatham has given notice of an adjournment motion. As there are no questions to be answered to-day I am going to take up that matter now. Mr. Viswanatham will now read out his motion.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to move—

That under Rule 41 of the Madras Assembly Rules the business of the House be adjourned to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the unjustified promulgation of an ex parte order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, on the 6th May 1952 containing false, mischievous and insulting allegations against a large section of the Members of the Legislature belonging to the United Democratic Front and the Communist Party and for causing inconvenience and obstruction and wrongful restraint to several members in the discharge of their duties.’

“ Sir, in explaining the scope of my motion I shall be brief. Sir, although section 144 order is issued sometimes for routine purposes of administration, yesterday’s order was a unique one and issued for a special occasion. For, the order runs as follows :—

‘ Whereas it has been made to appear to me that the Members of the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council of the Madras State belonging to the United Democratic and the Communist Parties, and their supporters and sympathizers and the Dravida Kazhagam workers and sympathizers and the Communist Party members and their sympathizers have decided to stage demonstrations on May 6, 1952, in front of the New Assembly Hall, Government Estate, Mount Road, by taking out processions, shouting slogans and carrying placards and flags and that acts of violence and mischief are likely to be committed and that such processions, demonstrations, shouting of slogans and carrying placards and flags are likely to lead to rioting and the disturbance of public tranquillity, and the breach of peace,

And whereas I am of opinion that immediate prevention and speedy remedy are necessary, in the interests of public safety and for the preservation of public tranquillity, and local security,

And whereas there is no time to serve notices on parties and it is necessary to pass orders *ex parte*,

I, “so and so, etc.”.

[Sri T. Viswanatham]

[7th May 1952]

The remaining portion of the order I need not read. What I have read is quite sufficient for the present purpose. Sir, the whole thing has been passed *ex parte*. As is seen, the order is passed for a particular purpose. So, I submit, Sir, this cannot be taken as an order issued in the ordinary course of administration of law and order. It was issued as a special order for a particular occasion, namely, the proceedings of yesterday, dated 6th May 1952. I have to submit that the order contains absolutely incorrect statements. It says that the United Democratic Front met and decided to do something. The United Democratic Front never met on this issue and never decided any such thing. The question was not even mooted. The same thing is said of the Communist Party. In fact, no such thought ever occurred to the members of this Assembly. It originated only in the minds of those who signed and caused the issue of the order.

Then, Sir, it was an order to take effect from 10 a.m. But really, it began to be enforced from early morning yesterday. Most of the Members of this House who were on their way to this House were actually, physically obstructed by the Police. I was myself one of such persons, and I had to argue with one or two Police officers; one of them happened to know me and so they did not molest me. Some Police officers began to ask, "Where is your pass?" This is all wrongful restraint to several members. Now, Sir, where was the time after the passing of the order to arrange for the issue of passes? In fact, nobody knew that such an order was to be issued. So, Sir, some of the Members of this Assembly were physically obstructed and molested. One of them received injuries and it has appeared in the newspapers. So, Sir, this is an important issue and it should be discussed in this House. Then, Sir, round about the corridors in this Assembly Chamber . . .

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member need not go into the details."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I am only trying to prove to the House that this Section 144 order has not been issued in the ordinary course of administration. It is a definite matter, it is a matter of urgent public importance. Yesterday, all about the corridors within this very hall there were quite a number of Police officers, some with pistols also. They were found everywhere within the precincts; in front of retiring rooms and even close to the bath room. I submit this is an unwarranted invasion on the privileges of this House. So, Sir, this is a definite matter of urgent public importance. It was only yesterday this Government started their life and an order like this issued on that very day must, therefore, be discussed on the floor of this House. So, Sir, I want to move my motion which raises a definite matter of urgent public importance. Sir, I pray for your ruling."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Before I say anything on the motion, I shall read the motion to the House. The motion is—

That, under Rule 41 of the Assembly Rules, the business of the House do stand adjourned to discuss a definite matter of

7th May 1952]

[Mr. Speaker]

urgent public importance, namely, the unjustified promulgation of an *ex parte* order under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, on 6th May 1952 containing false, mischievous and insulting allegations against a large section of the Members of the Legislature belonging to the United Democratic Front and the Communist Party and for causing inconvenience and obstruction and wrongful restraint to several members in the discharge of their duties."

The hon. Member, Mr. Viswanatham, brought this motion to my notice and handed it to me in my Chamber. I told him, if the Government pass an order in the course of the day-to-day administration of the country it cannot be brought up as a matter of urgent public importance. Further this House has an opportunity to discuss this subject to-morrow during the debate on the address of His Excellency. So this motion anticipates debate on a subject which will come up to-morrow. The rule is very clear on this: Rule 42 (4) of the Madras Assembly Rules says—

"(4) The motion must not anticipate a matter which has been previously appointed for consideration, or with reference to which a notice of motion has been previously given, regard being had to the probability of the matter anticipated being brought before the House within a reasonable time."

To-morrow, the House will be given an opportunity to discuss this matter. So I cannot understand why I should allow this motion now. Secondly I want to rule the motion out of order on the other ground, namely, if the Government pass an order in their routine work of day-to-day administration that cannot form a subject-matter of discussion here. Before I give my final ruling on the matter, I want to know what the Government have to say on this motion."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I only wish to say this; this motion for leave to move a motion for adjournment of business has to be discussed from two points of view. One is, whether it is proper and within the normal business of this House—apart from the question of whether you allow or disallow this motion—to discuss a matter of this kind. The other is on facts. Several statements have been made emphatically in the course of the preliminary speech by the hon. Member, Mr. Viswanatham. They require to be examined with reference to their accuracy. I think, if ultimately you should rule the motion in order, Government would like to have some time before they could reply, for they would like to know the actual facts from the officers concerned."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Before that, the question has to be decided whether this motion is in order."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Yes, Sir; I have grave objections to this motion. This order has been passed under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. There are lawful means by which that order can be contested. I do not think that orders under the Criminal Procedure Code, that are passed under statutory provisions, can be brought up as matters for adjournment motions. If this motion were to be allowed then

[Sri C. Rajagopalachari] [7th May 1952]

there would be an enormous number of cases which would be brought up in this same way though for different reasons. It goes against the general principle that where a special machinery or tribunal has been provided for contesting such orders passed under the Criminal Procedure Code we should not take powers to revise them through adjournment motions. If the hon. Member considers there is a case of breach of privilege of this House there are also means provided for it, and the Speaker should be requested to take action separately. So, Sir, on these grounds, I think, there is a clear case for ruling the motion out of order, as far as I can see. Sir, this is all I have to say on behalf of Government."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have to rule the motion of Mr. Viswanatham out of order. For, the order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, was passed in the course of the day-to-day administration of the Government. Further the motion is anticipating a matter which is to come up before the House to-morrow. So, for these two reasons I rule the motion out of order."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAN:—"Sir, now that you have been pleased to rule the motion out of order I want to press my submission on the ground of privilege."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I shall take it up to-morrow."

(2) ADJOURNMENT MOTION *RE* ALLEGED POLICE LATHI CHARGE AND SOME ARRESTS ON 6TH MAY 1952.

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg leave to move the following motion:—

'That the business of this House be now adjourned to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., the situation created by the action of the Police authorities in arresting nine persons and causing injuries to many due to a lathi charge on the 6th May 1952 in Madras City.'

MR. SPEAKER:—"I would request the hon. Member to be brief."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"Yesterday evening, Sir, as you might have known, about nine persons have been arrested by the Police here."

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is not only yesterday, but almost every day I am hearing of such a thing."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"Sir, yesterday evening, very near this Assembly premises about nine persons were arrested and taken away in a police van. Most of the members of the House witnessed that scene. So it is not correct to say that this is a day-to-day administrative matter, as you were pleased to remark in the case of the previous adjournment motion."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Is not the hon. Member's motion the same as the previous motion?"

7th May 1952]

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"No, Sir, it is an entirely different matter. This has nothing to do with the Section 144 order. Besides the arrest of nine persons, there was a lathi charge on innocent people in the streets nearby this Assembly building. This issue cannot be taken before a court of law as the previous one which you ruled out of order just now. For here is a case in which the Police lathi-charged the people who were passing by the Assembly building yesterday, and all this harassment by the police cannot be taken before a court of law. Moreover, Sir, I take objection to saying that this matter can be discussed during the debate on the Governor's address to-morrow."

"Mr. Speaker, the Governor did not anticipate . . ."

11-15
a.m.

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"If it is a matter entirely independent of the previous motion, upon which a ruling has been given, the hon. Member might remember that this is different from that one and, therefore, he cannot refer to the speeches made in connection with the previous motion and reply to them."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"I am not referring to the speeches made in connection with the previous motion nor am I replying to them. The only point I wish to point out to you, Sir, is that this could not be taken to a court of law and secondly, this point cannot be discussed during the debate on the Governor's Address because the Governor himself did not anticipate that there will be lathi charge by the police here and he did not mention anything about it in his Address."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Is there no other way of discussing this matter? Should I postpone the business of the House for this purpose?"

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"I do not like to go out of the way, Sir; I want to confine myself to the rules."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member can put a question and ask for an half hour debate."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"If you, Sir, cannot allow this adjournment motion, I am prepared to accept your advice."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Not to-day; let the hon. Member put a short notice question."

(Sri Pillalamarri Venkateswarlu rose.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"When I am on my legs, the hon. Member should resume his seat. The motion reads as follows:—

'That the business of the House be adjourned to discuss a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely—The situation created by the action of the Police authorities in arresting nine persons and causing injuries to many due to a lathi charge by them on the 6th May in the City.'

[Mr. Speaker]

[7th May 1952]

As I have already told the House—I hope the House has listened to it—I gave two reasons why a motion of this nature cannot be entertained. In their day-to-day administration, the Government will be passing several orders and those things cannot be the subject-matter of a motion like this. Secondly when there is another opportunity for this House to discuss the matter, I cannot see any reason why the House should take up the discussion of this matter to the exclusion of other business at 4-30 p.m. On the basis of the rule of anticipation and also on the ground of the matter being one which arises out of the day-to-day administration of the Government, I rule the motion out of order."

II.—CONGRATULATORY SPEECHES ON THE ELECTION OF SPEAKER AND DEPUTY SPEAKER.

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have now a more pleasant function to perform, namely, of congratulating you on your having been elected as the Speaker of this Assembly for a second time. I was hoping that the choice in respect of this high office would be unanimous but unfortunately the parties chose this occasion for a preliminary trial of strength. But anyhow, on behalf of all the Members here, I can assure you that no bitterness has been left behind this contest and what pleased me most was that the hon. Gentleman, Sri Nagi Reddi, the leader of the Communist Party was good enough to recognize your election as the Speaker and participated in the pleasant function of conducting you to the Chair. Sir, during the past five years and more you have been discharging the functions of the Speaker with distinction, if I may say so, and I am sure that during your present tenure of office, you will keep up the high traditions of this office. The Speaker is looked upon as the custodian of the rights and privileges of the Members of the House. While it is so, we have got to remember that these rights and privileges would be completely illusory unless hon. Members observe strictly the duties and obligations cast upon them. I am afraid, Sir, that it will be your function more often to exercise your authority to see that hon. Members perform their duties and obligations faithfully and truly so that the rights and privileges to which hon. Members are entitled could be properly safeguarded and in that difficult task, Sir, I can assure you on behalf of hon. Members here that you will have our co-operation.

"Before I conclude, I would like to say a few words about our temporary Speaker, Mr. P. T. Rajan. On behalf of the Government and on behalf of hon. Members, I will have to express our grateful thanks to him for the manner in which he has discharged his duty as Provisional Speaker. You will pardon me, Sir, if I say that when he was about to vacate his Chair, we had a pang of regret.

"Lastly, I have to congratulate my hon. Friend, Mr. Bhaktavatsalu Nayudu, on his election as the Deputy Speaker. He has a long record of legislative experience and I hope with your co-operation and with the co-operation of hon. Members, he will be able to discharge his duties to the satisfaction of one and all."

7th May 1952]

* SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—Mr. Speaker, Sir, even though I had voted against you in the election, I sincerely congratulate you on your success. I know that to-day the Chair that you are occupying is not an easy one and from the position that you are occupying, we expect that you would certainly discharge your functions as the Speaker in such a manner as to allow free and frank expression of views so that the repercussions and complexities of life outside are also reflected here in this House.

"This legislature, Sir, is a very historical one both from the point of view of the time at which and the manner in which it has come into existence. We have had no traditions of our own and we have been looking to other countries for traditions so that those traditions can be established here. If you would not mind, Sir, we in our country have had Speakers who established traditions of a very high order and established rights and privileges both of the Speaker and hon. Members of the House, extended them and worked them to such a high level that the whole world was proud of such liberties. I am referring, Sir, to the late Vithalbhai Patel who occupied the Chair of the Central Parliament and created historical traditions for our country which were responsible for the great growth of our national movement outside. I would like to give expression to the view that in the history of our parliamentary procedure, we will be able to have traditions which would give us greater privileges than what had been given to us in other countries."

MR. SPEAKER :—Unfortunately, our Constitution is definite. We cannot claim greater privileges than what are given to Members of Parliament in England."

* SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—England, Sir, is not our Mother country and what applies to people there need not apply to us here and hence my contention is that our traditions ought to be new wherever they ought to be new, and we must build up traditions so that we may proceed in a manner which relates the proceedings of the people outside to the proceedings inside the House.

"Before I conclude, Sir, I would like to tell you that hon. Members here are looking forward to greater facilities both as regards their daily existence and daily conduct here. As I have told the Temporary Speaker, we have very few facilities and I hope you would take up this question and give us such facilities as would give us freedom and ease so that both outside this Hall and inside, we may be able to feel a little at home and happy.

"The Rules of Procedure are such that non-official Members of the House have got very few privileges and I hope the Speaker will also give his thought to it and see that non-official Members get a greater number of days in the week so that . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—"One day in the week has been set apart for non-official business."

[7th May 1952]

* SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ We can change the Rules, Sir, and that is why I am telling you, Sir, that you will give your thought to it, so that non-official Members will have greater privileges in that respect.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Is it the point of the hon. Member that greater privileges than those available now should be given? Not that, I believe.”

* SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ Greater than what we have today, and by that means we will be able to reflect the outside world inside the House much more than what we are able to do otherwise. With these words, Sir, I congratulate you heartily on your having won this election.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is indeed with very great pleasure that I rise to congratulate you on your re-election as Speaker of the Assembly. You know me personally and you can realize that it is a matter of very great pleasure to me that you were re-elected. As an old Member of the Assembly I have greater reason than new Members to congratulate you. You are always good and you were always good to the Opposition much more than you were reputed to be good to the Government block. Now, Sir, the composition of the present House over which you are to preside for the next five years is slightly different from what it was previously.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Does the hon. Member mean that there are more good people than previously? ”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ There were as many good Members then as there are now. The composition of the House has slightly varied to the disadvantage of the Government. Previously, the Government had a very big majority and that certainly facilitated the work of the Speaker in a way, but now the Government majority is not a real majority with the result that while the Government look to you for support, the Opposition looks to you for protection. It is a very well-known fact that democracy thrives not merely by the administration of the Government but also by the work of the Opposition; the greater and healthier the Opposition the better does democracy function and the better becomes the administration and it is only in that way that the rights of the people are protected and the House can justify itself. I have no doubt that in you we find a person who fully realizes the great and grave responsibility that lies on the shoulders of the Speaker as the custodian of the rights not merely of the Members but of the whole House. I have no doubt that with your experience of the past, you will raise the eminence of the privileges of the House and hon. Members to a very high level.”

11.30 a.m. “ Sir, I would like also to say a few words of congratulation on the election of Sri Bhakthavatsalu Naidu as the Deputy Speaker. Of course, we had been accustomed to see the Chair occupied by colourful faces for the last so many years. (Laughter.) I was

7th May 1952] [Sri T. Viswanatham]

referring only to the traditions kept up by this House till yesterday—the office of the Deputy Speaker being occupied by a lady Member and the colour and cheer she gave to the House. You were always so pleased to call the Deputy Speaker to occupy the Chair whenever you felt tired and the House was also greatly relieved whenever the Deputy Speaker sat in the Chair. We were all expecting that the Hon. Leader of the House and the Hon. Chief Minister would give us that pleasure again but the Hon. Chief Minister seems to be very tough and he has denied us that pleasure. All the same, Sri Bhakthavatsalu Naidu, who was also a Member along with me in 1937, is a well-known public worker and legislator and I trust he will discharge his duties as satisfactorily as one can expect. I congratulate him. Sir, I do not want to take more time of the House and I once more congratulate you on your re-election.”

* SRI S. SWAYAMPRAKASAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, let me congratulate you on your election as Speaker of this House. As the person who contested the election, I must say something. Even yesterday and to-day in certain quarters it was stated and certain papers also published it, and it was also referred to by the Hon. Leader of the House, Sri Subramaniam, that Parliamentary convention has been broken in there having been a contest for election of Speaker. I should like to say that this is the first Assembly constituted in accordance with the Constitution of India. If parliamentary convention is observed anywhere, I may say that it obtains only in England and so far as my knowledge goes, no non-elected Member has been asked to be the Chief Minister anywhere. That parliamentary convention has been broken here.

“ Sir, the next thing that I may mention is that after the election, members belonging to various groups and parties came to this Assembly and an attempt ought to have been made to consult the leaders of groups to have a unanimous choice at least for the Speakership. That has not been made. So, there is justification for my having contested the election.

“ The position of Speaker is unique and important. He is the custodian of the privileges of the House and he has to maintain the dignity and prestige of the House. At the same time, I may request you, Sir, that while maintaining the traditions of this House, you should also build up new traditions so that they may serve as a model for other Houses to follow. This is the first session of the Assembly constituted under the new Constitution. So, Sir, in maintaining the prestige and dignity of the House, we can assure you that we are prepared to co-operate with you and we are here to support you in building up healthy traditions.

“ Now, let me also congratulate my hon. Friend Sri Bhakthavatsalu Naidu who has been elected as the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly. He has got the requisite knowledge and experience and I only request you to give him very many opportunities to preside over the deliberations of this House, because you happened to be Speaker in the last Assembly election. With these words, I once again congratulate you on your election as Speaker of this House.”

[7th May 1952]

* DR. K. B. MENON :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, that my maiden appearance on the floor of the Assembly is on the happy occasion of congratulating the Speaker is a matter of personal joy to me. We are very glad that the choice of the House has fallen on the broad and experienced shoulders of one who has been building up the traditions of this office for so many years and discharging the arduous duties appertaining to it with credit and honour. I feel along with some of those who have expressed their opinions on the floor of this House that while we may follow the British Parliamentary methods and traditions, yet we should reserve to ourselves and try as best as possible, to set up traditions of our own, for these traditions and conventions are after all conveniences that are dictated by the conditions of the place. Our circumstances and conditions will certainly be different from those that prevail in England and as such, we should be bold enough to set aside the British traditions and have our own wherever and whenever it is possible. Sir, we are particularly happy that the choice has fallen on you, for we are a small group who are not tutored in Parliamentary procedure and we may therefore make many mistakes of omission and commission. As a small group, we are afraid that in the heat and passion of the debates, we may be ignored and neglected. Under these difficult and embarrassing circumstances, the friendly help and guidance of the Speaker will be very necessary and I am quite sure that that will be forthcoming in an ample measure from you. On behalf of the Socialist Party to which I have the honour to belong and on my own personal behalf, I offer you our heartiest congratulations and also our wholehearted co-operation in the work that you have undertaken.

“ I shall also take this opportunity to congratulate the Deputy Speaker. I thank you.”

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I take this opportunity to congratulate you on behalf of my party and on my own behalf on your election as the Speaker of this House. Not only the Members of this House and the Members of the last Assembly but also the public outside have confidence that you will conduct the affairs of this House in an able manner. As one hon. Member has already pointed out, there are great traditions established by many previous Speakers and you have also joined them. Sir, you are well-known for your integrity and impartiality. We feel happy that you are elected and I also take this opportunity to congratulate Sri Bhakthavatsalu Naidu on his election as Deputy Speaker. Thank you.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ On a point of order, Sir.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ So soon? ” (Laughter.)

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ I want to know whether policemen are allowed inside the Assembly hall.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I do not see any policeman inside the hall.”

7th May 1952]

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ There are policemen and just now I see some of them leaving the hall.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I will ask them to leave the hall. I could not see them from here.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ That is not a favourable position for you to see.”

* JANAB K. UPPI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I congratulate you in the name of the great Muslim League Party, the main Opposition Party during almost the whole of your previous tenure of this office. It is we who had received both patting and beating from you. Then we were 29 in number and that number is now reduced to 5—four Muslims and one non-Muslim—for reasons beyond our control. During your last tenure of office, you were the bulwark of the minority Opposition against the huge majority party in power riding roughshod over the Opposition. Your sense of justice and grasp of parliamentary traditions and conventions had come to the rescue of the Opposition many a time. At the same time it has to be said that you did not allow the Opposition to take undue advantage of your fairness and sense of justice. I feel sure that it will not be contradicted when I say that during your last tenure of office you had upheld and secured the rights and privileges of the House, all sections of the House. Even in the last General Election you have shown your independence by standing as an independent candidate and you won the election. You declined to accept the party ticket even when pressure was brought to bear upon you. The fact that you did not absent yourself from your post of duty even for a day throughout the last five years, speaks volumes about the religious zeal with which you discharged your duties. May God help you to continue to carry out your duties in the same spirit and with the same ability.

“ I will be failing in my duty if I do not say a few words about the Deputy Speaker. He is a young man, full of energy and experience—both administrative and legislative. I feel proud to say that he stood in the General Elections as an independent candidate supported by the Muslim League. We are particularly happy that he has been elected as the Deputy Speaker. I believe and hope that he will discharge his duties to the satisfaction of this House. With these words, I once again heartily congratulate you. May God help you.”

* SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I feel happy 11-45 a.m. to join my colleagues in paying my compliments to you. Before I got into this House, there had been occasions to hear and know about you. We have heard very many stories about the proceedings and the events that took place in the previous House and every event has always been a matter of credit to you. I am not saying this simply for praising you for the moment. It is an established fact that you are one of the most capable Speakers in this country; you are able to have a full control of the House and maintain the rights and privileges not only of the Chair but of the Members also.

[Sri V. R. Nagarajan] [7th May 1952]

We are happy that you have been called upon to assume the office of Speakership of this House and we are doubly confident that in you we have a champion who will uphold the rights and privileges of not only the party in power but also of the party in Opposition. Sir, we are almost running a neck-to-neck race in this House and we are sure that our position will always be amply safeguarded in this honourable House.

"I also congratulate Sri B. Bhakthavatsalu Naidu on his election as Deputy Speaker and hope that he would carry out his duties as Deputy Speaker of this House in an efficient and impartial manner. With these few words, Sir, I conclude."

SRI M. RAJESWARA RAO :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am exceedingly happy over your election to this great position. You have proved to be one of the best Speakers of the Indian State Legislatures by your learned, valuable and impartial rulings. By your contesting both the general elections and the Speaker's election as an independent candidate, you have established a very healthy convention parallel to that in the British Parliamentary system. I would have felt glad if your position as the Speaker had been left uncontested. However, as you have been elected, other things need no consideration. Sir, as the custodian of the rights and privileges of the people's representatives sitting in this House, you hold the reins of democratic forces of the State."

(An hon. Member was seen crossing the floor and talking to the Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam.)

MR. SPEAKER :—"Members should not cross the floor between the Speaker and a Member addressing the Speaker. I shall be very happy if the hon. Members, when they want to talk to hon. Members on the other side, when a Member is speaking, go to the other side without crossing the floor."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"I am very sorry, Sir."

SRI M. RAJESWARA RAO :—"Sir, by your abstaining from voting in the Deputy Speaker's election yesterday, you have already given us to understand that the Chair, being above party politics, is impartial and that party considerations within the House would never arise with you. As a member of the Scheduled Castes, I personally feel proud to find this great position occupied by a member of the Scheduled Castes, who has sufficiently proved twice to the orthodox communities of India that a member of the Scheduled Castes, given the opportunities, would never be inferior to anybody in any respect. Therefore, Sir, I heartily congratulate you on my behalf and on behalf of the Scheduled Castes and wish you more wisdom and knowledge to discharge your functions as Speaker to the entire satisfaction of the Members of this House."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to congratulate you on your re-election as Speaker though not unanimously this time. Sir, I have had the fortune or misfortune of being present in the last Legislature only

7th May 1952] [Sri Pillalamarri Venkateswarlu]

for a few months and the rest of the period, I do not know the reason, I spent in jail and then the question of privileges was taken up and you have disappointed us all. In spite of the fact that we are following the practice of the House of Commons, there are no privileges for the hon. Members here. Even yesterday evening, some Members were prevented from attending this session."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"This morning?"

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—"No. It was yesterday evening. We will take up the issue during the discussion on the Governor's Address."

"Sir, I am referring to this because the question of privileges is very urgent. We do not know the actions of the Government. At any time, they may promulgate an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, or pass any other order and the Members may be taken away to jail. I hope at least for the next five years I will have the fortune of being present on the floor of this House to put forth the viewpoints of the people who have elected me to this House. Therefore, Sir, I request you, as the custodian of the rights and privileges of the Members here, to take up the issue of privileges immediately."

"In this connexion, I may also say, Sir, that we do not take the issue of the election of the Speaker as a contest between the parties for the simple reason that you are not a party candidate. It was no trial of strength at all. I cannot agree with the Hon. the Leader of the House in posing the problem in that manner."

"In conclusion, Sir, I cannot but refer to the manner in which you have protected the rights and privileges of the Members in the previous House. Of course, I cannot say that the Opposition was treated fairly at all times, but there was general satisfaction amongst the Members of the Opposition as well and I hope you will maintain the dignity and impartiality of the Chair. With these few words, Sir, I conclude."

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, this House is not merely new physically, but is also new in many respects. For the first time in the history of India, the common man has been able to send his representative to this House to voice forth his grievances and I know this will be welcomed. The Members are true to the soil of our country and we must feel proud that we will hear the voice of the common man ringing in the halls of the Assembly. I congratulate you, Sir, on your election as Speaker. But, at the same time, it fills me with much eagerness and anxiety as to how within the next five years the rights and privileges of the common man will be protected here. We had been watching all these five years how one freedom after another of the common man had been trampled under foot and the Members simply hailing it as a mark of wisdom and efficiency. Under the new Constitution, it is the people of this country who are sovereign. It is not the British rule, it is not England which is sovereign here. It is the people of this country who are

[Sri K. Krishna Rao] [7th May 1952]

sovereign. Sir, our country is a Democratic Republic. I would request you, Sir, not to think that impartiality means treating the oppressors and the oppressed alike. You have to put your weight on the side of the oppressed and protect their rights guaranteed under the Constitution. The rights which the common man has been given are right from the village to the Legislative Chamber here and they must be protected. The Members must be treated with special consideration. Now, it is not the old legislators who were more concerned with manners alien to our people. Here, you have Members, perhaps many, who are peasants straight from the villages talking about their grievances. Many may misrepresent them as agents from Moscow and will try to stifle their voices. I, therefore, request you, Sir, to see that the common man's voice is heard and encouraged, and that the attempts of those who want to stifle the common man's voice are put down. That, I conceive, is the mission of democracy. A democrat is not merely one who says that he will be a democrat. But a democrat is one who will also see that the forces ranged against democracy are shown their proper place. That, Sir, is what the Constitution enjoins. The Constitution is to be worked here for the first time and the conventions, customs and rules native to the Indian soil as provided for in the Constitution will have to be followed. You will have to create new precedents and I hope, Sir, you would treat the Members with all the respect due to the representatives of the common man and give them all encouragement. I have to reiterate this once again because during the last five years the common man in this State has been feeling that one liberty after another has been taken away with impunity and that the privileges not merely of the common man, but of the legislators also have not been adequately protected even on the floor of the House."

MR. SPEAKER :—" By the Chair or by the House? "

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—" By the House. We all require special consideration because we come for the first time into the arena of this Legislature. I would request you, Sir, to please exercise toleration and indulgence to protect the rights of all our friends and see at any rate that the kind of treatment which was given to Members like Mr. Anandan Nambiar and Mr. P. Venkateswarlu is not again given to others. In fact, it is that which really worries us because we see that the forces of oppression are still strong here and I would request you, Sir, as the inheritor of the traditions of the great Vithalbhai Patel, to continue those great traditions and protect the rights and privileges not merely of the people, but also of their representatives, viz., the Members of this House. While thanking you and assuring you, Sir, of our co-operation so long as the rights guaranteed under the Constitution are protected and adequately safeguarded, I wish, Sir, that we will have very good relations between the Speaker and the Members on this side and that we will spend the next five years without any kind of hitch or unpleasantness."

7th May 1952]

* SRI L. C. PAIS :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to join the other hon. Members in congratulating you. Sir, the position of the Speaker in an Assembly is an exalted one and at the same time it is but proper for me to point out that it carries with it, its own cares, anxieties and responsibilities. But you, Sir, possess all the virtues and the qualities, which are very necessary to make an ideal Speaker, viz., an ideal temperament and a perfect mental equipment. You are certainly not new to some of us. I had been with you, Sir, in the last Assembly and you, as Speaker, had impressed me as a person well-versed in parliamentary practice, rules and procedure, etc. Knowing as we do, therefore, your personal and intellectual attainments, we have not the slightest doubt that your career in this Assembly will be as great and as memorable as the one over which you presided on the last occasion. On behalf of myself and other South Kanara legislators, I once more offer our hearty congratulations both to you, Sir, and the Deputy Speaker."

* SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNIAH :—" మీరు స్పీకరుగా ఎన్నికై సమకు అధిపతియిస్తున్నారు."

MR. SPEAKER :—" ముందు 'అధ్యక్ష' అని చెప్పండి."

* SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNIAH :—" అధ్యక్ష, మీరు స్పీకరుగా ఎన్నికై సమకు అధిపతియిస్తున్నారు. సూతన రాజ్యాంగం ప్రకారము ప్రజాస్వామిక వ్యవస్థ వర్ధిల్లిన వ్యవస్థ వోటింగు ద్వారా రాష్ట్రములో సూతన శాసనసభ ఏర్పడుట ఇదే ప్రథమము. ఈ శాసన సభకు ప్రధానంగా ఈ రాష్ట్రంలో నాలుగు భాషలకు చెందినటువంటి సభ్యులు అనేక మంది ఈ వ్యవస్థ ఎన్నికలలో ఎన్నుకోబడినారు. ఇటువంటిపుడు మనము ఇతర దేశాల సాంప్రదాయాలన్నిటిని మన దేశంలో అలవాటుచేసుకోవలసివచ్చును. మన దేశ పరిస్థితులకునుగుణంగా సత్సంప్రదాయాలను నెలకొల్పవలెను. మనము ప్రజాస్వామిక పరిపాలనలో క్రమేణా వృద్ధి బొందుచున్నాము. 1935 సంవత్సరపు ఎన్నికలలోను, 1940 సంవత్సరపు ఎన్నికలలోను, ఆ తరువాత 1947 సంవత్సరపు ఎన్నికలలోను క్రమంగా ప్రజాస్వామిక విధానంలో మనం ముందుకు పోతున్నాము. అదేవిధంగా, ఈ నాడు సూతన రాజ్యాంగం ప్రకారం వ్యవస్థ వోటింగు వ్యవస్థ కొత్త శాసనసభ ఏర్పడి సూతన వాతావరణం ఏర్పడినది. ఈ మార్పు కనుగుణంగా కొత్త సాంప్రదాయాలను మనము నెలకొల్పవలసి వుంటుంది. ఈ కొత్త శాసనసభలో ఇప్పుడు ప్రధానంగా నాలుగు భాషలకు చెందినటువంటి సభ్యులు అనేక మంది ఉన్నారు. వారిలో చాలామందికి అంగ భాష తెలియదు. కాబట్టి వాత వ్యవస్థ ప్రకారమే ఇప్పుడుమాడాలి సడలినట్లయిన ఒక సభ్యుడు మాట్లాడునటువంటి భాష వారియొక్క సభ్యునికి అర్థము కావలెను పరిస్థితి ఏర్పడుతుంది. ఇందువలన ఇప్పుడు సభ్యులు వ్యవస్థ వోటింగు ప్రకారము ఎన్నికోబడినవారు గనుక, వారికి వారి వారి స్వభాషలో మాట్లాడుటకు సులభమైన అవకాశము, ఇతర సభ్యులు ఎవరైనా ఏమేమి మాట్లాడునది వారి అభిప్రాయములను తెలుసుకొనునటువంటి అనుకూలములు, కలుగజేయవలసి వుంటుంది. ఈ సూతన పరిస్థితులకు అవసరమైన మార్పులను, సత్సంప్రదాయాలను నెలకొల్పవలసి వుంటుంది. కనుక సభ్యుల ఉపన్యాసాలను ఇతర భాషలో తర్జుమా చేయించినట్లయితే, సభ్యులు ఎవరైనా ఏమేమి అభిప్రాయాలు వెల్లడించుచున్నది తెలుసుకొని, ఆ ప్రకారం వారి వారి అనుకూల ప్రతికూల అభిప్రాయాలను వెల్లడించుటకు ఏర్పడుతుంది. సభ్యులు విషయములన్నియు యధారీతిగా

[Sri Vavilala Gopalakrishniah] [7th May 1952]

గవీంద్ర పీఠమునుండి. కనుక మీరు సభ్యులకు ఈ అనుకూలమును కలుగజేసినట్లునులే, మిమ్ములను ఈ నాడు అధ్యక్షుడుగా ఎన్నుకొన్నందుకు మేము చాలా సంతోషించగలము. మీరు ప్రజాస్వామిక విధానానికి చాలా తోడ్పడినవారగుతారని కూడా మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. విప్రజలకు ప్రజాస్వామిక సిద్ధాంతాన్ని విడదీశ్యంతో నెలకొల్పిందో, విప్రజల అంతులే ప్రజలందరి మేలుకొరకు, ప్రజాస్వామిక సిద్ధాంతాన్ని స్థాపించిందో, ఆ ప్రజాసిద్ధాంతాలకు అనుగుణంగా ప్రవర్తించినాడే ప్రజల పూర్తిగా తృప్తి పడగలడు. కనుక మీరు ఇందుకై ఎక్కువ కృషిచేయగలరని, కృషిచేస్తారని, ఆశిస్తున్నాను. అదేవిధంగా, ఉపప్రతి స్పీకరుగాగని కూడా కోరుతూ, వారిని కూడా అభినందిస్తున్నాను."

* RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, allow me to join in the chorus of congratulations that have been showered on you on your re-election as Speaker of this august body. Sir, I am reminded of those precious days when the State legislatures of this country consisted of a House of about 50 or 75 Members at the most. Now in 1952, our House consists of 375 Members. It will, therefore, be no exaggeration if I say that we in South India should really be proud of our parliamentary life during the last 50 years. Many great men have adorned this Legislature either as Members, or as Ministers or as Speakers. Let me confine myself to two great men who have occupied the office of the President or Speaker of the Legislature, namely, Sir P. Rajagopalachari and yourself now. By mentioning Sir P. Rajagopalachari and yourself only I do not mean any disparagement to the other distinguished Presidents under whom we have had the opportunity to deliberate. Sir, during your term of office as Speaker, I should be permitted to point out that we, who have been fortunate to be Members of the Legislature from 1946 to 1951, can say honestly and truly that you have conducted the affairs of this Assembly in a very impartial manner. Generally, after the election of the Speaker, congratulations are coupled no doubt with the hope that the Speaker will conduct the affairs of the House in an impartial manner. Those Members of the present Legislature who have had occasion to be Members in the previous Legislature can certainly bear testimony to the fact that you, Sir, in conducting the proceedings of the House have always exhibited that spirit of impartiality which is expected of the occupant of the Chair.

" Mr. Speaker, I may also mention on this occasion that the duties of the Speaker of a Legislative Assembly with 375 Members drawn from several political parties and several others who are not members of any party at all are very onerous. As a matter of fact, the time allowed for conducting the proceedings of this bigger House is almost the same as before, but I hope a few more days will be allotted because of this bigger number. It would be very difficult to satisfy all the Members but I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, that just as on all occasions we expect impartiality from you, we will certainly be ready to adjust ourselves and give you the utmost co-operation. This, Sir, is the best way of ensuring the success of the Chair's work. Otherwise, in a House of 375 Members, it will not be possible to conduct the affairs of the House

7th May 1952] [Raja Muthiah Chettiyar of Chettinad]

in an impartial manner especially when you are not able to divide the time of the House among all Parties and give the Members as much time as they would like to have. Some Members may consider that you are not impartial. Therefore, Sir, the best way of congratulating you on this unique occasion is to couple our congratulations with an assurance, that during your term of office as Speaker, we shall give you our best co-operation.

" Again, Sir, on this occasion it is usual for hon. Members to speak about the rights and privileges of members of the House and to say that you are the custodian of these rights and privileges. It has become almost a common saying and I am not going to repeat it. I only wish to conclude, Sir, by saying once again that you can always be assured of our co-operation."

* SRI P. T. RAJAN :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, it was indeed a great privilege to me to have been asked to set the new House constituted under the new Constitution of India on its legs in its new habitation. It was also my rare privilege to have installed the Speaker duly elected by this House. I am thankful to His Excellency the Governor and his Government for the opportunity given and the courtesy shown me in this matter. During the last three days when I acted as a high priest and in the discharge of my duties connected with that office, the hon. Members of the House have been very good in giving me their help and co-operation. I am equally thankful to them.

" Sir, after having been in exile for the proverbial period of fourteen years, I have re-entered this House. I find myself amongst strangers and in a new place. Looking around I can see only a few familiar faces, familiar in the sense that they have been connected with this Assembly proceedings. I see my hon. Friend Mr. Shetty, Mr. Manickavelu Naicker, Mr. Ari Gowder and the Raja of Chettinad. Incidentally, I am happy to see on the Treasury Bench a Member who is a representative of the Sethupathi family. I refer to the Raja of Ramnad. His father was a Member in those days. He was a great and astute parliamentarian. I am happy to see the son here."

" Sir, events here take me back to the year 1920, when I became a legislator for the first time. The then Council was constituted under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. In those days, I was an youngster. In that House, the different walks of life of this Presidency were represented by their best and able men. Ere long, I found myself, Sir, youngster though I was, in a very cordial, homely atmosphere. Friendship prevailed throughout the House whatever our political differences had been. If I could compare the Legislature of that day with anything, I could compare it—to use an English expression—to a club. If I have got to find an equivalent, an Indian equivalent for that, it was an ideal joint family. Cordiality, friendship and good cheer prevailed throughout. The patriarchal head of that family was the late-lamented Sir P. Rajagopalachari. He was our 'Speaker', the first non-official 'Speaker'. He was an eminent administrator and a great student

[Sri P. T. Rajan]

[7th May 1952]

of men and affairs. Though he was a bureaucrat, a sun-dried bureaucrat, a brown bureaucrat, he became the first parliamentarian in this State.

12-15 p.m. "Incidentally I may say, Sir, that when I occupied the Chair during the last three days, I was a little bit nervous because I was occupying a Chair which had been consecrated by him. He had a great sense of humour. He could transfer a lively House into a very serious one and a dull House into a lively one. I remember, Sir, the several occasions when Mr. Rajagopalachari would call Mr. Somasundaram Pillai (who was usually known as Thadikambu Somasundaram Pillai) to speak whenever the proceedings of the House became dull and dreary, and his speech would send the Members into roars of laughter. Thus the House would be made cheerful and ready for work. Sir, I referred to Mr. Rajagopalachari as a bureaucrat. As a matter of fact, it was he who laid the foundations of Parliamentary democracy in this State. The House which he presided over attracted the notice of people from different parts of India and drew the admiration of the Speaker of the Central Legislature, who paid a visit to Madras to see how he conducted the proceedings of the House. He was very much impressed with the proceedings of the House.

"One thing more I would like to mention is that there were a number of youngsters then. The Speaker or the President as he was known then, used to give them encouragement by giving them opportunities to make speeches. Thanks to him, Sir, a number of young men have made their mark not only in this Assembly and the other Assemblies in this country but also throughout the world. Such is the greatness of the illustrious figure who started the democratic career of this State. I am equally happy to find a number of young men in this House. Fortunately for us the Leader of the House is a young man and the Leader of the Opposition is also a young man, and I am so happy to see them in their places, and it augurs well for the future. If they would only take the trouble to understand each other's point of view, they will make a very good Leader of the House and a Leader of the Opposition. Sir, I appeal to you to give encouragement to young men so that they too can make their mark.

"Sir, I do not wish to take up more of your time. I would only like to say this that the Speaker has got a dual role. He has got to assist the Government and make its legislative work easy, efficient and smooth. His other role is, as the custodian of the rights and privileges of the House, he has got to see they are protected. Sir, it is also the duty of Members of the House to whatever Party they may belong to maintain the dignity of the Chair because the Chair represents the authority of the House.

"Finally, Sir, let me add my humble felicitations on your election and may you have a very successful term of office. Before I close my speech, I wish to convey to the Deputy Speaker my mark for himself also."

[7th May 1952]

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is indeed a great privilege for me to offer you my congratulations on this, the occasion of your re-election as Speaker of this Assembly. You, Sir, as Speaker, have striven hard to maintain the rights and privileges of the Members and have also set up worthy traditions. As the hon. Gentleman Sri P. T. Rajan has pointed out, you, Sir, have got a dual role of assisting the Government in its legislative work and of maintaining the dignity of the House. I hope Sir, you will do your best to remove any difficulties in the way of members expressing themselves in this House. From the way in which you took great pains to study the proceedings of the House of Commons and the way in which you gave your rulings during your last term, we safely predicted that you would be re-elected as Speaker. Sir, I have watched the progress that you have made ever since you took charge as Speaker and it makes me feel that you are destined to be the permanent Speaker of this House. The Leader of the House and the Members of the Opposition, in their speeches felicitating you on your re-election as Speaker, expressed the hope that you will maintain the dignity of the House. I too join in that hope and wish to conclude by associating myself with the tributes paid by the other Members to the Deputy Speaker of the House."

* SRI A. S. SAHAJANANDAM :—"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, உங்களுக்கு எலெக்ஷன் ஆனது மனித எத்தனத்தால் ஆகவில்லை. அது தெய்வ கிருபையால்தான் ஆனது. முந்தின எலெக்ஷனில் கூட உங்களை பார்ட்டியில் நிறுத்தவில்லை. கனம் தென்னெடி விஸ்வநாதனை பார்ட்டியில் செலக்ட் பண்ணியிருந்தார்கள். ஆனால் நீங்கள் திருப்போரூர் முருகனை வழிபட்டு வந்ததால் எதோ நிற்கலாம் என்று நினைத்து தைர்யமாக நின்றீர்கள். அவ்விதம் நின்று எலெக்ஷனில் வெற்றியடைந்தீர்கள். மறுபடியும் இப்பொழுது நீங்கள் எலெக்ஷனில் மறுமுறை நின்றீர்கள். அதற்குத் தகுந்த தைர்யமாக கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களும் காங்கிரஸ் கட்சித் தலைவராக வந்தார். அப்பொழுதும் உங்களுக்கு இவ்விதம் வெற்றி கிடைக்கும் என்று தெரியாது. ஆனால் எதோ தைர்யமாக நீங்கள் நிற்பதற்கு அவர் தலைவராக வந்தது ஒரு பாக்கியாக இருந்தது. இப்பொழுது உங்களுக்கு எத்தனத்தில் நீங்கள் ஒரு வெற்றி பெறவில்லை. தெய்வ சங்கலபத்தால்தான் நீங்கள் இப்பொழுது வெற்றியடைந்தீர்கள். எதோ பார்ட்டியில் செலக்ட் பண்ணிவிட்டாலும் உங்களுக்கு நிற்கவேண்டுமென்று தோன்றியது. உங்களுக்கு பல விதத்திலும் தெய்வ கிருபை இருந்ததால் இப்பொழுது இரண்டாவது முறையாகவும் உங்களை தேர்ந்தெடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள்."

"இரண்டாவது முறை நீங்கள் ஸ்பீகராக நிற்க ஏதாவது கட்சி சார்பில் நின்று எலெக்ஷனில் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டு வந்தால் அந்தக் கட்சியின் சார்பில் தீர்ப்பளிப்பதாக ஏற்படும் என்பதற்காக யாதொரு கட்சி சார்பிலும் நிற்காமல் சுயேச்சையாக நின்று வெற்றியடைந்தீர்கள். கட்சி சார்பில் நிற்காமல் சுயேச்சையாக நிற்கிறீர்களே, அப்படி நின்றால் காங்கிரஸ்காரர்கள் வோட்டுகள் கிடைக்குமோ என்னவோ என்று கனம் குமாரசாமி ராஜா தெரிவித்தும் கூட நான் சுயேச்சையாகத்தான் நிற்பேன் என்று தைர்யமாக நின்று எலெக்ஷனில் வெற்றியடைந்தீர்கள். இப்பொழுது நடந்த தலைவர் தேர்தலிலும் காங்கிரஸானது தங்களுடைய கட்சியில் ஒருவரையும் நிறுத்தாதேர்விலும் காங்கிரஸானது தங்களுடைய கட்சியில் ஒருவரை தேர்ந்தெடுக்க வேண்டுமென்று எண்ணம் கொண்டிருந்தும் அதற்கு மாறாக அவர்கள் நடந்தார்கள்."

[Sri A. S. Sahajanandam] [7th May 1952]

அப்படியும் உங்களுக்கு வெற்றி அமோகமாக கிடைத்தது. உங்களை எதிர்த்தவரைவிட 44 வோட்டுகள் அதிகமாக உங்களுக்குக் கிடைத்தன. வெற்றியும் கடவுள் கிருபையால் வந்தது. இன்னும் ஐந்து வருடங்களுக்கு காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியை அரைக்க முடியாது. வேறு ஒன்றும் நடக்க முடியாது. எதிர் கட்சியால் ஒன்றும் செய்ய முடியாது. ராஜ்யம் இப்படி நடந்து கொண்டேதான் இருக்கும். அதற்கு இது ஒரு அடையாளம்.

“உங்களுடைய வெற்றியானது எங்களுக்கு மாதிரி அல்ல எல்லாக் கட்சிகளுக்கும் எல்லா காங்கிரஸ் சர்க்கார் அதிகாரிகளுக்கும் சந்தோஷத்தைக் கொடுக்கிறது. அவர்களும் அனுதாபம் காட்டுகிறார்கள். உங்களுடைய சபாவம் நீங்கள் எதிர் கட்சிக்குத்தான் அதிகமாக ஆதரவு கொடுப்பீர்கள். இதற்கு முன் முஸ்லீம் கட்சி எதிர்க் கட்சியாக இருந்தபோது கூட நீங்கள் அவர்களுக்குத் தான் அதிகமான ஆதரவு காட்டி வந்தீர்கள். அதனால் அவர்களும் உங்களுக்கு அதிக ஆதரவு கொடுத்தார்கள். அதைப்போலவே இப்பொழுதும் எதிர்க் கட்சிக்காரர்கள் உங்களுக்கு அதிகமாக ஆதரவு கொடுப்பார்கள் என்றே நம்புகிறேன். எந்தக் கட்சிக்கும் அதிகமாக இடம் கொடுக்காமல் உங்களுடைய சபாவமானது எல்லோருக்கும் ஆதரவு கொடுத்து எல்லோருடைய மனதையும் சாந்தப்படுத்துவதுதான். உங்களுடைய வெற்றியினால் எல்லா ஹரிஜனங்களும் அந்த சமூகத்தைச் சேர்ந்த எல்லோரும் அதிகமாக சந்தோஷமடைகிறார்கள். காங்கிரஸும் தங்களுக்கு மறைமுகமாக நின்று தங்களுக்கு ஆதரவு கொடுத்ததனால் உங்களிடத்தில் காங்கிரஸிற்கு பூர்ணமாக அனுதாபம் இருக்கிறது என்று தெரிகிறது. அவர்கள் உங்களிடத்தில் விசுவாசம் காட்டுகிறார்கள் என்றும் தெரியவருகிறது. அதைப் போலவே மற்ற கட்சிகளும் உங்களிடத்தில் அதிகமான விசுவாசம் காட்டும் என்றே நம்புகிறேன். இந்த சபையுள்ள வரையிலும் உங்களுக்கு ஆயுள் இருக்கும் வரையிலும் நீங்களே இந்த மாகாணத்திற்கு ஸ்பீகராக இருக்க வேண்டுமென்று ஆண்டவனைப் பிரார்த்திக்கிறேன். மத்தியில் தங்களுக்கு மந்திரி பதவி கிடைக்கப் போகிறது என்று கேட்டவுடனேயே ஒரே குழப்பமாக இருந்தது. உங்களுக்கு இரக்கமான மனதாச்சே, உங்களால் எவ்விதம் மந்திரியாக இருக்க முடியும் என்று நினைத்தோம். உங்களுடைய இரக்க மனதிற்கு மந்திரி பதவி சலபம் அல்ல. உங்களுக்கு ஸ்பீகர் வேலையே பொருத்தமானது. அதே மாதிரி கடவுளும் உங்களுக்கு அனுகிரகம் அளித்திருக்கிறார். உங்களுக்கு வெற்றி நல்ல வழியாக இருக்கவேண்டும். நடராஜா சபாநாயகராக இருப்பதால் உலகத்திற்கே நல்லது ஏற்படுவது போல் நீங்களும் சபாநாயகராக இப்பொழுது வந்திருக்கிறீர்கள். நீங்களும் தேர்தலுக்கு முன்பு வடபழனிக்கும் திருவாலங்காட்டிற்கும் போய்விட்டு வந்தீர்கள். அதனால் உங்கள் வெற்றியானது கடவுள் கிருபையால் ஏற்பட்ட வெற்றி. ஏனென்றால் நீங்கள் கடவுளை வழிபட்டு வந்து தேர்தலில் நின்றீர்கள், அதன்பின் உங்களுக்கு யோசனை உதித்து நின்றீர்கள். வெற்றியடைந்தீர்கள். அது தெய்வத்தின் மூலமாகவும் ஏற்பட்டது. இந்த ஸ்பீகர் பதவியும் வந்தது. இந்த மதராஸ் மாகாணத்திலுள்ள ஏழை மக்கள் எல்லோருக்கும் இதனால் சந்தோஷம் ஏற்பட்டது என்று நினைக்கிறேன். எந்த முறையிலும் தங்களுக்கு இந்தப் பதவி வந்ததனால் எல்லோருக்கும் ஏகமனதான சந்தோஷம் ஏற்படுகிறது. ஆகையினால் நீங்கள் நீண்ட காலம் வாழ்ந்து இந்த சட்ட சபையில் யாதொரு படி கேட்டுக்கொண்டு உங்களை மறுபடியும் வாழ்த்திக்கொண்டு இத்துடன் முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

12-30
p.m.

MR. SPEAKER :—“As a large number of hon. Members want to take part in this discussion, I would suggest to the hon. Members not to take more than two or three minutes each. Now the hon. Member Janab K. M. Seethi will speak.”

* JANAB K. M. SEETHI :—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, though the Leader of the Party to which I belong has already spoken and joined in the chorus of tributes paid to you, I also feel it my duty

7th May 1952] [Janab K. M. Seethi]

to join in the congratulations because I happen to have been in this House for the past five years during which you had the privilege and the honour to preside as the Speaker of the House. During the momentous time you were the Speaker, there was the rise and fall of as many as three Ministries in this State and during all that momentous period you discharged your duties as Speaker with great equanimity of temper, impartiality and a very high sense of duty. There were moments when some Members, even Members of the Treasury Benches, wanted to encroach upon your privileges and give you advice in the discharge of your duties. On all those occasions you asserted your independence of the Opposition. Sir, I remember an occasion when an hon. Member from the Treasury Bench addressed the Chair in a rather presumptions way and you peremptorily asked him to resume his seat which he did. The conduct of the Chair on that occasion gave a clear indication of the fearlessness with which you acted as Speaker of this House. Along with your dignified attitude and fearlessness, you always showed unfailing courtesy to the Members of this House. Such a combination was very laudable and that was responsible for the meed of praise expressed by all sections of the House.

“Sir, your re-election is momentous, memorable and important for another reason also. You belong to a section of our countrymen who had to suffer disabilities and hardships through centuries, though it was due to no sin of anybody particularly but due to circumstances existing for centuries over which we had no control. Our countrymen partly undid the injustice that was done to that section by, among other things, raising a member of that section to occupy this high place and to preside over and guide the deliberations of this important House of the Legislature of this State. For this reason also your re-election is momentous and deserves the special commendation of all sections of this House.

“Sir, your innate modesty was always a point which evoked praise and admiration from all sections of the House. May it please God to give you greater strength and capacity to guide the deliberations of this House with the same impartiality and fearlessness with which you conducted the proceedings of this House during the past five years when you were the Speaker.

“Let me congratulate the Deputy Speaker on his election. Having occupied responsible positions in local self-governing bodies and having had the experience of presiding over such bodies, it is eminently in the fitness of things that Sri Bhakthavatsalu Naidu has been elected as Deputy Speaker of this House. I congratulate him heartily and wish him every success in carrying on the traditions and preserving the privileges of the Members of this House as the Deputy Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly.”

* MR. W. J. FERNANDEZ :—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, it gives me very great pleasure to see you occupy the Speaker's Chair which you graced with your charming personality and filled with conspicuous ability and distinction, once again as the Speaker of the

42 CONGRATULATORY SPEECHES ON THE ELECTION OF SPEAKER
AND DEPUTY SPEAKER

[Mr. W. J. Fernandez] [7th May 1952]

first Legislative Assembly of this State constituted under the new Constitution. Sir, I am not surprised at the decisive victory you scored yesterday in the Speaker's election. I am really surprised that the Speaker's election should have been contested. Most of the hon. Members in this House are here for the first time and I imagine that they will all welcome you as Speaker in view of your wide experience and knowledge of Parliamentary practice. I think we are very fortunate indeed in having you to guide our deliberations in this House. I congratulate you and I wish you a long and prosperous career as Speaker of this Assembly."

* SRI T. ANANTHA PAI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to congratulate you and Sri Bhakthavatsalu Naidu on the election as Speaker and Deputy Speaker respectively of this House. It is a great pleasure to us to see you presiding over the deliberations of this great House again. As one of the Members who have entered the portals of this Legislature for the first time, I may say that some of us had the privilege of observing many a time from the visitors gallery, how you conducted the proceedings of the last Assembly, and the fact that you have been elected by an overwhelming majority is proof positive of your wide popularity. I should also like to express here that the people of the State have always had pleasure in seeing you presiding over the meetings of this House.

" Sir, many references have been made to the traditions and every one of us know what great importance you have attached to the traditions not only of this House but of the Parliaments of the world. You have had the privilege of studying the traditions of not only the British Parliament but of the Parliaments of the world. Traditions have their own value. They have been evolved after great experience and it is but proper and appropriate that the Speaker who had the privilege of occupying the Chair for several years now should continue to occupy it and preserve the traditions of this House. Impartiality and independence are considered to be two great virtues and qualifications for Speakership and that you have had them in abundance is known to all of us. In fact, our Party took up an attitude of support to you because the Speaker should not be a partymen nor could the election of the Speaker be a party affair. Therefore, we wanted to have the privilege of supporting you in your election as Speaker, knowing your mind very well.

" Sir, the Speaker's position has been a very peculiar one. Either he should have contested the election as an Independent candidate or if he belonged to a party, he ceased to be a partymen after his election as Speaker. In fact, in the British Parliament the election of the Speaker is one of the difficult problems. The Speaker could not possibly have a constituency for himself nor could he go on contesting the election on a party basis. One of the Speakers standing for election in England had to say, while addressing the electorate, that if they had any love for democracy, they should vote for him. You fought the elections as an Independent candidate and you did not agree to be a party Member at all

7th May 1952] [Sri T. Anantha Pai]

When you stood for election as Speaker, we expected that your election would be unanimous. But, we have believed in many noble traditions and also broken some of them. Similarly, we broke the tradition when there was a contest in this case. But, now that you have been elected, we are confident that you will continue to be impartial and independent as you have always been.

" One word of praise to the Deputy Speaker, Sir. Much has been made of the convention that it was always a woman who presided over this House as Deputy Speaker. Sir, we have broken a number of traditions and now this is another instance. But, we only consider it as a saving of the trouble of making a distinction between 'Sir' and 'Madam' in addressing the Chair."

SRI C. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I offer you my hearty felicitations on your election as Speaker of the House. You have already had five years' experience but you will be having still a new and different type of experience as Speaker this time. This, in fact, is a House in which all sections of opinion are represented and when we participate in the proceedings of this House, hundreds and thousands of people from outside will be observing us with interest. Therefore, I do feel that full liberty and freedom should be given to the expression of opinions and sympathy shown to the problems of the poorer sections which, in fact, form the majority of our population. Indeed the people are not so much bothered about the technicalities of the procedure as about their food and their living conditions. I do hope that in this House our proceedings will be mainly on the basis of this very issue. I wish you success, Sir, and I also congratulate the Deputy Speaker."

SRI R. S. ARUMUGHAM :—" கனம் "தலைவர் அவர்களே, உங்களை இந்த அசெம்பிளிக்கு சபாநாயகராக தேர்ந்தெடுத்ததைக் குறித்து நான் சந்தோஷம் அடைகிறேன். யார் சபாநாயகராக இருக்கத்தகுதியோ அப்படிப்பட்டவரையே சபாநாயகராக தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்படவேண்டும். அதன்படியே உங்களை இந்த சபையின் சபாநாயகராக தேர்ந்தெடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். கடந்த காலங்களில் பத்திரிகைகளில் படிக்கும்போது தங்களுடைய பெயர் அடிக்கடி வரும். அப்பொழுது நீங்கள் எப்படி விஷயங்களை தெரிந்து கொண்டு சபையை நடத்துகிறீர்கள், காரியங்களை எப்படிச் செய்கிறீர்கள் என்று தெரிந்து கொண்டு மிகுந்த சந்தோஷம் அடைந்தோம். அப்படிப்பட்ட தகுதியுள்ளவரையே தான் மறுபடியும் சபாநாயகராக தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அதைக் குறித்து மிகவும் மகிழ்ச்சி அடைகிறேன். அதற்கு என்னுடைய நன்றியையும் உங்களுக்கு தெரிவித்துக் கொள்கிறேன்.

" அத்துடன் இப்பொழுது உதவி சபாநாயகராக தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்டிருக்கும் உதவி சபாநாயகருக்கும் என்னுடைய நன்றியை தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன். அதனால் நான் மிகவும் சந்தோஷமடைகிறேன். இவ்விதம் என்னுடைய சந்தோஷத்தைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொண்டு என்னுடைய பேச்சை இத்துடன் முடித்துக் கொள்கிறேன்."

* SRI M. JAGANNATHAN :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a great pleasure to me that you have been elected as the Speaker. Since 12-45 p.m.
your election to the Speakership, I am much impressed by the manner in which you have conducted yourself. The Temporary Speaker, Sri P. T. Rajan, announced yesterday that you set up

[Sri M. Jagannathan] [7th May 1952]

a tradition in the history of parliamentary procedure in this country. He said that you relinquished your right of voting in the Speaker's election. That is a new tradition that you have created in the parliamentary procedure of this country. I personally feel that your re-election is mainly due to your sterling qualities of which I have been an eyewitness not only in the present but also in the past. I know you are a man who loves simplicity, and a man of plain living and high thinking. You have been of immense service to the community to which I belong, namely, the Scheduled Castes.

"Before I proceed further to extend to you my heartiest welcome and congratulations, I would like to mention a few facts about the condition of the Scheduled Castes throughout the length and breadth of this State. It is most heart-rending, most soul-stirring and most nerve-shattering, if I may be permitted to use these expressions. I say all these because the condition of the Scheduled Caste people is most deplorable, not only socially but also politically and economically. If at all there is a community which has been God-forsaken, which has been neglected by man, it is the community of the Scheduled Caste, to which I belong. The reason why I say all this is in this august Assembly is this. There are more than 60 or 65 Scheduled Caste members who have been elected and who are sitting in this Assembly. These members are attached to various political parties and as such their united strength has been divided. These members who have got different political affiliations cannot therefore put their heads together and come to any unanimous conclusions in order to represent the grievances of the community to which they belong. I feel sad to express this fact. The Harijan M.L.As. who represented the community in the previous Assembly could not voice their grievances and the result is that the lot of the Scheduled Castes people remains the same as it was in the past. Sir, I have been elected now on the assurance that I have given to the Scheduled Castes people that I will go to the Assembly and exert myself to the utmost and do what all I can in order to uplift and improve the living conditions of the Scheduled Castes people.

"Sir, I request you to conduct yourself in such a manner that your position would infuse confidence in the representatives of the Scheduled Caste people sitting in this Assembly and encourage them to rise up in their seats and voice the grievances of this unfortunate community. Your position should inspire them and goad them to activity. They should not sit with folded hands, they should not sit idle, as mere spectators of the proceedings in this Assembly. I hope and trust you will give facilities for the Scheduled Castes representatives to voice forth their grievances.

"I congratulate you again on your re-election to the Speakership, and trust you will discharge your duties admirably by virtue of your sterling qualities. I may say Sir, that if one wants to conduct the proceedings of this Assembly in the best interests of the Assembly and of the Members, one must have two essential qualities. Those two qualities are, first impartiality, second

7th May 1952] [Sri M. Jagannathan]

equanimity. These two qualities you possess in a great measure and these will definitely help you in conducting the deliberations of this House and this House will set up parliamentary traditions which will be of immense benefit to the millions outside who expect us to do our service."

* SRI V. S. SIVAPRAKASAM :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I take this opportunity to congratulate you on your election to this high office of the Speakership. As a member representing the most unfortunate classes of the people, namely, the Scheduled Castes, I really feel proud and inspired on your election to this most distinguished and honoured place which you so well deserve. After the Speaker's election yesterday I had occasion to meet some of the members of this House individually and also some of the members of the public. They all expressed joy on your election. They also said that you possessed all the virtues and qualities necessary for discharging the functions of a Speaker. I am therefore confident that you will discharge your duties in the best possible way.

"As a member newly elected to this House I wish to submit to you, Sir, along with my words of congratulations, that there is a tendency in this House and also in Parliament which I noticed when I was a member there, of giving chances for speaking only to a few selected members. I would request you and also the Deputy Speaker to give more chances to the newly elected members like me, especially to members of the Scheduled Castes to express the grievances of the community which they represent.

"Sir, I join in the remarks made by my hon. Friend, Sri Sahajananda, that your virtues and qualities invoked the blessings of God and God aided you in your election as Speaker. With these few remarks I congratulate you again and also congratulate the Deputy Speaker on his election to that office."

SRI R. SIDDANNA GOWD :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I heartily join my hon. friends in offering my felicitations on your election to the Speakership of this august Assembly. You held that exalted office in the past with distinction. I trust you will occupy that post now with equal distinction and discharge your onerous duties with fairness and impartiality both to the hon. Members on this side and those on the Government side."

* SRI K. KOTI REDDI :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have great pleasure in congratulating you on your election as Speaker. I had occasion to work under you for about six years. I do not remember any one of us in the Assembly had any occasion to be displeased with you. To be quite correct, I may say there was one member who had some grievance against you so far as I know and that was myself. You generally chose the last moments of any debate to call me to speak and gave me generally only five minutes. I know, Sir, the time at your disposal was always very limited and so you selected some of us who used to take a long time to speak at the

[Sri K. Koti Reddi]

[7th May 1952]

last moment. But I can confidently say I had no occasion to be displeased with you on that account. Sir, your genial temper, your thorough knowledge of parliamentary procedure, particularly your thorough acquaintance with May's 'Parliamentary Practice', made you a good Speaker. You have always tried to be impartial between member and member and between party and party. This is a great trait in a Speaker. I believe, Sir, you are the author of the 'Point of Information' procedure. In your anxiety to help members, particularly the members of the Opposition, you created many occasions to so adjust the time and also the procedure under the rules that no member had any occasion to be dissatisfied with your rulings. I hope, Sir, you will carry on the traditions that you have built up during the past six years. I know the place you occupy is a very honoured place, but at the same time, it also carries with it very heavy responsibilities. From the experience we had had during the past six years I have not the least doubt that you will safeguard the privileges of the members and maintain the traditions of this House. I once again offer my hearty congratulations to you, Sir, and also to Mr. Bhaktavatsalu Nayudu, who was once my colleague, on his election as Deputy Speaker."

1 p.m. SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR:—"I would like to congratulate you, Mr. Speaker, on your re-election. In doing so I wish to add something to what the other speakers have touched upon. We always look upon you, Sir, as the custodian of the rights and privileges of the members both inside the House and outside. I would request you to see to it that our rights and privileges as hon. Members of this House are not in any way interfered with by the executive authority, be they the Police or the Government."

"I should like you to exercise your authority in such a way that you may be looked upon as the embodiment of impartiality, trying to uphold the dignity and authority of the House. We also consider you as the custodian of our rights and privileges. In this connexion I wish to emphasize that no one either here or outside should take your victory in the election of Speaker as signifying success for a particular party or any group. I say, Sir, that your election as Speaker of this Assembly is mainly to protect the dignity of the House and regulate its business in a fitting manner. It is not a matter for self-satisfaction or self-glorification for any party or group. In fact every member of the House has a right to consult the Chair in the proper exercise of his rights and privileges. I therefore wish to bring to your notice that we, the members of this House, whether we supported your candidature in the election or not, do look upon you now as the representative of the whole House and I am sure, Sir, that you will extend to us the same justice that you extend to the other members, be they efficient in argument or able politicians."

"I may also bring to your notice, earnest consideration and anxious thought the importance of our privileges and conveniences as members of the Legislature. In this connexion I may refer to the absence of a library near at hand for hon. Members to

7th May 1952] [Sri V. R. Krishna Ayyar]

consult and study parliamentary procedure. As you are no doubt aware now, most of us are new to this House. We are not much concerned, Sir, with the precedents set up in parliamentary procedure either in England or in other countries even though a study of them may be useful to us. Indeed we are more particularly concerned with the creation of precedents which are suited to those people who come direct from the soil. In doing so it might be of very great use to the hon. Members of this House to refer to the parliamentary practice, which obtains in foreign countries. A library located in our immediate vicinity would greatly facilitate that purpose. I understand, Sir, that a library for the convenience of the legislators is situated far away in Fort St. George. I am sure, Sir, that you will bestow your immediate thought and earnest attention to the question of shifting that library to this House so that members who remain in this Chamber from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. may have facilities for consulting books and doing some research in their respective fields. Sir, this is not an arena for debating on procedures and the like and indulging in wordy warfare. We are here on a serious business, for discharging the duties expected of us, for helping the constituencies which we represent here, for redressing their grievances and doing our bit in shaping the policies of Government on correct lines. I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that you will help us in the discharge of our duties in a satisfactory manner."

"I once again congratulate you, Mr. Speaker, and the Deputy Speaker on your election to the high offices of Speaker and Deputy Speaker."

SRI BOJJA APPALASWAMY:—"అధ్యక్షా, మీరు ఈ సభాసాయకుడుగా ఎన్నిక కావడం అంధ దేశానికి గాకుండా యావద్భారతదేశానికి గర్వించదగిన విషయము. భారతదేశ సూతన రాజ్యాంగ చట్టం ప్రకారము తొలిసారిగా శాసన సభలో సభాసాయకత్వానికి నిన్న జరిగిన మహా తీర్మానములో మీరు సభాసాయకుడుగా ఎన్నికైనందున అంధ ప్రజానీకమే కాకుండా యావద్భారత ప్రజలందరూ కూడా గర్వించదగిన విషయము. మీరు గత 5 సంవత్సరములుగా స్వీకరుగాయండి అతి సమర్థతతోను, నిష్పక్షపాత బుద్ధితోను ఆ పదవిని నిర్వహించి, ఇప్పుడు మరల ఈ సందర్భములో ఎన్నికైనందుకు మద్రాసు రాష్ట్ర నిమ్మజాతుల తరఫున నా ధన్యవాదాలు అర్పిస్తున్నాను."

"ఈ సందర్భమున ఒక విషయము శ్రద్ధవలచుకొన్నాను; మద్రాసు రాష్ట్ర శాసన సభలో శాసన సభ్యుల సంఖ్యల రూపరేఖ 5 వ వంతు మంది నిమ్మజాతుల సభ్యులున్నప్పటికీ, పూజ్యులు, గౌరవనీయులైన మద్రాసు ముఖ్యమంత్రి ఒక్క హరిజన సభ్యునికే మంత్రి పదవిని ఇచ్చినందుకు మోకు చిన్న తనంగా ఉన్నదని చెప్పి మనవి జన సభ్యునికే మంత్రి పదవిని ఇచ్చినందుకు మోకు చిన్న తనంగా ఉన్నది గనుక, చేస్తున్నాను. హరిజనుల సంఖ్య 5 వ వంతు ఉండడమేగాకుండా, రాష్ట్రములోని జనాభాలోను, శాసన సభలోను హరిజన సభ్యుల సంఖ్య 5 వ వంతు ఉన్నది గనుక, కనీసము ఇద్దరు హరిజన మంత్రులైనా నియమించవలెనని కోరుచూ, ఇకమీదట హరిజనుల విషయమే ఇటువంటి అన్యాయాలేమీ జరుగకుండా చూడవలసిందనినూ కోరుచున్నాను."

[Sri Bojja Appalaswami] [7th May 1952]

“మీరు ఈ సభానాయకుడుగా ఎన్నికైనందుకు మరల మా శుభాకాంక్షలు కాస్త
ఫెడరేషన్ తరఫున ధన్యవాదాలు అర్పిస్తున్నాను.”

* SRI E. L. RAGHAVA MUDALIAR :—“ Mr. Speaker Sir, let me congratulate you on your re-election to the Speakership of this august Assembly. Your re-election is not a trial of strength between parties as the Leader of the House was pleased to characterise it. But I take it that your re-election is the direct consequence of your capacity, impartiality and your zeal for safeguarding the privileges of the hon. Members of the Legislature. Therefore, I take it that it is not a trial of strength between parties. Let me congratulate you, Sir, again on your re-election because it is not an ordinary thing to be re-elected to this historic Assembly. This is the first Assembly which has come into existence on the basis of the adult franchise guaranteed under the new Constitution.

“ Most of us, as you are aware, are new to this Assembly and are not acquainted with the parliamentary procedure obtaining in this House. As a practising lawyer I am accustomed to rules and procedure in courts; but I find on coming here that the procedure followed here is quite strange and entirely new to me. But we shall all adjust ourselves and on behalf of the new members of this House, I would request you, Mr. Speaker, to be indulgent towards us and be the zealous guardian of our rights and privileges as hon. Members of this House. In this connexion I wish to bring to your notice two interesting points.

“ Yesterday we were subjected to a strange experience and humiliation. When I was entering the Assembly premises along with another hon. Member of this House we were stopped at the gates of the Government Estate and asked to show our *bona fides* as members of the Legislature. I am not complaining about the orders passed in this connexion. What I regret to note is that we have not been supplied by the office with any identification cards or any badge to distinguish ourselves from the rest. As such we were stopped at the gates and only by the discretion exercised by the head constable we were at last allowed to enter the Assembly. I would earnestly request you, Sir, to see to it that we are not subjected to such humiliations hereafter.

“ Another request that I would make is, that most of us being professional men, viz., practising lawyers, we would like to have sufficient notice of the duration of the session. For instance, we all came here thinking that the present session would end by the 10th, but we are now told that it is likely to extend beyond the 12th or the 13th.”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ That has been arranged to suit the convenience of the Opposition members.”

* SRI E. L. RAGHAVA MUDALIAR :—“ I am not complaining. My only request is that hon. Members may be given sufficient notice so that they can make suitable arrangements for their other business.

7th May 1952] [Sri E. L. Raghava Mudaliar]

“ I congratulate you once again, Sir, on your re-election. Let me also extend my congratulation to the Deputy Speaker, Sri Bhaktavatsalu Naidu, who has had a long experience of the Legislative Assemblies and Local Boards.”

* SRI N. GOPALA MENON :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving an opportunity to join in the chorus of congratulations that is coming to you from all sides of the House. In conformity with the best traditions of Speaker you stood for election as an Independent candidate with no party label attached to you. You have never seen things through the colored glasses of party politics; but you have been looking at things in the cold light of reason and commonsense. It would perhaps have been even better if you had been elected unanimously as the Speaker of this House. But it has not been possible in the present circumstances. With the inauguration of the New Constitution, with the new wave of enthusiasm prevailing in the country and with the springing up of new parties, there is bound to be more than one aspirant for this responsible office. I am glad that the choice has fallen on one who has presided over the old Assembly.

“ I had occasion to see you function in a somewhat similar capacity as the Mayor of the Corporation of Madras, of which I, along with two hon. Members who are now occupying the Treasury Benches and some other hon. Members of this House, had the honour of being ordinary members. You have always given your rulings not to please the executive but in conformity with the wishes of the members of the House and in accordance with the dictates of your conscience. I am, sure, Sir, that you will certainly be the guardian angel of our rights and privileges as hon. Members of this House. People have different conceptions of their own regarding rights and privileges. It is for you, Sir, to guide them properly and see that the rights of the members are safeguarded.

“ Sir, I also congratulate the Deputy Speaker, Sri B. Bhaktavatsalu Naidu, who, I am sure, will, under your leadership, be able to achieve great results and in an abundant measure. I congratulate both of you, Sir, on the distinguished offices which have been conferred on you by this House and I am sure that the rights and privileges of the Members of this House will be uppermost in your minds.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ It appears we are not going to have the afternoon session to-day. So, I will allow one or two more members to speak and after the replies to the congratulatory speeches, the Bill on the agenda will be formally introduced by the Hon. Minister in charge and the House will then adjourn. I hope, hon. Members will remain in their seats till the Hon. Minister introduces the Bill.”

* SRI M. P. PERIASAMI :—“ కనుక తలైవర్ అవర్కలై! నమతు శెంజ్జి మొకాణత్తినె శ్చడసై సానానాకరాక తాంగ్గన్ ఇరండామ్ శ్చడవయకా ఒరు ఖ్ఖరిజ్జెనై ఇరున్తమ్ తేర్న్తెగ్గక్కప్పడిరుప్పతు క్కరిత్తు నాంగ్గన్ రొమ్బలమ్ శ్చన్తొవ్వుమ్ అడైగ్గిరొమ్. అతొదొ శ్చడ నమతు

1-15
p.m.

7th May 1952] [Sri T. C. Narayanan Nambiyar]

“ സർ, നമ്മുടെ എം. എൽ. എ. മാരിൽ പലരും പാടങ്ങളിൽനിന്നും, വ്യവസായ ശാലകളിൽനിന്നും, പാഠശാലകളിൽനിന്നും, ഔതമീസുകളിൽനിന്നും നേർട്ടുവന്നവരാണ്. നമ്മുടെ അസംബ്ലി പ്രവർത്തിക്കുന്ന ഈ ലെട്ട് നമ്മുടെ രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ ചരിത്രത്തിൽ അതിപ്രധാനമായതാണ്. ലക്ഷക്കണക്കായ തൊഴിലാളികൾ തൊഴിലില്ലായ്മ മൂലം തെരുവുകളിൽ എടുത്തെറിയപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുകയാണ്. കൊടുമ്പിരികൊള്ളുന്ന ക്ഷാമം മൂലം ബഹുലക്ഷങ്ങൾ പട്ടിണികിടക്കുകയാണ്—അസംബ്ലിയിൽ പുറത്തുള്ള ബഹുജനങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ എല്ലാ സംഭവിക്കുന്നവയും ഉൽകൃഷ്ടാകലായി ഉററുനോക്കുകയാണ്. സർ, അവിടെ നമ്മുടെ പ്രവർത്തികൾ കാത്തും പാത്തും ഇരിക്കുകയാണ്.

“നമ്മുടെ ഈ സംസ്ഥാനം നാല് വ്യത്യസ്തമായ ജനവിഭാഗങ്ങൾ അധിവസിക്കുന്ന നാല് ഭാഷാസംസ്ഥാനമാണ് (തമിഴ്, തെലുങ്ക്, മലയാളം, കന്നടം). സാധാരണ പ്രവർത്തനമാണെന്ന നിലക്ക് ആങ്ങളിൽ പലരും നിയമസഭാ പ്രവർത്തനങ്ങളുടെ സാങ്കേതികതയ്ക്കും ആദ്യേയ്ക്ക് യോഗ്യതയിൽ സംസാരിക്കുന്നതിനുള്ള പരിചയവും സീമിച്ച് ചുവർച്ച. അതിനാൽ ദേശീയഭാഷയിൽ സംസാരിക്കുവാൻ, നടപടിയിൽ പങ്കെടുക്കുവാൻ ആയി ആവശ്യമായ സംഘടനാപരവും സാങ്കേതികവുമായ കാര്യങ്ങൾ താങ്കൾ ചെയ്യാനാകണം.

“ സർ, എല്ലാ പാട്ടികൾക്കും അതീതരായി എല്ലാ മെമ്പർമാരുടെയും അപകാരങ്ങൾ ക്ഷമിക്കുന്നായിരിക്കട്ടെ. അദ്ധ്യക്ഷൻ ഉപാദ്ധ്യക്ഷൻ പ്രവർത്തിക്കുമെന്നും ഞാൻ സ്വയംമായും ആശീർക്കുന്നു. ഈ ചെറുകാലങ്ങളിൽ അപസാരം തന്നെയാണ് ഞാൻ അറിയാറുള്ളതെന്നും.”

" Sir, I feel that by your election as Speaker, the Congress has been given an opportunity of vindicating itself in the matter of following the tradition that was set up by that great and good man, Mahatma Gandhi. You, Sir, had a very distinguished career as a Speaker. You distinguished yourself by your eloquence, efficiency and skill, and your career became noteworthy and thus you forced yourself upon the attention of the Congress Party as well. While supporting your candidature, the Congress has shown that at least in this respect it has followed the traditions left behind by Mahatma Gandhi.

[Sri N. N. Suvarna]

[7th May 1952]

"Sir, one other remarkable feature which I have noticed is in regard to the way in which you conduct the proceedings of the House. Though I have not been a member of the Assembly before, I had the good fortune of witnessing the last session of the last Assembly, when we came here to exercise our vote for the election of members to the Madras Legislative Council. Sir, you seem to have a tremendous memory for names. I was, in fact, surprised when you were calling out every member by name to speak and in doing so, you even pronounced the prefixes and suffixes of members and thereby you produced in the members a feeling that they were members of a good and happy family. I wish you learn also the names of all of us—these 375 members—and do the same thing, so that we may also feel that we are members of a happy family. In spite of divergent parties holding divergent opinions, it must be agreed on all hands that every one of us is interested in promoting the good of the country. We hope, there will be no clash of interest in this ideal and in spite of our differences of opinion, we should feel like brothers and join together in endeavouring to do things for the good of the country. I am sure, Sir, that the procedure you are following, namely, calling out the members by name, will help us a great deal in promoting a homely atmosphere. I am sure that when next time—after the term of this House is over—you stand for election as a member, you will be once again elected to this House and then re-elected also as a Speaker without any opposition."

SRI G. NARAYANASWAMY NAIDU :—"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே! தாங்கள் சபாநாயகர் தேர்தலிலே, வெற்றிபெற்றதைக் குறித்து உங்கள் சமூகத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களும், மற்றவர்களும் உங்களை வெகுவாகப் பாராட்டினார்கள். எனக்குத் தெரிந்த வரையில் அந்தப் பதவிக்கு தாங்கள் மிகவும் தகுதி வாய்ந்தவர்கள் தான் என்ற முறையில் நானும் என் பாராட்டுதலை தங்களுக்குத் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். மேலும் உங்களை எங்கள் கட்சியினர் ஒரே மூச்சாகத் தேர்ந்தெடுத்ததற்காக நான் மிகவும் பெருமைப்படுகிறேன். நேற்றைய தினம்வரை தங்களை காங்கிரஸ் கட்சியைச் சேர்ந்தவர்களாகக் கருதி, தேர்தலில் கூட மற்றொருவரை போட்டியாக வைத்த மற்ற தட்சியினர் இன்றைய தினம் தாங்கள் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட பின் கட்சி, ஜாதி பிரிவின்றி உங்களை பாராட்டும் உரையில் அவர்களும் கலந்து கொள்ளும்படி சந்தர்ப்பம் ஏற்பட்டதற்காக நான் மிகவும் சந்தோஷமடைகிறேன். உங்கள் வெற்றியைக் குறித்து சில ஹரிஜன மெம்பர்கள் தங்கள் மகிழ்ச்சியை அதிகமாகத் தெரிவித்துக்கொண்டார்கள். ஆனால் இன்று எங்கள் ஜில்லாவிலே ஹரிஜனங்கள் சட்டத்தினால் ஆளப்படுகிறார்கள். ஆனால் அவர்களுக்கு ஆதரவு கொடுக்கக்கூடிய சட்டம் எதுவுமேயில்லை பெரும்பகுதி நான் இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் ரூபகப்படுத்துகிறேன். அதற்காக உங்களுடைய சக்தியையும், திறமையையும் போதுமானபடி உபயோகிக்கவேண்டுமென்று நான் விண்ணப்பித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"அடுத்தபடியாக பெட்டி சபாநாயகர் அவர்களுக்கும் என் பாராட்டுதலை—நான் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அவரைப்பற்றி பாராட்டிப்பேசியவர்கள் அவர் இந்தப் பதவிக்கு மிகவும் தகுதி உடையவர் என்பதாகக் கூறினார்கள். கடைசியாக உங்கள் இருவருக்கும் எங்கள் ஜில்லாவின் சார்பாக நான் பாராட்டுதலைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

1.30 p.m. * **SRI S. T. ADITYAN** :—"Sir, I rise to congratulate you and the Deputy Speaker and in doing so I want to put before you a

7th May 1952]

[Sri S. T. Adityan]

suggestion—I think a useful suggestion—for what it is worth. While I was a Member of the Central Legislative Assembly, I was one of the Whips of a party and in that capacity very often it was my duty to hunt up for precedents of rulings from the Chair to help the Speaker. There was a particular reference book which, if I remember aright, was called 'Rulings from the Chair'. Of course, I was not confining myself to that book only. I used to do laborious research into voluminous books published under the authority of the various Governments for hunting up the decisions of the Chair. I may tell you, Sir, that to my very pleasant surprise I found that most of the appropriate decisions were from my home State. The decisions given by you were to the point, clear, concise and definite. You have taken very great pains to study the Parliamentary procedure of various countries and given your opinion on various points. May I suggest to you that it will be of lasting benefit to us and to our successors if your rulings are published in a book form? I think the Government will take note of my useful suggestion and take early action upon it. With these words, I congratulate you and the Deputy Speaker."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The Hon. the Chief Minister."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—"I rise on a point of order, Sir. Congratulatory speeches are being made by the Members of the Assembly. It is not proper that the Hon. the Chief Minister, who is not a Member of the Assembly, should be called upon to speak."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The Hon. the Chief Minister who is an hon. Member of the Legislative Council can speak in both the Houses. There is a difference in practice between England and our country."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—"He can address both the Houses on questions of Government policy. I don't think the Hon. the Chief Minister has anything to do with the election of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly and that it is in order for you to call upon him to speak."

* **THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI** :—"Sir, the last speaker Mr. Adityan referred to the compilation of a book of your rulings and I am sure that your last ruling will go as an important item in that book. I have no doubt that Mr. Adityan's suggestion will find ample scope for execution, because there are quite a large number of members in the House now who will be quite ready, vigilant and skilful enough to raise in this House every point of order that can arise anywhere in India and we should have a ready-made precedent for every such point of order."

"Coming back to the point on which I rose before I was interrupted, let me express my gratitude for your giving me an opportunity to participate at the conclusion of this pleasant item in our agenda. My mind goes back to many, many years ago when you and I worked together for removing the disabilities of classes which were kept apart from society in our country. I did not then realize

54 CONGRATULATORY SPEECHES ON THE ELECTION OF SPEAKER AND DEPUTY SPEAKER

[Sri C. RajaGopalachari] [7th May 1952]

or imagine that we would reach a stage, within so short a period and in my own life, when we would see one who was suffering under the disabilities referred to in those great meetings of ours at Poona and elsewhere, occupying the Chair in the Legislative Assembly of one of the premier States of India by the vote of the people and the representatives of the people. An impetus has again been given in world affairs to the principle of *apartheid* and therefore I think it is a great event in our country that you, who were elected for a reserved seat for the Scheduled Classes, have, by the vote of the representatives of the people in the new Legislative Assembly, occupied the post of Speaker, chosen as an impartial arbiter of the rights and privileges of the entire House. It will, I hope, be a lesson to those nations who still believe in the principle of *apartheid*.

"Much has been said about the privileges of the House and your being a guardian thereof. There was no need whatsoever to have any doubt on that point. The Government is an organ of society and this House is an integral part of Government and of society. The fullest and freest deliberation in this House is one of the fundamentals on which the welfare of the nation is based and the Speaker is there to guard and protect that full and fundamental liberty which this House and every section of this House should enjoy. If I repeat this very trite observation, it is because of too much protestation by Members from all parts of the House. I sense a doubt in their mind and I wish to remove it. I do not think any one need have any doubt that you will have, even for a moment, any difficulty in being impartial and giving just rulings on every point raised, and maintaining not only the dignity of the House but also the fullest liberty of the House. Let it not be thought that only a minority is to have liberties. Let it not be thought that only the Opposition should have liberties. This is what I wish to point out, for I think, we have arrived at a time when the majority may lose its rights and when the Government may lose its liberties and therefore I think it is apt that I should sound a note of caution. Even in the reorganization of our society, it looks as if women will get the upper hand and not merely equality in society. Some Member remarked in the course of his speech felicitating you that I was a tough man in regard to the rights of women. I am a tough man really in the protection of the rights and duties of women. Let it not be thought that I would stand in the way of their progress or welfare. Of course, in the rising tide of any movement which is in dynamic motion, an inferiority complex is developed during the period of motion. Once the level is reached, there will be no difficulty and there will be no mutual suspicion.

"You, Sir, are now in charge of a House whose composition is very different from what it was in 1937. In 1937 the Government had such a large majority and the Opposition was so small that the majority was apt to forget even the very existence of the Opposition and the Speaker and all of us had to be very vigilant in order to guard the minority against the large Government majority.

7th May 1952] [Sri C. RajaGopalachari]

But now, Sir, I think there is very little for you to do. There are so many guardians of the privileges of the House in the House itself and every one of them has got the eye of an eagle on the rights and responsibilities of the House, and there is no reason therefore for Members to be reminding you of your duties regarding the protection of the liberties of the Members of the House. In fact, I think the Government will do well to copy the example of the Opposition and be vigilant to protect its own rights. The Speaker's burden in this respect has been very considerably reduced by reason of the strength of the Opposition.

"I was very glad to note—I am speaking as an individual and as an old gentleman—the tone of the congratulatory speeches made by the young Members of the House. I had no apprehension on the point. Still I should like to express my pleasure to see the actual fact apart from hopes and expectations. I was very pleased to see the manner in which Member after Member expressed the uttermost confidence in your sense of justice and to notice their loyalty in respect of the dignity, privileges and decorum of the House.

"Let me refer to what Mr. Nagi Reddi said in the course of his speech. He said—in my opinion very rightly—that we should maintain not only the traditions of Parliament as they grew in other countries especially Great Britain, but also our own independent traditions. I entirely agree and let me state more explicitly that we have to maintain not only the traditions culled from Parliamentary reports and Constitutional books but we have also to maintain the great traditions of our own country. We have our culture to maintain, we have our ideals to maintain in every walk of life including legislative work. We have to maintain loyalty to the true traditions of our country and to the true culture of our country and observe decorum and dignity in every conduct of ours. I hope that what happens in this House will not in any manner be different from what our ancient and recent forefathers expected and our posterity would expect from representatives of our great State in the Legislature, apart from any tradition, custom or precedent that we could cull from May's 'Parliamentary Practice' or any other book.

"I wish to add a remark about the Deputy Speaker particularly. My congratulations are as warm to him as to you—not on his success in an election but on his occupying one of the highest seats of dignity and authority in our country. The Deputy Speaker has a more difficult task than you. The Deputy Speaker also is an old friend of mine. He was a colleague in the old Assembly where I sat fifteen years ago. He was a colleague sitting on the opposite side as the hon. Member Mr. Viswanatham is sitting to-day on the opposite side. Mr. Bhaktavatsalu Naidu, the present Deputy Speaker, made no mean contribution to the debates from the Opposition in those days, and it was just for this reason that I hailed his candidature for the Deputy Speakership of this House. If I say his task is more difficult than yours, it is for this reason. The Speaker is Speaker for all time in the House, but the Deputy

1-45
p.m.

[Sri C. Rajagopalachari] [7th May 1952]

Speaker has to play a double role. He has very often to sit in the House, and defend policies or attack policies as an ordinary Member of this House. He has occasionally to answer your call to occupy your Chair, and then he will have to forget his politics and maintain the dignity and impartiality of the office of Speaker. I have seen this *legerdemain* done very well, indeed by our colleagues in Parliament and other legislatures. They totally forget their own points of view when they sit in the Chair as Deputy Speaker, and they maintain discipline and control the House as if they had no opinions at all and as if they had always been Speakers. The new Deputy Speaker will have to do this. It is very difficult to forget what one has in one's own mind in regard to points and views. It is very difficult to put them aside and be a stern judge without fear or favour, and that is the difficult role which Mr. Bhaktavatsalu Naidu has been asked by the House to perform and fulfil. In congratulating him, I remind him of the difficulty and forewarn him so that he may perform his functions to the satisfaction of every section of the House.

"I will not detain the House any longer except to say this. I tender my congratulations to you and to the Deputy Speaker without any strings attached." (Laughter.) Hon. Members have been making speeches and offering congratulations as if it were a small debate on the budget or on the Address of the Governor or as if it were a general debate on policy. I do not think I should do that. I congratulate you without reference to any of the policies of the Government or any of the policies of the Opposition. With these words, Sir, I once more give you and the Deputy Speaker my felicitations and my warmest personal congratulations."

SRI B. BHAKTAVATSALU NAIDU :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank most heartily the Members of this House for electing me as Deputy Speaker of this first Assembly constituted under the new Constitution. I am also very thankful to the Hon. the Chief Minister and the Leaders of other parties and to other friends who spoke about me and paid their compliments to me and the Hon. Speaker. I can assure hon. Members that I will discharge my duties, with the co-operation of hon. Members, to the entire satisfaction of the House without fear or favour. Finally, I wish to thank one and all for having given me this opportunity to serve as Deputy Speaker of this House, especially the Hon. Chief Minister who congratulated me most warmly."

* MR. SPEAKER :—" I am thankful to all the hon. Members—even to those who have not voted for me—for electing me a second time to the Chair. I am not delivering an extempore speech as hon. Members would now see that I am reading a written speech. As soon as our venerable Chief Minister became the Leader of the Congress Party, I was quite sure of my success in this election. For a gentleman, who brought success to me in the last Speaker's election by putting me up against the official nominee

7th May 1952] [Mr. Speaker]

of the Congress, the success in this election would not be a difficult one. So, I was so sure of my success that I wrote my speech in a mood of complacency and I am reading it.

"The House would remember that I contested the general election as a non-party candidate. The Congress and the Socialist Parties were kind enough not to put up any candidate against me. Hon. Members may ask me why the Speaker's seat should be left uncontested. The answer to this was given by Speaker Gully when he sought re-election in his constituency. He says—

"The first reason was that the English people were in the main lovers of fair play, and that it had struck them as being a somewhat unfair spectacle to see someone who, in the public interest, was disabled from protecting himself by the ordinary weapons of political warfare, exposed to an attack and unable to defend himself. A Speaker could not withdraw from the political arena. On the contrary, he must be a Member before he was a Speaker, but he was disarmed. It had occurred to our fathers and forefathers that it was unfair to put a man disarmed in the middle of a ring, and that the proper course was not to subject him to the conditions of a contest. That appeared to some people of the present day to be a quixotic piece of generosity. He hoped there would be some generosity left still in public life."

"Hon. Members may ask me, simply because a Member has been elected a Speaker, should he be returned uncontested to the Legislature, however unpopular he may be. I do not for a moment say that an unpopular Speaker's seat should be left uncontested. Regarding my election, I must tell the House that I was elected with such a thumping majority that all my opponents lost their deposits. By this, hon. Members may learn whether I am popular or unpopular."

"When I sought re-election to the Chair, I thought I would be elected unopposed. I wish to remind my hon. Friend Mr. Viswanatham that, while delivering the valedictory speech in the last Assembly, he said, that 'The new and expanded House should have the benefit of my service.' I hope he remembers this."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Yes, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER :—" He extolled me to such a degree that I thought that he would propose my name for the Speakership but I was quite disappointed. (Laughter.) My surprise was all the greater when I heard that Mr. Prakasam, who used stronger words than Mr. Viswanatham about my ability to occupy the Speaker's Chair in the last Assembly, was not in my favour in this election. Probably they may say that party discipline or the desire of the constituency made them oppose my candidature for the Speakership. This reminds me of Edmund Burke's famous speech at Bristol. He said—

"It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinion high respect; their business unremitting attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions to theirs; and above all, ever, and in all cases, to prefer their interest to his own. But his unbiassed opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the law and the constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your representative owes you not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion."

[Mr. Speaker]

[7th May 1952]

"Now, as I am elected I do not bear any ill-will towards anybody. The House would remember that for the last 5½ years I was emulating the admirable qualities ascribed to the Speakers in England by Michael Macdonagh in his Book, 'The Speaker of the House', in which he says, 'The Speaker is always accessible. He is the friend of every Member and every section of the House. His experience and counsel are at the service of all in doubt or difficulty about a point of order or a motion or a Bill If a Member is in trouble about anything he can go at once to the Speaker and privately get his advice. Constantly during a sitting, Members may be observed coming to the Chair for a conference with the Speaker on points of procedure, or as to the action properly to be taken in some matters of business or as to their claims to be called upon to address the House.'"

"Let me assure this House that I shall be the friend and guide of all sections in this House. New Members who are desirous of meeting the speaker need not have the mental worry felt by Gladstone, who, in his autobiography, says—

"The first time that business required me to go to the arm of the Chair to say something to the Speaker who was something of a Keate (the famous whipping Headmaster of Eton), I remember the revival in me bodily of the frame of mind in which a school boy stands before his master."

"Of the 376 members (it is now 375) 30 were in the last Assembly and some entered this Assembly with Parliamentary and Legislative Council experience. I also know some Members have experience of local administrative councils, such as municipalities, district boards and union boards. There are some who have neither the experience of any Legislature nor of any local board councils. Once a new Member of the House of Commons asked the Clerk of the House of Commons, how to learn the rules of the House'. The Standing Orders of the House of Commons like the rules of our House, which are already sent to the members, contain few rules and are silent about the Parliamentary manners, etiquette and customs. The Clerk replied to the Neophyte by saying, 'by breaking the rules'. What the Clerk of the House of Commons meant was that the Speaker would always help the new Members.

"I must also inform the House that our Legislature Secretariat contains efficient and experienced officers and clerks whose unfailing courtesy and helpfulness would certainly gain the admiration of the Members.

"Our Assembly Rules are very antiquated. They do not contain rules for 'Delegated Legislation'. I hope the Rules would soon be brought up-to-date.

"At present the attendance of Members is marked by an Attender of the Office, the accuracy of which was challenged by some members in the last Assembly. I am told that in certain Legislatures the members are asked to sign their names in an attendance register. I am going to call a meeting of the Leader of the House and Leaders of other parties in my chamber to

7th May 1952]

[Mr. Speaker]

arrive at an agreeable method for marking the attendance of Members. Another frequent complaint from hon. Members in the last Assembly was that the identity of the hon. Members was not known to the constables on duty in the premises of the Legislature and some hon. Members were prevented by the constables from entering the Assembly Chamber. This is the case not in our Assembly alone. I was going through the Parliamentary proceedings in England. I came across instances of the same difficulty in England. In England the constables are not changed as often as they are here. There it appears one constable mistook a new Member for a workman employed on the building and asked that new Member, 'Are you working on the roof, mate'. The Member replied 'No, mate, I am working on the floor'. So this difficulty arose there also."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—"What was the year, Sir?"

MR. SPEAKER :—"I do not know the year. But this is written by Mr. H. Snell, M.P., in his book 'Daily Life in Parliament.' So, the difficulty mentioned by hon. Members is not felt here alone but there also. A uniform or a badge can be given to hon. Members. We should find a solution to enable the constables on duty to distinguish the Members from outsiders.

"The new Chamber which we are now occupying becomes hot after a sitting of two hours. I mean the air becomes hot and not the temper of the hon. Members. (Laughter.) The temper of the hon. Members to some extent depends upon the atmospheric conditions of the chamber. I was reading a latest book on Parliament by Sir Herbert Dunnico who has given a fine description of the method adopted in England to keep the chamber of the House of Commons at a particular degree of temperature always. For the benefit of the House I wish to quote him :—

"The number of members in the Chamber at any given time was another matter that had to be considered, for every person gives off a large quantity of heat and moisture in the course of normal breathing. Plant, therefore, has been installed capable of changing the total air content of the chamber ten times in each hour and of replacing all the air in the chamber every six minutes. To secure this uniformity, a man is secreted somewhere in the gallery beside a knob, turning on warmth if twenty members leave the chamber and reducing it when twenty or more members enter it. Should this individual fail to notice the arrival or departure of Mr. Winston Churchill or Mr. Aneurin Bevan all his efforts to preserve a normal temperature may go wrong."

"I hope the Hon. Minister for Public Works would devise some method to keep the temperature of the House normal.

"There are some new Members whose names and constituencies are not known to me. It would take some time for me to know their names and constituencies.

"I must say to the credit of the Press in our State, that they were always fair and depicted in their publications a true picture of what had taken place in the Assembly. The relationship between the Press and the Legislature has always been cordial and I hope they would extend to us the same cordiality which they have been extending from the time this Legislature came into existence.

[Mr. Speaker] [7th May 1952]

"All the hon. Members have entered the Legislature with the object of doing good to our country. But, they differ as to the way in which they think the Legislature can do good to the country. The object being the same, I hope, this small difference in the method of doing good, would not make the hon. Members lose self-control during debates. The House of Commons is considered the best social club in England and I hope you, hon. Members, would also make our House the best social club in our State.

"I am thinking of sending a circular letter to the hon. Members to ascertain the languages in which they wish to address the House. I hope hon. Members would reply to this letter at the earliest convenience, so that the office can make necessary arrangements for reporters in various languages.

"Lastly, I request hon. Members to co-operate with me in the discharge of my duties as Speaker. Hon. Members may ask me, 'What are the duties of the Speaker?' The Speaker's duties are so numerous that if they are enumerated now, it would be boring and tiresome to the Members. It is already tiffin time now. I would be content to tell the chief duty of the Speaker which has been nicely put by Mr. Gladstone while supporting the candidature of Mr. Peel for the Speakership of the House of Commons. He said—

'There was a time, Sir, when the chief function of the Speaker was to defend the privileges of the House against external attack. Dangers of that kind have passed away and the chief function of the Speaker—one may say, almost practically, the exclusive function of the Speaker is to defend the House against itself. That is to say, to vindicate his authority against every individual Member who may not be sufficiently sensible of his duty. And that function, I am afraid, in modern times, has become still more arduous and difficult than was the original office of the defence against aggression from outside.'

"The chief function of the Speaker, in the words of Mr. Gladstone, is, to maintain order, decorum and dignity in the House and I hope I would have the co-operation of all the Members.

"I am thankful to the hon. Members for the good wishes that they have expressed. As I have already said, I hope that our House would be one of the best social clubs in the country. Once again, let me express my thanks to all the hon. Members, including those who have not voted for me, for having elected me a second time as Speaker. (Applause.)

"Let us sit for a few more minutes and finish the rest of the items on the Agenda. Now, the Hon. Minister for Land Revenue will move his motion."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Before we go to that, there is a motion standing in my name, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"All right, let the Hon. Minister move his motion first."

7th May 1952]

III.—GOVERNMENT MOTION *RE* PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I move—

'That, with reference to rule 138 of the Madras Legislative Assembly Rules, this Assembly do proceed on a date to be fixed by the Hon. the Speaker, to elect nine members to be members of the Committee on Public Accounts for the financial year 1952-53.'"

MR. SPEAKER:—"Motion moved—

'That, with reference to rule 138 of the Madras Legislative Assembly Rules, this Assembly do proceed on a date to be fixed by the Hon. the Speaker, to elect nine members to be members of the Committee on Public Accounts for the financial year 1952-53.'"

The motion was carried.

MR. SPEAKER:—"In accordance with the regulations framed by me for conducting elections according to the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote, I fix 3 p.m., on Thursday, the 8th May, 1952, as the time within which notice of nominations for election to the Public Accounts Committee should reach the Secretary."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Sir, we are, I think, sitting on the 12th. So, the time and date may be fixed as 3 p.m. on the 9th instant."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have no objection. Especially when the time will in effect be extended and not cut short, I don't think there will be any objection to fixing the date as 9th. So I fix 3 p.m., on Friday, the 9th May 1952, as the time within which notice of nominations for election to the Public Accounts Committee should reach the Secretary."

"If the number of candidates exceeds the number of vacancies, viz., nine, there will be an election between 11 a.m. and 3 p.m. on Saturday, the 10th May 1952."

IV.—MESSAGE FROM HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR.

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have to announce to the House the following Message, dated the 30th April, 1952 from His Excellency the Governor:—

'In pursuance of Article 207, clause (1) read with Article 199 (1) of the Constitution of India, I, Sri Prakasa, Governor of Madras, hereby give my recommendation to the introduction in the Madras Legislative Assembly of the Madras Requisitioned Land

[Mr. Speaker] [7th May 1952]

(Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952, and in pursuance of clause (3) of Article 207, I also recommend to that Assembly the consideration of the said Bill.' "

The Hon. Minister for Land Revenue may now move his motion.

N.—GOVERNMENT BILL.

THE MADRAS REQUISITIONED LAND (CONTINUANCE OF POWERS) BILL, 1952 (INTRODUCED)*.

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move—

'That the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952, be introduced.' "

MR. SPEAKER :—" I will now read out Rule 76 of the Madras Legislative Assembly Rules. It states—

'If a motion for leave to introduce . . .' "

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Sir, is it at all necessary to move a motion like the one moved by the Hon. Minister for Land Revenue? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" The Hon. Minister has only moved that the Bill be introduced. We are not going to consider it now. The object of his doing so, is to give some time to the hon. Members to consider the Bill. It is not unparliamentary and there is no harm in his moving that motion. Now, I will read Rule 76 which says—

'If a motion for leave to introduce a Bill is opposed, the Speaker, after permitting, if he thinks fit, a brief explanatory statement from the member who moves and from a member who opposes the motion, may, without further debate, put the question thereon.'

I do not think there is any opposition to the motion. So, I am now going to put the motion to the vote of the House. The question is :

'That the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952, be introduced.' "

The motion was 'carried. .

MR. SPEAKER :—" We don't have the afternoon session to-day.

" I wish to point out that there is no proper audibility in the House and we must do something about it. I wish to quote what Sir Herbert Dunnico has said in his new book entitled, 'Mother of Parliaments.' He says—

'Good acoustics are most essential in a debating chamber and this was not one of the outstanding qualities of the old House. This difficulty has been largely overcome not only by placing a microphone between every two members but by making nearly two million tiny holes in the roof well above the echo'.

* Published in the *Port St. George Gazette*, dated 1st May 1952.

7th May 1952] [Mr. Speaker]

We must also do something in this regard. To-day, I was not at all able to hear hon. Members' speeches. Because of poor audibility, there has been some confusion."

" I now adjourn the House till eleven of the clock to-morrow, the 8th May 1952."

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m. on Thursday, 8th May 1952.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

. Thursday, 8th May 1952. .

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Government Estate, Mount Road, at eleven of the clock, Mr. Speaker (THE HON. SRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI) in the Chair.

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

I.—PRIVILEGE MOTION.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Hon. Member Mr. Viswanatham.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Sir, do you want me to raise the question of privilege now? ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The Hon. the Leader of the House wants time. Therefore, let us take up the matter to-morrow.”

SRI C. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO :—“ What is the motion, Sir? ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ It is the motion of the hon. Member Sri T. Viswanatham about the question of privilege.”

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

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I have to acquaint the House that on the 6th of May 1952, His Excellency the Governor was pleased to make a speech to both the Houses of the Legislature, of which I had for greater accuracy obtained a copy^a and placed it on the table of the House on the 6th May itself.

“ I called a meeting of all the Leaders in my Chamber this morning and it was agreed that the Government Motion should be moved now and the amendments might be taken up after 2-30 p.m; and as regards the amendments, instead of allowing all the Members who have given notice of amendments to move them, we could take up one comprehensive amendment and the Members could speak on it. In regard to the amendments, I must also tell the hon. Members that they should not be in the form of no confidence motions. Our Constitution and the Rules provide separately for a motion of no-confidence in the Ministry. Hon. Members should not take advantage of this occasion and move a no-confidence motion at this stage. If they want to move a no-confidence motion, let them follow the Rules as well as the Constitution. Now, I call upon the hon. Member Sri T. N. Venkatasubba Reddi to move the motion standing in his name.”

^a Printed as Appendix on pages 143-145 infra.

[8th May 1952]

* SRI T. N. VENKATASUBBA REDDI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have the honour to move—

‘ That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor as follows :—

“ May it please Your Excellency,

We, the Members of the Madras Legislative Assembly, beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the Address delivered to both the Houses of the Legislature on the 6th of May.”

11-15 a.m. “ I am fortunate to have the privilege to propose this motion of thanks to His Excellency, our Governor under our Constitution. I say fortunate, because it is good luck that I belong to an age when our country has been freed not only from foreign rule but from all types of rule wherein the people ruled had no say in their governance. Our country has been subject to autocratic rule for centuries past, sometimes by benevolent monarchs and sometimes by tyrants, but always to a rule wherein the people had no say in their governance. We are here as representatives elected by the free choice of the people, as representatives in whom the people have confidence, and we have to do all those things which will be conducive to their welfare. There are many difficult, complex and urgent problems in our country which is so vast and is populated by people speaking different languages and belonging to different communities.

“ It is very necessary that we should tackle these problems with a great deal of thought. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty and specially so when we are face to face with these problems. It is not rarely that we have seen incitement of parochial tendencies amongst us. We should realize that these tendencies are the cause and the seed of disunity amongst us especially now when unity among the people is very necessary to preserve the strength that we need to enjoy our freedom. There are many difficulties in carrying on the administration, with these problems facing us. But they are not insurmountable and with courage and determination on our part, we shall be able to surmount them. Unless we unite into a single people, we cannot make our country strong and enable her to occupy her rightful place in the world.

“ Our Constitution has guaranteed social, economic and political equality to all of us. We have to recognize that there has been in the past no social, economic or political equality amongst us. We should not forget the cause of the under-privileged who have suffered on account of certain evils in our society. It is very necessary that we should tackle this problem with urgency and we can do so completely and quickly not by legislation but by determination on our part to eradicate these evils by our own good actions in our daily lives. Unless we achieve this end, we shall find that the freedom that has been won after such strife and suffering will be lost to us. We should be constantly watchful that we do not give room for any of these tendencies to take root in our life.

[8th May 1952] [Sri T. N. Venkatasubba Reddi]

“ There are many evils that we have got to recognize among ourselves. It is the encouragement that was given to these evils in the past that has led to sectarian partialities like nepotism, favouritism and vindictiveness. It is our duty to act in such a way that there will be no room given for such tendencies to grow and spread. In this connexion, we as legislators have a direct responsibility.

“ We, in this State, Sir, have the good fortune of having Mr. C. Rajagopalachari as our Chief Minister to guide and help us achieve the aims I have referred to. There have been some criticisms about his appointment as Chief Minister by His Excellency the Governor. I would say, Sir, that we are indeed fortunate in having him amongst us here, with all his experience as a fighter for our freedom and as an administrator who has occupied the highest position in the land, to temper the exuberance of our recently won freedom and authority. I am sure that the House will join with me when I say that we are thankful to him for taking upon himself these arduous duties at a time when he has a right to take rest. We feel, Sir, that a large part of our burden has been taken off our shoulders by his taking up these duties.

“ Sir, we in this State, are now faced with a very severe famine. We are thankful to His Excellency for the keen interest he has taken which is evidenced by the strenuous tour he undertook of the famine areas soon after his arrival here. I may tell you as one coming from those areas that the presence of His Excellency among the people who are suffering was a source of encouragement and help to dispel their despair to a large extent. The magnitude and intensity of suffering in these areas can be realized only if one witnesses the scenes there. I come from those parts and would like to give a picture of what has happened and what is happening in those areas. Sir, there has been a complete failure of rains this year and consequently a complete failure of crops. Before this, there had been partial failure of rains for the last four years and so there had been only partial harvests. So much so, the people's resources at the beginning of this year were almost nil. The complete failure of monsoons this year has left the people with no resources to exist. Even though it was known six months ago that famine might become inevitable, nothing was done to stave it off. During the last six months much of the cattle wealth has been depleted due to lack of fodder and the necessity of the ryots to sell the cattle to feed themselves. Unless something miraculous happens I cannot say how our farmers are going to plough their lands in the coming season. All this is regrettable but that is what has happened. During the last two and a half months the suffering of the people has been so great and so acute and the problem has assumed such magnitude that I feel that relief measures should not be delayed any further. We live in the hope that the Government will do their best to see that relief is not delayed any further. The measures that the Government have contemplated and approved are adequate but unfortunately their implementation has been delayed. I am not going to state the reasons

[Sri T. N. Venkatasubba Reddi]

[8th May 1952]

for the delay and I hope that our Chief Minister and his Cabinet will take such steps as are necessary to implement their programme of relief with immediate effect.

"Sir, we are grateful to the Government of India for the help they have rendered in giving us subsidies to run a number of gruel centres and in affording other kinds of relief. I have no doubt that the Government of Madras will spare no pains to afford this relief urgently to the people.

"His Excellency has been pleased to say that due to the shortness of time at his disposal, he has not been able to indicate any programme the Government will have to draw up for the future. I feel, Sir, that even in the month of June it may not be possible for the Government to undertake any new projects or schemes. Sir, while on the subject of projects, let me give an illustration of the magnitude of the work that has to be done in the famine areas. In the three districts of Chittoor, Cuddapah and Anantapur, there are 43 lakhs of people. If we take it that at least sixty per cent of these people are in need of some form of help and that the Government will have to spend eight annas a day on each person by way of relief, it will come to thirteen lakhs of rupees a day for a population of roughly twenty-six lakhs. For one month, the relief will amount to four crores of rupees and this relief will have to be given, as the Hon. the Chief Minister said recently, till about September this year. We can now imagine the amount of money and the administrative machinery that will be necessary for continuing this relief. But this amount has got to be spent and while spending it, our Government should see that it is spent on such projects which will prevent the recurrence of famines in these areas in future. Famine in these areas has been one of frequent occurrence and this has been due not in a small measure to the fact that these areas have not been developed right from the time of the Vizianagar dynasty, though the population has been on the increase ever since. Lack of development of these areas and failure of monsoons have brought about the present famine and I am sure the Government will do their very best to fight it.

"I know, Sir, that there are many pressing problems agitating our minds in this House. They have to be tackled and tackled as soon as possible. But the question of famine relief is of such humanitarian urgency that I feel—and the House will agree with me—that it has to be given top priority.

"Sir, I once again wish to convey our grateful thanks to His Excellency for the Address which he has given to both the Houses."

MR. SPEAKER :—"Before I allow hon. Members to move their amendments I must tell the House that amendments should not be published in the Press before they are admitted. It is most unparliamentary. I hope the Press will also co-operate with me in seeing that they do not publish any amendments before they are admitted by me."

8th May 1952]

* SRI S. RAMASWAMY NAIDU :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a high privilege for me to rise to second the Motion so ably and eloquently moved by my hon. Friend, Mr. Venkatasubba Reddi."

SRI C. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO :—"On a point of order, Sir, is the hon. Member in order in reading from notes?"

MR. SPEAKER :—"This being his maiden speech I allow him to do so. In future I will not allow him to read from notes."

SRI S. RAMASWAMY NAIDU :—"It is not a written speech."

SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—"This is not the first time he speaks in a Legislature."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"He was in the Parliament and he is an experienced parliamentarian."

MR. SPEAKER :—"I thought he was making his maiden speech. He himself has said that it is not a written speech. The hon. Member may proceed."

* SRI S. RAMASWAMY NAIDU :—"This legislature has been brought into existence under the Constitution of India. The Indian National Congress fought for attaining the independence of India. After attaining independence our leaders framed and gave us a Constitution. As a result of this we are now proud of being members of the first legislature here in a free India. Our leaders laboured for a long time and gave us this Constitution which guarantees to us, all freedoms. It is up to us to work this Constitution in a truly democratic way.

"Sir, His Excellency has been pleased to explain the lack of coverage of all the subjects that would generally be covered in an address of this nature. Our problems are many and varied. There is first the problem of famine. The failure of rains for a long number of years has brought about famine conditions throughout the country. This year in Rayalaseema we are facing acute famine conditions and there are famine conditions in some districts in Tamilnad also. The Government have been very vigilant and have taken steps to alleviate the distress. The very fact that not even a single case of death due to famine has been reported is evidence of the great care and prompt action the Government have taken to start famine relief works.

"Sir, there is the other problem of food-rationing. Even in the very best of days when we were having regular monsoons we were short in our food resources by about four lakhs tons. This year His Excellency has pointed out that we are short by 14 lakhs tons of foodgrains. How we are going to meet this deficit has also been explained partly in His Excellency's address. He has said that in the surplus districts there is a chance of better procurement and with the import quota we will be able to cope with this difficulty also. But how are we going to devise plans to meet this permanent famine condition? How are we going to meet the present and pressing acute distress of the people? These

[Sri S. Ramaswamy Naidu] [8th May 1952]

have been ably explained by our Ministers who have just laid down their offices and by the Ministers now in office. There have been many projects, river valley projects that have been planned and some are actually being carried out. When all these are carried out I am quite sure much of our distress will be relieved. There are also many schemes of minor irrigation which, if completed, will surely give us a large amount of foodgrains. In the south, tanks which have been left uncared for and unrepaired for a long number of years, have been repaired and this year, especially in Ramanathapuram district, we find people raising food crops in the zamin areas, thanks to the repairs done so wisely by the Government. So we need not be afraid of the bogey of famine and talk about famine conditions prevailing in many districts. We have experienced a number of famines and we have got over them, these years. In Rayalaseema, steps have been taken by Government, and the famine has almost been brought under control. Water has been brought to remote villages, thanks to the help of the military and other public organizations.

"Sir, when we talk about food rationing and other things we are generally led to think about decontrolling of foodgrains. Food commodities have to be decontrolled as also others. But how to decontrol when controls have been in operation for so many years, is the problem. Decontrolling of one commodity may lead to complication in other spheres. Hence the Government ought to take a comprehensive view of these controls and so co-ordinate the policy so that when decontrol is brought into force there will be no dislocation in trade and industry, especially in the agricultural industry of this country."

"Sir, much has been talked about the handloom industry. There are a large number of families, lakhs and lakhs of them, who are hereditary handloom weavers. This has become a cottage industry so much so, all the sons and daughters that are born in those families take to that industry. In this connexion I would like to utter a word of warning to the Government, as also to other political thinkers in this country. In a country like ours, to encourage this handloom weaving for all the sons and daughters of those families as a hereditary occupation, are we sure that all the cloth produced by the industry could be marketed either within this country or outside? Are we sure that if yarn for the full working of the looms were provided, the cloth produced by these looms could be marketed either in India or outside? What is the consuming power of this country, what is the exportable surplus and what is the consuming capacity of other foreign countries? These have to be gauged. Some time back when yarn was distributed liberally to looms there was a slump in this industry. There is therefore no use of merely expressing sympathy for these people. We must gauge first the capacity of the industry, the capacity for local consumption, the extent to which we can export and the acceptability of our handloom products in other countries and then fix only such number of looms as are required to produce the required quantity of cloth and nothing more. If by this arrangement

8th May 1952] [Sri S. Ramaswamy Naidu]

the sons and daughters of handloom weaving families find it difficult to earn their livelihood it is the business of the Government to find some other work for them so that they may not go without work.

"Sir, next comes the problem of literacy. Our country is still illiterate. Our Chief Minister who is the author of the book 'Thambi Va' knows well how to liquidate this illiteracy, especially among adults. Education, Sir, has to be carried to every house. It must be free. It must be compulsory. Especially in a country like ours where adult franchise has been granted, every one must be an educated person. The Constitution itself envisages this within ten years. I hope, Sir, our Government will take measures to ensure literacy among our people within the prescribed time."

"Then there is the question of the reconstitution of the local boards. The local boards as they are, the district-boards and other boards are a misnomer. They have no proper machinery. They have no powers. They have no right to exist as they are. Either they should be given greater powers or they should be completely wiped out for which I will not feel sorry."

"There is again the village problem. All the villages must get connected to the main roads by village roads. Every village must have a first-class road, every village must have a reading room, every village must have good drinking water. Much has been done in this direction by the firka development schemes and by the working of the panchayats in the various districts. The panchayats have been able to provide the villages with good drinking water, roads wherever possible, schools and in some cases reading rooms and community radio sets. This can further be developed by our present Government by expanding the firka development schemes. We are glad that we will be able in a short time to put into operation 'community projects'. I would only ask that these projects should not be confused with the firka development schemes. They are separate units by themselves each catering to the needs of a group of villages in a large locality whereas the firka development scheme is a local one and is run mostly by the help, finance and administrative help given by the public and the Government. I would therefore like, that even if 'community projects' are taken up in our State, the firka development schemes should be continued and expanded."

"I do not want to talk on the other problems that are confronting us. Suffice it to say that all these problems will have to be considered by the Government and suitable steps taken to deal with them. We are glad that His Excellency has told us that at the next meeting he will be giving us a comprehensive account of the policy of the Government. It is not even a month since this Government was formed. It is too early to ask of the Government to formulate their policies and schemes and say what they propose to do in the future. They must be given time to think about, to co-ordinate and find ways and means for the schemes

[Sri S. Ramaswamy Naidu] [8th May 1952]

to be put through for the alleviation of the sufferings of the people. Then alone will the Government be in a position to give us their policies, schemes and other things.

"Much was talked, Sir, about the formation of the Ministry. I am conscious that I am treading on delicate ground but I should tell the House that the selection of the Ministry is really praiseworthy act of His Excellency. The Chief Minister is a tried person who has fought the battle for the country's freedom. By his breadth of vision, deep insight into things and his political statesmanship he has been able to give us so many schemes that are to our permanent benefit. People were talking about uplifting the Harijans and so on but were not able to raise their little fingers to help them. But it was our Chief Minister who gave us the Harijan freedom movement. It was he who gave us the Temple Entry Scheme when the other parties were only talking about it. He has given us a number of schemes which have worked to the good of the people. He gave the ryots their charter, the Agriculturists Debt Relief Act. He gave us many more things. In this connection I would like to say that he has a very soft corner in his heart for labour. My memory goes back to thirty years; when amidst flying bullets and piercing bayonets he came all the way from Salem to Madurai to defend Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu in a labour dispute which was so acute in those days. The agricultural labourers are indebted to him. They will be more indebted if agricultural wages are fixed by an Act at an early date.

"I want to say a few words about the party which the Hon. Chief Minister is leading. It is a party which has fought the freedom battle for the country. The members of that party gave their life, property and all for attaining the independence of our country. That party has come forward now to lead the country, to lead our State. That of course is legitimate, and every one knows this. In his heart of hearts every one will feel that it is just and proper that that party should be helped. That that party has been wisely selected to run the administration and that our Chief Minister has been wisely selected to lead it has been borne out by events that have happened since.

"I do not want to take up the time of this House any longer. I would say in conclusion that democracy has been established here. We are here as representatives of the people. It is our duty to see that that democracy is safely guarded and respected. It is our duty to see that all the benefits of this democracy enures to the electorate who sent us here. We must tread in the true path of democracy. We shall not do otherwise. It is difficult to sit on the edge of a knife. Any time you forget that you are on the sharp edge of the knife you may be cut. So it is always wise to sit down, meditate and see which side is safe and join that side.

11-45 a.m. "The beautiful lime fruit cannot be poised on the point of the sword unless it gets pierced. Therefore it is always safe to see where you sit and upon what you sit before deciding upon the person with whom you are to associate yourself. I therefore request all those who have seceded from the Congress for some

8th May 1952] [Sri S. Ramaswamy Naidu]

reason or other to join the Congress ranks again. There is nothing shameful about it. There is nothing to regret in doing so. We would welcome all of them as brothers gone astray. With these words, Mr. Speaker, I feel happy in seconding the resolution."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Motion moved—

"That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency the Governor as follows :—

"May it please Your Excellency,

We, the Members of the Madras Legislative Assembly, beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the Address delivered to both the Houses of the Legislature on the 6th of May"."

* RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is a historic occasion in the history of South India and particularly in the history of the political life of this country. As you are aware we have just passed through the elections, the biggest experiment in our democracy. The elections have proved a signal success. Many doubted the wisdom of adult franchise and many there were who thought that it would be a failure. The successful conclusion of the elections based on adult franchise which we had recently, has cleared all their doubts. Further it should be said to the credit of the Government that they were able to make efficient arrangements for the conduct of elections. Might I say, above all these the restraint exhibited by all parties and individuals who contested the elections all over India and particularly in South India was to a great extent responsible for the very smooth manner in which the elections were conducted. It is a matter for gratification to all concerned that on the whole everything went off peacefully.

"Sir, only yesterday while I was felicitating you on your election as Speaker of this House, I referred to the history of our legislature during the last fifty years. We started with an Assembly of fifty persons. Now we have a full-blown House, with as many as 376 members. This Assembly is an admixture of old men, middle-aged men and young men. It is very refreshing to see many young faces around me. They are all anxious to do their bit for the sake of the country.

"Sir, yesterday while I was reading the *Times of India* I came across an article written by V.V.K. I should heartily commend that article not only to hon. Members but to all who have the welfare of the country at heart. I may be permitted to mention one salient point in that article which says that the situation in the country is such that men who are charged with the responsibility of managing the affairs of the country should be men of integrity and sterling character. I have no doubt, Sir, that men who have come here are men of integrity and I have no doubt that the proceedings of this House (might I say the proceedings of the Government even) would be conducted in such a high level resulting in the welfare of the country. One thing that we should expect from every hon. Member, whether in the Opposition

[Raja Muthiah Chettiyar of Chettinad] [8th May 1952]

or not, in constructive criticism. I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that you are quite aware how I am never tired of criticising, let it be the Prime Minister of India or the Chief Minister of our State or any other Minister of the Government whenever necessary."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" But you are different now."

* RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—" I am capable of expressing myself freely irrespective of whoever is in office and I am capable of saying what I feel is right. With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I may be permitted to remark that, if even to-day any esteemed friend Mr. Viswanatham decides to join the Government I would be the first person to support such a move. Mr. Viswanatham is an experienced politician and it is a loss to the Government that he is not in the Cabinet." (Cheers.)

MR. SPEAKER :—" Hon. Members should not clap their hands."

* RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—" I can claim acquaintance with the legislature of this State from the year 1937, and I should like to say that at all times, whether I was in the Opposition or not, I have never failed to offer my constructive criticisms whenever I thought it fit. It should be said to the credit of our dear Rajaji, as he is affectionately called, that while he was the Premier in the 1937 Government, he gave ample opportunities for the sixty members of the then Opposition to offer their criticisms. I am proud to say that I was the Leader of the Opposition at that time. I am proud to say that we did not then suffer from lack of opportunity to criticise the Government. Whenever he found a reasonable amendment proposed by the Opposition, Rajaji had the firm determination to tell his colleagues that he was going to accept that amendment as it had appeared to him to be reasonable. That was the healthy parliamentary tradition which had been set up then and I want, Mr. Speaker, that the same healthy tradition should be imbibed by the present Assembly also.

" Sir, we are here as representatives of the people. It is for the specific purpose of redressing their grievances by offering constructive criticisms on the floor of the House we have come here. You are no doubt aware how during the five and a half years when the Congress was in office, viz., 1946-52, I had never failed to offer constructive suggestions whenever I considered it desirable, and you are also no doubt aware how I had been putting supplementary questions during question-time.

" Sir, the new Ministry has assumed office only very recently. It is of the utmost importance that we should give it sufficient time to study all the problems confronting it in detail. Let us wait and see. Let us not be going on asking questions of a trivial nature. If at all we want a stable Government we should see to it that our criticisms are offered in a constructive manner."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHY :—" On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, I should like to know whether the hon. Member is lecturing to the Opposition or simply speaking on the Governor's Address?"

8th May 1952]

* RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—" While welcoming the entry of my esteemed friend Mr. Ramamurthi, I should like to inform him that if he makes such a speech like this on the Governor's Address, he will never be interrupted. While speaking on the Governor's Address, I am free to talk on topics concerning the welfare of the State which is dear to my heart. I am confining myself only to that subject.

" I should like to say, Mr. Speaker, that eminent people like Sri P. Rajagopalachari, Sri A. Ramaswami Mudaliyar, Dr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty and Sri P. T. Rajan have adorned our legislature and our deliberations have always been conducted on such a high level which evoked the admiration of all. I am glad that one of them, Sri P. T. Rajan, is here amidst us now. The reason for my mentioning those names is my sincere belief that we as hon. Members of the House will emulate the great example set by those parliamentarians.

" Mr. Speaker, coming to the Governor's Address in particular, I should like to mention that we have been really very fortunate in having Shri Sri Prakasa as our Governor. He is a distinguished parliamentarian and has done yeoman service to the country. By asking Sri C. Rajagopalachari to form the Government, he has not shown any personal favour. No ulterior motive should be attributed to him for that action. He has done it with the best of intentions and we should be ever grateful to him for having asked, under the circumstances prevailing in this State, the great statesman, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, to lead the Government."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Mr. Speaker, I would like to know whether the hon. Member could talk about the conduct of the Governor and whether we also would be allowed sufficient time to talk about his action?"

* RAJA MUTHIAH CHETTIYAR OF CHETTINAD :—" I am not casting any reflection on the conduct of the Governor. I am only referring to the constitution of the present Government of Madras. We ought to feel glad that we are now having the benefit of having Rajaji at the helm of affairs. We should all wish him long life for the good of the country. What we need is a stable Government. Particularly after the general election, with a full-blown House with as many as 375 hon. Members adorning it and the Congress Party not having an absolute majority, it is of the utmost importance that there should be a stable Government in this State.

" Otherwise, what is the use of our going to the electorate again and asking them to elect us as their representatives? It is not for mere fun that we have got elected. We have got ourselves elected to form a Government—whether it be by the Congress Party or any other party. I do not mind any other party than the Congress forming the Government. After all some party must take up the responsibility of running the Government. Otherwise, the whole election procedure of getting 375 members elected to the House might become unnecessary. It is from that point of view I am saying that we should have some kind of Government in this

[Raja Muthiah Chettiyar of Chettinad] [8th May 1952]

State. If the Governor's decision is wrong, it has to be proved that it is wrong and there is no point in merely criticising that it is wrong. The House should prove that the decision is wrong.

" Mr. Speaker, Sir, there are one or two more points which I should like to urge on this Government. This Government should make effective representations to the Government of India. Sir, you are, in this connexion, well aware of my criticism during the last few years that the Madras Government have not had sufficient influence with the Government of India and they have not made effective recommendations, particularly in the matter of food supplies to this part of the country. In fact, I have never been tired of urging that the Food Minister of this Government should go to Delhi, sit at the doors of the Government of India, do satyagraha, if necessary, and somehow or other get more food to this State.

" Now, Sir, as the hon. Member, Mr. Ramaswami Nayudu, said, it is not a question of Rayalaseema, or Guntur or Chittoor alone suffering under famine conditions, but there are very many other parts of this State which are under permanent famine conditions. In fact, there are several taluks of several districts from Dhanushkodi onwards where famine conditions are prevailing. For instance, it may not be a whole district, but parts of a district may be under famine conditions and if all such areas are combined together, they may be equal in area to a few districts. Therefore, Sir, it is absolutely necessary that food must be sent to these areas.

" Sir, I am very glad that the Government have made a bold and honest statement that 14 lakhs tons is the shortage in production this year, of which 10 lakhs tons is in rice and 4 lakhs tons in millets. But we are astonished to read in the Address that only 2 lakhs tons of rice have been promised by the Government of India. It is a pity that only 2 lakhs tons of rice will be given to this State. But, I do hope that the Madras Government will be able to impress on the Government of India the need to send us more rice. It is encouraging, however, to read from the papers a couple of days ago that 1,800 tons of rice will be reaching Madras every day from Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, for the next four months, to make up the 2 lakhs of tons of rice. I do hope that the Government will be able to set up a proper machinery to see that there is no lapse in this matter and that every day we are assured of the 1,800 tons. If that be so, will it be too much to say that we can expect to get more than the promised 2 lakhs tons?

" I do hope, Sir, that this Government will impress upon the Government of India that the people of South India cannot accept wheat and milo, and that the people here are too poor and cannot afford to buy the oil and other things required for wheat preparations. I have time and again stated on the floor of this House that the people of South India can only afford to cook the rice, add a pinch of salt and take it with a chilli in the mouth and nothing more. It is, therefore, necessary to tell the Government of India that only rice is needed for the State.

[8th May 1952] [Raja Muthiah Chettiyar of Chettinad]

" Again, Sir, it is refreshing to read the statement made by the Prime Minister of India—I wish he had said so a year ago—that the people in the north might conserve rice for the sake of the people of South India. I do not know whether that statement of the Prime Minister has borne fruit. On this occasion, I would like to tell the Government of India that the people of Madras will not accept wheat or milo and that they want only rice. On the other hand, if rice is not given, but only wheat or milo, it will be only a waste, because the people will not be able to consume wheat in this part of the country.

" Now, Sir, about famine conditions, I would like to refer to one other matter. The Hon. Mr. A. B. Shetty, while acting as the Finance Minister of this State, made a statement on the floor of the House that the Government of India were going to give us Rs. 2 crores as loan and Rs. 48 lakhs as grant. Now, we find in the statement of His Excellency the Governor that only Rs. 48 lakhs has been given as a grant and not the Rs. 2 crores loan. It looks as if the Government of India have done the broker's job. The Adviser Government handed down to us Government paper of the value of Rs. 42 crores, of which Rs. 24 crores had been already exhausted and we have still Rs. 18 crores. To say that out of Rs. 18 crores, they cannot give even Rs. 2 crores as loan, is a thing which we cannot swallow. They must give us a real loan. They may, however, say that a loan or a grant means only money and that if it is a loan it means repayment. I think the Government of India should be told that Rs. 2 crores is not enough. I can only give a rough estimate—because I have no figures at hand—that at least Rs. 5 crores should be given to us either as a loan or as a grant by the Government of India.

" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not wish to take up the time of the House except to refer to the necessity for increasing the famine relief measures. I may be permitted to state in this connexion that the steps taken by the Government so far in the direction of famine relief are noteworthy and praiseworthy. I only hope that the Government will continue their best efforts in the matter of giving relief to the famine areas. We are glad that they have already given relief by way of land revenue remissions. On this occasion, I want to impress on the Government strongly that they should give revenue remissions and other relief not only in the areas which they have declared as famine areas, but also in many other parts in South India which are really under famine conditions.

" In conclusion, let me say that it was quite refreshing to hear hon. Members from all parts of the House while congratulating you, Sir, on your election as Speaker, saying that this House is going to be in existence for five years. It does not matter whether this set of Ministers or this party is in power during these five years or another set of Ministers or any other party is in power. Anyway, the fact that this State is assured of a Government for another five years, that this House is vouchsafed a life of five years and that you are going to preside over it during this period, is a matter for congratulation for all the Members of this House."

[8th May 1952]

MR. SPEAKER :—“ It appears that a large number of Members want to take part in this debate and so, I fix a time-limit of ten minutes for each hon. Member to speak.”

*SRI T. ANANTHA PAI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, our country is a country of problems of great complexity. The size of the country is a problem; the population of the country is a problem; and there are God-made problems as well as problems made by ourselves. Now that we have become independent, naturally everybody expected that Ramarajya would be assured and that Ramarajya would come of its own accord. These four years have shown that Ramarajya, if it is to come, has to be worked for by every one in the country irrespective of the fact whether he was part of the Government or not. After the advent of the new Constitution, it was a great event in the history of the country to see 17 crores of our people, into whose hands sovereignty had passed from one person, going to the polls to have their own Government of their free choice and free will. The fact that they did it with so much of political maturity augurs very well for the future of the country and democracy. They have given us the privilege of being the representatives of the people and they expect us to solve all their great problems. Sometimes my imagination staggers whether we would be able to justify that confidence because they expect too much that we will be able to solve the problems, the magnitude of which has been explained to them very well during the elections, both by us and our opponents. Several promises have been held out by all of us, to whichever party we belong. I know that most of the promises could be fulfilled only if we all act in unison and think of the good of the people whom we seek to serve. It is only then that we shall be able to discharge our responsibilities truly and well. Sir, I have always had a feeling that whatever we do here in this House will reach the farthest corners of the world and our newspapers have made our people politically conscious. They are watching every one of our movements and every word that is uttered by their representatives in this House. When I see the press and the visitors' galleries, I have a fear whether we are conducting ourselves as well as the public are expecting us to do. Well, as a young man, I may be more idealistic as all young men are, and I have yet to learn from experience whether it is worthwhile being an idealist at all. After all of us having said so much about the Constitution and having owed allegiance to it as a matter of fact, I was feeling very miserable to see that, when His Excellency came to this House the other day to address the Members of the Legislature, there should have been a walk-out. I am not saying here whether the walk-out was right or wrong. All that Mr. Prakasam said amounted to this: Either His Excellency should go out without addressing the House or he and his friends would walk out.

“ Now, Sir, coming to the Address itself, the Governor's Address is supposed to indicate the policy of the party in power. That Address has not given any indication as to what exactly the

[Sri T. Anantha Pai]

8th May 1952] problems are and how they are going to be tackled. It only shows the magnitude of the problems which came for very careful consideration of the Government. His Excellency has promised to address us again in June. All that we can do on this occasion is only to make a few suggestions. The problem of food is the greatest problem that is facing us to-day. It is a sorry plight of all of us that even after all this talk of Independence, we should depend on other countries for food. It is necessary that in this matter of food, we should not depend on other countries whether it is America or Russia. We have to solve the problem ourselves and no Government can solve the problem unless the people co-operate with it. On this occasion I appeal to all the Government servants who are, I am sure, no less patriotic than we are, to co-operate with the Government and the people in trying to solve the problem as early as possible as the people would expect us to do.

“ Well, Sir, I have always had a feeling as I was going round my constituency, that it was necessary that land reforms should have the immediate attention of the Government. I believe that this is one of the problems that ought to be solved if the food problem is to be solved. I believe the tiller of the soil should be made to feel that he has his part to play in the economic development of the State. Well, if he feels that he has no stake in agriculture, naturally he will not be inclined to play his part well. The Government must therefore pass without delay tenancy legislation which will give a sort of permanency of tenure.

“ The conflicting sections of the public like the landlords and the tenants, the capitalists and the labourers should not try to enrich themselves alone at the expense of the common man. All problems, therefore, should be viewed not from these sectional points of view but from the point of view of the community at large. I have seen large tracts of cultivable land which have been neglected by the landlords. I wish that we have a legislation as in England which will make every landlord realize that he is only a trustee of the land he holds and that he has to play his part well in improving the methods of agriculture and enriching the soil for getting an increased yield for the benefit of the society.

“ So much has been said about adult education. I think it is one of the important problems facing this State. But I wish that the problem of adult education is better left to the people and the Government confine themselves to the education of children. If money is spent on adult education to the neglect of the education of children, I am sure the problem of adult education will continue for ever and ever and the Government will have to go on spending to tackle the problem.

“ I now turn to industries. A reference has been made in the Governor's Address to the plight of those engaged in the handloom industry. I feel that the distress in that industry has been brought about by controls. In India, a lop-sided economy has developed to such an extent that sometimes it becomes difficult to say where

[Sri T. Anantha Pai]

[8th May 1952]

exactly the corrective has to be applied. At one stage, I found that the cloth manufactured out of yarn was cheaper than the yarn itself and that the yarn manufactured out of cotton was cheaper than the cotton itself. Similarly in the field of employment, we find that the employment of the educated is cheaper than the employment of the illiterate classes who are getting a considerably higher wage. The provision of a balanced economy to the middle classes is one of the serious problems facing this State. An entire family consisting of about six persons has to depend for their maintenance on the earnings of one or two members. Even when there is a rise in prices or even a fall, the fundamental defect in the family organization is not removed. Unless the Government take early steps to put some more income into the hands of middle-class families, it will be extremely difficult for these families to survive. After all the middle class is the backbone of our democracy.

"Sir, I have known the conditions in Rayalaseema. I come from the district of South Kanara where everything is green and we are getting plenty of rain. It is a pity that rain is falling in a place where so much of it is not required when there are other parts which are badly in need of it. Our sympathies go to the people of Rayalaseema. The famine problem there is a problem for the State as a whole and not for Rayalaseema alone. I know that whatever steps the Government take will be inadequate from the point of view of the common people, because the people might be expecting too much and the Government will not be able to do much. I would like to make one suggestion. In areas where famine has become chronic, the Government must devise permanent measures like the execution of a big irrigation scheme for Rayalaseema. No political party can make rains fall. The only course is to find an alternative.

"With these words, I support the motion."

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to offer my humble suggestions on behalf of my party as to what the Government should do to help Rayalaseema and other areas which are in the grip of famine. His Excellency has confined his Address only to two points—the plight of handloom weavers and the distress in famine areas. The tendency for the growth of factories in the recent past will completely throw out of employment lakhs of handloom weavers in this State. I will confine my remarks to the famine that is raging in Rayalaseema and other areas. That His Excellency has confined his Address only to famine and the plight of handloom industry is indicative of the fact that famine is the one thing that the administrative machinery in this State should attend to. All people, all attention and all machinery and other resources should be diverted to wage this war against famine, which is a challenge to the Administration, a challenge to the great leaders who have taken up the reins of administration and a challenge to this House as to what suggestions it is going to offer to afford relief to the people who are suffering as a result of this famine. What is this famine due to? It has not been created by

8th May 1952] [Sri P. Thimma Reddi]

human beings. As we read the history of Rayalaseema for the last one century, we find that the one thing that Rayalaseema can boast of is famine. We had famines in 1864, 1874 and 1875. We have read in history about half a dozen famines in which many people died and many people left their villages once for all. The present famine in Rayalaseema will go down in history as a famine resulting in the complete extermination of cattle. We in Rayalaseema have lost orange and mango gardens worth several crores of rupees. Even tamarind trees which generally stand any amount of want of water are dying. The Government propose to do something and they appear to be doing something. As my hon. Friend Mr. Pai said, what the Government do can only be a flea-bite. Perhaps that is the position, considering the financial resources of this State Government and the little help that they are getting from the Government of India. But how are the people of Rayalaseema to be saved? Do the Government want them to leave their places and settle elsewhere? Can the Government provide them with alternative places to settle in comfortably? Are the Government prepared and determined to do something to exterminate the famine for ever? We have been reading in the newspapers about every one sympathizing with Rayalaseema. But what has been done? We had one Government for five years and several Ministers visited Rayalaseema. What have they done? There are rivers flowing through Rayalaseema. Bring their waters up and we will have a Rayalaseema green for ever. There is scope for industrializing the area. Gold, diamond, iron, copper, sulphur and several other raw materials that this country needs are available. Have this State Government or the Central Government investigated the possibility of industrializing Rayalaseema? Nothing has been done by this Government or the Central Government. The Krishna waters are flowing through the area, and the famine can be eradicated by harnessing them. I would like my friends in the Circars and Tamilnad, who are fighting for the Krishna waters, to see that those waters are utilized for the eradication of famine in Rayalaseema. There is much talk about big projects and river valley projects. But nothing has been done. I ask this Government to suggest to the Planning Commission or the Central Government to take up in Rayalaseema some projects for harnessing the waters of the Krishna and for industrial development. Many friends and Ministers have seen the condition of Rayalaseema. His Excellency himself has seen and has been moved by the distress. But what can he do? Our Hon. Chief Minister is an able man, who is loved, adored and appreciated by one and all in the State. People in Rayalaseema have got the confidence that Rajaji will do something. The one thing that is scarce in Rayalaseema is drinking water for human beings and cattle. Several friends, especially, the Raja of Chettinad, referred to the need for supplying more food to the people of the State. The Government may allot several lakhs tons of food for Rayalaseema. But the people there have absolutely no purchasing power. Enquire from any branch of the Imperial Bank of India in Rayalaseema as to how much gold has been pledged with it, how much of the pledge has been redeemed and what the

[Sri P. Thimma Reddi] [8th May 1952]

present credit position is. There is no work for the people to enable them to earn wages. They do not like to live on the charity of philanthropists or the grants given by the Government, though they humbly and with thanks accept charity as and when it comes. It is the duty of the Government to provide them with work to enable them to earn wages. The Government were kind enough to allot 40 lakhs of rupees for Chittoor, 40 lakhs for Cuddapah, 20 lakhs for Kurnool and 20 lakhs for Anantapur. In what way are you going to spend these lakhs of rupees?"

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member should not say 'you' when referring to the Government. 'You' refers to the Chair."

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI :—"Sir, I am sorry for the mistake. I shall follow your advice hereafter."

"The entire allotment will not be spent and I am sure a good portion of it will be resumed by the Government in November or December, by which time it is proposed to close the famine relief works. Though money has been provided, necessary technical staff like overseers, supervisors and engineers have not been appointed to measure and check up a work when it is completed. I understand that in the Circars and elsewhere where there is plenty of water, engineering staff is being used for the provision of protected water-supply. Cannot the provision of protected water-supply for those districts wait for a few months and the people continue to drink the water that they have been drinking for years and years to enable the concentration of all technical staff on famine relief works in Rayalaseema? I hope the Government will divert the available technical staff to Rayalaseema. The wealth of Rayalaseema is being lost to a very great extent and we may not be able to recoup for another twenty-five or thirty years. The people have not got the cattle to plough the lands when the rains come. Cattle are being marched in thousands to the slaughter houses in Oorgaam near Bangalore and Ranipet near Madras. The price of hides and skins has fallen because of the slaughter of too many cattle. I would like my friends who doubt my statement to go to the places mentioned and verify the fact for themselves. In Rayalaseema, the food of the poor Harijans is the flesh of buffaloes, cows and bulls that are being slaughtered in thousands."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member's time is up."

SRI P. THIMMA REDDI :—"What all things require to be done in Rayalaseema have been represented to the Ministers by individuals and the general public. I suggest that the Government take steps to 'practicalise' everything that they propose to do."

"It may be said that lack of funds stands in the way of providing adequate relief. I would like to suggest to the Government two methods for augmenting the resources. One is the auctioning of bus-routes. Though there are some friends in this House who are very much interested in bus-routes, I make this

[Sri P. Thimma Reddi] 8th May 1952]

suggestion. If the present law does not permit it, legislation must be introduced as early as possible to permit the auctioning of bus-routes.

"My hon. Friend Mr. Ramaswami Naidu referred to Rajaji, our Leader, as the giver of many things. I would suggest to the giver to take back one thing and that is prohibition. Prohibition has been a failure according to the experience of the public and some of the Congress legislators sitting here. Let us not stand on false prestige and lose the Rs. 20 crores or so that would accrue by the removal of prohibition."

SRI M. RAJESWARA RAO :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, Harijans constitute more than one-fifth of the total State population." Under Part XVI of the Constitution of India, special safeguards are provided for Harijans for a period of ten years and two years have already elapsed. So, it is necessary for me to suggest . . ."

(At this stage, hon. Member Sri P. Ramamurthi was seen crossing the floor.)

MR. SPEAKER :—"Order, order. The hon. Member should not cross the floor between the Speaker and an hon. Member who is speaking. Now let the hon. Member Sri Rajeswara Rao continue his speech."

SRI M. RAJESWARA RAO :—"It is necessary for me to ask the Government what has been the effect of the various measures formulated by the Government of Madras and also of the various provisions made in the Constitution."

"The evil of untouchability, which has been abolished by the Constitution, is still present in each and every village in the same degree as before, though not in big towns and cities. The Removal of Civil Disabilities Act and the Temple Entry Act and the Prohibition Act are not properly enforced. Specially I am led to feel that the two pieces of legislation, namely, the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act and the Temple Entry Act, are nothing but a mere eye-wash and the Prohibition Act, as far as it relates to the Harijans, is nothing but a farce. In this connection, I would like to submit to the House that though this Government have proposed and adopted several ameliorative measures, they have not been brought to the knowledge or notice of the public and the Harijans especially, for whom they are intended. The Government have not so far reviewed the effect of the various ameliorative measures taken by them. I would also like to submit to the House that the attitude of several Government officers towards the Harijans in the matter of assignment of lands is not encouraging. There are several complaints to this effect and I hope the Government will take proper care of the Harijans."

"Though the Government established a separate Department for Harijan Uplift, except for the recognition of certain bogus hostels, I don't think any material and substantial benefit has accrued to the Harijans in general. There are several complaints

[Sri M. Rajeswara Rao] [8th May 1952]

with regard to the attitude of certain District Harijan Welfare Officers towards some sub-castes among Harijans. I would submit that the Government must look into these things.

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, His Excellency the Governor has elaborately dealt with the various measures, ameliorative measures and relief measures, undertaken for the famine-stricken people in Rayalseema. It has appeared in the papers and has been brought to the notice of the Government from time to time that the Harijans and the Christians there are the worst victims. But it is not known to the public whether the Government have done anything substantial for the relief of the Harijans there. I regret that the Governor's Address has omitted to mention anything about Harijans in this respect.

"Sir, under Article 338 of the Constitution of India, the President of the Indian Republic has appointed a Special Officer to investigate into all matters relating to the special safeguards provided for the Harijans in the various States. He was appointed one year ago. But it is not known yet whether the said officer has toured this State and studied the conditions of the Harijans and whether any report has been submitted to the President in that respect.

"Sir, it is surprising to find that there is no mention in His Excellency's Address about Harijan uplift measures. It has, however, been stated that there will be a comprehensive review of all matters which are important from the point of view of the welfare and development of the State, in the next Budget session. Therefore, I hope that the Government will consider the question of the uplift of the Harijans in general and also the question of the existence of sub-castes among the Harijans and that a comprehensive report would be submitted to the House on the occasion of the Governor's Address so that the apprehensions existing in the minds of the public and the Harijans in particular may be wiped out.

"Then, Sir, I am surprised to find that the Harijan portfolio has been assigned to a Brahman, particularly when there is a Harijan Minister in the Cabinet itself. It is regrettable to note that the public as well as the Harijan Members here are made to doubt whether it is considered that a Harijan is not competent to look after the welfare of the Harijans. I really cannot understand the implications of this action. Therefore, I would like the Government to clarify the position in this respect as soon as possible.

"Finally, I hope that the Government would review all the measures and submit a comprehensive report on the occasion of the Governor's Address in the next Budget session. With these words, I resume my seat."

* SRI G. LATCHANNA :—Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to thank His Excellency the Governor particularly for the frank manner in which he spoke about the situation in the State, by saying that within the short period the present Government has been in office, they could not be expected to go at full speed and formulate their

[Sri G. Latchanna] 8th May 1952]

policy. It is perfectly clear to everybody that due to inefficient administration in the past the conditions in the State are confusing, and we have come to such a state that almost all the legislations that have been enacted are merely on paper and have not been implemented in practice. This will apply to the question of Prohibition, controls and many other matters. So, we hope that the Government will study the situation well and consider particularly the issue of the landless poor and agricultural labourers. That is indeed a very important issue. The Government must find out some means of solving the problem.

"Now, Sir, our Government have in the past failed, at least not cared, to study the problem of fishermen in the State. I must say and I hope everybody will agree that the social and economic conditions of the millions of these people in the State are worse than anything. They are backward not only in social and economic affairs but, if any Hon. Minister of the State Government will take some pains to visit the coastal villages of our State, he will find that not less than 10 per cent of the resident population are suffering from all sorts of diseases, particularly leprosy and tuberculosis, Sir, tuberculosis is very common in the coastal areas due to lack of proper food, and the position of the people there is worse still on account of the changes in Burma politics. Most of the residents there are depending on Burma. About 90 per cent of the people there dealing in fisheries used to go regularly to Burma and once in three years or four years they will come back and stay here in their homes just for three months or six months. In spite of so many deputations and representations of the Burma refugees no steps have been taken by the Government at least to study their position. They have not cared to know how many such families there are in the coastal districts and what their economic and living standards are. They have been completely left to their own fate. His Excellency the Governor has, however, assured us that in the next Session he will give full and clear details about the policies and programmes of the Government regarding every subject. I hope the fishermen problem and the Burma evacuee problem, which is the major problem in the coastal districts, will receive the special attention of the Government.

"Now, I come to the question of Prohibition and the connected issue of ex-tappers. We all know how Prohibition is working in the districts. But I shall say only one thing and that is that in addition to the loss in income, our Government are spending every year four or five crores of rupees, only to encourage corruption and immorality in the State. Nothing substantial has been done to enforce Prohibition strictly. Moreover, the Government are enabling the contractors to earn their livelihood but not the poor ex-tappers who are spread out in thousands and lakhs throughout the State. Of course, the Government may say that there are co-operative societies for the tapping of sweet toddy and manufacture of jaggery. But if only we would go into the question and find out how many co-operative societies there are which are manufacturing jaggery in this way and how much each individual gets

[Sri G. Latchanna]

[8th May 1952]

as remuneration for his labour per day, we must admit that it is all nothing but a show. Really the ex-tappers should not be thrown into the wilderness. The Government must provide sufficient rehabilitation facilities to them. If not, they would be compelled to earn their livelihood by all sorts of means. I hope the present Government will take note of this and take necessary action.

12-45
p.m.

“The Government must also take steps to improve the conditions of labour. The present procedure adopted by the Centre as well as the State regarding the settlement of disputes between the employees and the employers is not at all satisfactory. The parties will have to wait for months and months. Even small questions have to go before the Tribunal which usually takes three or four months or even six months. This is the position. This procedure must be changed. The State must take up the issue in right earnest and urge upon the Central Government and see that they bring forward a comprehensive labour legislation touching all important matters concerning labour. It is high time the Central Government amend the present legislation. Otherwise, they must at least give permission to the State Government to take necessary steps to solve this problem. I hope the present Ministry will certainly look into the matter and do something tangible. With these words, I support the motion.”

SRI K. V. RAMESAM:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, while thanking His Excellency for the speech that he delivered the other day, I submit that it is most disappointing and barren in that it shows no initiative which is so necessary for this august Assembly. I am afraid that the failure of monsoon in Rayalaseema might have affected the past Ministry. I think that it has partly affected His Excellency too. I say this because I find that his speech is so dry and does not give any idea as to the policies that are going to be enunciated by the Government in the near future. However, I would like to suggest a few points for the consideration of the Government so that by considering those points, our new Ministers may take some interest in implementing some of the measures. I come from the Visakhapatnam district. There, conditions are almost on a par with those in Rayalaseema. Though there are rains in that part of the country, the available resources are not properly utilised. If only the Government had in time improved or renovated the tanks in that part of the State, it would have been greatly conducive to the prosperity of the people of that district. It is a pity that that part is mostly a zamindari area which has been taken up by the Government some three years back. Till now no steps have been taken by the Government to improve the lot of the zamindari tenants. All the hon. Members are aware of the fact that the Zamindari Abolition Act came into operation in 1947 and till now no steps have been taken for the amelioration of the zamin ryots. The introduction of the Rent Reduction Act and several other pieces of legislation by the previous Ministry has only resulted in enormous litigation which has become universal. Those measures only

8th May 1952]

[Sri K. V. Ramesam]

helped a few lawyers who got enriched, and did not help the poor tenants. So, I respectfully appeal to the present Ministry that urgent steps should be taken to ameliorate the condition of the zamin ryots by conferring occupancy rights on all those persons who occupied zamin lands and granting ryotwari pattas to them. In this connection, I must bring to the notice of all the hon. Members that the condition of the tenants-at-will throughout the State is very peculiar. An Ordinance should be issued that until substantial land reforms are introduced in right earnest, the tenants who are now cultivating the lands should not be evicted. Unless this is done, I am afraid that a large body of tenants cultivating the lands might be evicted and a permanent injury to these tenants will be the result. Therefore, I appeal to all the hon. Members irrespective of the parties to which they may belong to consider this point carefully. Suitable reforms should be introduced to protect these tenants-at-will from eviction, as they are greatly assisting us in making the food problem easier of solution. Some reforms are necessary in the interests of the landlord and tenant. I therefore respectfully submit that this question of protection to the tenants may be immediately taken up pending a comprehensive legislation.

“With reference to the Visakhapatnam district, I wish to bring one important point to the notice of the hon. Members. That district supplies a large quantity of jaggery which is consumed by the whole State. People in that part of the district offer to sell their goods at a very low price. Jaggery is a commodity needed by almost everybody. This year, there has been a steep fall in the price of jaggery in our taluk. If we allow the present unhappy state of affairs to continue, there is bound to be dissatisfaction among the people. We have made representations to the local authorities and also to the Government requesting them to come to our rescue by fixing a bottom price and also giving facilities for transport of jaggery to places outside the State. But till now there has been no response from the Government. Jaggery is a commodity in which everybody in the State is interested. I appeal to all our friends to take some interest in fixing the price of jaggery, a great quantity of which is being produced in the Visakhapatnam district. I request that the Government may be pleased to accord the necessary protection to this commodity, namely jaggery, by fixing, at least for the time being, some bottom price which would enable the ryots to produce jaggery next year. This is one of the important measures that the Government have to tackle in the immediate future.

“There is another problem which also the Government should tackle without delay. The resources of the ryots are getting more and more meagre. They are not able to get proper credit facilities. The credit facilities must be improved. The existing machinery, like the Co-operative Land Mortgage Banks, etc., are not working satisfactorily. They are not sufficiently capable of meeting the demand. The loans that are distributed by the Government are not really helpful to the ryots. So far as my experience goes, the

[Sri K. V. Ramesam] [8th May 1952]

ryots are not able to get the necessary credit facilities from these banks. The Government must make stringent measures and ask the taluk as well as district officers to see that loans are freely given to all the ryots. Already many of them are heavily indebted. Unless some effective relief is afforded to them, they would be obliged to fall into the hands of the avaricious money-lenders. The result will be that they will be dragged into litigation and deprived of all that they have earned in the course of the past four years or so. My suggestion to the Hon. Ministers is that they should accord greater credit facilities to all these tenants so that they could get the necessary articles for the production of food without difficulty.

"I submit that our part of the State is very backward with regard to roads and other transport facilities. Several representations have been made in the past but there was no response. Especially, our place is a little away from the railway station. The Government must take some steps to afford greater transport facilities."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member's time is up."

SRI K. V. RAMESAM :—"I am just concluding my speech, Sir. I only wish to appeal to the Government to give immediate effect to all these measures mentioned by me. Thank you, Sir."

* SRI M. MUNI REDDI :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, while thanking His Excellency the Governor for his address, I wish to point out that His Excellency has not given any idea of the policies of the Government. Yet the Mover of the motion and the seconder said that the Government wanted to do this and that. They praised the previous Government and their efforts to ameliorate the condition of the poor people. What I would like to suggest is this. The Rajaji Ministry must take early steps to set right the defects that existed in the previous Ministry. Had His Excellency the Governor enunciated the policies of the Government, the Members of this House would have been enabled to express their views and constructive criticisms on the various policies. His Excellency has said in his speech that there is food shortage and that it is due to the successive failure of the monsoon. In this connection, I would like to tell the hon. Members of this House that it is only due to the lack of foresight on the part of the previous Ministry, there is now shortage of foodstuffs in the State. They have not given their full care and attention to the agricultural problem. They spent about 8 crores of rupees on well-subsidies and other subsidies and loans. They spent enormous sums of money on Grow More Food schemes with no result. In this State more than 101 lakhs of acres are under irrigation. Out of this, more than 30 lakhs of acres are under tank irrigation. Most of the tanks have been silted up and so far the Government have not done anything to clear the silt and renovate these tanks. They have not paid any attention to Minor Irrigation schemes. The Government should take note of these things and pay greater attention to these matters."

8th May 1952] [Sri M. Muni Reddi]

"Sir, His Excellency the Governor in his address has stated 1 p.m. that there is no reason to apprehend that there will be any deterioration in procurement of foodgrains. My honest submission is that the policy of controls and procurement of foodgrains pursued by the Government is not liked by the people and should be abolished, as soon as possible. During the transition period, that is, between now and the date of abolition and controls, I suggest, Mr. Speaker, Sir, the introduction of a graded system of levy based on the productivity of foodgrains with a fair minimum exemption limit and free movement of foodgrains. The present policy of controls and procurement of foodgrains has done much harm to the people and has resulted in their being exploited by the Government officials. With these words, I support the motion moved by Sri T. N. Venkatasubba Reddi."

* KUMARASAMY RAJA BAHADUR (RAJA OF KARVET-NAGAR) :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hope the Hon. Chief Minister and other Ministers of the Government will pay due attention to the statement I wish to make. First of all, I wish to contradict a statement made by the hon. Member, Raja Muthiah Chettiar, about the peaceful conduct of the elections. In my constituency, i.e., Puttur, my opponent was my own uncle, Sri R. B. Ramakrishna Raju, Chairman of the former Legislative Council. He used all the influence in his power to see that the people did not vote for me. He made it impossible for the people to get their rations if they did not vote for him. He got many officials transferred thinking that they had been supporting me in the elections. His conduct in the elections was unbecoming of a gentleman. That is why I wish to contradict the statement of Raja Muthiah Chettiar that the elections in this State were conducted peacefully and fairly. The elections were never conducted peacefully and fairly. The elections were threatened that if they did not vote for my uncle who stood on the Congress ticket they would be harassed."

"I am glad that the country has attained its Republican status as a result of the efforts put in by the Congress. But the fair name of the Congress has been spoiled on account of various reasons which the leaders of the Congress Party themselves are quite aware of and I do not wish to repeat them here. Raja Muthiah Chettiar in the course of his speech stated that Sri T. Viswanatham, leader of the K.M.P. Party, can even now become a Minister if he so wishes. I do not think that Sri Viswanatham will accept the offer of a Ministership and I consider it improper to adopt such unfair means."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"Never, never. No such offer was made."

* KUMARASAMY RAJA BAHADUR (RAJA OF KARVET-NAGAR) :—"With regard to the famine prevailing in our areas, I wish to state that though the Government have been doing

[Kumarasamy Raja, Bahadur] [8th May 1952]

everything possible to render help to the people there, the Government officials have not been properly implementing the policies of the Government. I am sorry to say that the officials are not conducting themselves properly. I am a member of the Taluk Famine Relief Committee as also of the District Famine Relief Committee and I am very anxious to work for the good of the people. I want that from the Hon. Chief Minister downwards everyone should work for the welfare of the people. What is actually happening is that the famine relief works started by the Government have not been properly implemented by the officials. All village relief works must be entrusted to the villagers themselves. At present they are being entrusted to the contractors under the supervision of Government supervisors. I can prove that these officials get bribes from the contractors. Such things should be stopped and power should be given to the Taluk or District Famine Relief Committees or Members of the Legislature to entrust such relief works to villagers who wish to do some service to the people.

“Regarding Harijan welfare, I wish to state that there is no use of our sending them to the temples and asking them to worship the deities in the temple. I do not know what purpose will be served by asking them to worship God without giving them food and a place to live in. No useful purpose would be served by allowing them to live in isolated places like the cheris. We must take them into our fold and teach them the way to develop themselves socially and economically.

“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was not thinking of making a speech to-day. After hearing the several speeches made this morning, I thought that the present occasion is the best opportunity to say a few things about the famine prevailing in my area. However I will take another opportunity to speak more fully on the subject.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“It has been the convention in this House that Members who speak on the main motion will not be allowed to speak on the amendments. I have received a list of names of six members who wish to speak, from the Congress, K.L.P. and K.M.P. Parties. Just now I have received the names of two more Members who wish to speak, one each from the Socialist Party and the Toilers' Party. I shall be much obliged if the leaders of the other parties also send the names of Members who wish to speak.”

* SRI K. R. VISWANATHAN:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I regret that His Excellency the Governor in his address has failed to make any reference to the grievances of the Non-Gazetted officers. You know, Sir, the Non-Gazetted officers have been making representations to the Government about their grievances for the last two or three years. The present Government have made a show that they have done something to the Non-Gazetted officers by granting school-fee concessions to their children. This concessions help only a section of the Non-Gazetted officers. Most of the Non-Gazetted officers are in a very pitiable condition. Indeed

8th May 1952] [Sri K. R. Viswanathan]

most of them have already pledged the jewels of their womenfolk. I think the present Government after having learnt a lesson from the recent elections have come forward to do something to the Non-Gazetted officers. The bulk of the Non-Gazetted officers are not satisfied with what the Government have done. The recent Government Order granting school-fee concessions to the children of Non-Gazetted officers is iniquitous and is doing an injustice to the Government servants belonging to the backward classes because the children of the backward classes and Harijans are already enjoying a similar concession with regard to the education of their children. Under this Government Order, only the members of the forward classes get some benefit. Therefore I submit that the Government may so amend the order as to enable Government servants belonging to the backward classes and the Harijan community to get relief in some other form.

“You know, Sir, how the food controls have affected the morale of the country. The richer sections of the public have become corrupt and the poorer sections have borne all the misery resulting from controls.

“The poor sections of the people suffer a lot to get their daily necessities like food and clothing. The prohibition of inter-district movement of foodgrains has especially affected the poor people to a great extent. Poor workers carrying headloads of foodgrains required for their daily consumption are stopped at the borders; they are harassed and, if I may say so, they are even tortured. To the utter misery of these poor people these headloads are seized by the officials. It is tragic to note that sometimes mischief-mongers station themselves at the borders posing as petty officials, threaten the poor people carrying headloads of foodgrains and really waylay them. Because of these things, I would suggest that complete removal of control over transport of foodgrains should be brought into effect as soon as possible and an immediate relaxation of all restrictions on inter-district transport of foodgrains should be given effect to. Sir, I conclude with these words.”

* SRI M. K. PADMAPRABHA GOUNDER:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഗവണ്മെന്ററവർകളുടെ 1952 മേയ് 6-ാം തീയതിയിലെ സന്ദേശം ഒരു തൃപ്തികരവും പുണ്യവുമായി കാണാത്തതിൽ വ്യസനിക്കുന്നു. ഗവണ്മെന്ററവർകളുടെ സന്ദേശത്തിൽ നിർദ്ദേശിക്കപ്പെട്ട ഗവണ്മെന്റിന്റെ നയങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം ഒരു സ്ഥിരവും ഉപയോഗപ്രദമായ യാതൊരു നയപരിപാടികളും കാണുന്നില്ല. ഉദാഹരണമായി ഭക്ഷണധാന്യവിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം ഇക്കാര്യം 14 ലക്ഷം ടൺ ഭക്ഷണസാധനങ്ങൾ കമ്മിയായിരിക്കുമെന്നു പറയുന്നു. അതിനെ പരിഹരിക്കുവാൻ എടുത്തിട്ടുള്ള ചില പരിപാടികൾ അർത്ഥശൂന്യമാണ്. എന്നാൽ ഭക്ഷണക്കാരും ഈ സ്റ്റോറിനെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളം നടുക്കടയല്ല, കൈകൾക്കായി തുടങ്ങിയിട്ടുള്ള ഒരു രോഗമാണ്. ഈ രോഗത്തെ പരിഹരിക്കുവാനെന്ന പേരിൽ ധാരാളം വെല്ലുവിളികൾ ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. എന്നിട്ടും ഭക്ഷണക്കാരും പരിഹരിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടില്ല. ഇതിന്നു കാരണമെന്താണെന്നും, ഇതിന്നു ശാശ്വതമായ ഒരു പരിഹാരം കാണുവാനുള്ള വഴിയെന്താണെന്നും ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഗവണ്മെന്ററവർകളുടെ സന്ദേശത്തിൽ വിവരിച്ചു കാണുന്നില്ല. ഒരു കഠിനമായ രോഗത്തിന്നു തക്ക ചികിത്സയൊ, ഒരു ശസ്ത്രക്രിയയൊ ചെയ്യാതെ രോഗത്തെ മുൻകൈയില്ലെന്നുവെച്ചാൽ അതു കൂടിയേകുമ്പോൾ അതിന്റെ മൂലകാരണങ്ങളെ സംശോധന ചെയ്യുന്നതായാൽ ഉപദേശം ഉപദേശം തമ്മിലുള്ള ബന്ധത്തിന്നു

1-15 p.m.

[Sri M. K. Padmaprabha Gounder] [8th May 1952]

[illegible]

“രണ്ടാമതായി ഇന്നത്തെ പ്രൊക്യൂർമെന്റ് സമ്പ്രദായം കൃഷിക്കാരന് ഒരു ശാപമായിട്ടാണ് തീനിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഉല്പാദനം ചെയ്യുന്ന കൃഷിക്കാരുടെ പ്രൊക്യൂർമെന്റ് ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരെ ഭയപ്പെടേണ്ടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. അതുകൊണ്ട് അവനെ ഉല്പാദനം വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കേണ്ട ആശയം ശരിയല്ലായിരിക്കാം ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഇത് ഞാൻ വെറുതെ പറയുന്നതല്ല, സ്വന്തം അനുഭവത്തിന്റെ വെളിച്ചത്തിൽനിന്നും മനസ്സിലാക്കിയിട്ടുള്ളതാണ്. ഇതിനെപ്പറ്റിയും യാതൊന്നും ഗവണ്മെന്റുകൾക്ക് സന്ദേശത്തിൽ പറയാതെത്തന്നില്ല. ആയതുകൊണ്ട് ഗവണ്മെന്റിൽനിന്നും അടിയന്തരമായ ഒരു പോംവഴി കാണേണ്ടതാണ്.”

“ജലശേഷനവധാനികളെപ്പറ്റി യാതൊന്നും അന്വേഷിച്ചുകാണുന്നില്ല. ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഗവണ്മെന്റുടെ സന്ദേശത്തിൽ

[illegible]

“വയനാട്ടിൽ കോളനൈസേഷൻ പദ്ധതി നടപ്പിലുണ്ടല്ലോ. അവിടെ മ്യൂയിൻ അന്നു താഴെയായി കോളനിക്കാരെ കുടിയിരുത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. അവർ ഭൂമികൊടുക്കുന്നത് 5 ഏക്കർ കറു (dry), 2 ഏക്കർ വയലുമാണ്. ഒരു കോളനിക്കാരൻ ഗവണ്മെന്റിൽനിന്നു ചെയ്യുന്ന ധനസഹായം 1,950 ക. യാണ്. നിർഭാഗ്യവശം വയനാട്ടിലെ കൃഷി സമ്പ്രദായങ്ങളെ കുറിച്ചൊ, പൂർണ്ണരൂപം സമ്പ്രദായങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചൊ യുനെസ്കോ പരിശോധിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരാണ് കൈകാര്യം നടത്തുന്നത്. ഏഴ് ഏക്കർ വരെ സുമാർ ഒന്നൊ രണ്ടൊ കൊല്ലങ്ങൾക്കുള്ളിൽ 1,950 ക. യും ഒരു കോളനിക്കാരൻ വാങ്ങി ചിലവാക്കിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. വയനാട്ടിലെ കന്നുകൂട്ട കൃഷിപ്പദ്ധതികളെക്കുറിച്ചും, കരുമുളകു, റബ്ബർ മുതലായ ഫ്ലോറർ ചരക്കുകൾ ഉൽപ്പാദനം ചെയ്യുന്നതാണ് ആവക കന്നുകൂട്ട ഉപയോഗിക്കപ്പെടുന്നത്. അവ വളരെ ആദായകരമായ പൂർണ്ണരൂപം കൂടിയാണ്. പക്ഷെ ഏഴു കൊല്ലത്തെ മുതലിന്റെ (Capital investment) വേണ്ടിവരും. 1,950 ക. മാത്രം കൊടുക്കപ്പെടുന്ന ഒരു കോളനിക്കാരന്റെ മറ്റു വളരെ അപര്യാപ്തമാണ്. കോളനിക്കാരനാവട്ടെ കിരുംബത്തോടുകൂടിയാണ് താമസമുറപ്പിക്കുന്നത്. അഞ്ചും, എട്ടും, പത്തും അംഗങ്ങളുള്ളതായ കിരുംബത്തെയെ കുറിച്ചൊ സുമാർ പത്തുപതിനായിരം ജനങ്ങളോളം വരുന്ന ജനവികാശം ഉണ്ടു്. മിക്ക കോളനിക്കാരും അവരുടെ സ്വസ്ഥവും വിവിധ നഗ്നിക്കപ്പെട്ടിട്ടാണ് കാണുന്നത്. ഗവണ്മെന്റിൽനിന്നും മറ്റുകാലത്തിന്നു മ്യൂട്ട്തന്നെ താൽക്കാലികമായ വല്ല സഹായങ്ങളും ചെയ്യുകൊടുക്കാത്തപക്ഷം കയ്യാളെന്നു പട്ടിണിയുടെ അടിപെട്ട സാധുക്കൾ നരകിക്കേണ്ടിവരുന്നെന്നതിന്നു സംശയമില്ല.

8th May 1952] [Sri M. K. Padmaprabha Gounder]

“കോളനി ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരും സംബന്ധിച്ച കോളനിക്കാക്ഷ് വാളരെ അതൃപ്തിയുണ്ടെന്നു എടുത്തു പറയാൻ ഈ സന്ദർഭത്തിൽ ഞാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നു. കോളനി ഏരിയയിൽ പെട്ട കെട്ടിടങ്ങളിലായിട്ടുള്ളവർ, മുജിബുററാഹ് മുതലായവരുടെ ക്രൂരീകൃതികൾ പിടിച്ചെടുത്തിട്ടുണ്ട്. കോളനിക്കാക്ഷ് കൊടുത്തിട്ടുള്ളതും ഇതു വയനാട്ടിലെ ആദിമനിയോസി കരോടു ചെയ്തുന്ന ഏതൊരു വലിയ അനിശ്ചിതമാണ്.”

SRI B. RAMAKRISHNA REDDI :— అధ్యక్షా, గవర్నరుగారి ప్రసంగము చూచినట్లయితే చాలా ఆశాభంగము కలిగించునట్టిదిగా కనపించుచున్నది. ఈ ప్రభుత్వమువారి పాలనీ ఏమో ఎంతకీ అవగతమగుటలేదు. ఈ ప్రసంగంలో ప్రశంసార్హమైన విషయమేమో ఎంత వెదకినను బోధపడుతులేదు. ప్రభుత్వముయొక్క ఆర్థిక యములేమో, ఈనాటి క్లిష్ట పరిస్థితులలో వారేమేమీ చేయదలచుకొన్నారో, మన శ్రమములేమో, ఈనాటి క్లిష్ట పరిస్థితులలో వారేమేమీ చేయదలచుకొన్నారో, మన రాష్ట్రాన్ని ఈనాడు ఎదుర్కొన్న విపరీత పరిస్థితులతోలాగించి ప్రజాసామాన్యానికి తిండి, బట్టి సౌకర్యములు కలుగజేయుటానికి ఏవి పనులు ప్రారంభించదలచారో ఈ ప్రసంగంలో ఎక్కడా ఉద్ఘాటించబడియండలేదు. ఇటువంటి ఆశ్రయరహితమైన ప్రసంగం యొక్క ప్రయోజనమేమో, బహుశా వారికే బోధపడిందో లేదో అనుమానమే. రాష్ట్రంలో అనేక భాగాలలో ఈ నాడు డ్రైము విలయతాండవం చేస్తోంది. ఈ డ్రైము నివారణకుగాను ఏవో కొన్ని పనులు చేస్తామని గవర్నరుగారి ప్రసంగంలో తెలియజేసారు. కాని ఆ పనులు ఏమో, వాటికి నిర్వహించటానికి ఎంత సొమ్ము వినియోగించదలచారో మాకు తెలియజేయబడలేదు. ప్రభుత్వం వారి పాలనీ ఏమో తెలుసుక ప్రజా సహకారము పొందుట ఈ ప్రభుత్వానికి ఏ విధంగా సాధ్యమో అర్థమగుటలేదు.

“ ఈ నాడు దేశంలో ప్రజాసామన్యము ఎన్నో వాదలకు గురి అవుతుందంటే దానికి ఇప్పుడున్న కంట్రోల్సు విధానమే కారణము. ఇదివరలో ఉన్న కాంగ్రెసు ప్రభుత్వమువారు ప్రజలు ఎన్ని విధముల వినవలెనోనన్నా ప్రజాభిప్రాయాన్ని మన్నించలేదు. దీని ఫర్వసానమేమో వారు ఎన్ని కలహాలు తెలుసుకొన్నారు. కంట్రోల్సు వద్దని ప్రజలు ఎంతో కాలంగా ఆందోళనచేస్తున్నారు. ఈ విషయంలో ప్రజాభిప్రాయాన్ని మన్నించని వేషకటి ప్రభుత్వాన్ని ప్రజలు ఎన్ని కలహాల సమూలంగా ఓడించివేసారు. మంతులలో చాలామంది, పెద్దలమనుకొనేవారు ఎన్ని కలహాల పరాజయం వేసారు. ప్రజాభిప్రాయము ఏమో తెలుపుడుచేశారు. అయినప్పటికీ ఈ ప్రజాభిప్రాయాన్ని ఈ ప్రభుత్వం కూడా గుర్తించలేదు. కంట్రోల్సువల్ల ప్రజలందరినీ జీవితంలో చాలా చెడుగులు కనుపెస్తున్నాయి. బాక్సుమార్కెట్లు తెరిచేతోంది. ఆహార ధాన్యాల పంపకం సరిగా జరగటంలేదు. గాంధీమహాత్ముడుకూడ కంట్రోల్సును తొలగించాలని చెప్పాడు. ‘Control is a crime’ అన్నాడు. ఈ కంట్రోల్సు తొలగించిన నేగాని ప్రజలు సుఖపడరని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను. కంట్రోల్సు నింబంధనలు అడ్డురావడం వల్లనే ఈ నాడు టైమిడిటీమైన రాయలసీమలోని ప్రజలకు ఆహార ధాన్యాలు సొరకడంలేదని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“ కంఠ్రోల్లువల్ల ఉద్యోగులలో లింబగ్లాండ్‌తనం పెరిగిపోయింది. వలెనైచేసే రైతు ఉద్యోగుల దయాదాక్షిణ్యాలపై ఆధారపడి ఉండవలసి వస్తోంది. కలిగిన భూస్వాములు తమ భాగ్యాలను హెచ్చు ధరలకు అమ్మకంబున్నారు. ఉద్యోగస్తులు లంచాలు తీసుకొని చూచి చూడనట్లు వారిని వదలివేస్తున్నారు. దీనివల్ల మాడువందల రూపాయలు అప్పువలసిన పుట్టి భాగ్యము ఈనాడు అయిదు వందల రూపాయలకు

[Sri B. Ramakrishna Reddi] [8th May 1952]

తాము సంపాదించుకొనిన లాభాలను బట్టి బోసఫోలు ఇచ్చేటట్లు విరాట్టుచేయనిదే యజమానులమధ్య, కార్మికులమధ్య సంబంధ వ్యాంధ్యములు సరిగా వుండవు. లాభములలో కార్మికులకూడా భాగస్వాములైనని పాఠశాలకులు గుర్తించేటట్లు చేయవలసినదని కోరుచున్నాను.

“ఒక ప్రాహెలిక విధానం గురించి ఆలోచించినా ఆదేశంత సక్రమంగా నిర్వహించబడుచున్నదని చెప్పవలసివచ్చింది. ఈ ప్రాహెలిక పాలిసీ ఫెయిల్ అయినదని ప్రజలందరకు తెలుసు. ఈ విధానంవల్ల మన రాష్ట్రభిక్షానాకు 20 కోట్లు రూపాయలు నష్టమే మిగిలింది కాని, ప్రజావాహనశ్యానికి ఎంతమాత్రము లాభముకలగలేదు. నానాటికి దొంగతనంగా త్రాగేవారిసంఖ్య అధికమైపోతుంది. పోలీసువారుకూడా దొంగతనంగా సారాయితయారుచేయడాన్ని అరికట్టలేకండాఉన్నారు. దీనికి ప్రజాదరణ, సహాయము ఉన్నట్లు కనిపించదు. ప్రజా సహకారముపొందని ఈ పాలిసీ ఎంతకొందరగా తొలగించినట్లయితే అంతమందిది. ఈ నాడు ప్రాహెలిక పాలిసీ ఒక ఫార్స్ అని ప్రజలు అనుకొంటున్నారు.

“కరువు నివారణకని ప్రభుత్వమువారు ఈ జిల్లాలకు, జిల్లాలకు ఇంతంత అనిచెప్పి కేటాయిస్తున్నారు. ఒక్కొక్క జిల్లాకు ఏదో 10, 15 లక్షలు ఖర్చు చేసినంత మాత్రంచేత టైమనివారణ జరుగదు. చిత్తూరు, కడప, కర్నూలు, ఆనంతపురం, నెల్లూరు, గుంటూరు జిల్లాలు ఈనాడు మహా టైమనికి గురిఅవుతున్నాయి. అధమము 4, 5 కోట్లు రూపాయలు ఖర్చుచేస్తేనే కాని కొంతవరకైనా ఈ టైమ పరిస్థితులను నివారించ సాధ్యముకాదు. మా నెల్లూరు జిల్లాలోని ఉదయగిరి, కనిగిరి, దర్శి, పాదలి తాలూకాలలో ఈనాడు ప్రజలు పడుతున్న బాధలు చెప్ప నలవిగానంతఉన్నవి. త్రాగడానికి మంచినీరుకూడా లభించకుండా ప్రజలు బాధపడుతున్నారు. ఈ ప్రాంతాలలోని పేదవారిని ఈ కష్టకాలంలో ఆదుకోవలసిన బాధ్యత ప్రభుత్వమువారిపై ఉన్నదని తెలుపుచున్నాను. ఉచిత గంజిపాత కేంద్రాలు, మొదలైనవి స్థాపించి వెంటనే సహాయము చేయవలసినదని నేను కోరుచున్నాను.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“I now call upon the hon. Members to formally move the amendments standing in their names.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘Add the following at the end:—

“but regret to note (1) that Your Excellency has not been advised by your Ministers properly as regards the situation in the State in various respects and the means of bringing effective relief to such a situation, (2) that Your Excellency's Ministers did not advise you to take effective and immediate steps in connection with famine conditions in Rayalaseema districts and other famine areas and even the measures adopted later were inadequate to ease the situation and (3) that no effective measures were contemplated to prevent the ever recurring famine year after year in those areas known as the ‘famine zone’.”

The amendment was duly seconded.

8th May 1952]

MR. SPEAKER:—“As regards Sri T. Viswanatham's amendment, I am of the opinion that it is not in order.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I request you not to make up your mind before I say something on this subject. Sir, when I met you in your room, you were good enough to inform me that you will not entertain my amendment as it is out of order. I submit it is not, Sir.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“I think it is.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“May I, Sir, place the following points for your consideration. You were pleased to say that there is provision in the Rules of Procedure of the House for moving a No-Confidence Motion. I submit, Sir, that it is only one of the ways. There are several ways of expressing our lack of confidence in the Ministry and one of them is under Rule 48 which prescribes the procedure for moving a motion expressing want of confidence in the Ministry. Supposing, Sir, during the budget session we move a Cut Motion and the Government and ourselves decide to make it a matter of confidence, it becomes another method of expressing our lack of confidence in the Ministry.”

MR. SPEAKER:—“That is a Vote of Censure. The hon. Member must make a difference between a Vote of Censure and a No-Confidence Motion.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—“Sir, I will make that also very clear. Rule 48 is one method by which provision is made for moving a Vote of No-Confidence. It does not mean that there is no other method. Had it been so, it could have been clearly said in Rule 5 (2) that any member may give notice of amendments except those which express want of confidence in the Ministry. You, Sir, who drafted the Rules, were not pleased to say so. The House had not approved any such rule. By mere implication the right of the Opposition could not be taken away. The rights of the House as well as the rights of the Members must be protected and they could be protected only by interpreting the rule in this manner. No right can be excluded by mere implication; unless it is specifically excluded it cannot be taken away. Then, Sir, if you refer to Rule 5 (2), what does it say? It does not make any reference to Rule 48. It simply says that ‘any member may give notice of amendments to such a motion by way of adding additional words at the end of the address but not otherwise before such time as may be fixed by the Speaker.’ This is all that it says. It does not say that a No-Confidence Motion can be moved only under Rule 48 and that it is excluded under this Rule; nor do the provisions relating to the budget say so.

* Sri T. Viswanatham:—“Add the following at the end:—

“But regret to inform Your Excellency that the Ministers appointed by you do not have the confidence of this House.”

[Sri T. Viswanatham] [8th May 1952]

"Sir, as you just now said that a Vote of Censure is different from a Motion of No-Confidence, I would refer you to page 290 of May's Parliamentary Practice, dealing with Votes of Censure."

MR. SPEAKER:—"In England they have not got a special procedure as we have got here. That is the difference."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Sir, I cannot carry on this kind of a cross-conversation."

MR. SPEAKER:—"But, I must also correct the hon. Member!"

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Most certainly, Sir, I am for correction. If you refer to May's Parliamentary Practice, page 290, Votes of Censure, the language used is this:

"By established convention the Government never fail to accede to a demand from the Leader of the Opposition to allot a day for discussion of a motion expressing lack of confidence in the Government, a vote of censure, as it is called."

A Vote of Censure is only the usual method of calling it. There is really no difference between a motion expressing lack of confidence and a Vote of Censure. Sir, if you are pleased to look into the language of my amendment, you will find that I am following exactly the practice of the British House of Commons with which you are so familiar. I will give only four instances, Sir, in which a motion of censure, a motion of want of confidence, was moved in the House of Commons and on which Governments were defeated. The first was in 1859—page 118 of Volume 154, Hansard. I am only quoting the language used by the Marquess of Hartington—

"But we beg humbly to submit to Her Majesty, that it is essential for securing satisfactory results to our deliberations, and for facilitating the discharge of Her Majesty's high functions that Her Majesty's Government should possess the confidence of this House and of the Country and we deem it our duty respectfully to represent to Her Majesty that such confidence is not reposed in the present Advisers of Her Majesty."

MR. SPEAKER:—"But this happened in 1859."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"May I also submit, Sir, that you are always giving your rulings dating back to 1859. (Laughter.) I will now come to 1892, 33 years towards this side. It was on the 8th August 1892 (Hansard—1892—Volume 7) that Mr. H. H. Asquith moved the motion on which the Government fell. The motion ran as follows:—

"That we feel it, however, to be our duty humbly to submit to Your Majesty that it is essential that Your Majesty's Government should possess the confidence of this House and of the Country, and respectfully to represent to Your Majesty that such confidence is not reposed in the present Advisers of Your Majesty."

45
m. "Englishmen did not think in 1892 that the language of 1859 should not be used because it was old. Mr. Asquith adopted the same language. Now I should like to come to much more recent times. I refer to the Labour censure motion moved by Mr. Clynes on 17th January 1924. There also the language used is the same as the language used in 1859. It ran as follows:—'But it is our duty respectfully to submit to Your Majesty that Your Majesty's

[Sri T. Viswanatham] 8th May 1952]

present advisers have not the confidence of this House'. A few years later in the year 1932, Mr. Lausbury moved a motion as follows: 'That this House can have no confidence in a Government which confesses its inability, etc.'

"Therefore, Sir, I have taken you through a long series of years between 1859 to 1932 and I submit that the language that I have used is not out of order. It is quite within our rules. Our rules provide a method for expressing want of confidence in the Government. It does not exclude other methods. I can move a cut-motion and defeat the Government. But that does not prevent me from moving an amendment to this resolution expressing want of confidence in the Government and thus defeat this Government. In fact it is a privilege of the Opposition to take such opportunities and in as many ways as possible to express want of confidence in the Government. I therefore submit my amendment for your consideration. Please do not rule it out of order."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have heard the hon. Member and that too with patience. I must tell the House that in England they have not got separate rules as we have here."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I referred you to page 290 of May's Parliamentary Practice. There is a special provision."

MR. SPEAKER:—"There when they take the vote, the Leader of the Opposition says they want to press for a division, and he says point-blank either it is a snap vote or a vote of confidence."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Excuse my interruption, Sir. I referred you to page 290 of the May's Parliamentary Practice."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Please go through the Standing Orders and point out to me how your motion could be allowed. We have what is called the Rules. They have got the Standing Orders. Let the hon. Member point from the Standing Orders."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Yes, Sir, I referred you to page 290, paragraph 4, regarding votes of censure."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member will find the Standing Orders in the last pages. Let him point out from there."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"May I then ask, Sir, whether it is your view that if it is not in the Standing Orders it is not to be admitted."

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is not that. When we have specific ways to do things, the hon. Member must adopt those specific ways to do them."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Are other methods then excluded?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"What I say is that when a specific way is prescribed by which the motion could be brought forward, the hon.

[Mr. Speaker]

[8th May 1952]

Member should follow that method. If he wants to bring in a no-confidence motion let him follow that rule. But he cannot bring that motion in this way, that is by moving an amendment to the motion on the Governor's Address"

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I don't want to try the patience of the Speaker. But I want to make one submission."

MR. SPEAKER :—" In spite of the hot atmosphere in the Chamber, I am very cool." (Laughter.)

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I am not trying your patience, Sir. What I say is this. When the rules were framed by you, if it was your intention to prescribe only one method by which a vote of no-confidence might be brought forward, you would have said so. But the rules do not actually say so. They give us perfect liberty to move any amendment which we like to this Resolution of thanks. It does not exclude a vote of no-confidence. Therefore we are at perfect liberty on this occasion to say that we treat this as a vote of no-confidence. The rules not only provide two methods but also another, namely, a straight vote of no-confidence and also the way in which it should be enforced. The rules do not say they exclude any other method."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Let the hon. Member follow the methods prescribed in the rules"

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I am submitting, Sir, that I have three, even four methods by which I could do it, and my right cannot be cut away in this manner."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Let the hon. Member follow the procedure"

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" But, Sir, I cannot give away my right to move an amendment to the Resolution of thanks and also the right to move a cut-motion during the Budget discussions to express no-confidence in the Government. My right cannot be taken away simply because of Rule 48 or 49."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The wording of the amendment should not be in this way"

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" It is a straight method."

MR. SPEAKER :—" It is an improper method"

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I submit, Sir, it is not improper."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have heard the hon. Member. I will give my ruling now. As I have been saying, in England they have not got Rules similar to Rules 48 or 49 for moving a no-confidence motion. There when the vote is taken, the Leader of the Opposition says point-blank, either it is a snap vote or a vote of no-confidence. If he says it is a snap vote no action need be taken. That is, the Ministers need not resign."

8th May 1952]

[Mr. Speaker]

" According to our Rules the hon. Member cannot move an amendment similar to the one he has given notice of to the Resolution of thanks. If the hon. Member wants to move such a motion, as I have already said he must follow Rules 48 and 49. A similar motion was attempted to be moved, I think in the Travancore-Cochin State or somewhere recently. There the Speaker vetoed the motion. So I rule the amendment given notice of by Sri Viswanatham out of order."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I think it won't be taken as a precedent."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Unless the Rules are changed, it will be a precedent."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" The Hon. Speaker was pleased to say that whatever happened to-day will not form a precedent."

SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—" I hope the ruling applies only to the words used in the amendment."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have given the ruling. I am not here to discuss the ruling. The other amendments may now be moved."

DR. K. B. MENON :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but that this House regrets that in the said Address His Excellency the Governor should have failed to inform the Legislature of the causes of its summons as relates to the entire period of the session; and expresses its surprise and concern that His Excellency the Governor should have postponed a clear indication of the contemplated legislative policies of His Government regarding general matters of vital and immediate interest, such as food shortage, famine, land reform, prohibition and the like."

The amendment was duly seconded."

SRI K. RAJAGOPALA RAO :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that the measures and proposals made in the Address are inadequate to deal with the present situation in the State."

The amendment was duly seconded."

SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

' Add the following at the end :—

" but regret that in the said Address no indication was given of the measures to be immediately taken to solve

[Sri K. Krishna Rao]

[8th May 1952]

on a long term basis, the problems of recurring famines and unemployment on a mass scale that stalk the State of Madras to-day."

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to note with disappointment—

- (1) that no steps have been indicated to provide drainage schemes for any of the towns in Andhra districts;
- (2) that no mention has been made of supplying electricity to dry areas in Andhra districts for agricultural purposes;
- (3) that no steps have been suggested to start minor irrigation schemes to increase food production immediately;
- (4) that no attempts have been envisaged to ameliorate the conditions of unemployed labourers caused by the closing down of industries in many districts;
- (5) that no mention has been made of attempts to increase the salaries of non-gazetted officers to the level of those recommended in the Central Pay Commission's report;
- (6) that no mention has been made regarding privileges of members."

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI C. PULLA REDDI :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret that nothing has been said about the working of the present Prohibition Act, the miseries it has caused to thousands of toddy-tappers and the vast toiling masses of the State."

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to note that His Excellency the Governor was ill-advised in taking measures to implement the Malabar Tenancy (Amendment) Act despite unanimous opposition to the same on the part of tenants of all shades of opinion and from majority of elected members of the Assembly from Malabar, and in failing to take measures to relieve the peasants who were hard hit by the sudden and abrupt fall in prices of coconut, arecanut, pepper and other agricultural products of Malabar."

The amendment was duly seconded.

8th May 1952]

SRI T. C. NARAYANAN NAMBIAR :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to note that His Excellency the Governor is ill-advised in observing complete silence on the burning educational problems of the State especially with regard to the pitiable pay and service conditions of the teachers; and that it is necessary to bring to the notice of His Excellency the Governor the imperative need to take immediate steps—

(a) to remove—

- (1) the disparity in the scales of pay of the teachers of the same grade;
- (2) the infringement of the right of teachers to organize;
- (3) the ban on teachers becoming members of any legal political party; and
- (4) the impediments in the way of spreading free and universal primary education as guaranteed by the Constitution by immediately evolving a progressive democratic and national educational policy ;

(b) to remove the cancellation or suspension of teaching certificates indiscriminately consequent on the alleged ‘ Communist troubles ’ of 1948-50 and order reinstatement with compensation."

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI K. P. GOPALAN :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to note that despite the fact that there is a serious crisis in the handloom industry in the Madras State as a result of which lakhs of workers are unemployed and thrown in the streets, the Government failed—

- (1) to suggest and to take concrete steps to give immediate relief to unemployed handloom workers;
- (2) to place orders with the handloom industry for supply of cloths for the Defence and other departments;
- (3) to subsidize the handloom factory owners to clear away the accumulated stocks of cloth at cheaper rates and enable them to run the industry;
- (4) to prohibit the import of foreign cloth into this country;
- (5) to find markets for the handloom goods at home and abroad;

[Sri K. P. Gopalan],

[8th May 1952]

(6) to lower the price of the yarn;

(7) to change the textile policy of the Government and the attitude towards the handloom industry; and

(8) to take immediate steps to save the industry from complete collapse and to save the workers from starvation deaths and to stop unemployment." " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI M. HANUMANTHA RAO :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

'Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note the failure to recognize the great urge among the people of Andhra, Kerala, Kanara and Tamilnad for the formation of linguistic States and to recommend to the Government of India suitable steps for the immediate formation of such linguistic States." " " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI B. SANKARAYYA :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

'Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to state that no mention is made in the said Address of the conditions of handloom weavers." " " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI S. RAMALINGAM :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

'Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that nothing is mentioned about the working of the Zamindari Abolition Act." " " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI G. YELLAMANDA REDDI :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

'Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that the problems of Zamin ryots have not been touched upon in the said Address." " " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI K. GOVINDA RAO :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

'Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that the problems of inamdari ryots have not been touched upon in the said Address." " " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

8th May 1952]

SRI GUNTUR BAPANAYYA :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

'Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note that the deplorable conditions under which the agricultural labourers are living and the solution of the problem has not been mentioned in the Address." " " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI G. RAMA RAO :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

'Add the following at the end—

" but regret that the issues regarding the miserable conditions of the non-gazetted officers of the State and their real and just demands for living wages and relief from their overburdened work, have not been dealt with." " " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI C. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

'Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to note—

- (1) that the Address contained reference to the passing away of King George VI and congratulatory message to Queen Elizabeth on her ascending the throne;
- (2) that no reference was made in the Address to the formation of Andhra State; and
- (3) that no reference was made in the Address to Nandikonda and Siddeswaram Projects."

The amendment was duly seconded.

JANAB K. M. SEETHI :—" Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

'Add the following at the end :—

" but regret to state that His Excellency the Governor has not been fully and correctly informed of the sufferings of the people owing to the failure of the Government to give them the necessities of life, viz., food, cloth and houses, protection to industries, employment for labour and also their failure to redress the grievances of the minorities in the matter of the treatment accorded to them and their experience in the recent general elections." " " "

The amendment was duly seconded.

[8th May 1952]

SRI M. VEERABHADRAM:—“Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘Add the following at the end:—

- “but regret to note that no mention is made in the Address about the irrigation developments in the upland (dry) areas in this State in general and in Srikakulam and
- Visakhapatnam districts in particular.”

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI C. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO:—“Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘Add the following at the end:—

- “but regret to note that there is no mention in the Address about the unemployment and living problems facing the working population of this State.”

The amendment was duly seconded.

MR. SPEAKER:—“I allow the hon. Member Sri Kalyanasundaram to move the amendment sitting in his seat as he is not keeping good health.”

SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM:—“Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name and thank the Speaker for the courtesy shown to me—

‘Add the following at the end:—

- “but regret that the Government have not taken immediate steps to remove the feelings of bitterness prevailing among the general public due to—

- (a) the continued attack on the civil liberties in all parts of the State;
- (b) the failure of the Government to withdraw the conspiracy cases and other cases pending against as many as 500 workers, peasants, students and members of the Communist Party of India for the past 2½ years and over;
- (c) the failure of the Government to order the release of all political workers and trade union and kisan leaders convicted and undergoing sentences in different jails;
- (d) the failure of the Government to institute enquiry into complaints of police atrocities, torture, rape, etc., on the workers and peasants and their families during the past five years and to take action against guilty officials;
- (e) the failure of the Government to order the refund of the amounts of security, collected and forfeited from the presses belonging to political parties and trade unions;

8th May 1952] [Sri M. Kalyanasundaram]

- (f) the failure of the Government to restore the properties seized from the organizations of workers and peasants;
- (g) the failure of the Government to order the refund of collective fines and restoration of properties confiscated from the people;
- (h) the failure to publish the report of the committee appointed by the Government to enquire into the firing on political prisoners inside Salem Jail on 11th February 1950.”

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—“Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘Add the following at the end:—

“but regret—

- (1) that the Government has failed to grapple with the problems of the slump which has already led to a closing down of the handloom industry, the tannery industry and other industrial establishments leading to the unemployment of hundreds of thousands of workers and middle class employees and to a great shrinkage of trade and commerce;
- (2) that the Government has failed to address itself to the most urgent task of basic agrarian reforms providing for protection and safeguarding of the interests of tenants and landless agricultural labourers, which alone would enable the State to arrest the rapid decay in agriculture and take a major forward stride in agriculture and by providing the necessary internal market to enable the State to get over the slump and take a major forward stride in industry, trade and commerce;
- (3) that the Government continues the policy of the previous Government in assisting employers to impose greater burdens on the workers and in suppressing the trade unions by resort to large scale victimization and dismissals.”

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI D. SEETHARAMIAH:—“Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘Add the following at the end:—

- “but regret to note that in spite of all this, the Government have only just touched the fringe of the problem of famine relief in Rayalaseema and left lakhs of the famine-stricken people to face starvation deaths and miseries of untold nature and that they have failed to grant subsistence loans and execute famine works in a degree which will afford relief even to two per cent of the lakhs of famine-stricken people.”

The amendment was duly seconded.

[8th May 1952]

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“ Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to note that in view of 90 per cent of Ceylon Indians being descendants of original inhabitants of Madras State, the Government have not taken proper steps to impress upon the Central Government the necessity for a speedy and honourable settlement of the Ceylon Indian problem.” ’ ’ ’

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI V. R. KRISHNA IYER :—“ Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to note the utter absence of any indication regarding safeguarding of civil liberties, the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive in the rest of the State, the provision of free legal assistance to poor litigants, the dissemination of free education, the provision of free medical service as also Public Health service to the poor millions and the grant of increase in salaries to Non-Gazetted Officers in conformity with the Central Pay Commission's scales, and the imposition of wholesome taxes like death duties and taxes on plantations.” ’ ’ ’

The amendment was duly seconded.

SRI N. SIVARAMI REDDI :—“ Sir, I move the amendment standing in my name—

‘ Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to note that—

- (1) the relief measures so far adopted in the famine-stricken areas of this State are quite inadequate and far from satisfying the urgent requirements of these areas;
- (2) in the matter of granting remission of land revenue the attitude and policy of the Government has been to extract as much as possible from the peasants;
- (3) the amount allotted for subsistence loans is quite inadequate;
- (4) there is much delay in the disbursement of loans and corruption is rampant;
- (5) the recovery of loans due to the co-operative banks and private money-lenders has not been stopped; and
- (6) the gruel supplied at gruel centres is of a poor quality and has literally no food value.” ’ ’ ’

The amendment was duly seconded.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The Motion of thanks and the amendments are now before the House for discussion.”

[8th May 1952]

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, the motion before the House for discussion is a resolution of thanks for the address delivered by His Excellency the Governor. Normally speaking under the Constitution even though it is the Governor that has made the speech, the fact is that the Governor is only a constitutional head and as such he has not made the speech on his own. In fact the speech that has been delivered to us by the Governor is the speech of the Government and the Council of Ministers. They indicate to us the policies they propose to initiate, how they understand the problems that are facing the country to-day and what it is that they propose to do in regard to these many problems. With this understanding therefore let us look at the speech and see how far the present Government and the Council of Ministers have understood the problems, the acute problems that are facing us to-day and let us see whether the measures that they propose are adequate to deal with these terrible problems. Before I go into this aspect of the question I would like to refer to the speeches that were made on behalf of the Government from the other side. Certain members of the Congress Party who delivered speeches on this motion did not refer to the matters that were actually contained in the address. It is very significant because they were not able to justify the Governor's address on the basis of what was done or what is proposed to be done in that address. They referred to something else, to the fact of the Congress having formed the Ministry and the wisdom of the Chief Minister whose services have been obtained by the Congress Party. It is to that that they could refer and not to any specific matter that is contained in the address which to-day is the policy of the Government and the policy that the Government are going to pursue.

“ Now, coming to the Address of His Excellency, Sir, let us 3 p.m. see what it actually contains. The Address starts in the first instance with an expression of regret over the death of King George VI. I do not know why a reference was made to this in the address and I am quite sure the people of this country do not at all care whether King George VI passed away or not. They are not bothered in the least about it.” (Cheers.)

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Hon. Members should not clap their hands. I have no objection if they thump the tables.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Sir, people in our State are dying of starvation. We have heard stories where mothers committed suicide after throwing their children into wells. These are facts and the Government are not so much concerned with their deaths as they are concerned with the passing away of King George VI. Why? Because we are supposed to be connected with that country. How? I do not know. Secondly, Sir, we also expressed our people's respectful greetings and good wishes to an amiable woman; it may be Queen Elizabeth. But, how are we concerned with what happens elsewhere? I do not understand it at all.

“ Then, Sir, His Excellency has been pleased to talk of great traditions that this House must set up. I do not know what

[Sri P. Ramamurthi] [8th May 1952]

those traditions are that this House should set up. I do not know what understanding of the traditions that this House should set up, His Excellency or the Government have. We know, as a matter of fact, that certain traditions have already been set up by this Government. First of all, when the new Constitution has been inaugurated and for the first time a Government under the new Constitution is being constituted, we in this State see here a Chief Minister who is not an elected Member of the Legislature. I do not know if this is the kind of tradition that we have got to set up in this State and I do not know whether there is any country which claims to be democratic and boasts of a Chief Minister who is not an elected Member of the Legislature. I would like only to request the Hon. Chief Minister to realize what the implications of this are. I would like him to realize that this is a very bad tradition which has been set up in this State and posterity is not going to pardon us for having set up this tradition. I would once again, beg of the Chief Minister to realize in the name of posterity and in the name of democracy, that the highest democratic traditions that have been established all over the world, have been violated. Even now, he could consider the matter and set up a proper tradition. Therefore, I would request him to resign his membership of the Council and face an election and that will be a proper tradition." (Applause and clapping of hands.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"I think visitors sitting in the gallery also are clapping their hands. I am afraid I will have to clear them off the gallery. Let me warn the visitors sitting in the gallery that they should not clap their hands."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Apart from the question of democratic traditions that we have got to set up, I would also like to say that it is absolutely unconstitutional. The Constitution does not think of this method of getting into the Legislature at all. The Governor has acted in this manner because he had no proper Adviser or properly constituted Council of Ministers who could advise him with regard for the nomination of members to the Legislative Council. We know that under the Constitution the Governor has no power whatsoever to act in his individual discretion or judgment. And it is impossible also to think that a Care-taker Ministry which has already lost the confidence of the people should have anything to do with regard to the composition of the Legislature. In fact, if it is taken for granted that it was the Care-taker Ministry that should advise the Governor, then it would mean that the persons who were rejected by the people in the elections could decide upon the composition of the new Legislature. It is very wrong and there is no provision in the Constitution providing for such nomination of members to the Upper House. Therefore, I would beg of the Chief Minister even now to think of these things and give up his position and stand for election.

"Then, Sir, the Address states that, as this Government have come into office only 10 or 12 days back, it has not been possible

[8th May 1952] [Sri P. Ramamurthi]

for them to place before the House what measures they are going to take, to tackle the extraordinary conditions prevailing in this State. The Address says in another place—

'The recent general slump has resulted in considerable distress to those engaged in the large handloom industry of this State. My Government are giving anxious thought to this subject and will announce the measures which they propose to take after consulting all the interests concerned.'

The other point mentioned in the Address is that there is an urgent piece of legislation to be put through during this meeting and we are told what that piece of legislation is, and nothing more. The address does not contain anything else. Sir, here is a party which has been claiming to know the problems facing the country, and which alone claims to know the problems facing the country, which has been administering during the last five years not only this State, but the whole of India as well and which has placed an election manifesto before the people but it is not able to say what exactly it is going to do, and how it is going to implement the promises made in the election manifesto. Is it not possible to say in what way you are going to tackle the big problems facing the country?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member should not say 'You' when he refers to the Government."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"It is an impersonal 'You', Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The word 'You' refers to the Chair."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"I am sorry, Sir. I will get accustomed to the procedure."

"Sir, it is enough if the Government, instead of telling us what traditions we have got to set up, that there is a slump and so on, come forward and tell us what their understanding of the slumps. Let them not give the details of the measures that they propose to take, but let them say what exactly their understanding of the slump and its causes are, so that we may have an idea of their capacity to take the necessary measures to deal with it. Similarly, Sir, a reference was made to the question of famine relief. What is it they are actually going to do, we do not know. We are told that a great many steps are being taken. We are not told of the details. Certain gruel centres have been opened and military lorries have been requisitioned to supply drinking-water to the villages. How many lorries are there and whether those lorries can cope with the terrific problem of water-supply to the hundreds of thousands of people, the Address is absolutely silent about."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member has two more minutes."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Sir, why is it that the Address is silent over these vitally important problems? The Address is silent for the simple reason that the Government are bankrupt of any policy. Therefore, Sir, there is nothing to commend in

[Sri P. Ramamurthi]

[8th May 1952]

this Motion of Thanks and it deserves to be rejected *in toto*. There is also nothing to commend in this Address because it does not tackle a single problem facing the people of this State."

DR. K. B. MENON :—" Sir, I wish to point out that the Governor in his Address has violated, if not the letter of the Constitution but the spirit of the Constitution. He summoned the Assembly under Article 175 (1) of the Constitution. Under Article 175 (1), the Governor is given power to summon a joint session of both the Houses at any time or at any stage he likes, to express his opinion with regard to pending and impending legislation, whereas Article 176 (1) gives him the specific power and right to convene a joint session of both the Houses at the commencement of the session to disclose to the Legislature the mind of the Ministry. But, it prevents the Governor from disclosing the reasons for summoning the joint session, bit by bit, piece-meal and from time to time. He should indicate what the Ministry proposes to do during the session at the commencement of the session itself. Parallel to Articles 175 (1) and 176 (1), there are Articles 86 and 87 which apply to the Parliament. There is no precedent anywhere in India where the Governor or the President has failed to outline the policy of the Ministry at the commencement of the session. I know the Ministry will wriggle out of the situation by giving a limited definition to the word 'session' and will claim that the Governor has indicated an outline of the Ministry's legislative policy for this ten days' session. Sir, if the Governor had to indicate the policy of the Ministry only for these ten days, he could have summoned the joint session under Article 175 (1). But, as the Governor has summoned this session under Article 176 (1) of the Constitution, it is the duty of the Governor to disclose the mind of the Ministry and it is only by understanding the legislative mind of the Ministry that the Members can adapt themselves to the needs of the situation. This the Governor has failed to do and in so failing, I am quite sure, he has violated, as I said in the beginning, if not the letter of the Constitution, at least the spirit of the Constitution. The Governor of Madras has set up a new precedent and we have no example anywhere else.

" Then, Sir, the question arises why is it that the Governor has acted in such a way. The Governor's Address is perhaps prepared by the Chief Minister. Why is it that the Cabinet has acted in this way then? Was it merely an act of omission? Or was it an act of commission? If it was a matter of omission, we can understand it. But, Sir, my submission is that it was an act of commission. The Ministry did not formulate its policy for the whole session and so the Ministry did not discharge its duty to the Legislature. It was thinking in terms of party conveniences. If the Ministry has formulated its policy for the whole session, I am quite sure it would not have satisfied the different interests in the State and so it has not been possible for the Ministry to formulate its policy for the whole session. Even the Press Interviews of the Chief Minister substantiate my contention

8th May 1952] [Dr. K. B. Menon]

for they were only a series of affirmations and denials. He said that he was not in favour of abolition of Prohibition, but immediately in the next sentence he was reported to have said that he was prepared to investigate into it. He said that he was not going to levy fresh taxes, yet he could not say how the financial position could be stabilized. Sir, why the Governor's Address did not contain any reference to the general policy to be followed by the Ministry was because the Ministry could not consistently with its safety, reveal the information. I am quite sure that in doing this, the Constitution has been sacrificed for the interests of the party. The duty to the Legislature has been ignored in the interest of the party. Sir, the criticism that was made at the time of the Governor's Address that various methods were used to consolidate the position of the party in power, I am afraid, is not without truth, even though I am not prepared to accept the statement that fifteen Ministers were let loose on the country to canvass support for the Ministry. The method adopted has been more subtle. That is my humble submission, Sir.

" Sir, how is this impression to be corrected? The Government have not made any attempt to correct that impression. His Excellency the Governor will be summoning the next session of the Assembly under Article 175 (1) of the Constitution when it will not be open for the hon. Members of this Assembly to criticize him. No amendments can be moved to his Address. Therefore, the Assembly will have absolutely no opportunity to express its opinion as to the general policies of the Government except perhaps as occasions arise for them. This opportunity has been deliberately denied to the Assembly. My submission is that it is the duty of the Hon. Chief Minister to give, as soon as possible, an outline of the policies that the Government propose to follow during their term of office. That will be one thing that we shall be looking forward to.

" Sir, there are many problems that are of immediate and vital interest to the people. Some of them are worth mentioning here. One of them I have just mentioned, viz., Prohibition. There is a great volume of opinion in the country—perhaps a majority opinion which is shared even by Congressmen—that Prohibition must go. Prohibition has done no good to the people. On the other hand, it has done much harm to them. It is said that Prohibition has been introduced to improve the morals of the people. I have my own doubts. I should think that it is better for us to take care of our own morals before teaching others. I request even the Ministers to take care of their own morals before attempting to improve the morals of others. By the introduction of Prohibition, we have not in any way improved the morals of our people. I think, Prohibition has done more harm than good to the people of this country. Probably in every house, there is illicit distillation going on and this is ruining the health of the people. Considering all these, including the question of finance which is also very important, I feel that Prohibition must go. Even in the matter of finance, 17 crores of rupees

[Dr. K. B. Menon]

[8th May 1952]

have been lost to us. If we again auction liquor shops, probably it would fetch four or five times the money which it used to fetch before. Imagine the vast amount of ameliorative work we can do and the constructive programme that we can carry out with this additional money. All these things are denied to us because we have tried to put through a programme based on fads. The Government should deal with such matters from the business point of view and not be obsessed by fads.

"Sir, the next thing that I wish to speak about is land reforms. That is another thing that is very urgent. Some opinions were expressed about it on the floor of the House and I believe that unless and until we effect some radical changes in the present land-tenure system, nothing can be achieved. The reactionary measure—the Malabar Tenancy Act—that was passed by the last Legislature will do immeasurable harm. Perhaps, I hope the present Government will not implement that Act. Let them keep it in abeyance till it is possible to introduce a much more radical and constructive reform which should be made applicable not only to Malabar but to the whole of the Madras State. There is no use blaming Communists or Socialists for advocating revolutionary changes in the land-tenure system. If the Government are going to maintain the status quo by safeguarding the interests of the landlords and the industrialists, we are not going to have peace in the country. Land reform means that conditions of tenancy should be immediately changed and eviction should cease. These are some of the changes that the Governor, in his speech, should have outlined. He has completely failed to do it and to that extent, I am afraid, the Governor's speech was a mockery and a farce. It did not fulfil what was expected of it, viz., to tell the Legislature what the mind of the Government is."

* SRI A. GOVINDASAMY NAYAGAR :—"மதிப்பிற்குரிய சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, கனம் பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்களே மற்றும் இங்குள்ள தேர்வுரைகளை."

MR. SPEAKER :—"தீங்கள், சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே" என்று சொல்லித்தான் பேச்சை ஆரம்பிக்கவேண்டும். பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்களே, சபையோர்களே என்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டிருக்கக்கூடாது."

* SRI A. GOVINDASAMY NAYAGAR :—"கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, நான் சரியான முறையிலே பேச்சைத் துவக்குவதற்கு வழிகாட்டிய தற்காக உங்களுக்கு என்னுடைய வணக்கத்தைத் தெரிவித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய சொற்பொழிவில் சமீபத்தில் நடந்த தேர் தலானது நல்ல முறையில் நடந்ததாகக் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. அதை நான் அறவே மறுக்கின்றேன். அவ்விதம் நான் சொல்லுவதற்குக் காரணம் என்னவென்றால், தேர்தலுக்குத் தொகுதிகள் பிரித்ததும் சரியில்லை. மற்றும், ஒரு கட்சிக்கு வேண்டிய சலுகைகள் அதிகம் இருந்திருப்பதையும் நான் சர்க்காருடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவர விரும்புகின்றேன். மந்திரிகளாக இருந்துகொண்டே தேர்தலுக்குச் சிலர் நின்று காரணத்தால், அவர்கள் அதிகச் சலுகைகள் பெறுவதற்கு வசதியாக நடந்து எப்படியும் நான் உங்களுடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவரவிரும்புகின்றேன்."

[8th May 1952] [Sri A. Govindasamy Nayagar]

"அடுத்தபடியாக, கவர்னர் அவர்கள் தங்களுடைய பிரச்சங்கத்தில் இன்றைய தினம் நாட்டில் இருக்கக்கூடிய பிரச்சனையைக் குறித்து அதிகமாகக் குறிப்பிடவில்லை. அவர்கள் வேறு மாகாணத்திலிருந்து வந்த காரணத்தால், இந்த மாகாணத்திலுள்ள கிராமங்களின் ரோடு வசதிகளைக் குறித்தோ, ஜனங்கள் படுகின்ற கஷ்டங்களைக் குறித்தோ ஒன்றும் சொல்லவில்லை. குறிப்பாக எங்களுடைய தென்னாற்காடு ஜில்லாவை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால், ஜனங்கள் குடிப்பதற்குக்கூட தண்ணீர் இல்லாமல் மிகவும் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். கிராமங்களுக்கு நீங்கள் போய்ப் பார்த்தால் ஜனங்கள் பட்டும் கஷ்டம் நன்கு தெரியும். மந்திரிகள் ஜில்லாக்களில் பவனி வரும்பொழுது அவர்கள் கிராமங்களுக்குள் சென்று மக்களின் கஷ்டங்களைத் தெரிந்து கொள்ள முயல்வேண்டும். கிராமங்களுக்குச் செல்வதற்குப் போதிய ரோடு வசதிகள் இல்லாததால் அவர்கள் தங்கள் மோட்டார் காரில் இந்த கிராமங்களுக்குப் போக முடியவில்லை. அவர்கள் குக்கிராமங்களுக்கு நேரில் வந்து பார்த்தால்தான் மக்கள் படுகின்ற கஷ்டத்தைத் தெரிந்துகொள்ளமுடியும். அவ்விதம் செய்தால்தான் கிராம ஜனங்களுக்கு ரோடு வசதிகள் செய்து கொடுக்க முடியும். நீர்ப்பாசன வசதிகளுக்கு வேண்டிய காரியங்களிலும், குடி தண்ணீர் ரக்கான சௌகரியங்களிலும் அரசாங்கம் உடனடியாக கவனம் செலுத்தவேண்டும்."

"உணவு விஷயமாகச் சொல்லும்போது, மழையில்லாததுதான் பஞ்சத்திற்குக் காரணம் என்று கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய பிரச்சங்கத்தில் குறிப்பிடப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. மழை இல்லை என்பது மட்டும் உணவுப் பற்றாக்குறைக்குக் காரணம் இல்லை. உணவு தானியங்களை மக்களுக்குக் கிடைக்கும்படிச் செய்யாமல் பதுக்குவதுதான் இந்தப் பற்றாக்குறைக்கு முக்கியமான காரணமாகும். ரேஷன் கடைகளில் ஒரு படி அரிசி 11 அணா அல்லது 12 அணா என்று விற்கப்படுகிறது. ஆனால், ஒரு படி அரிசிக்கு 2 ரூபாய் அல்லது 1½ ரூபாய் கொடுக்கப்படுமேயானால், மூட்டைக் கணக்காக வீட்டு வாசற்படிக்கே வந்து விழுகிறது. இதற்குப் பஞ்சம் என்று பெயரா? அல்லது பதுக்கல் என்று பெயரா? இது விஷயத்தில் இந்த அரசாங்கம் தக்க கவனம் செலுத்தவேண்டுமென்று நான் ஞாபகமூட்ட விரும்புகின்றேன்."

"அடுத்தபடியாக கள்ளுக்கடை ஒழிப்பு சம்பந்தமாகக் கூறும்போது, கள்ளுக்கடைகளை ஒழித்துக் கட்டிவிட்டதாகக் கூறப்படுகிறது. எந்த அளவு அவர்கள் கள்ளுக் கடைகளை எடுப்பதில் வெற்றிபெற்றிருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதை உங்களுடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவரவிரும்புகின்றேன். கள்ளுக்குப் பதிலாக சாராயக் கடைகள் வீடு வீடாக ஏற்பட்டிருக்கிறதென்றால் எந்த அளவு சர்க்கார் கள்ளுக் கடைகளை ஒழித்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்பது தெரியும். முன்பு மூன்று, நான்கு மையில்களுக்கப்பால் போய் கள்ளுக் கடையில் குடித்தார்கள். ஆனால், தற்சமயம் தாங்கள் வசிக்கும் வீட்டையே சாராயக் கடையாக ஆக்கிக் கொண்டார்கள். கிராமங்களுக்குப் போய்ப் பார்த்தால், விவசாயிகளும், தொழிலாளர்களும் எவ்வளவு தூரம் சாராயத்தை உபயோகப்படுத்துகிறார்கள் என்பது விளங்கும். சாராயம் காய்ச்சுவதை அவர்கள் குடிசைத்தொழிலாகவே கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்று சொல்லும் படியாயிருக்கிறது. இந்தச் சாராயத்தைக் குடித்து அவர்கள் வயிறு கோளாறுசியிருக்கிறது. மக்களுக்கு வயிற்றில் பல கொடுமைகளை உண்டு பண்ணி பல வியாதிகளுக்கு அது காரணமாயிருக்கிறது. ஆகையால், மது விலக்கு விஷயத்தில் சர்க்கார் அதிக கவனம் எடுத்துக்கொண்டு, மக்கள் இவ்விதம் திருட்டுத்தனமாக சாராயத்தைத் தயார் செய்வதைத் தடுக்க வேண்டும். அப்படிச் செய்யவில்லை யென்றால் அவர்கள் இந்தக் கள்ளுக் கடை ஒழிப்புத்திட்டத்தை கைவிட்டுவிட வேண்டும் என்பதுதான் என்னுடைய கோரிக்கை."

"அடுத்தபடியாக கிராமங்களில் இன்றையதினம் கட்டாயக் கல்வி விஷயத்தில் சர்க்கார் அதிக கவனம் செலுத்தவேண்டும். முதியோர் கல்வி விஷயத்தில், இலவசப் பாடசாலைகள் நடப்பதாகவும், நாடகங்கள் வைத்தும், அதற்கு ஜில்லா கலெக்டர்கள் எல்லாம் கவனம் செலுத்தும்படியும் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்கள். மேற்படி இரவு பாடசாலைகளில் 5, 6-வது படித்தவர்கள் தான் சினிமா புல்தகங்கள் படிக்கக்கூடியவர்களாக இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆகவே, முதியோர் கல்வியில் வீணசெலவு செய்வதைவிடுத்து கட்டாயக் கல்வி

[Sri A. Govindasamy Nayagar] [8th May 1952]

முறையை உடனடியாகக் கொண்டுவரவேண்டும். 5 வயது முதல் 14 வயது வரையிலுள்ள பிள்ளைகள் யாராயிருந்தாலும் சரி பள்ளிக்கூடங்களுக்குப் போகாமலிருந்தால், அவர்களைக் கொண்டுவந்து கட்டாயமாகக் கல்வி கற்றுக் கொடுக்க வேண்டும். அப்படி பிள்ளைகளைப் பள்ளிக்கு அனுப்பாத பெற்றோர்கள் மீது தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டும். அப்பொழுதுதான் நாட்டில் கட்டாயக் கல்வி முறையைச் சரியாக அமல் நடத்தியவர்களாக ஆகமுடியும். இது உடனடியாகக் கவனிக்கப்படவேண்டிய பிரச்சனை என்பதை அரசாங்கத் திற்கு ஞாபகமூட்ட விரும்புகின்றேன்.

“இன்றையதினம் தானியப் பதுக்கலைக் கண்டுபிடித்து தண்டனை விதிப்பதாகச் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. உணவுத் தானியத்தை ஒரு ஊரிலிருந்து மற்றொரு ஊருக்குக் கொண்டுபோகாமல் பார்த்துக்கொள்வதாகச் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. இது எவ்விதம் நடைபெறுகிறதென்று சொன்னால், கூலி செய்து பிழைக்கும் ஒருவன் தலையில் ஒன்று அல்லது இரண்டு படி அரிசியைத் தூக்கிக்கொண்டு சென்றால் அதிகாரிகள் அவனைப் பிடித்து தண்டனை விதிக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால், ஆயிரக் கணக்கான மூட்டைகளைக் கள்ளத்தனமாக லீட்டிலேயே பதுக்கி வைத்துக்கொண்டு இருந்து, அதிக விலைக்கு விற்பவர்களின் மீது அரசாங்கம் எந்தவிதமான நடவடிக்கையும் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளாமலும் இருக்கும்படியான நிலை இருக்கிறது. ஆகையால், அதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகளை உடனடியாக எடுத்து, உணவுத் தானியம் சரியான முறையில் ஜனங்களுக்கு விநியோகிக்கப்படவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“நீர்ப்பாசன வசதி விஷயத்தில், ஆந்திரப் பிரதேசத்திலிருந்து தென்னாற்காடுக்குத் தண்ணீர் கொண்டுவர கிருஷ்ண பெண்ணார் திட்டம் பூர்த்தி செய்வதற்கான காரியங்களில் அக்கரை எடுத்துக்கொண்டு, தமிழர்களுக்குக் கிடைக்காதபடி செய்ய வேண்டுமென்று ஒரு அங்கத்தினர் குறிப்பிட்டார். தமிழ்நாடு ஆந்திரநாடு என்று பாகுபாடு செய்யாமல், கடலுக்குப் போய் விழும் தண்ணீரை, தேவையான இடங்களுக்கு நீர்ப்பாசனத்திற்கு கிடைக்கும்படி ஏற்பாடு செய்யவேண்டும். நாட்டுப் பிரச்சனையைத் தான் முக்கியமாகக் கருதவேண்டுமென்று தவிர, தமிழ்நாடு ஆந்திரநாடு என்ற பாகுபாடு இருக்க வேண்டிய அவசியமில்லையென்று நான் கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகின்றேன். ஸ்ரீ நாகி ரெட்டி அவர்களும் ஆந்திரநாட்டு உணர்ச்சியுடன் இந்த விஷயத்தைப் பற்றி குறிப்பிட்டிருந்தார்கள். அவர்களை நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன், ஆந்திர தேசப் பிரச்சனை முதலிய விஷயங்களில் நாட்டு உணர்ச்சி ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் இருக்கத்தான் வேண்டும். மொழிவாரியாக மாகாணங்களைப் பிரித்தே தீரவேண்டும். ஆனால் நீர்ப்பாசனம் முதலிய பொதுப் பிரச்சனைகளில் ஒருவருக்கொருவர் விட்டுக்கொடுத்தால்தான் மேட்டுநிலிருந்து மின்சாரம் அவர்களுக்குக் கிடைக்கவோ, அங்கிருந்து தென்னாற்காடுக்குத் தண்ணீர் கிடைக்கவோ முடியும். ஆகவே, நாட்டுப் பிரிவினைப் பிரச்சனையை அடிப்படையாகக்கொண்டு காரியங்களை நடத்திக்கொள்ளவேண்டாம்.

“இன்றையதினம் சர்க்கார் உத்தியோகஸ்தர்களில் கீழ்த்தர சிப்பந்திகளுக்கும், தபாலாபீஸில் இருக்கின்ற குமாஸ்தாக்களுக்கும், தாலூகா ஆபீஸில் இருக்கின்ற குமாஸ்தாக்களுக்கும், சம்பளத்திலும் அலவன்ஸிலும் வித்தியாசம் இருந்துவருகிறது. எல்லாவிதமான ஊழியர்களுக்கும் மத்திய சம்பளக் கமிஷன் ‘சிபார்க்ப்படி சம்பளமும் அலவன்ஸும் கொடுக்கப்பட வேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். அதே சமயத்தில் ஹைஸ்கூல் ஆசிரியர்களின் நிலைமையையும் உயர்த்தவேண்டும்.

“நம் மாகாணம் கல்வி விஷயத்தில் இன்னும் சரியாக முன்னேறவில்லை. சமீபத்தில் நடந்த தேர்தலை அதற்கு ஒரு சான்றாகும். ஒரு பெட்டியில் ஒட்டைப்போடு என்று சொன்னால், ஒட்டுச் சீட்டை எங்கே போடுவதென்றுகூட மக்கள் புரிந்து கொள்ளாத நிலையில் இருந்தார்கள். ஒட்டுச் சீட்டைப் பெட்டிக்குள் போடத் தெரியாமல், இரு பெட்டிகளுக்குள்ள இடைவெளியில் போட்டுவிட்டும், அல்லது ஒட்டுப் பெட்டிகளின் மீது வைத்து விட்டுப் போனவர்களும் அதேகம். மாட்டுப் பெட்டியில் போடுவதா, அல்லது கோழிப் பெட்டியில் போடுவதா என்று விளங்காமல் தவித்தவர்களும் உண்டு. தேர்தலை நடத்திய சர்க்கார் உத்தியோகஸ்தர்கள் இதைக்

[Sri A. Govindasamy Nayagar]

8th May 1952] [Sri A. Govindasamy Nayagar]

கவனித்துக்கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதிலிருந்து சர்க்கார் தேர்தல் விஷயத்தில் சரியானபடி பிரசாரம் செய்யவில்லையென்பதை உங்களுடைய கவனத்திற்குக் கொண்டுவர விரும்புகின்றேன்.

“இன்றையதினம் உயர்தரப்பள்ளிகளுக்குத் தேவையான எல்.டி.க்களும், பி.டி.க்களும் கிடைக்கவில்லையென்று சொல்லப்படுகிறது. இந்த நிலைமைக்குக் காரணம் என்ன? கல்வியில் டபிள் டிகிரி வாங்கியிருந்தும் அவர்களுக்குக் குறைந்த சம்பளம் கொடுக்கப்படுகிறது. ஆனால், அவர்களுக்கு உத்தியோகத்தில் பொருப்பு அதிகம் இருக்கிறது. படிக்காதவர்கள் கூட மந்திரியோகத்தில் பொருப்பு அதிகம் இருக்கிறது. ஆனால், டபிள் டிகிரி பெற்ற உபாத்தியாயர்கள் களாக இருந்திருக்கின்றார்கள். ஆனால், டபிள் டிகிரி அடிக்கும்படியான நிலைமையில் வைக்கப் பூ. 80, ரூ. 90-க்கு லாட்டரி அடிக்கும்படியான நிலைமையில் வைக்கப் பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள். நாட்டின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்கு உழைக்கக்கூடிய இவர்கள் கஷ்டத்தில் உழைக்கக்கொண்டிருந்தால், நாட்டு மக்கள் கல்வியில் எவ்விதம் முன்னேற்றமுடும்? இது விஷயத்தில் சர்க்கார் அதிக கவனம் செலுத்தவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.

“நாட்டில் மூன்றில் இரண்டு பங்கு ஜனத்தொகையுள்ள பிற்போக்கு சமூகத்தினர் நலனில் சர்க்கார் அதிக கவனம் செலுத்தவேண்டும். ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு ஆலயங்களைத் திறந்துவிட்டதால் மட்டும் ஜாதி வித்தியாசம் ஒழிந்துவிட்டதென்று சொல்லுவது தவறாகும். சேரியும் அக்கிரகாரமும் இருக்கும்வரை சாதி வித்தியாசம் இருந்தேதீரும். ஆகையால், மற்ற எல்லா விதத்திலும் பிற்பட்ட சமூகத்தினரின் நலனில் அக்கரை காட்ட வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன். ஹரிஜனங்களுக்கு ஆலயங்களைத் திறந்துவிட்டால் மட்டும் போதாது. சோற்றுக்கு இல்லாமல் தவிப்பவனுக்கு சொக்கநாதர் நினைவு எங்கிருந்து வரும்? மழை பெய்யவில்லையென்றால் பஜகோவிந்தம் பாடினால் மழை வந்துவிடுமா? மழையை உண்டு பண்ண வழிகளைக் கண்டுபிடிக்கவேண்டும். பஜனை மடங்களில் பிரார்த்தனை செய்தால் மட்டும் மழை வந்துவிடாது. நம் நாட்டில் பஜனை மடங்கள் தான் நிறைய இருக்கின்றனவே! ஆகையால், பஞ்சத்தால் கஷ்டப்படும் மக்களுக்குத் தகுந்த செளகரியங்களைச் செய்ய சர்க்கார் கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக்கொண்டு என்னுடைய பேச்சை இத்துடன் முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகின்றேன்.”

* SRI V. R. NAGARAJAN :—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by my hon. Friend Dr. K. B. Menon. The issues raised there are so very vital to us in the context of the present situation obtaining in this country with special reference to our State that it becomes a dire necessity for every one of us to concentrate on the problems raised by him. The important items referred therein are food shortage, famine relief, Prohibition policy and land reforms. In order that he may not exclude any subject that may be of interest to the common man, my friend has been very careful to include the word ‘etc.’ That omnibus word would I think enable me to talk on certain points to which adequate attention has not been paid in the Governor’s Address.

“As regards food shortage, I should like to say on behalf of the Tamil Nad Toilers’ Party which I represent that the southern part of the Madras State (which may go even up to Ramanathapuram, and include Coimbatore on the west) has always been a deficit area. For a long time, we have neglected to do anything to increase our food production. We have always been importing a certain percentage of our requirements. I think in 1941-42, a few years after the second world war broke out, our food situation took a different turn. We began to tackle that problem by

[Sri V. R. Nagarajan]

[8th May 1952]

introducing the rationing system somewhere in the beginning of 1943. We are now in 1952. More than a decade has elapsed. Still we are not able to solve the food problem. We had been giving the people 6 oz. of rice. Just before the elections the ration was increased by an ounce. I do not know the motive behind the increase just before the election. Whatever it may be, whether it is 6 oz. or 7 oz. of rice, in my humble opinion it is quite inadequate. The majority of our people are living on the verge of starvation. What have we done for the people all these five years? No doubt we have a sufficient number of Ministers who draw huge salaries. Practically speaking we have neglected to solve the food problem. It shows that not only have we been inefficient but also careless. That is why we are having famine in Rayalaseema now. Famine is prevalent not only in Rayalaseema. As I have previously observed, the district from which I am coming, viz., South Arcot has always been a deficit one. Almost half of the district is under the grip of famine now. If any hon. Minister or hon. Member visits my district he can bear testimony to the facts. People in the taluks of Villupuram, Gingee, Tindivanam and even Thirukoilur are living practically on one meal a day. Added to the food shortage, we are having water scarcity. Ordinary human beings cannot be expected to live happily under such circumstances. What is the use of having a Government if in the net result people are made to suffer like this? I am sorry to note that no concrete measures of relief have been proposed in the Governor's Address to alleviate the sufferings of our people in the district of South Arcot.

"The second point that I would like to mention is about Prohibition. I submit there are entirely two different opinions about the Prohibition policy as such. There are a set of people who believe that it should continue while there are others who do not want it at all. So far as I am concerned I would like to say that in theory Prohibition is quite welcome. In a country like ours it is of the utmost importance that there should be Prohibition. But the way in which it has been administered by the Government during the last five years tends to evoke bitter comments. In the interim Budget that was presented by the Care-taker Ministry it was mentioned that the Prohibition guards would be provided with arms and ammunition? What is the use of having Prohibition when it is a known fact that illicit drinking is prevalent nearly everywhere and the Government have not denied it? Merely providing the prohibition guards with some more weapons will not serve the purpose. If Prohibition was removed it would fetch the Government a revenue of 17 crores of rupees and that amount can be spent on famine relief.

"The hon. Member Dr. K. B. Menon has pleaded for certain land reforms. I am also for certain radical reforms in our land revenue system. I think the earlier we tackle this land revenue problem the better it will be for the people of South India. Agriculture has been our profession from time immemorial. Our

8th May 1952]

[Sri V. R. Nagarajan]

peasants are unduly burdened with heavy taxation. In the address of His Excellency not a word has been mentioned whether we are going to have any additional taxation or relief from taxation. The peasantry which is already poor should not be burdened with additional taxation.

"One thing more and I have done. I should like to talk something about the backward classes in general. In this State nearly fifty per cent. of the people are backward classes. There are ever so many groups and sects among them, numbering roughly about 145 sects. The educational facilities provided for them and the employment opportunities given to them are quite inadequate. As one who has had some intimate knowledge of their sufferings I should like to see that greater opportunities of employment are afforded to the backward classes."

MR. SPEAKER :—"There are quite a large number of people who would like to take part in the debate. I have consulted the Hon. the Leader of the House. I think we may sit till 6 o'clock to-day."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—"Sir, inasmuch as we are going to meet on the 12th instant also, I think the debate could be continued on that day. It is very hot here, Sir, and we are perspiring."

MR. SPEAKER :—"I hope the hon. Member would not mind the inconvenience caused."

SRI K. RAJAGOPALA RAO :—"అధ్యక్షా, ఎన్నికలు అయిపోయిన తరువాత ప్రభుత్వ విధానములు ఎట్లుండునని, రాష్ట్రములోని కరిష్ఠీయులు ఎట్లా మార్పుచెందునని, ప్రజలు ఆశించినటువంటి ఆనేక విషయాలు తెలుసుకోవలసిన ముఖ్యమంత్రిగారు ప్రసంగము ఆశాభంగము కలుగ జేసినది. ఆనేక విషయాలలో ప్రభుత్వము యొక్క policies (విధానాలను) తెలుసుకోవలసిన ఆశించుచుండగా, ఏ ఒక విషయముగూరించి గూడ ప్రభుత్వము అనుసరింపజూపు విధానము వారి ప్రసంగములో తెలుపబడలేదు. ఆశించినటువంటి విషయములేమియు లేకుండుటే కాకుండా, ప్రజాభిప్రాయానికి విరుద్ధమైనటువంటి ఆనేక విధానాలు (policies) గవర్నరుగారి ప్రసంగములో ఎత్తుకొనబడినవి. ముఖ్యంగా, జార్జి చక్రవర్తి మరణమును గూర్చి సానుభూతిని వెల్లడించడము, ఎలిజబెత్ రాణి పట్టాభిషేకముగూరించి ఆమెకు అభినందనలు తెలియజేయడం, ఇదంతా భారత ప్రజల అభిప్రాయానికి పూర్తిగా విరుద్ధమైనటువంటిది. ఏ బ్రిటిష్ పరిపాలన అయిదు వందల సంవత్సరాలుగా కోటానుగోట్టు బాధిత ప్రజలను బానిసలుగా చేసి భారతదేశానికి మూలగులన పీల్చి వేసినదో, అటువంటి సామాజ్యవాదానికి అధిపతి అయిన జార్జి రాజు మరణమునకు సానుభూతి తెల్పడము, ఎలిజబెత్ రాణి పట్టాభిషేకమునకు అభినందనలు తెల్పడం, ప్రజాభిప్రాయానికి పూర్తిగా విరుద్ధం. అందుచేత ఈ విషయములలో గవర్నరుగారి అభిప్రాయంలో మేము ఏకీభవించలేక పోతున్నాము.

"అలాగే ఎన్నికలు చాలా ప్రకటనగాను, న్యాయంగాను జరిగినవని గవర్నరు ప్రసంగములో చెప్పబడినది. ఇదిగూడా సత్యమైనటువంటి విషయము. ఎందుకనగా, ఎన్నికలకు నిలచినటువంటి ప్రతిపక్ష అభ్యర్థులకు ఆనేకమందికి అవకాశమివ్వకుండా చేసినారు. ఉదాహరణకు, ఈ సభలో ఉన్నటువంటి నాగి రెడ్డిగారు, రామమూర్తి

[Sri K. Rajagopala Rao]

[8th May 1952]

గారూ, జైలులో ఉన్నప్పుడే ఎన్నికలు సాగించినవిషయము అందరికీ తెలిసినదే. ఇదే విధంగా, అనేకచోట్ల ఎన్నికలు వ్యాయవిరుద్ధంగా జరుపబడినాయి. కనుక గవర్నరు ఉపన్యాసములోని దీనికి సంబంధించిన భాగానికి అభ్యంతరము తెలియజేస్తున్నాము.

“ఇకపోతే, ప్రస్తుతము ప్రజల ప్రధాన వాంఛ అయినటువంటి భాషా ప్రయక్త రాష్ట్ర విభజన విషయము ఈ ప్రసంగంలో కలిపింపబడలేదు. మన రాష్ట్రంలో భాషా రాష్ట్ర విభజన ప్రధాన సమస్యయని అందరికీ తెలిసినటువంటిదే. అలాంటి ప్రధాన రాష్ట్ర సమస్యను నిర్లక్ష్యముచేయుట ప్రజల అగ్రప్రాయానికి పూర్తిగా విరుద్ధమైనది. 30 సంవత్సరములుగా, ఆంధ్రదేశములోని ప్రజలు ప్రత్యేక ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్రాన్ని కోరుతున్నప్పటికీ, వీరి ఒక పాకుచెప్పి ప్రభుత్వము ఈ సమస్యా పరిష్కారాన్ని దూరముచేయడం జరుగచున్నది. ప్రజలయొక్క వాంఛను మన్నించి వారు ఆశించిన భాషాప్రయక్త రాష్ట్రాన్ని నిర్మాణానికి ఇప్పటివరకు పూనుకోలేదు. అంతేకాకుండా ఆంధ్ర ప్రాంతములు అనేక విషయములలో నిర్లక్ష్యము చేయబడుచున్నవి. వైద్య సౌకర్యము, కలుగజేయడంలోను, విద్యా సౌకర్యములు కలుగజేయడంలోను, ఇరిగేషన్ వనైరాలనేక విషయములలోను, ఆంధ్ర ప్రాంతములు నిర్లక్ష్యము చేయబడుచున్నవి. ఒక ఆంధ్ర ప్రాంతమేకాదు, తదితర మైనారితీ భాషా ప్రాంతాలన్నీ గూడా నిర్లక్ష్యము చేయబడుచున్నవి. ఈవిధంగా నిర్లక్ష్యము చేయబడుటచేతనే ప్రజలు భాషాప్రయక్త రాష్ట్రాలను విభజించాలని కోరుతున్నారు కనుక ఇంతటి ముఖ్యమైన సమస్యను గవర్నరు ప్రసంగము పూర్తిగా నిర్లక్ష్యము చేయడం సబబుగాలేదు. ఈ రాష్ట్ర సమస్యకూ, ప్రజలయొక్క నిత్యజీవితావసరాలకూ సన్నిహిత సంబంధమున్నది. ఇదేరకమైనటువంటి అన్యాయాలు, ఆక్రమాలు నేడు ప్రభుత్వములో అనేకము జరుగుచున్నవి. రాష్ట్రములోని ప్రాజెక్టులగుంచి ప్రభుత్వ విధానము గమనించినట్లైతే చాలా విచారకరంగా ఉంది. మన రాష్ట్రంలోని ఆహార సమస్యను పరిష్కరించాలంటే నందికొండ, సిద్ధేశ్వరం, పులిచింతల ప్రాజెక్టులను తక్షణం నిర్మించవలసి వుంటుంది. ఇవి తక్కువ ఖర్చుతో, ఎక్కువ ఫలసాయాన్ని త్వరలో ఇచ్చునటువంటి ప్రాజెక్టులు. ఇటువంటి ఆహార సమస్యా పరిష్కారానికి ప్రయోజనకరమైనటువంటి ప్రాజెక్టులు పూర్తిగా నిర్లక్ష్యము చేయబడుచున్నవి. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టులన్నీ క్రిష్ణా-వెన్నాడు ప్రాజెక్టుకున్నా ముడిపెట్టుతున్న ప్రభుత్వ విధానం చాలా లోపభూయిష్టంగా యున్నది. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టులగుంచి the Nandikonda

3-45 p.m. Project is a most natural project and most natural reservoir అని ప్రఖ్యాతిగన్న ఇంజనీర్లు చెప్పియున్నారు. నందికొండ ప్రాజెక్టు ఈ రాష్ట్రంలో ఎక్కువ ప్రయోజనకరమైన ప్రాజెక్టు అని స్పష్టముగా రుజువుచేయబడినది. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టువల్ల క్రిష్ణానదికి రెండు వైపుల 24 లక్షల ఎకరముల భూమి సాగువుతుంది. దానికి అయ్యే ఖర్చుమాస్తే 65 (అరవైఅయిదు) కోట్ల రూపాయలుమాత్రమే. ఇంత తక్కువ ఖర్చుతో 24 లక్షల ఎకరాలు సాగులోనికి తెచ్చునటువంటి ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు నిర్లక్ష్యము చేయబడినది. కాని, క్రిష్ణా ప్రాజెక్టు విషయము చూచినట్లైతే, దీని నిర్మాణానికి 130 కోట్ల రూపాయలు ఖర్చు చేయవలసి యుంటుంది. మరియు దీని ఉపయోగము 15 సంవత్సరాలకు తరువాతనే పొందవగును. ఈ 15 సంవత్సరాల పాటు ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు నిరుపయోగముగా యుండును. కనుక తక్కువ ఖర్చుతో ఎక్కువ ప్రయోజనమును కలుగునటువంటి నందికొండ, సిద్ధేశ్వరం, పులిచింతల ప్రాజెక్టులను నిర్లక్ష్యము చేస్తున్నారంటే, అది ప్రజల ఆవసరాలకును, ఆహార సమస్యా పరిష్కారమునకును విరుద్ధమైనటువంటి policy (విధానము) అని చెప్పవలసి యుంటుంది. ఈ క్రిష్ణా-వెన్నాడు ప్రాజెక్టు రాయలసీమకు ఎక్కువ ప్రయోజనకరమని కొందరు

[Sri K. Rajagopala Rao]

[8th May 1952]

త్రిరంగ సీతులు చెప్పుచున్నాం. ఇది పూర్తిగా సత్యమైనటువంటి విషయము క్రిష్ణా-వెన్నాడు ప్రాజెక్టు రాయలసీమకు 15 సంవత్సరముల తరువాతనే ఉపయోగ పడగలదనుటయే గాకుండా, రాయలసీమలో 5 లక్షల ఎకరాలకు మాత్రమే సీరుస్పల్లె, చేయగలుగును. ఈ ప్రాజెక్టు రాయలసీమ ప్రజలను శ్రీమంతులను జేయుననిగాని కరువు కాటకాలను పూర్తిగా తొలగింపనిగాని చెప్పడము చాలా హాస్యాస్పదమై కరువు కాటకాలను పూర్తిగా తొలగింపననిగాని చెప్పడము చాలా హాస్యాస్పదమై నటువంటిది. నిజంగా చూచినట్లైతే, నందికొండ ప్రాజెక్టు వల్లనే రాయలసీమకు పొందవలసినది. నిజంగా చూచినట్లైతే, సిద్ధేశ్వరం, పులిచింతల ప్రాజెక్టులగూడా హెచ్చు ఉపయోగమున్నది. ఇలాగే సిద్ధేశ్వరం, పులిచింతల ప్రాజెక్టులగూడా తక్కువ ఖర్చుతో ఎక్కువ ప్రయోజనమును ఇచ్చునటువంటివి. సిద్ధేశ్వరం ప్రాజెక్టు వల్ల 32 కోట్ల ఖర్చుతో 11 లక్షల ఎకరాలు భూమి 5 ఏండ్లలో సాగుకు వచ్చును. పులిచింతల ప్రాజెక్టు 27 కోట్ల రూపాయల ఖర్చుతో, 13 లక్షల ఎకరాల భూమి 6, 7 సంవత్సరాలలో సాగుకువచ్చును. ఇటువంటి ముఖ్యమైన విషయాలలో ప్రభుత్వ పాలనీ విమోచనము వివరించబడలేదనే చెప్పవలసియుంటుంది.

“ధాన్య నేకరణ ధరలనుగురించి మరొక ముఖ్యమైన విషయము చెప్పవలసి యున్నది. గవర్నరు ప్రసంగం ధాన్య నేకరణ ధరలు ఇప్పుడు కొంచెము పెంచి నట్లు చెప్పబడినది. ఈ హెచ్చుధరలు జనవరి 1 వ తేదీనుంచి ఇస్తామని చెప్పియున్నా రు. కాని దీనివల్ల రైతులకేమి గిట్టుబాటుకాదని చెప్పవలసి యున్నది. ఎందుకనగా ఏదో కొద్దిమంది భూస్వాములు తప్ప చాలామంది రైతులు తమ కంటలను నవంబరు-డిసెంబరు మాసములలోనే అమ్మివేసి యుంటారు. బసంగి వంటి అయితే ఇంకా ముందుగానే చేతికి వస్తుంది. కనుక రైతులకు నిజంగా ధరలు గిట్టుబాటు కావాలంటే ఈ హెచ్చు ధరలు నవంబరు మాసమునుండియో, లేక కొత్త పంటలు చేతికి రాగానో ఇవ్వవలసి యుంటుంది. ఇప్పుడు విర్పడుతున్న మరొక ప్రమాదమేమిటంటే, చేతిలో డబ్బులు కరువు అయిపోవడంవల్ల, క్రిష్ణా జిల్లాలోని రైతులు ఇదివరకే ధాన్యాన్ని అమ్మి వేశారు. ధాన్యము త మిల్లులవద్దకు చేరింది. రాయలసీమలోవలనే అక్కడకూడా ఈ కరువు వచ్చే ప్రమాదము ఉన్నది. కాబట్టి ఈ పరిస్థితులలో ధాన్య నేకరణవల్ల, కరువు మరింత వ్యాపించకుండా రైతాంగానికి గిట్టుబాటు అయ్యేటువంటి ధరలు సకాలంలో ఇచ్చేటట్లు చూడవలసిందని కోరుచున్నాను.”

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think, it is not by a mere accident that His Excellency's Address begins with a condolence to the Royal family, but it is because the present Ministry is just continuing the disastrous policy of the British Imperialists who foisted upon our country a good lot of unemployment, strangled our industries and stood in the way of the prosperity of our country. Perhaps the Hon. Chief Minister thinks that it is not in the traditions of India to give unemployment relief. Let me tell you, Sir, that if to-day you find a large number of temples and a large number of lakes and tanks—some of them big—they are intended to tide over years of unemployment. I should think, therefore, that unemployment relief is really an Indian tradition, because you find a large number of choultries and a large number of temples. So, giving food is one of the duties of the State. It is not a question of charity, but it is a question of duty and responsibility of the State to the unemployed. The unemployed are unemployed not because they are bad, not because they are not educated, not because they are

[Sri K. Krishna Rao]

[8th May 1952]

not skilled, but because they are under a peculiar system which actually manufactures day by day the unemployed in a large quantity. They are forced to be unemployed and to put up with unemployment, because there is an irresponsible set of people who rule the destinies of this State. And we are asked to believe that the whole thing is due to causes beyond our control. It is said that because rains have failed for a number of years there is a lot of unemployment. If anything goes wrong, it is attributed to God's will. But, if everything goes well, why it is to the Congressman's glory! That is how these Congressmen have been deceiving the people and not shouldering the responsibility which they ought to shoulder. The present Ministry want to tell us that they are something totally different from the old Ministry. Whereas, the mere fact that they simply shove the responsibility that they owe to the unemployed on to God and on to rain—or what they call 'Varunadeva'—clearly shows that they are only following in the foot-steps of the old Ministry.

"Sir, as a matter of fact, it is very well known that both Rayalaseema and a good portion of Tamil Nad could be industrialized. There is a vast amount of mineral resources right in the bowels of the earth in these places and yet the Ministry are silent in this respect. It is also well known that the South Arcot district contains lignite deposits which can very well be used for industrial purposes. It is said that Rayalaseema contains iron, asbestos and a number of other raw materials necessary for industrialization, and that industries could easily be developed there. There are also reports to that effect. There is no dearth of blue-prints or blue-books on the question. The most important report on the question is the report of Mr. P. V. Subba Rao about the economic development of Rayalaseema. Sir, I would like every one of the hon. Members of this House and you, Sir, to read this book which contains a scathing indictment of the way in which industries have been neglected. Not merely the industries have been neglected, but the needs of the people also have been neglected. So, Sir, there is need for agricultural development; there is need for protection of industries and the furtherance of even cottage industries of which the Congressmen seem to be great protagonists. Even that duty has been neglected and that is because the Government consider that it is not their job. In fact, that is the reason why unemployment has been so great and it has brought about disastrous consequences to the morale of the people. People who are unemployed naturally think that they are so because of some sin and the employed man actually thinks he is born with a superior merit all his own. This kind of nonsense has not been taken out of the minds of our people. All this is due to unemployment. For example, in Nellore, we find a number of unemployed people from Tamil Nad eking out their livelihood in the streets of Nellore, so much so the streets of Nellore are full of beggars. It is a very strange phenomenon. Not merely that, they come and compete with the agricultural labourers even in villages. Not only there is an exodus of people from Tamil Nad to the north, but you also find a good number of common people

8th May 1952] [Sri K. Krishna Rao]

of the Tamilnad migrating to Ceylon without permits. Going to Ceylon without permits involves penalty. This shows, Sir, the great amount of distress that is prevailing in Tamilnad, to which the previous Ministry as well as the present Ministry have turned a blind eye.

"So, Sir, instead of tackling this problem, instead of industrializing the country, our rich country, they simply talk about charity. I mean, Sir, there is a plan behind all these things. They say, if you want to live, you must salaam the Congress Government. They want votes. That is why they want to keep the people down as slaves and if they want food to eat, they must be slaves of the Congress Government. That is the way in which the Congress Ministry have been functioning in this State. They do not consider that the right of the people to live is their fundamental right, a much bigger right than anything else. Right to live is inherent in our Constitution and a man must first live to be free. In fact, the right of the individual to live and eat has not at all been considered by the Government. That I consider is a violation of the Constitution. In fact, these people seem to think that if we are to live at all we will have to hang on them, run about the Secretariat and stand before them and salaam them. Well, Sir, that is the way in which they are manufacturing slavery and creating a slave mentality among the people.

"Then, Sir, we find the shadow of 1947-52 is still lingering here as was evidenced the other day. I was so ashamed to see the Malabar Special Police guarding the Assembly Chamber and its precincts and even its outskirts. If you want honest people, they have to be certified by honest people. The common people are much greater than the whole Ministry put together and they have told the Government that we are honest men and it is these honest men that are being treated like this by the Malabar Special Police. I ask, Sir, is that the way in which we should be treated? False allegations are made against us and we are terrorized by the Malabar Special Police. Is that the way in which you want to wage a war against the people? They want bread; they want bread provided for them under the Constitution and it is that that you will have to give them.

"Then, Sir, in so far as the right of the unemployed for sustenance is concerned, that right has not been conceded. I therefore, consider, Sir, that this Government have completely fallen short of the needs of the times. That only shows that this Ministry has been most irresponsible and deserves, very richly deserves, to be pilloried and condemned."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to 4 p.m. make a submission to you regarding to-day's sittings. By previous engagement, we are having a very important meeting of our party and I would request you to adjourn the House at half past five."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Yes, the House will sit till half past five to-day, but to-morrow, it will commence its business at 10 o'clock. The agenda has already been circulated. It is put down there that

124 DISCUSSION ON HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR'S
ADDRESS

[Mr. Speaker] [8th May 1952]

the House will meet at eleven of the clock; it is a mistake as the agenda had been circulated before we came to the conclusion that the sitting of the House would commence at ten o'clock; I hope hon. Members will not be misled by it. We meet to-morrow at ten o'clock."

JANAB K. M. SEETHI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, in tabling the amendment it was my intention to bring home to the Government the failure of the Government to apprise His Excellency of the acute sufferings of the people on account of the failure of the Government to satisfy their elementary requirements of life in the matter of food. In the matter of food there is acute suffering in the State and the 6 oz. ration that is supposed to be given to the people is hardly sufficient for keeping body and soul together and unless the Government provide ration up to 16 oz. they could not be said to have discharged their elementary duty by the people, namely, of providing the people with the food they require.

"In the matter of the procurement policy pursued by the Government, the Government have committed blunder after blunder and it has been responsible for a lot of suffering out of the people, because it had the effect of sending the foodstuffs out of the reach of the consumers. The other thing was that the producer was not given a fair price for his grains and that was responsible for his not producing as much as he could and also for his not giving to the consumer as much as he could really spare. This was responsible for foodstuffs going into the blackmarket and being cornered. My submission is that a fair price should be vouchsafed to the producer and that must be done without putting any more burden on the consumer. The policy now followed is far from satisfactory especially so far as my district of Malabar is concerned. There has been a unanimous demand from the people there that in the place of the procurement system which is in vogue, the levy system must be introduced. For that the answer of the Government has been that that system was tried in Coimbatore district and found to be a failure. I feel, Sir, that it is hardly an answer to the demand. In fact that is not the sort of levy system that has been demanded by the people. The Food Production Committee and also the Head of the district made a recommendation to the Government that the levy system should be tried as an experiment in that district, but unfortunately the Government have not been so kind as to give it a trial. I submit to the Government that it might be tried in that district and I am sure that it would result in more foodstuffs being made available to the people and in larger quantities of food being turned out for the consumption of the people. It will relieve the hardship of the people to a very large extent.

"While speaking about the problem of food production, I have to point out for the consideration of the Government that considerable disquiet has been caused in the minds of the people of the district on account of a certain report appearing in the papers. The Malampuzha scheme has been considered on all hands to be one of the most necessary irrigation schemes to step up production

8th May 1952] [Janab K. M. Seethi]

of food in the district of Malabar. It has been estimated that it will cost about Rs. 4 crores. During the beginning of the year, there was a slowing down of the scheme, but later on a press statement was issued to the effect that the scheme has been speeded up and the work has been going on as usual. This morning, a report appeared in the papers that there is to be a slowing down of the work on the scheme with the result that the scheme which is expected to be completed by 1953 would be dragged on to the year 1956. If the report is well founded, I wish to submit to the Government that it will create a very serious situation so far as food production in the district of Malabar is concerned. It will create disquiet in the minds of the people and it will be viewed as a piece of injustice done to the people of Malabar. The speedier the work is carried on and the earlier it is finished, the better it will be for the district, both from the point of view of the food producer and the consumer in the district.

"Now, Sir, I wish to invite the attention of the Government to the very serious feeling of frustration in the minds of minorities of this State, especially the Muslim minority. The Muslim minority which was represented by the Muslim League Legislature Party had as many as 29 members in an Assembly of 215 but now, Sir, in a House of 375 members, we are a pitiable number of seven representing the various parties in this House. On the eve of the election, the great Prime Minister of India said that the minorities in this State including the Muslim minority should have adequate representation in the elections and some of the Congress organizations even passed resolutions to the effect that adequate representation should be given to minorities. But what was the experience? While we were 29 in a House of 215 we have secured only 7 seats in a House of 375 in the elections under the present Constitution. I should submit, Sir, this is a very serious situation. There is a feeling of frustration among the Muslims and the earlier the electoral law is changed for giving proper and adequate representation to the Muslims, the better it will be for the community and the State, for the contentment of the community and for the cordial relations that should exist between the minority and the majority communities.

"Another point I wish to submit is that various concessions shown to the Muslim community in the matter of education and representation in the public services have been taken away by the Government. A monumental piece of injustice done to the Muslims by the Government is with reference to the Muhammadan College in Madras; it has done very useful service in the promotion of higher education in the Muslim community, which is admittedly backward in point of education. What has happened is that so far as the Intermediate classes are concerned, it has ceased to be a Muslim College; the Muslim students were getting 85 per cent of the admissions hitherto but now, Sir, they are only getting 7 or 8 per cent. The B.A. classes have not been brought under this category but still in the matter of admission to the Intermediate classes, Muslim students undergo a lot of difficulties

[Janab K. M. Seethi]

[8th May 1952]

and Muslims are thinking of opening their own colleges in the City for relieving the hardship caused to the Muslim students in the matter of admission to college classes.

"In the matter of public services also, they feel that sufficient consideration is not shown to them. One thing about which the Muslim minority has been considerably worried is that the Congress Party has been unfriendly to them, if not hostile. Whenever they wanted the right of organization which has been guaranteed to the people of the Union under the Constitution, it has been sought to be denied to them on one ground or another and their organization which has the honour of being represented by all sections of the community has been dubbed as a communal organization which deserves to be hanged. This is a very wrong attitude. The Muslim League organization has always stood for co-operation with the Government in the preservation of law and order; Muslims have not done any acts subversive of law; they have not indulged in lawless activities or helped lawlessness; no blame of the kind could be laid at their doors. With all that, many of them were unjustly arrested in different parts of the State during the Hyderabad trouble, but the Government were not able to lay a charge-sheet against anyone of them and they were all unconditionally released. I request the Government to change their policy and be just and generous towards all minorities including the Muslims; their right of organization should be conceded and their co-operation sought for the general well-being of the State."

SRI N. C. RAMASWAMI KANDER :—“கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே! நமது மாகாணத்தில் கிராமங்கள்தான் பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையிலிருக்கின்றன. அதிலும் பெரும்பாலும் கிராமாந்திரங்களிலுள்ள ஹரிஜனங்களும், வன்னிய குல கூத்திரியர்களும் தான் மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையில் இருக்கின்றார்கள். கிராமாந்திரங்களில் ஆஸ்பத்திரிகளே கிடையாது. பாடசாலைகள் கூட சில கிராமங்களில் கிடையாது. இது மாதிரியான பலபல குறைபாடுகள் காணப்படுகின்றன. இவைகளை யெல்லாம் நீக்கி கிராம மக்களுக்கு வைத்ய வசதி, கல்வி வசதி, விவசாய வசதி போன்ற எல்லா வசதிகளையும் செய்துகொடுக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். அதற்காக அரசாங்கம் மேன்மேலும் அக்கறையோடு எல்லாக் காரியங்களையும் செய்யவேண்டுமென்று கேட்டுக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“அடுத்தாடியாக நமது ரெவின்யூ மந்திரி கனம் மாணிக்கவேலு நாயக்கரைப் பற்றி சில பத்திரிகைகளும், எதிர்க்கட்சி மெம்பர்களும் ரொம்பவும் கீழ்த்தரமாக அவதூறு பேசுவது மிகவும் தவறான காரியமாகும். வட ஆற்காடு, ஜில்லாவிலே வன்னிய குல கூத்திரியர்கள் பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையில் இருக்கிறார்கள். மந்திரி சபையிலே அவர்களுக்குத் தக்க ஸ்தானங்கள் சரியாகக் கொடுக்கப்படவில்லை யென்ற மனக் குறையினால் தான் காமன் லீல் கட்சியே ஸ்தாபிக்கப்பட்டது என்பதை எதிர்க்கட்சியாளர்கள் சரியாக உணரவேண்டும். கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் எங்களுடைய குறையை நீக்கி, எங்கள் சமூகத்தினரின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்கான நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுக்க முன் வரும்போது எங்கள் ஆதரவை அவருக்குக் கொடுக்கவேண்டியது எங்கள் சமூகத்தின் கடமையாகும். எங்கள் ஜில்லா மக்களின் கடமையுமாகும். கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் கனம் மாணிக்கவேலு நாயகருக்கு மந்திரி பதவி கொடுத்தபோது அவர்கள் எங்கள் கட்சியின் விருப்பப்படியே, எங்கள் ஜில்லா வாகிகளின் எண்ணப்படியே தான்

8th May 1952] [Sri N. C. Ramaswami Kandar]

அவர் மந்திரி பதவியை ஒப்புக்கொண்டாரே தவிர கட்சிக்கு விரோதமாக அவர் ஒப்புக்கொள்ளவில்லை. அதனால் எதிர்க்கட்சி மெம்பர்கள் அவரை அனுவசியமாக கண்டபடி பேசக்கூடாதுயென நான் தனிப்பட்ட முறையிலும், கட்சி சார்பிலும், ஜில்லா வாகிகளின் சார்பாகவும் தர்மமையாகக் கேட்டுக் கொண்டு, இந்தத் தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரித்து என் சிறுநரையை முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* **SRI PRAGADA KOTAIAH** :—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by my hon. Friend Sri K. P. Gopalan. I want to impress upon the Government the miserable plight of the handloom weavers and their industry in the country. No doubt, Sir, His Excellency has in his address made a reference to the handloom industry and also the need for giving immediate relief to the suffering handloom weavers. But I feel sorry, Sir, that His Excellency has not indicated the measures that will be adopted by the Government for providing relief to them. It is a fact known to all that the handloom weaving industry is the biggest national industry in the country providing employment for fifteen million people. In Madras State alone, there are seven lakhs of handlooms upon which thirty lakhs of people are depending for their livelihood. Both the Union and the State Governments, though pledged to support cottage industries, have not done anything to protect the handloom weaving industry from the competition of the textile mill industry. The sufferings of handloom weavers have grown into infinitude for want of employment with a living wage. Several thousands of families of handloom weavers have migrated to other places in search of livelihood, several thousands of handloom weavers have resorted to begging as their present profession, and hunger deaths among handloom weavers have become common. You know, Sir, that repeated representations were made to the Governments to give adequate relief to the handloom weavers in distress and adopt suitable measures to provide protection to the handloom industry from the competition of the textile mill industry. But they were in vain. As a last resort, thousands of handloom weavers in Madras led by the Madras Provincial Handloom Weavers Congress, Nidubrolu, offered *satyagraha* before the Madras Secretariat during the first part of last year and had to court imprisonment, not to speak of the cruel atrocities of the police against the peaceful and non-violent *satyagrahis*. The Union Industries Minister the Hon. Mr. Harekrushna Mehtab and the then Madras Industries Minister Mr. C. Perumalsami Reddi have made assuring pronouncements on several occasions that they have sympathy for the handloom weavers and that the needful would be done immediately for providing them with adequate relief. But nothing was done in that direction. The present condition of handloom weavers is very bad on account of the slump in the handloom cloth trade, and several thousands of handloom weavers are thrown out of employment. I therefore suggest certain measures to be adopted by the Government for affording adequate relief to the unemployed handloom weavers and securing adequate protection to the handloom industry. The present slump in handloom cloth trade is mainly due to the

4-15 P.M.

[Sri Pragada Kotaiah] [8th May 1952]

present high level of yarn prices. Generally the Government make a periodical revision of yarn prices once in three months and a revision ought to have been made by 1st April 1952. But I regret to mention here that, though the prices of cotton, both Indian and foreign, have been declining from the first week of March, the Government, instead of reducing the prices of yarn at least in proportion to the fall in the price of cotton, have been trying to maintain the high level of yarn prices. Secondly, one will not hesitate to protest against the recent decision of the Union Government reducing the prices of cloth, both coarse and medium, without effecting a corresponding reduction in the prices of yarn of the same varieties, that is, coarse and medium counts of yarn.

"There is another disadvantage to the handloom industry. The composite mills spin yarn required by them and therefore they obtain their yarn requirements at the cost of production, whereas the weaving mills are able to secure their yarn requirements at ex-mill rates. But the handloom industry is required to purchase yarn at high prices, after the following additions are made to the cost of production: profit allowed to the spinning mill in fixing the ex-mill rate; bundling, transport and rewinding charges for the yarn and the profit allowed to the middlemen in the yarn trade. Steps therefore should be taken to see that the handloom industry is supplied with adequate quantities of yarn in required counts at reasonably reduced rates. For this purpose, the Planning Commission appointed by the Indian National Congress has suggested that an excise duty on the yarn consumed by the composite and the weaving mills, should be levied and that the proceeds of the excise duty should be utilized to subsidize the prices of yarn to be supplied to the handloom weaving industry. I suggest that that suggestion may be adopted and that the existing high level of yarn prices should be immediately brought down in proportion to the fall in the prices of cotton.

"I now refer to the defective distribution of yarn. The present system of meeting first the yarn requirements of the textile mills in full and treating as a last charge the requirements of the handloom industry, should be revised and the total output of yarn in the country should be distributed strictly in proportion to the estimated requirements of the various consumers of yarn including the composite and the weaving mills.

"I remember the Union Government and also the Madras Government promised to purchase handloom cloth for a major portion of their requirements of textile goods. But I see that they have not made any appreciable purchase of handloom products. I would suggest that the Union and the Madras Governments should purchase a major portion of their textile requirements from the handloom products. For this purpose they should revise the specifications of certain varieties of textile goods to enable the handloom weavers to produce them on handlooms and earn a living wage.

[8th May 1952] [Sri Pragada Kotaiah]

"With regard to yarn supply, I would like to suggest another thing. Handloom weavers are to-day facing difficulties because they are compelled to go for yarn only to the spinning mills."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member has one more minute."

* SRI PRAGADA KOTIAH:—"Therefore the spinning industry should be decentralized and the Government should take steps to install small-scale spinning units with five to ten spindles. Handloom weavers and the Primary Handloom Weavers Co-operative Societies may be encouraged to install small-scale spinning units with ten to twenty spindles each. I suggest to the Government to send an expert trade delegation to Japan and other countries to find out the possibilities of manufacturing small-scale spinning units with ten to twenty spindles.

"It is a fact known to all that the handloom industry should be protected from the competition of the textile mills. Certain fields of production of cloth should be reserved exclusively for the handloom industry. The Handloom Committee appointed by the Government of Madras recommended that cloth of width ranging between 40 and 48 inches should be reserved exclusively for the handloom industry. That recommendation may be examined. In this connection I would like to mention that the Planning Commission appointed by the Indian National Congress said that the production of certain varieties of cloth should be reserved exclusively for the handloom industry, such reservation covering not less than two-thirds of the total production of handloom goods."

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are supposed to be governed by a Constitution which is declared to be republican. The essence of republican Government, that is, the essence of democracy is not merely political in character but economic in substance. If we do not enjoy economic democracy, if we are not given the conditions of living which alone will make life worth living, there is really no meaning in professing or proclaiming—or praying if it comes to prayer—that we are having a democratic Government and that therefore everybody must make this Government a success. Let us for a moment examine whether the Government that is now ruling us is really democratic in its programme and in the *modus operandi* of administration. According to me, the opposite is far nearer the truth than the original thesis that the Government spokesmen may seek to establish. His Excellency's address is just a constitutional convention codified in our Constitution. As the executive head he would outline in his address the major policies which his Government through his Council of Ministers will implement in the long run. But in this case, a complete blank, a complete baldness and an absolute cypher has been given tongue to by His Excellency the Governor. The hon. Member Mr. Ramamurthi was charitable enough to say that this was due to bankruptcy of policy. I am afraid that he has erred to this extent that it is due not to the bankruptcy or non-existence of a policy but to the existence of certain policies which

[Sri V. R. Krishna Ayyar] [8th May 1952]

are so reactionary that they cannot be disclosed at the first session of this Legislative Assembly under a democratic Constitution. That democracy can be thrown to the winds has been demonstrated not only to the Members of this House but also to the world at large, when this House on the first day of its meeting was greeted with an order under the nefarious Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code which has been the usual weapon of the Britisher when he ruled over us.

4-30 p.m. "It is time that we do not think hereafter of section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure as a matter of routine administration. It has a history and a tradition. We are told that we have got a chapter on Fundamental Rights in the Constitution. The essence of fundamental rights is civil liberty—liberty of assembly and liberty of association. Without liberty, there is no civilised existence. The very essence and progress of democratic life is the freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, freedom of movement, etc., although in certain circumstances it is denied in this country. Freedom of association and movement has been denied not merely to the ordinary public or to persons who are interested in demonstrations, which may be of a lawless character. But, as we have been told, on more than one occasion it has been denied even to hon. Members of this august House. If the Government are adopting this policy to-day, does it not clearly show that there is a policy behind this administration, and there is no lack of policy or bankruptcy of policy or failure to think about the major policies? They have been asking for time. And they were given time. More time has been given and more time has been abused by them. To say that really no time has been allowed to the Government to think out the major policies is just an excuse. According to me there is a well-arranged, well-organised, well-thought-out, and well-conceived policy followed by this Government, and they will execute that policy well, though it may not be declared, very probably because, as opposed to the United Democratic Front or the Progressive Front, they may be a Reactionary Front and they will have their reactionary policies and they may put them into execution in smaller and smaller doses. In this democracy, with which we are concerned, we are denied civil liberties. We are given the Public Safety Act. It has been pointed out several times by our national leaders, eminent leaders and thinkers that detention without trial is the very negation of civilised existence. But, I ask, do we not still have detention without trial. Detention without trial has resulted in a party which has suffered most under it, capturing a very large number of seats in the Assembly. People are willing to be democratic in spite of assertions to the contrary by the powers-that-be. What we find, therefore, is not merely the promulgation of orders under section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure and the application of the Public Safety Act, but a policy of complete denial of civil liberties. Perhaps some might enjoy an extra dose of civil liberties if they belong to the privileged class. But the common man has suffered. The poor man has to hold his tongue, and he is afraid to speak out. To-day there is a fear complex running throughout the whole country. We must eradicate this fear if we say that we have

8th May 1952] [Sri V. R. Krishna Ayyar]

democracy in this State. I do not know if our prayers and requests to Government to restore civil liberties will fall on deaf ears or whether they will pay heed to our requests. In connection with civil liberties, I should like to mention one thing. There has been an assumption throughout this country, at any rate in this State, that there has been a separation of the judiciary from the executive. We are now told of novel theories of the separation of the legislature from the executive. We have heard of the separation of the judiciary from the executive. But new constitutional theories have been propounded now that there must be a separation of the legislature from the executive. That is to say, the legislators should keep quiet not only on the floor of the Assembly but even when they are outside. It may bear some sort of interpretation like that. My point before the House, Sir, is this, namely, so far as my district of Malabar and allied districts are concerned, the separation of the executive from the judiciary has not been accomplished. This has a bearing upon the civil liberties. Suppression of civil liberties can be carried out effectively only so long as there is no separation of the judiciary from the executive. The magistracy is sought to be used for the suppression of civil liberties, because the magistracy will be a convenient handle to suppress civil liberties. That really shows that the Ministry—the administration—has no faith in the independent magistrates who might be appointed on account of the separation. I, therefore, entreat this House to protest against this motion of thanks-giving so long as we are not assured of conditions in which civil liberties will not be taken away. I am afraid there is a feeling all over the State that this separation of the judiciary from the executive will be confined to the safer districts and not extended to the unsafe districts. I think that this is the view of the Government. I may here make one suggestion ancillary to the question of civil liberties. The poor man, when he is harassed or prosecuted, politically or economically, is unable to defend himself and get legal aid. Oftentimes he is unable to get sufficient legal aid for want of finance. It is but proper that the Government, if it is really a democratic Government, must enable everybody to assert his rights and give legal aid to any one who is not conversant with the law of evidence and other laws. In the democratic form of Government that we are presuming to have, the Government must necessarily provide for the defence of poor litigants in civil and criminal cases.

"I now proceed to a very important issue namely, food. You will see that the grow more food scheme is a scandalous thing and a colossal failure. Why? Not because money has not been spent on it. Money has been rained as it were on the grow more food scheme. It failed completely because the Government did not choose to associate the people with it. They did not want to associate the people with it. They are prepared to run it in their own bureaucratic way. Their irresponsiveness to associate the people with the grow more food scheme was responsible for the failure of the grow more food scheme. The Press has been violently clamouring

[Sri V. R. Krishna Ayyar] [8th May 1952]

for the introduction of levy system in Malabar. If the people say that there should be no intensive procurement but only a levy system in Malabar, immediately the reactionary and bureaucratic Government says, 'No levy system; we will proceed with our policy of intensive procurement, because we think that that is correct'. This bureaucratic attitude is the reason why all the measures although seemingly popular and good to the country, have utterly failed. Is it really a popular measure that food must be taxed? Fish is taxed and fishermen are taxed. We are told that fish is food in most parts of the country. Yet it is taxed. We are told that rice is taxed. Why is food taxed? Is this democracy? But political pensions are being paid to Raja's families, because those Rajas once bartered away our rights to the East India Company! These pensions are retained and are paid to the present drawers of those pensions. Take the case of permits? If a big man gives a dinner party to Ministers and other big persons, he is given permits. If permits are refused at the district headquarters, he gets permits from the Government in Madras. The poor man becomes disillusioned."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" I would like the hon. Member to bring specific instances, if any, to my notice, and not make general remarks."

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR :—" In due course and at the proper place and time, specific instances will be brought forward. I hope, now that the Hon. Minister says that he will look into those specific instances, there will be responsiveness to public opinion. Within the limited time, I cannot catalogue the various instances to substantiate my general condemnation of the policy of this Government."

"Then, Sir, I come to the question of efficiency of administration. I suppose efficiency of administration means rooting out corruption and carrying on administration properly."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member has one more minute."

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR :—" Efficiency of administration will be an idle promise unless there is the necessary contentment among the subordinate staff, especially the lower paid people in the services. Why not in this State also we implement the Central Pay Commission's recommendations? Unless the administrative staff are contented, there is no point in saying that they should be free from corruption. They will of course be corrupt if they are kept poor. When big and fat salaries are paid to higher officers, why not at least a part of those big salaries be enjoyed by the subordinate staff of the Government? The Central Pay Commission's recommendations should be implemented at once."

"Before I conclude, I should like to mention one point, namely, taxation. I really desire this Government to conduct itself as a democratic Government by taxing not food, not fish, but imposing death duties, for instance. When rich men depart from this world let them be generous and allow a slice to be taken from their estate

8th May 1952] [Sri V. R. Krishna Ayyar]

for the benefit of the poor people. Death duty should be imposed. Rich plantations owned by Europeans and wealthy people can be taxed. They do not pay agricultural tax. They do not pay income-tax either. These people can be taxed at least for alleviating the suffering of the poor people working in these large estates. The condition of the labourers in these estates is deplorable. Their conditions can be described as sub-human."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member's time is up."

SRI V. R. KRISHNA AYYAR :—" Since time does not permit me to speak more, I close my speech."

* SRI V. DURGA PRASAD VEERABHADRA DEO BAHADUR :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting the motion of my hon. Friend, Sri T. N. Venkatasubba Reddi, to thank His Excellency the Governor for addressing this House on the 6th instant. I have got one or two suggestions to make in regard to the food problem which has been already described by His Excellency to be rather a difficult one. The food problem in this country as a whole and in this State particularly is very difficult due to the fact that all our irrigation sources are not yet tapped. If all the irrigation sources are tapped—there are big and small irrigation sources—and properly harnessed, in course of time the food problem can easily be solved, and I think we will then be in a position even to export food to our sister States. I come from the district of Srikakulam, where the resources are something tremendous. There are several small hill streams which can be harnessed at a little cost, and those sources will bring thousands of acres under wet cultivation and provide livelihood to many people. Besides, there is the Vamsadhara project in my district which would irrigate about 2 lakhs acres. If this project is put through it will not only make Srikakulam self-sufficient in food but enable it to cater to two or three districts more. I wish that these projects are taken up as soon as possible. We are very fortunate in having Sri C. Rajagopalachari as our Chief Minister, and he has kindly acceded to our unanimous request by taking up the leadership. I can assure hon. Members that under his able guidance, the Government will be able to solve this food problem and the famine problem that are facing us. These famine and food problems are to be fought out on a war priority basis. What I mean by war priority is that a united joint effort should be made by all parties and all members of this House, and the entire population should co-operate. That will, I am sure, solve these problems. At this juncture, when important problems have to be solved, our political differences should not keep us apart. Otherwise, it will result in grave consequences much to the detriment of the common cause of the State. Therefore, I once more appeal to my hon. Friends to put in a united effort to solve these problems."

"I would like to refer to one other point. One of the hon. Members made a reference to the nomination of our Chief Minister. I am a layman and not a lawyer. But as far as I can see, I think, the Constitution permits a nominated person to take up the post of Chief Minister. My view is this. We have all brought him

[Sri Durgaprasad Veerabhadra Deo Bahadur] [8th May 1952]
unanimously. We have requested him to take the post of Chief Minister and he has accepted it. There is nothing wrong in it. We are the representatives of the people and we have been duly elected by the people and it is on our unanimous request he has accepted our offer. So, there is nothing wrong in his having taken up the post of Chief Minister of this State."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Hon. Member Sri Kalyanasundaram will now speak."

SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM :—" I will speak tomorrow, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER :—" All right. The hon. Member Sri Narayana Kurup may now speak."

* SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must confess to my great disappointment at the speech of His Excellency. My disappointment is all the greater, because the Ministry responsible for the speech is one that was ushered in, in such a colourful manner as the saviour of this State. The Government which used to find fault with the people for their failures, are now finding fault with Nature. It is stated that Nature has not been kind to us for the last six years. The Rain God has not been pleased to shower his blessings on us for the last so many years. I would like to ask, 'Why?' Generally natural calamities or Ethibadha, as we call them, 'visit a country when the rulers are wicked or sinful.' Let the Government ponder over the situation and ask themselves whether they have not committed sins or whether they have not been wicked during the last six years or so. We find from the Puranas that during the time of King Janaka, when the country was subjected to severe drought, he sent for Rishya Sringa to perform a Yaga. We do not know whether the Government could get a Rishya Sringa to perform a similar Yaga in our State, and bring rain by pleasing the Rain God. Or, we may have to find out a Baghiratha or an Engineer of the skill of Baghiratha who could bring down the holy Ganges from Heaven to Earth. I only wish to point out that the Government ought to have taken steps to give relief to the people. The Government have, however, failed in their duty to the people. A major portion of the State is now in the grip of a severe famine. The so-called popular Government were not even as vigilant as the foreign Government. The relief or ameliorative measures suggested in the speech of His Excellency are totally inadequate. It is only a drop in the ocean. The Government ought to take up development schemes so that those who are unemployed and suffering on account of this famine could be employed for the benefit of themselves and that of the country. The people are not able to get even drinking water. While we, in cities, are able to provide for ourselves chlorinated water for flush-out latrines and spray baths, is it not pitiable that we are not able to provide drinking water to the villagers? This system of exploitation of the villages by the cities and the under-dog by the rich should go. The sooner it goes, the better it will be

8th May 1952] [Sri M. Narayana Kurup]

for everybody concerned. If this is to be our fate after five years of rule by those who are pledged to bring Rama Rajya or Grama Rajya, woe unto us. Except for a passing reference to the unemployment problem caused by the famine and a lukewarm reference to the handloom industry, the acute problem of unemployment has not at all been touched. There are hundreds and thousands of families who are entirely starving. The handloom industry which forms a major industry as far as Malabar is concerned, is completely dislocated and many are thrown out of work. It is like Nero fiddling while Rome was burning. As regards the food question, the prospects are not bright. The year 1951, that happy year of plenty and self-sufficiency promised to us, has gone. The Grow More Food campaign has been characterised by the highest authority in India as a costly failure. Why did it fail? Because, the Government had not a fixed policy, programme or priority. In this connection, I may mention a point which has already been mentioned by an hon. Member. The Malampuzha Project, which is a very important one in the history of Malabar, was promised to be completed by 1953. The work on the Project was suspended for a time for want of funds, but was resumed with an assurance that it will be completed by 1953. As is seen from the speeches of the Hon. Ministers, it seems we have to wait till 1956 for its completion.

"The procurement policy of the Government has been greatly responsible for the failure of the Grow More Food campaign. The cultivator has no incentive to produce more foodgrains. It is the village karnam who is empowered to fix the quantity to be procured with regard to each crop. We can very well imagine what this means. Because of this, there has been a unanimous cry in Malabar, irrespective of party affiliations, that the system of levy should be introduced immediately.

"Mention has been made about the increase in the price of paddy. Under the existing land tenure in this State and more especially in Malabar, this increase in the procurement price of paddy does not generally go to the cultivator. This increase only reaches the absentee landlord or the intermediary who has nothing to do with cultivation. We have experience of such increases in prices in Malabar. Bonuses and some increase in prices were granted in favour of the tenants. What was the result? Some time later, courts were flooded with suits against the tenants for the return of these amounts with interest and in many cases decrees were also passed against these poor tenants, for the return of the amounts with interest and cost. As a result of this many tenants were ruined. So, these increases in price will not at all help the poor tenants. They will continue to starve and the landlords only will reap the benefits. The tenants have to satisfy the landlords by paying higher rents. Such is the predicament of the tenants. Something should be done to help these poor people. However, the poor consumer should not be made to pay any increase in prices. He is not concerned with the fluctuations in prices of motor cars, aeroplanes, fancy goods or luxury articles. He is concerned with articles of prime necessity such as food and clothing which

[Sri M. Narayana Kurup] [8th May 1952]

should be made available at reasonable prices. The burden of the tenants has in no way been reduced by the various measures adopted by the Government in the past.

"With regard to the legislative activities, there is no reference in the speech of His Excellency to anything except the replacing of an Ordinance by an enactment of this House. No hon. Member of this House or for the matter of that, no Member of the Cabinet who has closely watched the developments in Malabar, especially after the introduction of the Malabar Tenancy Amendment Act can be complacent on the issue, because, the situation has become grave and the measure has been resisted by one and all, in Malabar. However, I do not wish to dilate on that point. We wish to take up the matter with the Hon. Chief Minister at some convenient time.

"I cannot conclude my short remarks on the speech of His Excellency without expressing my opinion on certain points mentioned by some hon. Members. Some learned Members on the other side made a reference to the part played by them in the attainment of Independence. Let me inform those hon. Members that the freedom struggle was not the monopoly of any single party. I leave it at that. Are we now enjoying the fruits of freedom? That is the only question that we should consider. A good and able Government can only be judged by the results produced by them. 'Phalanumeya Praramba' is the test of efficient administration. The Government have done certain things. But, what are the results? We do not find anything substantial or tangible. That is our experience. The Government so far has been like a tree that puts forth flowers which attract people, but does not give the people any fruit. How long can such a Government continue in office? That is the question before us. We have been asked to pray so that Nature may be pleased to bless us with rain."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member has only one more minute."

* SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP:—"I will finish my speech now, Sir. If our prayers can reach God, it will be not for rain but for the removal of that impediment that lies between the blessings of God and the people. This Government can neither please God nor man unless and until they purify themselves. The speech of His Excellency does not contain any such promise to the people and, therefore, I oppose the Motion."

5 p.m. SRI S. VEMIAH:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, in connection with the Motion before the House, I must submit that the question of cultivable waste lands—I mean poramboke lands at the disposal of the Government—is yet to be solved. It is a well-known fact that thousands of acres are lying waste. No doubt the Government are taking some steps to bring such lands under cultivation but more adequate steps should be taken to bring the entire area under cultivation. The Government were pleased to lift the ban on assignment of lands in the year 1949 but no patta has so far been

8th May 1952]

[Sri S. Vemiah]

issued even to persons who have been in occupation of the land for ten years and more. Particularly in the Nellore district, though it is now three years since the order was issued, not even three assignments have been made so far. No pattas have been granted under G.O. No. 1523. Steps should be taken to make assignment of lands to landless labourers.

"There is another request I would make to the Government. The Government passed orders that no landlord should have more than 5 acres of poramboke land. But there are many who are in possession of more poramboke lands. The Government have not taken steps to evict any of these landlords who continue to encroach on poramboke lands. Such landlords should be evicted and the landless labourers should be given a chance to cultivate these lands. The Government were pleased to reserve a certain proportion of these lands for the depressed classes. But it is regrettable that the national Government have not done anything to assign these lands to these people. The Government must do this if they want real economic emancipation of the untouchables.

"Sir, there is a vast extent of land lying at the disposal of temples. These are cultivable lands lying waste and are used by the landlords for grazing purposes. These lands should be given away to the cultivators. The Government, of course, auction out these lands but there are always the middlemen who benefit and not the tillers of the soil. These tillers of the soil cannot bid at the auctions in view of their economic condition and the rich and the middle-class people take advantage of this position and enjoy the temple lands themselves. Though the Government are not put to any loss, the actual cultivator who is landless is deprived of a chance to benefit from such auctions.

"Article 45 of the Constitution of India provides for free and compulsory education being imparted to children by the State. But not even in one village was I able to see this compulsory education introduced. As far as my knowledge goes, in Nellore there is no school to give such education. The Government in addition to giving aid to private institutions should, for the benefit of the people living in villages, start schools there irrespective of whether the population is 500 or more or less. They must see to it that every village has at least one school to provide free education to the children. They must have at least one teacher for each school if they cannot have more and try to spread education.

"Then, Sir, there are people in the villages who are not able to work due to physical incapacity. There are lame persons—with one leg or with one hand—and some of them have studied up to third form or the sixth form. They should be given a chance to get trained for the teaching profession. Free training should be given to them in order to enable them to earn their livelihood.

"Sir, with these words, I resume my seat."

* SRI M. CHADAYAN:—"മലിയാളിത്തത്തിൽ ഒരു ഉറപ്പു നിലനിർത്തേണ്ടതുണ്ട്. മലിയാളികൾക്ക് തങ്ങളുടെ ജനതയോടു കൂടിയും തങ്ങളുടെ ജനതയോടു കൂടിയും പങ്കാളികളായി ഇരിക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ട്. മലിയാളികൾക്ക് തങ്ങളുടെ ജനതയോടു കൂടിയും പങ്കാളികളായി ഇരിക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ട്. മലിയാളികൾക്ക് തങ്ങളുടെ ജനതയോടു കൂടിയും പങ്കാളികളായി ഇരിക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ട്."

[8th May 1932]

“സാധുക്കളായ കൂടിക്കാഴ്ച സന്ദേശമാകുന്നു. നിയമിതർ മലബാറിൽ നെരെല്ലൂർ പ്രിൻസ് ‘ലെയി’ നടപ്പാക്കുന്നതെന്ന് വാരിച്ചുകൊണ്ട് ‘മനുഷ്യ’ പബ്ലിക് സേവനം ആൻ അറസ്റ്റിട്രക്കും, ലെയി ഉടനടി നടപ്പാക്കേണ്ടതാണെന്നും, യാൻ അഭിപ്രായം വെട്ടുന്നത്, കൂടിക്കാഴ്ച നെ കൂട്ടിയെടുക്കുകയും ചെയ്തതായും ആഭ്യന്തരം കാരണമേയെ അധിപത്യത്തെ കൂടിനിയമങ്ങൾ പൂർത്തിയാക്കുകയും കൂടിക്കാഴ്ച മറ്റൊരായി മലയാളം വെട്ടുകയും തി

8-15
p.m.

[illegible][illegible]

* **SRI S SOMAYAJULU** :—“கனம் சபாநாயக்கர் அவர்களே! மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களின் பிழைப்பைத் தை ஆதரிக்கும் முகத்தான், அவர்கள் இந்தச் சபையிலே நிகழ்த்திய பிரச்சந்திற்குப் பாராட்டு தெரிவிக்கும் முறையிலே கனம் ஸ்ரீ டி. என். வெங்கடசுப்பா ரெட்டி அவர்களால் கொண்டுரப்பட்டிருக்கும் தீர்மானத்தை ஆதரிக்கும் முகத்தான் நான் பேசுகிறேன்.

“ஜனநாயகம் என்பது ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட வர்க்கத்தாருக்கோ, அல்லது வகுப்பாருக்கோ, அல்லது, ஒரே கட்சியாருக்கோ உரித்தானது அல்ல, உடமை

8th May 1952]

[Sri S. Somayajulu]

யானதும் அல்ல, தாங்கள் நினைப்பது தான் சட்டம் ; தாங்கள் பேசுவது தான் ஜனநாயகம் என்று சொல்லுவது முற்றிலும் சம்பிரதாயமான ஜனநாயக ஸ்கீயத்திற்கே விரோதமானது, முறணைது ஆகும். இந்த முறையிலே பார்க்கும் போது இன்றையதினம் இந்தச் சபை, யிலே பேசிய ஒரு சில மெம்பர்கள் தாங்கள் சொல்வது தான் ஜனநாயகம், தாங்கள் செய்வது தான் சரியானது, மற்றவர்கள் எல்லோருமே ஜனநாயகப் பண்பாட்டிற்கு முறணை, விரோதமாக நடக்கிறார்கள் என்பதாகப் பல்வாறு ஜனநாயகம் என்பதை தங்களை வகைபோக உரிமைபோல அர்த்தமற்றதான பிரசங்கத்தை வாசரமகோச்சாரமாக நிகழ்த்தினார்கள். அவர்கள் பேர்க்குப் படியே சென்றால், அவர்கள் சொல்லியவாறெல்லாம் நடந்தால், அவர்கள் எண்ணப்படியே ஒவ்வொரு காரியமும் நடைபெற்றால் ஜனநாயகம் என்பதே உலகில் இல்லாதவாறு ஆகிவிடும், அவர்கள் சொல்லியபடி யெல்லாம் எந்த சர்க்கார் வந்தாலும் நடக்காது. அவர்கள் வாசரப்படிப் பார்த்தால் உலகிலேயே ஜனநாயகம் நாடு என்று ஒன்றிருப்பதாகவே சொல்ல முடியாது. ஜனநாயகம் வளர்வதற்கான முறைகளை அவர்கள் சொல்ல வில்லை. ஜனநாயகமே உலகில் இல்லாது அமிந்து போகக் கூடிய ஒரு முறை யைத் தான் அவர்கள் சொல்லுகிறார்கள் என்பதை பூர்ணமாக எல்லோரும் உணர்ந்து கொள்ளலாம்.

உணர்ந்து கொள்ளலாம்.
“அந்த முறையில் தான் அவர்கள் இன்றைய தினம் மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய பிரசங்கத்தை அங்கம் அங்கமாக எடுத்துக் கொண்டு, அக்குவேறு ஆண்டுவேராகப் பிரித்து, அவர்களுடைய பிரசங்கத்தில் உணவைப் பற்றிச் சொல்லவில்லையே, வேலையில்லாத திண்டாட்டத்தைப் பற்றிச் சொல்லவில்லையே, அதை நீக்குவதற்கு சர்க்கார் உடனடியாக என்ன திட்டவட்டமான நடவடிக்கைகளைச் செய்யப்போகிறார்கள் என்பதைப் பற்றி ஒன்றும் குறிப்பிடவில்லையே! பஞ்சத்தைப் போக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக் கொண்டிருப்பதாகச் சொல்லியிருக்கிறார்களே தவிர என்னென்ன நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் என்று ஒன்றும் சொல்ல வில்லையே! கிணறு வெட்டியிருக்கிறார்கள் என்றால் எத்தனை கிணறுகள் வெட்டியிருக்கிறார்கள்? எத்தனை ஆழம் வெட்டியிருக்கிறார்கள்! அதில் எத்தனை அடி தண்ணீர் இருக்கிறது? என்றெல்லாம் சொல்லப் படவில்லையே யென்பதாக பலவிதமான சின்னச்சின்ன சிக்கலான பிரச்சனைகளையெல்லாம் பெரிதாக எடுத்துக்காட்டி எதிக் கட்சியார்கள் வாசாமகோசரமாக தங்கள் பிரசங்கங்களை நிகழ்த்தினார்கள். அந்த மாதிரியான முறையிலே பொறுப்பையாகக் குற்றங்களை மாத்திரம் எடுத்துச் சொல்வது மிகவும் சபைமான காரியமாகும். யார் வேண்டுமானாலும் சொல்லலாம். எதை வேண்டுமானாலும் வாயில் வந்தபடி பேசிவிடலாம். பொறுப்பற்ற முறையிலே சர்க்காரைக் குற்றம் சாட்டுவது யாருக்கும் கஷ்டமில்லை. அதற்குப் போதுமான திறமையும் வேண்டியதில்லை. ஆனால் காரியங்களை வெற்றி கரமாக நடத்துவது தான் மிகவும் கஷ்டமான காரியமாகும். குறிப்பாக கரமாக நடத்துவது தான் அவர்கள் பதவியேற்றுக் கொண்டு எவ்வளவு மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் செய்திருக்கும் காரியங்களை எல்லாம் கால்ம் ஆகிறது. அதற்குள் அவர்கள் செய்திருக்கும் காரியங்களை எல்லாம் ஒவ்வொன்றாக நாம் பார்த்தால் உண்மையில் அவரை நாம் பாராட்டத் தான் கடமைப் பட்டிருக்கிறோம். வந்ததும் வராததுமாக அவர் ராயலசீமா பஞ்சப் பிரதேசங்களை நேரிவேயே சென்று பார்வையிட்டு அங்க மக்கள் படும் கஷ்டங்களை உடனடியாக நீக்குவதற்கு அவர் எல்லா நடவடிக்கை படும் கஷ்டங்களை உடனடியாக நீக்குவதற்கு அவர் எல்லா நடவடிக்கைகளையும் எடுத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார். அதற்காக அவரை உண்மையில் நாம் பாராட்டத் தான் வேண்டும். ராயலசீமா பஞ்சத்தைப் போக்குவதற்காக நமது மதிப்பிற்குரிய பிரதம மெந்திரி அவர்கள் தன்னுடைய நிதியை லிருந்து பணம் கொடுத்து உதவியிருக்கிறார். மத்திய சர்க்காரும் பணம் கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள். நமது மாகாண சர்க்காரும் பணம் ஒதுக்கி அதற்குத் தக்க நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுத்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். பஞ்சப் பிரதேசங்களுக்கெல்லாம் உடனே நேரிடை நிவாரண ியை சர்க்கார் ஒரு தனி அதிகாரியை நியமித்து எல்லா காரியங்களையும் செய்து வருகிறார்கள். வேலையில்லாத பேருக்கு வேலை வழங்கவும் எல்லா ஏற்பாடுகளும் செய்யப்பட்டு வருகிறது. கஞ்சித் தொட்டிகள் ஆங்காங்கே ஏற்படுத்தி மக்களுக்கு உதவி செய்து வருகிறார்கள். ராணுவ லாரிகளைக்

[Sri S. Somayajulu]

[8th May 1952]

கொண்டு குடி தண்ணீர் கட்டி செய்து அந்தப் பிரதேசங்களில் தாண்டவ மாடும் தண்ணீர் பஞ்சத்தைப் போக்க எல்லாவிதமான ஏற்பாடுகளையும் செய்திருக்கிறார்கள். நமது மதிப்பிற்குரிய தலைவர் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் இவ்வளவு திறமையாக இக்காரியங்களையெல்லாம் நடத்தி வருவதற்காக அவரை நாம் எல்லோரும் உண்மையில் பாடாட்ட வேண்டும். அதை விடுத்து பஞ்ச நிவாரணத்திற்கு சர்க்கார் எதையுமே செய்யாததைப் போல எதிர்க்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்கள் வெறும் வறட்டுக் கூச்சல் போட்டுக்கொண்டிருப்பதால் என்ன பிரயோஜனம் என்று தான் எனக்குத் தெரியவில்லை.

“சாதாரணமாகப் பார்க்கப் போனால் ராமலட்சுமா பிரதேசத்திலும் மற்ற சில இடங்களிலும் பஞ்சமானது திடீரென்று சர்க்காரின் அஜாக்கிரதை யினாலோ அல்லது நிர்வாகத் திறமையில்லாத காரணத்தாலோ வந்துவிட்ட தென்று யாராவும் சொல்லமுடியாது. தொடர்ந்தாற்போல் பல வருஷங்களாக பருவ மழை தவறி விட்டதின் காரணமாகத்தான் விவசாயம் செய்ய முடியாது விவசாயிகள் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். குடி தண்ணீர் இல்லாமல் ஜனங்களும், கால் நடைகளும் தவிக்கின்றன. வானம் பொய்ப்பின் தானமும் தவறும் உலகில் தங்காததோடு பஞ்சத்தால் மக்கள் தவித்து பசியால் உடலும் நிலை தானே ஏற்படும். இதற்காக சர்க்காரையோ, கையோ குறைகூறுவதினால் என்னபயன் என்பதை எதிர்க்கட்சிக்காரர்கள் உணர்வேண்டும். வாயில் வந்தபடியெல்லாம் பேசிவிட்டதினால் காரியம் எதுவும் ஆகிவிடாது. வீணாக பிறரை திட்டிக்கொண்டிருக்கும் நேரத்தில் அவர்கள் தான் மழையை வருவிக்கிறோம் யார் வேண்டாம் என்றார்கள். இன்று உலகிலே அணுகுண்டைக் கண்டுபிடித்த விஞ்ஞானிகள் கூட இருக்கிறார்கள். மேக சஞ்சாரத்தை வானத்தில் ஏற்படுத்தி அதனிடையே விமானத்திலிருந்து பனிக்கட்டிகளைப் போட்டு மேகத்தை குளிர்ச் செய்தால் மழை உண்டாகலாமென்று சொல்லுகிறார்களே தவிர இன்று ரஷ்யா விளையுக்கூட அம்மாதிரியாக செயற்கை மழையை உண்டாக்குவதற்கு இன்னும் இருபது, முப்பது வருஷங்களுக்கு மேலாகலாம் என்று தான் சொல்லப்படுகிறது. மழையும் இல்லை, மழையை உண்டாக்கவும் முடியாது என்றால் ஆண்டவனை வழிபடாது வேறு என்ன செய்வது என்று தான் நான் கேட்கிறேன். பஜகோவிந்தம் போட்டால் மழை வந்துவிடுமா? பஜகோவிந்தம் நன்றாகப் போட்டுத்தான் பார்க்கட்டுமே என்பதாகவெல்லாம் வெறுக்கத்தக்க முறையில் பேசுவது மிகவும் கண்டிக்கத்தக்க விஷயமாகும். எதிர்க்கட்சியினர் இம்மாதிரியாக வேண்டாத வெறுக்கத்தக்க முறைகளில் குற்றங்களையே சுட்டிக்காட்டுவதை விடுத்து ஏன் உருப்படியான எதிர் நோக்கியுள்ள பிரச்சினைகளையெல்லாம் பூர்ணமாக உணர்ந்து கொண்டு அங்கத்தினர்கள் எல்லோரும் கடமையுணர்ச்சியுடன் நம் மாகாணத்தின் செல்வாக்கை நிலைநிறுத்த வேலை செய்யவேண்டுமே தவிர வெறும் ஜனநாயகம் என்னவென்று தெரியும் என்பது போல பேசுவதால் பிரயோஜனமில்லை. காரியங்களை சர்க்கார் தரப்பிலிருந்தாலும் சரி, எதிர் கட்சியிலிருந்தாலும் சரி பொறுப்புணர்ச்சியோடு குற்றங்களுக்கான சரியாக ஆராய்ந்து தக்க யோசனை சொல்லவேண்டியது தான் அவர்களுடைய முக்கியமான கடமையாகும். இப்படிப் பார்க்கும்போது மேன்மைதங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய பிரசங்கமானது மிகவும் ரத்தினச் சுருக்கமாக இருக்கிறதென்று தான் சொல்லவேண்டும். அவர் அதில் நம் மாகாணத்தை எதிர்த்துக் கொள்ள எல்லாப் பிரச்சினைகளையும் தெளிவாக எடுத்து விளக்கியிருக்கிறார். அந்தப் பிரச்சினைகளையெல்லாம் நாம், எப்படிச் சமாளிக்கவேண்டுமென்பதைப் பற்றியே நாம் இப்போது யோசிக்கவேண்டுமே தவிர வீணாக அதில் இது சொல்லப்படவில்லை, அது சொல்லப்படவில்லையென்பதாகவெல்லாம் குற்றங்கள் கண்டுபிடித்துப் பேசுவது மிகவும் வெறுக்கத்தக்க செயலாகும்.

“நூல் பிரச்சினையை எடுத்துக்கொண்டால் அது நம் மாகாணத்தை மாத்திரம் பாதிக்கும் ஒரு பெரிய பிரச்சினையல்ல. இது மாகாணப் பிரச்சினை

8th May 1952]

[Sri S. Somayajulu]

களில் ஒன்றுதான் என ஒப்புக்கொண்டாலும் இது மத்திய சர்க்கார் சம்பந்தப் பட்ட ஒரு பெரிய பிரச்சினையாகும் என்பதை கனம் அங்கத்தினர்கள் உணர்வேண்டும். நூல் சம்பந்தமான விநியோக அதிகாரங்கள் எல்லாம் மத்திய சர்க்காரிடம் தான் இருக்கின்றன. அது மாதிரமல்ல, இன்று ஒரு கோடி நெசவாளர்கள் இருக்கின்றனர். அதைத் தவிர மில் நெசவாளர்கள் வேறு இருக்கின்றனர். இந்தப் பிரச்சினை மிகவும் சிக்கலானது ஆகும். இதை எல்லோருடைய பூர்ண ஒத்துழைப்புடன் தான் வெற்றிகரமாக நிறைவேற்ற முடியும். அதற்குத்தக்க யோசனைகளை சர்க்காரிக்கு அங்கத்தினர்கள் சொல்லவேண்டுமே தவிர குற்றங்களை மாத்திரம் எடுத்துச் சொல்லிக் கொண்டிருப்பதினால் பிரயோஜனமேயில்லை. அவ்வாறு செய்து கொண்டிருப்பதினால் அவர்கள் நாட்டின் நலனைக் கருதி சேவை செய்தவர்களாகவும் ஆகமாட்டார்கள் என்பதை அவர்கள் உணர்வேண்டும். முக்கியமாக எதிர்க்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்கள் சிலர் தேர்தலில் சர்க்கார் சரியாக நடந்து கொள்ளவில்லையென்பதாக குற்றம் சாட்டினார்கள். பேச்சு சுதந்திரம், எழுத்து சுதந்திரம் எதுவும் இந்த மாகாணத்திலேயே இல்லையென்பது போல பேசினார்கள். நான் கேட்கிறேன். திசையும் பொழுதுவிடிந்தால் சர்க்காரைப் பற்றியும், மந்திரிகளைப் பற்றியும் பத்திரிகையிலும் கண்டபடி எழுதி பொதுக் கூட்டங்களிலும் வாயில் வந்தபடியெல்லாம் பேசுவதற்கு எந்த நாட்டில் உரிமை கொடுத்திருக்கிறார்கள் என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன். தங்களுக்குள்ள சுதந்திரத்தை பூர்ணமாக உணர்ந்துகொண்டுதான் எதிர்க்கட்சிக்காரர்கள் வேண்டுமென்றே சர்க்காரைத் தாக்கிப் பேசவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகத் தான் பேசுகிறார்கள் என்பதை இதிலிருந்து பூர்ணமாக உணர்ந்து கொள்ளலாம்.

“தங்களுக்குத் தான் ஜனநாயகம் என்றால் என்னவென்று தெரியும் என்பது போலவும், அரசியலைப் பற்றித் தங்களுக்குத் தான் ரொம்பவும் தெரியும் என்பது போலவும் கவர்னர் அவர்கள் ராஜாஜியை மேல்சபைக்கு நியமனம் செய்தது மிகவும் தவறு என்பதாகப் பேசினார்கள். அத்துடன் மாத்திரம் நிற்கவில்லை. கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களை ராஜினாமா செய்யுங்கள் தேர்தலில் மறுபடியும் நில்லுங்கள் வெற்றிபெற்று வாருங்கள் என்பதாக அவருக்குச் சவாலும் விடுகிறார்கள் நமது தேவர்கள். “73 வயது நிரம்பிய ராஜாஜியைப் பார்த்து தேர்தலுக்கு நிற்கச் செல்லுகிறீர்கள் என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன். வயது வந்த பழம் பெரும் தலைவர் கனம் ராஜாஜியைப் பார்த்து ராஜினாமா செய்யுங்கள்? தேர்தலுக்கு நில்லுங்கள் என்பதாகக் கூறுகிறீர்கள்? இது சரியா? இது யோக்கியப் பொறுப்பான பேச்சா யென்பதை அவர்கள் நன்கு உணர்வேண்டும். யாருக்கு அவர்கள் சவால் விடுகிறார்கள் என்று நான் கேட்கிறேன். மக்களால் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட எங்களால் ஒரேமுகமாகத் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட எங்கள் தலைவர் ராஜாஜியைப் பார்த்துச் சவால் விடுத்த அவர்களைக் கேட்கிறேன். அவர்கள் இப்போது ராஜினாமா செய்வார்களா வென்று. காங்கிரஸ்காரர்களுக்குள் வேற்றுமை மனப்பான்மை நிலவி வந்ததென்றால் அது காந்தியக் கொள்கையில் ஏற்பட்ட வேற்றுமையினால் அல்ல. காங்கிரஸ் திட்டங்களை நாங்கள் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளவில்லையென்பதால் அல்ல அதை பூர்ணமாக எதிர்க்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்கள் உணர்ந்து கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்று நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“சட்டசபை கூடிவிட்டது. மந்திரிசபை அமைத்தாய் விட்டது. அது தன் நிர்வாகத்தை திறம்பட நடத்த எல்லாவிதமான ஒத்துழைப்பையும் எதிர்க்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்கள் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமே தவிர அதை கவிழ்த்துவிடுவதற்கான முயற்சியிலேயே நடந்து கொள்வது பொறுப்புணர்ச்சியுடன் நடந்து கொள்வதாக ஆகாது என தான் குறிப்பிடவிரும்புகிறேன். சர்க்கார் பதவியேற்று இன்னும் இரண்டு மாதங்கள் கூட ஆகவில்லை. அதற்குள் கசாப்புக் கடைக்காரன் ஆட்டோ விவாதம் செல்கிறது போல அவர்கள் வெறும் கூக்குரலை எழுப்பிக் கொண்டிருப்பதினால் எந்தவிதமான பிரயோஜனமும் கிடைப்பதென்பதை அவர்கள் உணர்வேண்டும்.”

SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—“I rise on a point of order, Sir. The hon. Member is referring to hon. Members on this side as ‘butchers’. I want to know whether this is parliamentary.”

[8th May 1952]

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member was talking so loudly that I could not follow exactly what he was saying. Let the hon. Member repeat what he said."

SRI T. VISWANATHAN:—"A point of order has been raised, Sir. I am at a disadvantage? because I do not understand Tamil although the Chief Minister was assuring me that the speech was in chaste, classical Tamil. I want to know what it was, about so that I can understand it."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I am trying to find out what it was that he said. I could not hear him distinctly as he was talking very loudly."

SRI S. SOMAYAJULU:—"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, நான் எதிர்க்கட்சி அங்கத்தினர்களை கராப்புக்கடைக்காரர்கள் என்று சொல்லவில்லை."

MR. SPEAKER:—"கொஞ்சம் மெள்ளச் சொல்லுங்கள். வேகமாகச் சொன்னால் புரியுமாட்டேன் என்கிறது."

*SRI S. SOMAYAJULU:—"வேகமாகப் பேசுவதே என் பிறவி (சிரிப்பு) ஆகையினால் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே! கராப்புக்கடைக்காரன் ஆட்டோ வாதம் செய்வது போல் என்று நான் சொன்னேனே தவிர எதிர்க்கட்சி மெம்பர்கள் யாரையும் கராப்புக்கடைக்காரர்கள் என்று சொல்லவில்லை (சிரிப்பு)."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The allegation was that the hon. Member referred to other hon. Members as 'butchers'. The hon. Member says that he did not make any such reference."

*SRI S. SOMAYAJULU:—"ஆகையினால் கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே! ஜனநாயக முறையில் நடக்கிற ஒரு சர்க்காருக்கு எதிர்க்கட்சிகள் பூர்ணமான ஒத்துழைப்பைக் கொடுக்கவேண்டுமே தவிர வெறும் அஸ்திவாரமற்ற குறைகளைக் கூறிக்கொண்டிருப்பதினால் பிரயோசனம் எதுவும் கிடையாது. மந்திரி சபை அமைந்து ஒரு மாதம்தான் ஆகிறது. இன்னும் 6 மாத காலமோ ஒரு வருஷ காலமோ கொடுத்துவிட்டு இந்த மந்திரி சபை எப்படி வேலைகளைச் செய்துவருகிறது என்பதை பூர்ணமாக அறிந்து கொண்டு அதற்குப் பிறகு இந்த சர்க்காரைப்பற்றிய குணதோஷங்களைப்பற்றி வாசு மகோசாரமாகப் பேசினால் மிக நன்றாக இருக்குமே தவிர பதவியேற்றுக்கொண்ட மறுநாளே மனதில் தோன்றியபடியெல்லாம் பேசுவது மிகவும் தப்பான காரியமாகும். ஜனநாயகம் தங்களுக்கு எகபோக உரிமையாக அவர் கொள்ளாமல் மற்றவர்களுக்கும் ஜனநாயகத்தில் நம்பிக்கையுண்டு, அவர்களுக்கும் அரசியல் ஞானம்முண்டு என்ற எண்ணத்தில் அவர்கள் பேசவேண்டுமென நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

"கடைசியாக இன்றையதினம் இந்த சர்க்காரால் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டிருக்கும் மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்களுடைய பிரச்சுத்திற்கு பாராட்டுத் தெரிவிக்கும் தீர்மானத்தை ஆமோதித்து எல்லோரும் இதை ஆதரிக்க வேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு இத்துடன் நான் முடித்துக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I now adjourn the House till 10 a.m. to-morrow."

The House then adjourned to meet again at 10 a.m. on Friday, 9th May 1952.

III.—PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.

1. Appropriation Accounts, 1949-50, and the Audit Report, 1951.
2. Finance Accounts, 1949-50, and the Audit Report, 1950.

8th May 1952]

APPENDIX

[Vide item II, page 1 supra.]

Special address by the Governor, His Excellency Shri Sri Prakasa under Article 176 (1) of the Constitution of India, to the Members of the Madras Legislative Assembly and Council assembled together at the New Assembly Chamber, Government Estate, Mount Road, at 5 p.m. on Tuesday, 6th May 1952.

Hon. Members of the Legislature,

With this session of the State Legislature, we commence a new chapter in the history of our State. Before I proceed further, I would like to express on behalf of our State our regret at the passing away of King George VI, the Head of the Commonwealth of which our Republic has elected to be a member. The late King worthily upheld the great traditions of the British monarchy and endeared himself to all. We send our people's respectful greetings and good wishes to Queen Elizabeth.

This is the first session of the State Legislature as constituted in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of India, and I congratulate you on being members of this historic legislature. A democratic Constitution like ours will be largely what the voters and legislators make of it. The voters have done their part, and it is up to you, the legislators, to help in evolving sound traditions.

In his Address at the commencement of the last session of the old legislature, my predecessor assured the hon. Members of that legislature, and through them, the general public, that the Government were determined to do all that lay in their power to ensure that the general elections were conducted with absolute impartiality and fairness to all the contesting parties and candidates and appealed for the co-operation of all the parties for achieving that result. I think we may claim that that assurance has been fulfilled. The largest share of the credit for this result must go to the several millions of voters, men and women, who exercised their franchise in an orderly manner.

My Government assumed office on 10th April 1952. Owing to the shortness of time between that date and now, my Address will not cover as much matter as ordinarily, at the beginning of a session, the Address may be expected to deal with. We could not possibly postpone this sitting in view of clause (1) of Article 382 of the Constitution. After completing the necessary business at this sitting, it has been decided that you will be called upon to gather again in June and I shall address you again at the commencement of that sitting under clause (1) of Article 175. At that sitting of the Legislature, the full Budget for the current financial year will have to be passed, and it will be an occasion when there can be a comprehensive review of all matters which are important from the point of view of the welfare and development of the State.

[8th May 1952]

During the financial year 1951-52, this State experienced a failure of both the monsoons for the fifth year in succession. Cultivation of food crops suffered most seriously in four entire districts and in parts of six other districts. Relief measures have been extended to the affected areas by the grant of liberal wet and dry remissions and by providing relief works for labourers thrown out of employment by reason of this drought. The collection of takkavi instalments has been postponed till the next fasli year in these areas. Takkavi and subsistence loans and loans for deepening field wells are also being sanctioned on a liberal scale in the affected areas. To meet the distress caused by the drought, drinking-water wells are being deepened in a large number of places. The Army of India is rendering great assistance in this respect. A number of water lorries have been loaned by them for distribution of water in the areas where scarcity of drinking water is most acute. Gruel centres have been opened in large numbers and free gruel is served to infirm and disabled persons and to women and children. The Government of India have sent a large quantity of multi-vitamin tablets and milk powder for distribution in the areas of distress. To relieve scarcity of fodder, the reserved forests in the districts of Cuddapah, Chittoor and Anantapur have been thrown open for free grazing, and free removal of hill grass. Arrangements have also been made to import fodder and grass from the surplus districts and to sell them at concessional rates to the ryots in the drought affected districts, where purchasing power has been considerably reduced. Several voluntary organizations have offered free gifts of fodder and grain and transport facilities have been arranged at State cost for moving them to the affected areas. The Prime Minister of India has most generously assisted us from his Relief Fund. A Madras State Famine Relief Fund has been organized and I trust there will be good response to our appeal.

The Government of India have assisted us to find ways and means accommodation to the extent of two crores of rupees by purchasing securities held by the State Government and have agreed to make a free grant not exceeding Rs. 48 lakhs to help run gruel centres. We are most grateful to the Government of India and to the voluntary organizations for all their assistance. My Government will endeavour to give adequate relief in all the areas where there is distress on account of the failure of the monsoons.

Owing to the successive failure of the monsoons during the last five years, the food situation in the State continues to be difficult. The latest estimates indicate that the production of rice this year will be less than the normal by nearly 10 lakhs tons and the production of millets by nearly 4 lakhs tons. Allotments by the Government of India from the All-India pool will be mostly in the shape of wheat and milo, and the rice quota is expected to be less than 2 lakhs tons. As against this, it may be noted that we have been lucky to some extent in seasonal conditions in the surplus districts, and there is no reason to apprehend that there will be any deterioration in procurement. The Government of India have permitted this State to increase the procurement price of paddy by

8th May 1952]

one rupee per maund up to the end of May this year in addition to the increase of eight annas per maund sanctioned in December last. This will not affect the consumers' prices.

The recent general slump has resulted in considerable distress to those engaged in the large handloom industry of this State. My Government are giving anxious thought to this subject and will announce the measures which they propose to take after consulting all the interests concerned.

There is an urgent piece of legislation to be put through at this meeting of the legislature. It relates to immovable properties which were requisitioned for purposes of the State Government under the Defence of India Rules during the last War and which continued to be subject to requisition under Central Act XVII of 1947, the life of which was extended for a period of one year from 1st April 1951 by Madras Act II of 1951. As the work of derequisitioning of these properties could not be completed before the end of March 1952, immediate action had to be taken to extend the life of the Central Act referred to, for a further period of one year from 1st April 1952. The Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) (Madras Amendment) Amendment Ordinance, 1952 (Madras Ordinance I of 1952), extending the life of the Central Act till 1st April 1953 in respect of immovable properties requisitioned for State purposes, was promulgated on the 31st March 1952. A self-contained Bill replacing this Ordinance will be introduced during the present sittings of the Legislature.

I have done. I am sure that your debates and deliberations in this and future sittings of the new legislature of this State will be conducted with the same high sense of public duty and responsibility as in the past, and I pray that you may be guided by faith, courage and wisdom in your counsels.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, 9th May 1952.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Government Estate, Mount Road, at ten of the clock. Mr. Speaker (THE HON. SRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI) in the Chair.

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

I.—PRIVILEGE MOTION ~~RE~~ ISSUE OF ORDERS UNDER SECTION 144, Cr. P. C. WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CERTAIN LEGISLATURE PARTIES.

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The House would remember that the hon. Member, Mr. Viswanatham has given notice of a motion on breach of privilege. I am going to explain the House the procedure that is to be followed regarding this; for, as there are many new members, I think it would be advisable on my part to explain the procedure to be followed in regard to these motions. ”

“ The question of breach of privilege should be raised ‘ at the earliest ’ opportunity and it is given precedence over the pre-arranged programme of public business. As far as the Speaker is concerned, he cannot decide the question of breach of privilege but he will have to say whether there is a *prima facie* case or not. As soon as the Speaker says that it is a *prima facie* case, either the Leader of the House or any other Member can move that the matter be referred to a Committee of Privileges. The House then debates on this Motion. In the debate, Members should not go into the merits of the case. On 30th June 1938, the Speaker of the House of Commons gave a ruling and it has become classical and is quoted in all the legislatures of the world. For the benefit of the Members of this House, I shall repeat it here. The Speaker said—

‘ It would not be in order (while debating) to deal with the merits of the case or to criticise the action of the various persons concerned as this would be anticipating the work of the Committee which it was proposed to set up. ’

If the House accepts the Motion, the matter is referred to the Committee of Privileges.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, you were pleased to read out to us the procedure to be followed by us in regard to motions on breach of privilege.”

(Sri P. Ramamurthi rose to speak and he and Mr. T. Viswanatham were both found standing.)

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Order, order, the hon. Member, Mr. Viswanatham is not yielding. So the hon. Member Mr. Ramamurthi will resume his seat.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Sir, I wanted to raise this question of breach of privilege. I intimated to you about it on the 7th instant, and so I think I have taken the earliest opportunity to do so.”

[9th May 1952]

MR. SPEAKER :—" Yes, the hon. Member has done it. Nobody said that he has not done it."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I am not saying that. I am only beginning from the very beginning of the question. I gave notice of my motion on the 7th instant. When I raised it in connection with the adjournment motion the Chief Minister was pleased to say that if at all it was necessary to raise it, it might be raised as a question of privilege. I said I would raise the matter in that form and you were good enough to say yesterday that it would be taken up to-day.

" Now, Sir, with your permission, first of all I shall try to establish that there is a *prima facie* case. Therefore I am placing the following facts before you for that purpose."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Will I have an opportunity Sir, to answer the question of the motion being in order or there being a *prima facie* case?"

MR. SPEAKER :—" Yes."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Sir, it has been held that if a Member is obstructed on his way to the Legislative Assembly, it amounts to a breach of privilege. If any outsider uses insulting language with reference to the conduct of Members in the House, it has been held to be a breach of privilege. If false statements are made or if incorrect statements are made against them, that also has been held to be a breach of privilege. On these points there is no difference of opinion. Now, Sir, I am only submitting to you that the promulgation of the order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, on the 6th instant and the events that took place on that day satisfy the conditions laid down to bring forward a motion under breach of privilege. Now, Sir, I shall read the order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, which was promulgated—

" Whereas it has been made to appear to me that the Members of Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council of the Madras State belonging to the United Democratic and the Communist Parties, and their supporters and sympathisers and the Dravida Kazhagam workers and their sympathisers and the Communist Party Members and their sympathisers have decided to stage demonstrations on May 6, 1952 in front of the new Assembly Hall, Government Estate, Mount Road, by taking out processions, shouting slogans and carrying placards and flags and that acts of violence and mischief are likely to be committed and that such processions, demonstrations, shouting of slogans and carrying placards and flags are likely to lead to rioting and the disturbance of public tranquillity and the breach of peace,

And whereas I am of opinion that immediate prevention and speedy remedy are necessary, in the interests of public safety and for the preservation of public tranquillity, and local security,

And whereas there is no time to serve notices on parties and it is necessary to pass orders *ex parte*.

I, so and so, etc."

Now, Sir, here is an order in which the Members of this House have been attacked and insulted."

MR. SPEAKER :—" What are the words you refer to?"

[9th May 1952]

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I refer to the words 'whereas it has been made to appear to me that the Members of the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council of the Madras State belonging to the United Democratic and the Communist Parties . . .'. There are other names also mentioned, but here we are concerned only with the reference made to the Members of this Assembly who belong to the United Democratic Party and the Communist Party. Now, what is the allegation made? The allegation made is that we have decided to stage demonstrations on 6th May 1952. We did not intend to do any such thing. Therefore it is a matter for enquiry. The officer has made a statement which according to me is an incorrect statement. And in view of the contents of that statement, it is also a malicious statement. Sir, that day was the first day on which the Legislative Assembly was beginning to function, or rather it was almost practically the first day this Assembly was beginning to function, and in order to create some kind of adverse atmosphere against certain Members belonging to the several parties mentioned in the order and to insinuate that they are not gentlemen, that language has been used. That language shows that a reflection has been cast upon us."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Please read the order again?"

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" The order runs as follows : 'Whereas it has been made to appear to me that the Members of Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council of the Madras State belonging to the United Democratic and the Communist Parties, and their supporters and sympathisers and the Dravida Kazhagam workers and their sympathisers and the Communist Party Members and their sympathisers have decided to stage demonstrations on May 6, 1952 in front of the new Assembly Hall, Government Estate, Mount Road, by taking out processions, shouting slogans and carrying placards and flags and that acts of violence and mischief are likely to be committed . . .'

MR. SPEAKER :—" By whom?"

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" By the persons referred to and by nobody else. If he means anybody else he has to apologise for his using wrong words; but if he means the Members of this Assembly it is an insult to us and those who are responsible for such a conduct should explain their conduct. But here, we are not expected to go into the details of the matter. So, suffice it to say that there is an allegation here that the parties have decided to do such and such a thing. Sir, a decision can take place only in a meeting, and even there, only when the point has been mooted. I, on behalf of the United Democratic Front, may inform the House that no such decision was arrived at by us; no such point was ever raised; such an idea did not even enter into our minds. Therefore, Sir, the statement contained in the order is a malicious statement, and I would say, it is a malicious allegation against a large number of Members of this House and it therefore comes within the question of privilege.

" Not only that, Sir; it also goes further and says that on account of that decision, acts of violence and mischief are likely

[Sri T. Viswanatham]

[9th May 1952]

to be committed. There is no greater insult to us than that an outsider should make such a reflection upon the character and conduct of the Members of this House."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member has made the position clear."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"There are some other facts also to be mentioned. The Government have not stopped with merely making such a statement. In giving effect to that order they have posted policemen long before the time when the order is to be enforced. Though the order was to be enforced between 10 a.m. and 9 p.m. on the 6th instant, even from the early morning on that day, policemen were posted on all the roads, mentioned in the order, leading to the New Assembly Building and also within the compound of the building."

10-15 a.m. MR. SPEAKER:—"That has nothing to do with the privilege of the House."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I am only leading you step by step. I request you to follow the wording of the order before you come to any conclusion. I am only saying that the order as it is worded has infringed the rights of the Members of this House."

"Policemen were posted to prevent the alleged demonstration, within the building which is our place of privilege. They were posted on the way to the Assembly, they were posted at the gates of the Assembly, they were posted around the Assembly and within the very precincts of the Assembly itself and they were posted behind the last rows of benches. There were eight or nine officers with pistols and with some kind of canes."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Was it done to prevent hon. Members from entering the House?"

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Who will come here, Sir, if they are there? This posting of policemen within the Hall is a breach of privilege. There is no doubt about that."

"The other day the Hon. the Chief Minister was pleased to say, when I was speaking on the adjournment motion, that he would have to make an enquiry."

MR. SPEAKER:—"When the House has decided the question and when the report of the Committee is placed before the House the hon. Member may then discuss those things."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I wish to make my point clear, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I may point out to the hon. Member that the living authority on Parliamentary Procedure is Sir Gilbert Campion, ex-Clerk of the House of Commons. In the famous Ramsay's case he was put certain questions by the Attorney-General, and he has answered those questions. I shall read for the benefit of the hon. Members, the questions and the answers—"

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL—

"I should not myself have drawn any inference contrary to your view from the mere fact that the Speaker allowed a debate."

9th May 1952]

[Mr. Speaker]

SIR GILBERT CAMPION—

A.—Of course, the Speaker ruled in a very definite way; he said. "The question before the House is one of privilege."

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL—"Yes."

SIR GILBERT CAMPION:—"It almost looks as though in his mind he thought it was a question of privilege. I agree the Speaker cannot decide questions of privilege; he can only decide if there is a *prima facie* case for considering a particular matter as a question of privilege."

I also agree. I cannot decide a question of privilege. The Speaker can only decide if there is a *prima facie* case for considering the particular matter as a question of privilege."

"Again the question was put by the Attorney-General:

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL:—"Does that mean more than saying that the subject to be discussed and which the House desires to discuss is, "Does privilege exist here or not? It is not my function to express a view about that?"

SIR GILBERT CAMPION:—"That is true I think. The Speakers have not always been absolutely consistent about that. They have sometimes expressed themselves as though they were expressing a definite opinion on the question of privilege itself."

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL—"Yes."

SIR GILBERT CAMPION:—"Nowadays the Speaker guards himself by saying "The question raises a *prima facie* matter of privilege." He does no more than determine that point."

"From the above it is clear that the question whether there has been a breach of privilege or not is to be decided by the House and not by the Speaker."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"There is no difference of opinion in regard to what you have read. I am in perfect agreement with you in what you have said. When once you decide that there is a *prima facie* case, it is the practice for the Leader of the House to rise and bring in a motion . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"There are also instances where others have moved it."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Therefore, Sir, it requires the Leader of the House or someone else to move a motion to refer it to a Committee; this is a matter of course; then it is debated and the House gives a verdict."

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is not so . . ."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"I am explaining to you the position as I understand it. The position is, after the Committee reports, the report is debated . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member is wrong there. We are now discussing the procedure as to how a question of breach of privilege is to be raised. It should be understood by all Members. When the Speaker says there is a *prima facie* case, some Member, either the Leader of the House or some other hon. Member may move that the matter be referred to a Committee of Privileges. The House takes possession of that motion and debates it. As I have already said, it would not be in order while debating it to deal with the merits of the case or to criticize the

[Mr. Speaker]

[9th May 1952]

action of the various persons concerned as that would be anticipating the work of the Committee which it was proposed to set up. Then the motion is put to the vote of the House. If it is carried then the Committee goes into the matter, calls for evidence and other things and finally submits a report. Then the whole thing is debated by the House and the House can then award whatever punishment it deems fit. The House can do it."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" There is not much difference between what you are saying and what I am saying excepting on some small points. If you will kindly refer to page 135 of May's Parliamentary Practice, you will find."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have referred to it already."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I refer to it every time there is a doubt and try to understand the practice. It is said there—

" Since 1909 it has been the usual practice in the Commons to refer the matter of the complaint to the Committee of Privileges and the House suspends its judgment until their report has been presented."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The House must first decide and then the matter goes before a Committee."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" It is not the House deciding it. I will read it again . . ."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" If there is a difference of opinion after some discussion, we must agree to disagree. That is all."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I will read the procedure laid down, Sir—

" It has often been laid down that the Speaker's function in ruling on a claim of breach of privilege is limited to deciding the formal question whether the case conforms with the conditions which alone entitle it to take precedence of business, and does not extend to deciding the question of substance, whether a breach of privilege has in fact been committed—a question which can only be decided by the House itself."

" Sir, when you are pleased to say there is a *prima facie* case, the Leader of the House makes a motion to refer it to the Committee and it is on the report of the Committee the decision is made by the House."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have heard the hon. Member. I am going to follow the procedure I have already referred to."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Before you decide the question let me state the other acts."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Has the hon. Member given notice of them in the motion."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Yes, Sir. I came up to the stage of posting of the policemen in and around the Assembly and actually preventing the Members from entering the Assembly. Three or four hon. Members referred to this in their speeches yesterday. No clearer proof is required to tell you, Sir, that there is a

[9th May 1952]

[Sri T. Viswanatham]

prima facie case of breach of privilege. The promulgation of the order making a false allegation against the members of this House, posting the policemen in the House and wrongfully restraining, molesting, and assaulting and taking one of them to the Sergeant—all these prevented hon. Members from entering the House in an unobstructed way. I only ask that you should rule that there is a *prima facie* case of breach of privilege after hearing, of course, the Leader of the House who is ready with some books. I have given you a list of acts which amount to breach of privilege and I only suggest that the Leader of the House should agree to refer the matter to a Privileges Committee as soon as it is constituted."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, I wish to submit that the whole procedure is misconceived. As far as one can understand from the very long and discursive statements made on the subject up till now, the matter for complaint is that a certain order under the Criminal Procedure Code was passed by the Commissioner of Police and it amounts to a breach of privilege because it amounts to casting an aspersion upon the Members of this House. I am trying to clarify the position as put by the hon. Member Sri Viswanatham. Now the statement made as the basis for passing an order is that certain people have notified or the authorities received information from other sources that certain people are going to stage a demonstration on the roads and in front of the Assembly and round about it. Now it is the duty of the Commissioner of Police to prevent the staging of a demonstration because it would interfere with the orderly conduct of the business of the House, and the House, while it is perfectly independent in its deliberations stands as much in need of protection from disturbance as any individual or any other institution in the State. It is therefore not only right but it was the duty of the Commissioner of Police to pass such an order if he had been correctly informed and if the statements are correct. The question whether we can go behind the statement and enquire into the facts is simple. We cannot do it. I submit that we cannot convert an enquiry into the propriety of an order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code into a breach of privilege enquiry in this House and decide by the votes of partisans of the one side or the other and come to a decision in a matter which is strictly judicial. It would be wholly inappropriate. That is why it has been the established convention that such orders cannot become part of a breach of privilege question."

" Then, Sir, the hon. Member was urging and asserting that hon. Members were prevented from entering the House. Now, Sir, your statement of the procedure was simple and correct if I may say so, namely, that the *prima facie* question is to be decided by the Speaker, the question whether reference should be made to the Committee should be decided by the House without going into the details and the merits of the case, and when the report of the Committee is ready, the House discusses the whole case and comes to a decision. There is no need for any quotation being misrepresented in this matter. It is perfectly simple. The difficulty

[Sri C. Rajagopalachari]

[9th May 1952]

arises when hon. Members in quoting chapter and verse go on adding their own comments along with the chapter and verse and confuse the issue. That is why the difficulty has arisen. But the matter is perfectly simple as you have put it.

"The issue of a prohibitory order of this kind by a Police officer or any other authority authorized to issue such an order under law, I submit, cannot become even *prima facie* a matter for discussion as a privilege motion in this House. Any order of that nature is *prima facie* outside the limits of the privilege question.

"Then, Sir, the next question is the assertion that some policemen were posted here and they prevented members from entering the House. This I should like to say is only an assertion which is consequent upon a determination to get a certain point accepted by the House. We can make any number of assertions without any *prima facie* basis. Actually a demonstration was staged in this very building on the 6th. There were shouts and applause heard by hon. Members including the hon. Member who has made the motion. Then let us take the Speaker's election. Three hundred and seventy votes were cast. I can account for the five votes not cast. The two candidates did not vote. Three hon. Members were absent of their own accord and for private reasons. I submit there is absolutely no *prima facie* case whatsoever for the House or the Speaker to believe that there has been an infringement of the primary right of the Members of the House to enter the Assembly. Hon. Members may make any number of statements. But, in that way nothing can be done in the House unless we erect witness boxes and evaluate the evidence given by various Members. The question now before the House is the statement made by the hon. Member with regard to the *prima facie* case for moving this motion and for having this motion referred to the House for a preliminary decision. I submit, Sir, that the question of breach of privilege is entirely misconceived. It will be a bad precedent if every order passed for the sake of protecting the solemnity of the occasion and the orderly deliberation inside the House and to prevent disorderly and noisy scenes round about the House should become a matter of breach of privilege, and then I am afraid, there would be no end to it at all. Again, I wish to submit to you, Sir, that it has been the established practice both in the House of Commons in London and in our own House of the People in Delhi, to see that the precincts round about the House are kept silent and free from demonstrations and even now there is an order in Delhi about various roads round about the Parliament House. And for what the Commissioner of Police tried to do for the sake of Members, it is totally unjust to take up this matter as breach of privilege of the House. In fact, he helped us to conduct the business of the House and helped us to maintain the privileges of the House. If these things that had been prevented had not been prevented, there would have been a breach of privilege of every Member of the House and we would not have been able to conduct our deliberations properly."

MR. SPEAKER :—"I may tell the House that yesterday also some hon. Members complained to me that they were prevented

9th May 1952]

[Mr. Speaker]

from entering the House. I think myself committed a mistake yesterday. One hon. Member was standing on my left side and I asked him to go away, as I thought he was a stranger."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—"Sir, there are two points on which the Hon. the Chief Minister very cleverly based his arguments. The gravamen of my charge is that there is a reference that not merely some demonstrations will be made by somebody, but . . ."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—"I am sorry, Sir, the hon. Member has understood me to be clever in a wrong sense. I think a statement that hon. Members have organized a demonstration is no insult, no defamation and nothing whatsoever, even as a demonstration in the body of this hall was considered quite proper by themselves."

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—"Sir, I am sorry to differ from the Hon. the Chief Minister who is one of the most respected leaders of our country. But, I think I have got a different sense of self-respect. When the Commissioner of Police passes an order to prevent Members from entering this House and when he makes a reference to the Members of the House, my self-respect and the self-respect of a vast majority of the Members in this House are certainly wounded. It is a reflection upon our conduct and character and there is no denying that. The second point is the posting of police officers within the Assembly Hall. It may be right; it may be wrong. The Hon. the Chief Minister may be under the impression that demonstrations and ugly scenes were prevented because of the posting of police officers. My complaint is against the statement that the presence of police officers was responsible for the maintenance of peace."

MR. SPEAKER :—"Let me read the order—

"Whereas it has been made to appear to me that the Members of the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council of the Madras State belonging to the United Democratic and the Communist Parties, and their supporters and sympathisers, and the Dravida Kazhagam workers and their sympathisers, and the Communist Party Members and their sympathisers, have decided to stage demonstrations . . ."

In my opinion, there is a *prima facie* case for this motion." (Applause.)

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—"I would now request the Hon. the Chief Minister to move the motion. Or, if he agrees, I will move the motion. Sir, I move—

"That the following question of privilege arising out of :—

- (i) the promulgation of an *ex parte* order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code on 6th May 1952 which contained false and insulting allegations against a large section of the Members of the Legislature belonging to the United Democratic Front and the Communist Party that they have decided to organise demonstrations, etc., and are even likely to do acts of mischief;

[Sri T. Viswanatham]

[9th May 1952]

(ii) the posting of policemen and police officers and special armed police in large numbers within the Hall, in the corridors behind the last rows of seats, and near about the lounge room and bath room allotted to the Members; and

(iii) the physical obstruction and annoyance caused to quite a good number of Members entering the Government Estate on their way to the Assembly Hall, which has affected the privileges of the Members of the House;

be referred to the Privileges Committee as soon as it is constituted."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ Sir, I second the motion moved by my hon. Friend Mr. T. Viswanatham.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The motion is—

That the following question of privilege arising out of :—

(i) the promulgation of an *ex parte* order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code on 6th May 1952 which contained false and insulting allegations against a large section of the Members of the Legislature belonging to the United Democratic Front and the Communist Party that they have decided to organise demonstrations, etc., and are even likely to do acts of mischief;

(ii) the posting of policemen and police officers and special armed police in large numbers within the Hall, in the corridors behind the last rows of seats, and near about the lounge room and bath room allotted to the Members; and

(iii) the physical obstruction and annoyance caused to quite a good number of Members entering the Government Estate on their way to the Assembly Hall, which has affected the privileges of the Members of the House;

be referred to the Privileges Committee as soon as it is constituted."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Sir, now that you have agreed that there is a *prima facie* case, I submit, with great deference, that it would be absolutely a wrong use of our privilege to refer it to the Committee of Privileges. The position requires to be explained. I do not want to go into the details. The privilege that is sought to be protected here is the privilege of attendance and the privilege of the dignity of the members individually and as a whole. The privilege of attendance obviously was not interfered with at all. The privilege of dignity of the Members is the question for evaluation and judgment now before the House. If certain groups of Members, wanted to organize demonstrations, processions and other activities, the first question is : ‘ Is it or is it not the duty of the Government and their officers to take steps to prevent any disturbances? ’ *Prima facie*, I submit, it is the very duty of the Government and if they fail, every Member of the House whether he sits on this side or on the other side, would be entitled to complain about the conduct of the Government, that they did not take suitable steps to prevent

9th May 1952]

[Sri C. Rajagopalachari]

demonstrations and disturbances. If to-morrow the Members of the Government party were to organize demonstrations and make noise all round the House in order to prevent even a discussion on this motion, would it be proper and would not the Members on the other side complain that it is the duty of the Government to keep the streets and the precincts round about the House free from such disturbances? Unfortunately, this Assembly Hall is situated, not on its own grounds, but in the midst of very busy streets and it is necessary therefore to maintain peace all round this House and that is what has been done.

“ Regarding the question of dignity, if it is said that Members have agreed or joined together for their own lawful political purposes to stage a demonstration, it is not an aspersion on character at all. It is the desire of all political parties that a demonstration should be effective, and effective in the sense that it should prevent the other side from thinking freely and from acting freely. That is the aim of all visible and audible demonstrations, and that unfortunately, in my opinion, has come to stay. I have absolutely no doubt in my mind, I submit to the hon. Members, that there was preparation for a demonstration.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ Not from us.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ If that is a statement of fact, I do hope the hon. Member will stick to it. Apart from this Motion, if he will never hereafter stage such demonstrations, I shall be very thankful to him.”

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ On a point of order, Sir. I do not want unnecessarily to interrupt the Hon. the Chief Minister. He was asking us whether hereafter we would not stage such demonstrations. I would like to know whether he is imputing it to us. In spite of our assertion that we did not do it, he is still imputing it to us. It is again a matter of breach of privilege, Sir.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ I submit, Sir, that interruption from the other side deserves an interruption from me. The Members sitting on the opposite benches said that they did not do it, I said, ‘ Well, I do not believe you, but I do hope that you will act according to your statement at least in future. ’ It was my answer to Mr. Nagi Reddi.

“ Regarding the question whether there is any *prima facie* case for the House referring it to a Committee of Privileges, I have given my humble opinion, with all respect, that it would be a gross interference with ordinary law, because it was necessary for the police to take action and it was necessary for the Members to have peace around them, especially on the first day of the session when, without much of precedents to guide us, the election of the Speaker which was hotly contested had to be gone through. It was absolutely necessary to prevent any ugly scenes consequent on these demonstrations, which were really apprehended. I have no doubt in my mind, and hon. Members not on the opposite side but on this side, have no doubt in their minds that demonstrations had been organized and that the judgment of the Commissioner of Police was

[Sri C. Rajagopalachari]

[9th May 1952]

bona fide. The question is: 'Was it important enough to call for the issue of such an order?' I submit, Sir, that under the circumstances it was absolutely necessary and I take full responsibility, as being in charge of the Government, for having instructed that order to be issued for the purpose of protecting the House from disturbances. It would therefore be wrong and unfair to Government to put upon them the duties of preserving peace in the country and for conducting the deliberations inside the House, and at the same time stop them from taking action to prevent such demonstrations. Then the question is, if it was a *bona fide* judgment that demonstrations were intended, whether it was proper and right to prevent them; and we assume, I submit, Sir, that there is no doubt whatsoever that it was necessary to issue the order.

"Then the next point is, what evidence do we have before us. Whenever preventive action is taken, we lose a certain amount of evidence. Whenever any preventive action is taken, preventive action itself prevents the activities from being developed and therefore we lose a certain amount of evidence. Therefore, there was no disorder in the streets. As a matter of fact, a short-notice question has been given to me and I am going to answer it shortly, that certain people had to be arrested for having gathered where it had been ordered that there should be no gatherings, processions, etc. Sir, all these things will have to be taken into account to see whether it is a case for being referred to the Committee of Privileges. Where the facts were clear and where a breach of privilege, if the facts were correct, had occurred, then in order to test the evidence, we have to seek the assistance of the Committee of Privileges for the purpose of checking and shifting the matter. But here, I submit, it would be gratuitous to assume any basis for this charge.

"Then, Sir, I wish to say that the whole object of a demonstration in these days, whether it is from this party or that party, is—for what purpose?—to intimidate and overawe the Members of the House from expressing a certain opinion. It is the highest breach of privilege, therefore, for any one to organize such demonstration. Whether it was organized or not, we have the actual basic evidence in the matter. On that day there was sufficient evidence to show that the thing was in the air and it was designed to prevent the deliberations of the House. It was the day when His Excellency the Governor had to come and deliver the Address, and already on many occasions the police were aware and the Government were aware that, when His Excellency was moving about, he had to face demonstrations here and there, whatever may be the causes. It was the duty of the Commissioner to issue the order and that was all that the Commissioner did. When these reports were received by the police, they had to take precautions. What was the mischief done, assuming that the precautions were unnecessary? Peace was maintained and nothing happened. And the only mischief is their allegation that aspersion was cast on certain Members of the Honourable House. What did they do? According to the aspersion, as they say it was, they wanted to get a demonstration staged. Sir, now it is the order

9th May 1952]

[Sri C. Rajagopalachari]

of the day to stage demonstrations and there is nothing wrong in saying it. If I went to a court for defamation saying that it had been suggested by somebody that I and others would stage a demonstration in front of the Assembly Hall, I do not think I would get even a pie as damages. Therefore, there is absolutely no ground for referring this matter to the Committee of Privileges for enquiry.

"Again, Sir, with all due deference to you who is a master now of the question, precedents in respect of these and other matters, I wish to submit that this question of privileges is changing from time to time. In old days, when a warrant was issued for the arrest of Members, it was a breach of privilege. Those laws have changed because the privileges of individual Members have to be correlated to the Civil and Criminal Law and to the requirements of order and peace. It is the privilege of the whole House that is considered to be more important now. The misbehaviour or misconduct of some Members of the House which would detract from the dignity of the House is a more important item of breach of privilege which ordinarily goes to the Committee of Privileges and not the behaviour of Government or their officers who have tried their best to protect this institution as it is their duty to protect this and other institutions of the Government. I do not wish to prolong my speech, Sir, and I hope the House will reject the motion."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I allow the hon. Member, Sri Ramamurthi, five minutes. As soon as he finishes his speech, I will put the Motion to the vote of the House." 10-45 a.m.

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would very respectfully submit that the Hon. Chief Minister, while opposing the motion to refer this question to the Committee of Privileges, has gone out of the way by posing the question whether the order of the Commissioner of Police was justified under the circumstances or not. While I do not want to go into the question as to what motivated the Commissioner of Police in issuing the order . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member should first decide whether it is an aspersion on the Members."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"The Hon. Chief Minister argued that it was the duty of the Commissioner of Police and it was his own duty as the Head of the Government to see to it that the business of this House was carried on in an orderly manner. It is on this specific ground that he has sought to justify this order and the subsequent conduct of the police and make out that there has been no question of breach of privilege as far as the order of the Commissioner of Police is concerned. I submit that on the basis of this very argument, there is a case made out for referring this question to the Committee of Privileges, for the simple reason that it is not left to the Hon. Chief Minister to take upon himself the responsibility of protecting the Members of this House and the Chair here. It is our responsibility and it is the responsibility of every member present here to see to it that the business of this House is conducted in an orderly manner; and if, for any reason,

[Sri P. Ramamurthi] [9th May 1952]

the House apprehends and if the Chair apprehends that it is not possible to carry on the business of this House in an orderly manner without resort to police help, it is for the Chair to seek the help of the police in maintaining order inside the House. It is absolutely wrong for the Hon. Chief Minister or for the Police Officer to interfere in the business of this House and cast aspersions on the members of this House that they are going to act in a particular way.

"Secondly, the Hon. Chief Minister pointed out that it was the duty of the police to see to it that disorderly scenes and demonstrations did not take place, that the Governor was protected against demonstrations and that demonstrations did not take place against certain members of this House. I submit, it is not a part of the functions of the police to stop demonstrations. Nobody can prevent demonstrations as it is a fundamental right guaranteed under the Constitution."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member may please speak about the point whether this order which says that certain Members have decided to stage demonstrations in front of the Assembly, amounts to a breach of privilege."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Sir, the whole question is that it is not the business of the policemen to prevent any such demonstration, granting that there had been any such thing. Secondly, as far as the question itself is concerned, we must consider whether the members of this House or any section of this House have at any time thought of holding demonstrations either inside or outside the House. This question obviously cannot be decided on the basis of certain assertions made by the Hon. Chief Minister. Therefore, I say, it is not to be judged from what evidence or information the police might have or the Chief Minister might have. This is a matter on which the Hon. Chief Minister cannot draw conclusions from certain information that he might get from the police, and on that basis he cannot cast aspersions on the intentions of the hon. Members of this House, for they are all absolutely unfounded and have no basis whatsoever. On the 6th of May when the Members came here they did not at all intend to stage any demonstration. Of course, the Hon. Chief Minister may say, 'I have got my police report. It does not matter what you think. I do not believe you. I believe only my policemen.' But we consider that that order is intended to cast aspersion on the members of the House. Therefore, this question has to be referred to a Committee of Privileges. Why should the Chief Minister be afraid to refer this question to a Committee of Privileges. He can place his own views before that Committee and argue that these things do not constitute a breach of privilege. Why should he be afraid to do so? After all, the Chair has ruled that there is a *prima facie* case for referring this question to the Committee of Privileges."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The motion before the House is whether this question can be referred to a Committee of Privileges. The House has to give its verdict."

9th May 1952]

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Yes, Sir. This question has to be decided by the whole House composed of different sections. There is also the section represented by the Hon. Chief Minister. Therefore, I am asking the Hon. Chief Minister and the section represented by him to accept this motion. Why should he be afraid of facing the Committee of Privileges and placing all the facts before that Committee and abiding by the verdict of that Committee?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"Simply because I have expressed the opinion that there seems to be a *prima facie* case, it does not mean that the House will accept the motion."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"On a point of order, Sir. The hon. Member, Sri Ramamurthi, said that I am afraid of facing the Committee of Privileges. He used the word 'afraid' many times. He who wants to prevent the casting of aspersions should not himself cast aspersions on others. He should not throw stones at others from his glass house."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Therefore, I submit that a very good case has been made out for referring the whole question to a Committee of Privileges. The House must accept it."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"On a point of information, Sir. You said that the House must decide whether it should be referred to a Committee of Privileges or not. May I just ask for the authority you rely upon?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"Sir Gilbert Campion."

SRI K. T. RAJU:—"இப்பொழுது நம் சபையில் என்ன நடக்கிறது என்பது பல மெம்பர்களுக்குத் தெரிய வேண்டியதாக இருப்பதால் இப்பொழுது நடந்த விஷயத்தை தமிழில் சொல்லும்படியாகக் கேட்கக் கொள்ளுகிறேன்."

MR. SPEAKER:—"அதற்கு நான் என்ன பண்ண முடியும். நடக்கும் விஷயங்கள் எல்லாவற்றையும் மொழிபெயர்க்கவேண்டுமென்பது முடியாத காரியம்."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"May I have the right of reply?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"I have already given enough time to the hon. Member."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"Lobey you, Sir."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"If it comes to the vote, it becomes necessary that all the members of this House should know what is happening here. Therefore, I request you to translate what has happened so far."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I am afraid, it is not possible for me to translate it into Tamil, Telugu, Canarese and Malayalam. Please give a whip to your Members. The question is—

That the following question of privilege arising out of:—

(i) the promulgation of an *ex parte* order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code on 6th May 1952 which contained

[Mr. Speaker]

[9th May 1952]

false and insulting allegations against a large section of the Members of the Legislature belonging to the United Democratic Front and the Communist Party, that they have decided to organize demonstrations, etc., and are even likely to do acts of mischief;

(ii) the posting of policemen and police officers and special armed police in large numbers within the Hall, in the corridors behind the last row of seats, and near about the lounge room and bath-room allotted to the Members; and

(iii) the physical obstruction and annoyance caused to quite a good number of Members entering the Government Estate on their way to the Assembly Hall, which has affected the privileges of the Members of the House;

be referred to the Privileges Committee as soon as it is constituted."

The motion was put and declared lost.

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" I demand a poll."

MR. SPEAKER :—" As the hon. Members know, the Division List is not ready. However, the Chair has got the discretion to take a poll. The Secretary will read out the names of hon. Members in the alphabetical order and those who are for the motion may say ' Aye ' and those who are against may say ' No '."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" At least, this must be translated."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I hope Mr. Nagi Reddi will realize my position."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" May I submit with all respect to you, Sir, that hon. Members should know the usual practice and procedure. As soon as the division bell is rung, there will be an opportunity for all the Members to sit down calmly. Then the motion will be read out by the Chair in as clear a manner as possible and then the question put. Why should there be so much impatience and trouble about it?"

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" There is no impatience. We only want it to be done in our own languages."

11 a.m. MR. SPEAKER :—" I think all the hon. Members are now inside the House. I will proceed with the division.

" The Speaker put the question again and declared it lost. A poll was demanded again and the House divided thus :

Ayes.

Adityan, Sri S. T.
Anjneyalu, Sri G.
Appalaswami, Sri Bojja.
Araganathan, Sri K.
Ardhanari, Sri T. S.
Audinarayana Reddi, Sri Y.
Ayyaru, Sri A.
Balakrishnan, Sri V.
Bapaiah Chowdary, Sri M.
Bapanna Dora, Sri K.
Bapayya, Sri G.

Chandra Ramalingaiah, Sri.
Chengam Pillay, Sri O.
Chinnama Reddi, Sri P.
Chinnayya, Sri.
Ghatrambalam, Dr. G.
Chokkalingam, Sri P.
Dasarathan, Sri D.
Dharmalingam, Sri M.
Doraiswami Gounder, Sri A.
Elaya Pillay, Sri V. T.
Gajapathi Raju, Sri P. V. R.

9th May 1952]

[Mr. Speaker]

Ayes—cont.

Gajapathi Reddy, Sri.
Gopala Gounder, Sri V.
Gopalakrishnaiah, Sri Vavilala.
Gopalakrishnan, Sri P. K.
Gopalan, Sri K. P.
Gopalan Unni, Sri K. C.
Govinda Rao, Sri K.
Govindasamy Nayagar, Sri A.
Hanumantha Rao, Sri M.
Jagannathan, Sri M.
Jeevanandam, Sri P.
Joseph, Sri G.
Kalyanasundaram, Sri M.
Kandasami, Sri C.
Kandasamy Gounder, Sri P.
Kandasami Gounder, Sri S.
Kanaran, Sri C. H.
Kasireddy, Sri S.
Kattimuthu, Sri.
Kondayya, Sri G. C.
Koran, Sri O.
Kotaiah, Sri P.
Krishnamurthy Gounder, Sri D.
Krishna Rao, Sri K.
Krishna Rao, Sri Y. V.
Kune Rao, Sri M.
Kunhan, Sri E. T.
Kunhirama Kidav, Sri P.
Kunhirama Kurup, Sri C.
Lakshmana Narayana Reddi, Sri.
Lakshmanaswamy, Sri M.
Lakshmayya, Sri D.
Lakshminarasa Raju, Sri B.
Lakshminpathy Naicker, Sri K. S.
Madanagopal, Sri V.
Madhavan Nambiar, Sri K.
Malakondayya, Sri K.
Mangala Gounder, Sri M. P.
Manickasundaram, Sri M.
Menon, Sri K. B.
Moidu, Sri K.
Mookiah Thevar, Sri.
Moorthy Kudumban, Sri.
Muthusami, Sri A.
Nagarajan, Sri V. R.
Nageshwara Rao, Sri G.
Nagi Reddi, Sri T.
Nallasivam, Sri K. R.
Narasa Raju, Sri K. R.
Narasimha Reddi, Sri P.
Narayana Kurup, Sri M.
Narayana Nambiar, Sri M.
Narayana Nambiar, Sri T. C.
Narayanasaamy, Sri M.
Packirisami Pillay, Sri S.
Padmanabha Raju, Sri K. V. S.
Padmaprabha Gounder, Sri.
Palaniandi, Sri M.
Palanimuthu, Sri.
Palanisami, Sri N. K.
Paramasivanthiyer, Sri N.
Paramasivam, Sri N.
Pothareju, Sri T.

Adikesavala Naidu, Sri K.
Anandan, Sri L.
Anantha Pai, Sri T.
Anthony Peter, Sri.
Appala Naidu, Sri K.

Prabakara Choudary, Sri C.
Pulla Reddi, Sri C.
Radhakrishnan, Sri S.
Raghava Mudaliar, Sri E. L.
Raju, Sri D. K.
Rajachidambaram, Sri P. B. K.
Rajagopala Rao, Sri K.
Raju, Sri K. T.
Ramabhadra Raju, Sri N.
Ramaoandra Rao, Sri P. S.
Ramalingam, Sri S.
Ramamoorti, Sri P.
Rama Rao, Sri G.
Rama Rao, Sri P.
Rama Rao, Sri V.
Ramasami, Sri V. V.
Ramasamy, Sri K. V.
Ramiah, Sri K.
Ramiah Choudary, Sri K.
Ranga Rao, Sri K.
Rangasami Gounder, Sri R.
Rathina Gounder, Sri N.
Rathinam, Sri A.
Sambandam, Sri K. R.
Sankaranarayana Menon, Sri V.
Sankarappa, Sri B.
Sattyanarayana, Sri G.
Shanmugam, Sri T.
Siddanna Gowd, Sri R.
Sivaraj, Sri N.
Sivarami Reddi, Sri N.
Somayajulu, Sri C. V.
Sridharan, Sri K. T.
Sri Krishna, Sri V.
Subba Raju, Sri B.
Subba Reddi, Sri K.
Subbarayudu, Sri C.
Subbiah, Sri A. K.
Subramaniam, Sri M. P.
Suryanarayana, Sri G.
Swayamprakasam, Sri S.
Syamsundara Rao, Sri P.
Thangavelu, Sri P.
Vadivelu, Sri.
Veerabhadram, Sri M.
Veloo, Sri A.
Velukkan, Sri C.
Vimiah, Sri S.
Venkaiah, Sri K.
Venkatakrishna Rao, Sri C.
Venkata Jagga Rao, Sri B.
Venkata Kurmi Nayudu, Sri K.
Venkataram-raju, Sri Alluri.
Venkataramiah, Sri N.
Venkatasiviah, Sri P.
Venkatasubba Reddi, Sri M.
Venkatesha Shastri, Sri P.
Venkateswarlu, Sri Pillalamarri.
Venugopala Gounder, Sri M.
Vinayagam, Sri K.
Viswanatham, Sri Tenneti.
Viswanathan, Sri K. R.
Yellamanda Reddi, Sri G.

Noes.

Appa Rao Bahadur, Sri Raja Moku
Bangayya.
Appu, Sri A.
Ardhanareswara Gounder, Sri.
Arumugam, Sri R. S.
Arumugam, Sri S.

[Mr. Speaker]

[9th May 1952]

Noes—cont.

Arumugam, Sri S. R.
 Arunachala Mudaliar, Sri A. J.
 Ate annaidu, Sri T. C.
 Balanarayana Reddi, Sri K.
 Balarama Reddi, Sri A.
 Bapu Naidu, Sri P.
 Bomman, Sri K. H.
 Chellapand an, Sri S.
 Chellathurai, Sri P.
 Chenchurama Naidu, Sri N.
 Chinnakaruppa Thevar, Sri S.
 Chinnasami Na du, Sri C.
 Chinnatham Thevar, Sri.
 Chikkalingam Chettiar, Sri AR. A. RM.
 Darmalinga Nayakar, Sri V.
 Dasaratha amaiiah Naidu, Sri D.
 Doraikannu, Sri M.
 Durugaprasad Veerabhadra Deo Bahadur, Sri V.
 Elumalai Sri T. P.
 Fernandez, Sri W. J.
 Gangappa, Sri M.
 Gangayya Naidu, Sri B.
 Gopalakrishna Reddi, Sri P.
 Gopala Menon, Sri N.
 Govindan, Sri G.
 Gunnayya, Sri P.
 Ishwara, Sri K.
 Kaliannan, Sri T. M.
 Kandisami Padayachi, Sri M.
 Kannan, Sri V. K.
 Karuthiruman, Sri P. G.
 Kempai Gounder, Sri.
 Khad r Sheriff, Janab S.
 Kosalam, Sri K. T.
 Koti Reddi, Sri K.
 Kotamma Reddi, Srimathi Thamma.
 Krishnamurthy Rao, Sri B.
 Krishna Rao, The Hon. Dr. U.
 Krishnasamy Ayyangar, Sri P. S.
 Krishnasamy Padayachi, Sri V.
 Krishnaswami Naidu, Sri R.
 Kuppaswami, Sri R.
 Kuttikrishna Nayar, The Hon. Sri K. P.
 Lakshmana Des, Sri L.
 Lakshmana Kandar, Sri C.
 Lakshmi Narasimham Dora, Sri R.
 Latchanna, Sri G.
 Mahalingam, Sri N.
 Mallayya, Sri T.
 Manickavelu Naicker, The Hon. Sri M. A.
 Manickam, Sri P. G.
 Manjaya Shetty, Sri.
 Marimuthu, Sri M.
 Masilamani Chettiar, Sri A. K.
 Muhammed Salih Maraikayar, Janab.
 Mouneguruswamy Naidu, Sri N.
 Muni Reddi, Sri M.
 Munisani Pillay, Sri M. S.
 Munuswamy Gounder, Sri P. M.
 Murthy Raju, Sri Ch. S. R. V. P.
 Muthiah Chettiar, Raja Sri M. A.
 Muthiah Pillai, Sri C.
 Muthu, Sri V.
 Muthukumaraswamy, Sri.
 Muthukumaraswamy Naidu, Sri T. D.
 Muthu Thevar, Sri B. R. M.
 Nagabhushanam, Sri G.
 Nagana Goud, The Hon. Dr. R.
 Nalla Gounder, Sri P. S.
 Nallaswamy, Sri B. K.
 Nanjappa, Sri O. A.
 Narayana, Sri Kavalli.
 Naayanappa, Sri S.
 Narayana Raju, Sri D.
 Narayanasamy Na du, Sri G.
 Neeladhirao Reddi, Sri Asi
 Pais, Sri L. C.
 Palaniappan, Sri R. M.
 Palanisami Gounder, The Hon. Sri V. C.
 Palanisami Gounder, Sri V. K.
 Panchaksharam, Sri S.
 Pandian, Sri R. S. K.
 Parameswaran, Sri B.
 Parameswarappa, Sri S.
 Pattabhiramara, The Hon Sri S. B. P.
 Pentannaidu, Sri M.
 Periasami, Sri M. P.
 Pundarikakshacharyulu, Sri V. P.
 Rajagopal, Sri N.
 Rajam Ramaswami, Sri C.
 Rajaram, Sri K.
 Rama, Sri T. K.
 Ramabrahmam, Sri D.
 Ramachandra Reddiar, Sri A.
 Ramakrishna Ayyar, Sri N.
 Ramalinga Reddi, Sri H.
 Ramasamy Kander, Sri N. C.
 Ramasamy Mudaliar, Sri V. K.
 Ramasamy Naidu, Sri S.
 Ramasamy Thevar, Sri A.
 Rami Reddi, Sri A.
 Ranga Reddi, Sri P.
 Rangasamy Naidu, Sri P. S.
 Ratnasami, Sri A. M.
 Sahajananda, Sri A. S.
 Sambandam, Sri A. M.
 Sambasivam, Sri A.
 Simia Koorayar, Sri G.
 Sangam Naidu, Sri P.
 Sanjeeviah, The Hon. Sri D.
 Sankara Reddi, The Hon. Sri N.
 Sankara Varma Raja, Sri E. K.
 Saonasi, Sri T. V.
 Santhappa, Sri K.
 Satyanarayana Dora, Sri H.
 Satyanarayana Reddi, Sri P.
 Selvaraj, Sri P.
 Shanker, Sri M. G.
 Shanmuga Rajeswara Sethupathi, The Hon. Raja Sri Raja of Ramanathapuram.)
 Shampucham, Sri K.
 Shetty, The Hon. Sri A. B.
 Srasappa, Sri Ijari.
 Sivaprakasam, Sri V. S.
 Somasundara Gounder, Sri.
 Somayajulu Sri S.
 Sounaram Ramachandran, Dr. T. S.
 Srungaram, Sri.
 Subbaraj, Sri A. S.
 Subba Reddi, Sri M.
 Subbaraya Gounder, Sri A. K.
 Subramaniam, The Hon. Sri C.
 Subramaniam Gounder, Sri K. S.
 Subramania Pillay, Sri I. K.
 Subramania Nayakar, Sri M.
 Suryanarayana, Sri K.
 Suryanarayana Raju, Sri Raja Sagi.
 Suvarna, Sri N. N.
 Swaminathan, Sri R. V.

[9th May 1952]

[Mr. Speaker]

Noes—cont.

Thangavelu, Sri R.
 Thangaraja Pillay, Sri.
 Thimma Reddi, Sri P.
 Thinskarasami Thevar, Sri.
 Thirumurthi, Sri P. K.
 Urkavalan, Sri P.
 Vaheesam Pillay, Sri G.
 Vaikunta Baliga, Sri B.
 Vaikuntam, Sri.
 Varadan, Sri T. R.
 Varadarajulu Naidu, Dr. P.
 Veeranna Padal, Sri K.
 Verna Ruddy, Sri K. V.
 Venkata Setty, Sri K.
 Venkatasubba Reddi, Sri O.
 Venkatasubba Reddi, Sri T. N.
 Venkatasubbayya, Sri P.
 Venkatayya, Sri N.
 Venkatarayana Dora, Sri K.
 Venkatarama Ayyar, Sri S.
 Venkatramaiah, Sri A.
 Venkatramana Gowda, Sri K.
 Venkatswami Reddi, Sri P.
 Venkatswamy Naidu, The Hon. Sri K.
 Venugopalakrishnasamy, Sri.
 Victoria, Mr. J. L. P. Roche.
 Virupakshayya, Sri.

Neutral.

Ahamed Kutty, Janab C.
 Chadayan, Sri M.
 Chidanandam, Sri V.

Kunhi Muhammed Shafee, Janab.
 Ramakrishnan, Sri K.
 Uppi, Janab K.

Ayes—148; Noes—175; Neutral—6.

The motion was lost.

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

MR. SPEAKER:—"As the question hour is now over we will proceed to the next item. The short notice question will be taken up on the next working day. We shall proceed with the debate on the Governor's Address."

* SRI K. P. GOPALAN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have moved an amendment regarding the unemployment position in the handloom industry in this State. There are about ten lakhs of handloom workers in this State of whom about one lakh are in my district of Malabar. I can say that out of this about 75 to 90 per cent are now unemployed and wherever we turn, whether it be the bus-stand or any other place, we find the unemployed handloom workers going about begging. I want to remind the hon. Members of this House how the Congress in the past fought against the British Government's policies directed towards ruining our national industries and how Congress volunteers like Kumaran of Tiruppur and Babukannu of Bombay and a host of others gave up their lives in the campaign for the boycott of foreign cloth so that our national industries may survive and foreign cloth may be wiped off from our markets. But what has happened?

"Five years of rule by the Congress has resulted in the ruination of the handloom industry in this State. Nobody can deny that fact. In our district of Malabar, in Cannanore and Chirakkal taluks, there are about 20,000 weavers. Only a few of them are working at present, and the rest of them are really starving. They have got no money to purchase even their rations. Unless the Government come to their immediate relief, there will be starvation deaths. In the Address of His Excellency the Governor, it has been stated that the Government are giving thought to this subject and that they will soon announce the measures which they propose to take. This reminds me of the following story. Once a patient who was seriously ill and about to die sent his son to

12 noon.

[Sri K. P. Gopalan]

[9th May 1952]

a doctor to fetch some medicine for him. The doctor, instead of sending some medicine immediately, asked the patient's son to wait till he had invented a new medicine to cure the patient's disease. Meanwhile the patient died. In the same way, the Hon. Minister for Labour who is also a doctor will not, I hope, tell the handloom workers to wait. I would request the Hon. Minister for Labour to take steps immediately to give relief to all those engaged in the handloom industry in this State. "In order to popularize the handloom products, the purchasing power of the people must be increased, and if we want to increase the purchasing power of the people, we must smash the feudal system in this country. Also, unless adequate land reforms are introduced, the purchasing power of the people cannot be increased and our home market cannot be made to thrive. In this connexion, I wish to draw the attention of the hon. Members of this House to the Government's attitude towards foreign goods. The Government have opened a police station and posted about 150 police constables and officers to afford protection to the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills owned by the Britishers. In my own place, Kozhikode, the Commonwealth Factory had dismissed about 250 workers and in this connexion the Government have not taken any action against the management. But they have exempted that factory owned by the British capitalists from rule 79 of the Factories Act. The economic policy followed by this Government has been favourable only to foreign capitalists. This will be evident from the fact that the London 'Economist' has applauded the economic policy followed by the present Government as good. The above news item has been published in the Hindu of 11th April 1952. As a result of the economic policy pursued by the Government, more and more industries controlled by foreigners are coming into existence and our national industries are not thriving. Unless our Government change their present economic policy, there is no salvation for our country.

Another thing which I wish to bring to the notice of the hon. Members is that this Government do not recognize the existence of working classes at all and the need to guarantee them a living wage, better conditions of work, trade union rights and security of service. On account of their negligence the workers say that there will be no salvation for the working classes in this country until and unless a democratic Government representing the working classes is established. I wish to refer again to the plight of handloom weavers in Malabar district and state that if the Government do not take immediate steps to give relief, there will be starvation deaths. The unemployed handloom workers of Malabar recently passed a resolution to resort to satyagraha if the Government did not come to their aid. I hope the Government will not force the workers to adopt such a course. In order to find a market for handloom products, the Government must ban the entry of foreign cloth into this country. The Government must also purchase the carpets produced by handloom weavers for supply to the police and the army . . ."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member's time is over."

[9th May 1952]

* SRI P. V. R. GAJAPATHI RAJU (RAJA OF VIZIANAGARAM) :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, this year we have had a new kind of democracy—a democracy of opportunism, a democracy which means, gaining the immediate ends, in complete contravention of the spirit of the Constitution of India. The joint session of the Madras Legislature was summoned to hear the Address of His Excellency the Governor on the 6th of May in pursuance of Article 176 (1) of the Constitution. I wish to submit that the speech of His Excellency the Governor did not in any way attempt to fulfil the spirit of Article 176 (1) of the Constitution. There are two similar articles in the Constitution of India (Articles 86 and 87) which deal with the right of the President to address either House of Parliament or both Houses assembled together. His Excellency the Governor having summoned the Legislative Assembly and the Council to meet together in pursuance of Article 176 (1) of the Constitution of India he should have stated in his Address fully the policy to be pursued by his Government and not merely confine himself to a mere statement of what his Government propose to do in the present session. I wish to refer in this connexion to a commentary on Article 87 by Sri Durga Das Basu published in his book, 'A Commentary on the Constitution of India'. It is as follows :—

'Scope of Article 87 : The opening address : The power conferred upon the President by the present Article corresponds to the "Speech from the Throne" in England. Though there was no precedent for any such speech under the Government of India Act, 1935, the opening address delivered by President Rajendra Prasad in the first session of the Indian Parliament immediately after the commencement of the Constitution shows that this power of the President will be utilized by the Ministry and for similar purposes as in England. The President's speech will be the first authoritative pronouncement of the policy of the Government, both domestic and foreign. It will contain a comprehensive review of the achievements of the Government in the past year and a survey of the problems, particularly economic and financial, before the country.'

"Unfortunately it is a mockery of democracy if the Government merely ask us to pass an urgent piece of legislation such as the one before us and nothing else. The whole Governor's address has specified only one thing and none else. I feel strongly that the Governor and his Council of Ministers have not come forward with a clear-cut policy before the House. It is because the present Government were not sure of their position then and are not sure now also. With due respect to the Chair, I may be permitted to say that they have taken the Speaker's election as a test of their strength."

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"It was you who have taken it to mean a test of our strength."

* SRI P. V. R. GAJAPATHI RAJU (RAJA OF VIZIANAGARAM) :—"Having utilized the Speaker's election as a test of the strength of their party, they perhaps did not have sufficient time to formulate policies to be placed before the House in the form of the Governor's Address. They have conveniently postponed the date by a month when the Governor would address both Houses of the Legislature during the Budget session. It has been mentioned in the Governor's Address that this procedure would be in accordance with clause (1) of Article 175 which is not the same as Article

[Sri P. V. R. Gajapathi Raju] [9th May 1952]

176 (1) under which we have now been summoned. I want again to bring to the notice of hon. Members of the House the specific provision under clause (1) of Article 87. The Address should normally contain a comprehensive review of the achievements of the Government in the past year (if it is so), and a survey of the problems, particularly economic and financial, before the country for the coming year. Article 176 (1) says in clear language that at the commencement of every session, the Governor shall address both the Houses of the Legislature. The article is very comprehensive and lays down that the Governor's Address shall contain a comprehensive review of the whole year—what the Government propose to do, what piece of legislation they will bring and so on. Sir, the whole idea behind the opening speech of the Governor to both Houses of the Legislature is to enable the new legislators who have come, to have a clear picture of the policy that the Government are going to pursue for the whole year. Article 382 of our Constitution merely states that this House has been constituted after the new Constitution has come into force. It is unlike the old House which had not been constituted under the Constitution. Hence there is no necessity to convene this sitting in view of clause (1) of Article 382 of the Constitution, as has been mentioned in the Governor's Address, as Article 382 automatically becomes inoperative.

"Under such a state of things when the Governor's Address does not specify any particular policy of the Government, hon. Members can quietly sit here for a while and then go away and tell their constituencies, 'Oh! we have not done anything. We have never been told of any clear-cut policy and as such we had nothing to debate upon'."

"Another thing, Mr. Speaker, I would like to touch upon. For conducting the business of this House, we follow mostly the British Parliamentary system. In doing so we must try to see that we do not blindly follow their Parliamentary system according to the letter of written procedure alone but also imbibe the spirit of British Democracy, etc."

MR. SPEAKER :—"The hon. Member's time is up. I now call upon the hon. Member, Mr. Swaminathan, to speak."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, several of the hon. Members in the Opposition have complained that inasmuch as the Governor's Speech did not contain any policy of the Government, they had little opportunity to speak and they also regretted that they may not get any opportunity in the future. When I say hon. Members, I mean my friends, Dr. K. B. Menon, and the Raja of Vizianagaram who has just spoken. I may assure them that when the Governor addresses us during the Budget session under Article 175 (1) of the Constitution, they would have ample opportunities of discussion on the Governor's Address. Therefore, I would request my hon. friend, Dr. K. B. Menon, who is the leader of the Socialist Party not to labour under any misapprehension."

"Sir, this Government has come into being only recently. Let us see the circumstances under which it has come into being. Our

[Sri R. V. Swaminathan] 9th May 1952]

dear Rajaji after having held very responsible offices in the Centre retired from politics and came here to have a well-earned rest. But the situation here took a different turn. He was, so to say, compelled to take the leadership of the Congress Party. Hence it is necessary that he should be given sufficient time to consider the various intricate problems facing the Government. My friend, Mr. Ramamurthi, a member of the Communist Party, complained that no clear-cut policy of the Government has been mentioned in the Governor's Address. Let me point out to my esteemed friend, Mr. Ramamurthi, that ours is a Congress Government. We have a definite programme. Those things have been clearly laid down in the Congress manifesto. Definite programmes for implementation have been laid down by the Congress organization. We are also committed to the National Planning Commission's report.

"My Friend, Dr. Menon, mentioned something about land reforms. He is the leader of the Socialist Party. He wants revolutionary changes to be effected in our land revenue system. I for one may say that I am also for it. The Congress is also committed to such radical changes as abolition of zamins and so on. For instance, we have abolished zamins. Zamindari and inam estates have been taken over under the Zamindari Abolition Act. It is the intention of the Congress to make the tiller of the soil the virtual owner of the land. Towards that goal, we are proceeding. Next we shall have to stop the wholesale eviction of tenants from the lands. That is a human problem and the Government ought to bestow their earnest consideration over it. Inasmuch as the Congress also is for such revolutionary changes in our system of land tenure, I would gladly invite friends like Dr. K. B. Menon, the Raja of Vizianagaram and others who have seceded from the Congress to join our ranks now and strengthen us so that we can proceed further."

DR. K. B. MENON :—"I would like to know, Mr. Speaker, whether the hon. Member is canvassing support for the party in power?"

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—"No, Sir. As the Congress also is for revolutionary changes in our land tenure system as my Friend, Dr. Menon, I simply requested friends like him to join us and strengthen our hands."

"Then comes the question of the agricultural labourers. The Government should tackle this problem on correct lines. The condition of our agricultural labourers and factory workers is appalling. In western countries, viz., in England and Scandinavian countries there are specific legislations by which the interests of all these labourers are protected. Our agricultural labourers should be paid adequate wages commensurate with their cost of living."

"Then, Sir, I have to say one word about the development of agriculture. In what way are they going to tackle the problem of agriculture in the State? Formerly, there was the well subsidy scheme and now the Government have stopped it. It must be admitted that several small agriculturists were really benefited by the

[Sri R. V. Swaminathan] [9th May 1952]

well subsidy scheme and I hope the Government will reconsider the question of giving well subsidy.

"In regard to the question of the backward classes, I think the Government should seriously consider the question. I am not talking of the problem of the backward classes in any communal spirit. Of course, it is true that during the last elections communalism played its part, but that was because of the approach made by the previous Government in regard to the problem of the backward classes. I think that this Government will not commit the same mistake that was committed by the previous Government, but that they will tackle the problem in a satisfactory manner. For instance, I would suggest that, as they have created a separate department for Harijan Welfare, they should create a separate department for the welfare of the backward classes also."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to point out that His Excellency in His Address has associated every one in this State with the feelings expressed by him of regret at the demise of the King. Personally speaking, I and my party wish to dissociate ourselves from those feelings of regret and also the greetings and good wishes sent to Queen Elizabeth."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member should not repeat what has already been mentioned by another hon. Member. That point has already been referred to by one other hon. Member who spoke previously."

* SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"I will only refer to it in one sentence and proceed, Sir. His Excellency says in his Address that the late King worthily upheld the great traditions of British monarchy and endeared himself to one and all. So far as myself and the Communist Party to which I belong are concerned, it has nothing to do with us whether the late King upheld the traditions of British monarchy or not. After all, it is only due to that British monarchy that we were subjected to slavery for nearly 200 years and now the Congress Governor expresses gratitude to what the British monarchy has done to the people of India."

"Now, Sir, my hon. Friend, Mr. R. V. Swaminathan, says that revolutionary changes are possible. I do not know whether he said it on behalf of himself personally or on behalf of the other members of the Congress Party also. But, let him go carefully through the Address and convince himself whether there is any justification for our associating ourselves with the good wishes to Queen Elizabeth."

"Referring to the Treasury Bench, His Excellency pleads want of time because the Ministry took charge of the administration only a few weeks back. After all, can any one deny the fact that the same Congress Government which has been in power for nearly six years is now continued, something like putting old wine in new bottles? It does not matter if the personnel of the Ministry is different from the previous one. But, are they going to change the policy pursued by the previous Congress Ministry? We have

9th May 1952] [Sri Pillalamarri Venkateswarlu]

heard speeches of some hon. Members of the Congress Party who referred to the Congress Election Manifesto. It does not matter, whether X or Y is the Chief Minister, but the policy is the same. As a matter of fact, we have seen how the Police are given full powers to administer, whoever may be the Chief Minister. We have had bitter experience in the past that the Chief Minister, or whoever is in charge of the Home Department, always relies upon the Report of the Commissioner of Police, and whatever the Police officers say is final and sacrosanct, and that is the Bible and the Geeta of the Hon. Rajaji also. We have heard, Sir, the statements made by several hon. Members about how they were prevented from attending the House. That is all done in the name of the Hon. Rajaji and in the name of democracy."

"Then, Sir, I would like to draw the attention of the House to one other matter. Perhaps the Hon. Rajaji has the fortune or misfortune of leading the Cabinet under the minority Government. They know that they have not got an absolute majority and that they have to rely on the support of other parties. Then, Sir, it is quite evident that the people have rejected the Election Manifesto of the Congress during the last election and that they have given their verdict on the actions of the previous Congress Government. That is an accepted fact. Do you find any change or deviation in the policy pursued by this Government from that of the previous Government? Personally, I do not find much difference. For instance, there are many problems facing the country to-day which require further examination. Of course, the Hon. Rajaji may say, he is entering the forest. Perhaps before entering the Secretariat he sees that forests have grown all around and that wild animals are roaming about. I say, Sir, that unless the forests and the wild animals are completely destroyed, the country cannot be administered properly. Similarly, here also, it is the District Superintendents of Police that are in charge of the administration of the country. Let them go and see whether the action of the Police during the last three years could be justified. During the last elections, people were demanding an open enquiry into certain acts of the Police. I do not know whether the Hon. Chief Minister will find time to reply to the points raised. There have been instances of Police excesses, where women were raped in the streets and what has become of the representations made so far in regard to such matters? If he says that from the reports of the Police he could not take up those matters, then, I say, he could not see people through his glasses correctly, but he must change his glasses to know how the people react to the policies of the Congress."

"Then, Sir, we have been demanding an open enquiry in regard to the conduct of the Police. It is essential to have an open enquiry, particularly in view of the fact that allegations have been made on the floor of the House that the Police officials took bribes, raped women and committed similar offences. The charges are there and it is for the Hon. Chief Minister to order an enquiry into these matters. It does not, of course, matter if the enquiry is conducted even by a committee of Congress members—a non-official committee. On the other hand, we have got indications to show that the

[Sri Pillalamarri Venkateswarlu] [9th May 1952]

Hon. Chief Minister is not going to interfere in the day-to-day administration of the departments. Of course, I have no objection if he is not going to interfere in the matter of giving permits for the opening of ration shops here or there. But, if he says that the Police will be given a free hand to administer, then I have every objection to that. Let the Hon. Chief Minister note that since the days of 1935-36 the Police have not changed their attitude and if at all they have changed, they have only changed for the worse. I would only request him, Sir, not to rely on the reports of the Police officials alone.

"I have on this occasion to refer to the question of the non-gazetted officers of the Government. Though I have been agitating in this matter for the last six years, I find the non-gazetted officers are in the same position as they were in before. After all, there are only about 2 lakhs of them and it should not be difficult for the Government to implement the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission, provided there is the will to do so. We find that even to-day the expenses in connexion with His Excellency the Governor come to about 8 or 9 lakhs of rupees every year. I ask, why should you spend as much as that for a Congress Governor with a Gandhi cap. I want to know whether we cannot reduce the expenditure of the Governor so that we can give more to the peons standing before us for all the 24 hours of the day.

"There are one or two more points to which I would like to refer. There are 71 I.C.S. officers still in the administration of our State for whom we are paying between Rs. 3,500 and Rs. 4,000 a month. Are we rich enough to pay such huge salaries for these officers? Is it not a fact that the standard of living of the people is deplorably low? Under such circumstances, I do not see any reason why a Congress Government which proclaims simplicity in all things, should pay such high salaries for these officials.

"I would like to conclude by referring to one or two important points. I would refer to jails in particular. The ex-Chief Minister, Mr. Kumaraswami Raja, promised that the political prisoners would be distributed to their respective places. I do not know how much time the Hon. Chief Minister will take to solve this problem. That promise was made about four months ago and still the matter is pending. As a matter of fact, I know perfectly well that the Inspector-General of Police recommended the transfer and that it was also the decision of the Cabinet."

* SRI ASI NEELADRIRAO REDDI :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I would like to point out that His Excellency's Address has made no reference to several of the important problems. For instance, nothing has been said about educational facilities, village roads, projects, etc. To start with, the Vamsadhara Project has not been included in the Five-year Plan. Sir, I may mention here that Vamsadhara and Nagavalli are the biggest of the perennial rivers in my district. If this project is undertaken and completed, 140 million cubic feet of water could be stored and used for irrigating 3 lakhs more of dry land, besides supplementing water-supply to

9th May 1952] [Sri Asi Neeladrirao Reddi]

50,000 more acres of wet land. I am told that the cost of constructing a reservoir will be only 8 crores of rupees and that the return on this capital outlay will work out to 2.6 per cent, which is certainly greater than that on other projects which come to only 1.5 or 1.8 per cent. Moreover, Sir, it is said that the site of the project is situated in a congenial place where it would be possible to complete it within a period of 2½ years. That, I understand, is the opinion of engineering experts also. So, Sir, I request the Government to recommend to the Planning Commission the inclusion of this project in the Five-year Plan.

"Then, Sir, there is another project which has been completely neglected so far as Srikakulam district is concerned. I understand that the Government of Orissa have taken up the construction of a reservoir near the source of the Bahuda river, which lies within Orissa. Unless our Government take up the matter with the Orissa Government in regard to the construction of the reservoir, a whole taluk will become completely dry. By the construction of a reservoir in the Bahuda river, I am sure, another 10,000 acres of dry land could be irrigated, besides supplementing water for existing wet lands. Above all, I would request the Government that, before launching on any big schemes, they should immediately take up the question of improvement of minor irrigation, not only in my district, but throughout the State. For instance, many tanks are silted up and if silt is removed, I expect there will be an immediate return in that it will prevent starvation of the people in these hard days.

"During the floods of 1923, the southern bund of Bahuda river was washed away and ever since then there has been a lot of annual damage to fields and crops and the villagers have been pressing to carry out repairs to the river bund. I request the Government to take immediate steps so that hundreds of acres of land which are being damaged and rendered unfit for cultivation on account of floods, could be saved. In Srikakulam district, there is Uddanam, which is a variation of Udayanam, or garden; it is full of coconut and jack fruit gardens. It is an area of 150 square miles with a population of 50,000. People there are suffering for want of water just like those in the Rayalaseema districts. Something should be done to ease the condition of the people there.

"Coming to the question of roads, some village roads have been constructed and some roads were transferred to the villagers. I suggest that if these roads could be metalled, transport facilities could be improved.

"In the district of Srikakulam, there was not even one single College until last year when they opened a second-grade college. I hope that the Government will provide sufficient funds to provide educational facilities for the people of the district.

"My hon. Friends Sri Thimma Reddi and Sri Venkatasubba Reddi have explained the relief measures necessary in respect of the famine-affected districts. My suggestion is about the preventive measures to be taken to stop the recurrence of famine in those

12-45
P.M.

[Sri Asa Neeladrirao Reddi] [9th May 1952]

districts. What is the cause of famine? Famines are due to want of rain and the failure of rains is due to absence of conservancy of our forests. Besides the starting of irrigation schemes to see that rain water does not go to waste, it is necessary to conserve forests and afforesting operations should be undertaken by the Government on a large scale and then only we can have regular rainfall.

"In the agency areas of Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam, there is a system known as the *muttadari* system. It has been promised by the Government that this system would be abolished, but it has not been accomplished. I request the Government to abolish that system and introduce the panchayat system. There are some villages in Gangaravinadugulu and Chintapalli areas in which the ryots are complaining that they are very much harassed by the levy of royalties. These things should cease. Then, Sir, the rehabilitation of the aboriginal population is very much neglected. In the Visakhapatnam and Srikakulam districts, schemes should be started for their development and progress. I suggest to the Government that co-operative societies should be started and credit facilities should be provided to the aboriginal population. That will better their financial position because they would also be able to sell their forest produce for a better price and their agricultural produce will also find a better market."

* THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, if I now rise to intervene in this debate, it is not with a view to deal with the constitutional and other points of propriety that were raised during the course of the debate by hon. Members both yesterday and to-day. My chief object is to refer to the subject under my charge, namely, the question of famine which has been looming so large and I wish to say a few words in a general way about the matters that were raised yesterday and to-day.

"There is evidence of a lot of constitutional knowledge on the part of Members, especially my hon. Friend Sri Viswanatham and I might as well say that he is beginning to be a veritable constitutional pundit. And in you, Sir, there is such a fund of constitutional knowledge that I venture to submit that if perchance all the volumes of May's Parliamentary Practice are lost, you can produce at any rate the substance of it from your own mental printing press, just as in the olden days, our Vedas were handed down from generation to generation by word of mouth. I am glad to see that my Friend, the Raja of Vizianagaram, is also a building constitutional pundit and there are many more both on that side and I am sure on this side also who will deal with that subject in due course.

"Turning to the Governor's Address, Sir, it was observed by some hon. Members that it did not cover the whole field of programme of the Government that is to come before this Legislature. I wonder whether one can expect the whole programme for the term of this Legislature to be put up in the very first session of this House. I am afraid they are thinking in terms of a Five-year Plan. That cannot be, especially when His Excellency has said that he is going to address the Legislature again in the month of June. I must take it that, acting on the Biblical

[Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker]

9th May 1952] [Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker]
 proverb, 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof,' he has confined himself to the most arresting subjects that have to be dealt with and he has given a very vivid description in paragraph 5, of famine conditions existing in the State and the various measures that have been taken, and he has also referred to the plight of weavers. He has really dealt with the most important subjects and surely he may do so again when he addresses this House next, and one need not be in a hurry to expect the whole plan for the next five years at this stage.

"In these days of small mercies, I should really be thankful to my hon. Friend from Chittoor; the Raja of Karvetnagar, who said that the Government are doing all that is humanly possible to tackle the problem of famine in the State but only complained that the way in which it was implemented was not satisfactory. It may be so; there are officers and officers; there are officers who are enthusiastic; there are officers who are over-enthusiastic; there are officers who just do their duty and not one little item more than that; there are officers who shirk their duty and there are also officers who look forward to the first day of every month, that is the pay day. Having regard to the human set-up of things, we have got to give some margin. I may assure the House, Sir, that the Government are doing their best and they have recently invited the attention of the district authorities to the need for infusing enthusiasm and energy in their officers so that they may tackle this problem more quickly and in a better way. I am also obliged to Sri C. V. Somayajulu who gave a description of the way in which things are being done and he also referred to the fact that it is easy to offer destructive criticism but what is wanted is constructive criticism. He said that it is very easy to break an earthen pot, but it is very difficult to make one; a small stick in the hand of a small boy though emaciated with tuberculosis will do the job and it will be smashed to pieces but it is very difficult to make one. In this connexion, I remember one incident that happened in the old Legislative Council during Budget time. One hon. Member, while criticizing the electricity policy of the Government, said that the Pykara scheme was a 'pythiyakhara' scheme, a mad man's scheme. The Hon. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar who was in charge of the subject got really annoyed. That scheme was very much appreciated by the general public and they were expecting very good things from it and he tackled it in a brilliant manner and the result was that for some time after that in the Council, there was no irresponsible criticism. Now, Sir, turning to famine conditions in the districts, the districts affected are Nellore, Kurnool, Cuddapah, Anantapur, Chittoor, Chingleput, North Arcot and Coimbatore. Various schemes have been prepared to give employment to the unemployed and food to the old, the decrepit and the children. Various schemes of water-supply are also being taken up; the major irrigation works taken on hand are 56 in number, minor irrigation works come to 756, rural water-supply accounts for 1,626; there are 400 food production schemes; there are 218 district board works and 23 other works; there are nearly 1,000 gruel centres run by the Government and a large number of people are being fed and

[Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker] [9th May 1952]

the amount spent is at the rate of Rs. 6 lakhs per month. Employment is being given to about 6 to 7 lakhs of people. Apart from all this, the collection of land revenue has been postponed and in other cases totally remitted. "In respect of out-turn of crops of annas four and less, there has been a complete remission and between annas four and annas eight, there has been half remission and in other cases, there has been a postponement of collection. One curious and extraordinary thing is that this time the collection of cesses has also been postponed; till now there has been no such postponement but this year owing to the extraordinary circumstances in which we were placed, the Government went to the length of postponing collection of cesses also which amounts to one-third of the revenue or nearly annas five in a rupee."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The Hon. Minister may continue his speech after lunch. The House will now adjourn for lunch and meet again at 3 p.m."

(After lunch—3 p.m.)

III.—CANCELLATION OF THE MOTION FOR THE ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, before we proceed with the debate on the address of His Excellency the Governor . . ."

SRI K. GOVINDA RAO:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise on a point of order."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Order, order, the hon. Member will please resume his seat."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, before we proceed with the debate on the address of His Excellency the Governor, I wish to make a motion with regard to the election of members to the Public Accounts Committee. Sir, as per the motion which I made the other day and adopted by the House, the election of members to the Public Accounts Committee is to take place to-morrow and the time for receipt of nominations is to close at 3 p.m. to-day. To-day the Leader of the Opposition represented to me that, in view of the present strength of the House and in view of the existence of several parties here, the number of persons to be elected by this House should be increased. I have agreed to consider the request to increase the strength. So it will not be possible to hold the election to-morrow, and I beg to move—

'That the motion for the election of members to the Public Accounts Committee from the Madras Legislative Assembly carried by the House on 7th May 1952 be cancelled.'

Sir, I beg leave of the House to cancel that original motion."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I do not think there is anybody who wants to object to the motion."

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS:—"No objection."

The motion was carried.

9th May 1952]

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

SRI K. GOVINDA RAO:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise on a point of order. A number of amendments have been moved on the address of His Excellency the Governor, and when they were moved yesterday, we were given to understand that we will have a chance to speak on them, I mean, the hon. Members who moved amendments will be allowed to speak on them. There are a number of amendments which deal with important subjects like formation of provinces on linguistic basis, irrigation projects and so many similar important things. Therefore, Sir, I would request you to allow the movers of the amendments to speak on their amendments. Otherwise will it be right to put the amendments to the vote of the House without allowing the Members to have their say on them? So, Sir, I request you to give us a chance to speak on our amendments."

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is not a point of order. It is only a mere request. Simply because an hon. Member has given notice of an amendment it does not mean he should be given an opportunity to speak on it. The other day itself I told the House that instead of taking up every amendment one by one for discussion it would be better to take up one comprehensive amendment, and all members speak on it. Simply because one hon. Member has given notice of an amendment it does not mean he should be given an opportunity to speak on his amendment. Apart from that, I may inform the House that for the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Nagi Reddi, I have allowed 45 minutes. So I cannot be expected to allow other members any more time."

"Now, the Hon. Minister for Land Revenue will continue his speech."

SRI R. VENKATA JAGGA RAO:—"Sir, yesterday you promised to allow me to speak on my amendment. To-day, Sir, I find I have no chance of speaking on my amendment."

MR. SPEAKER:—"It is not a promise that I made. I said, if a chance comes I shall allow the hon. Member to speak. There are a number of amendments and surely the hon. Member cannot expect me to allow all the movers of the amendments to speak."

* THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I know how much time I can have?"

MR. SPEAKER:—"How much time does the Hon. Minister want?"

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—"Ten minutes."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The Hon. Minister can have ten minutes."

* THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—"Sir, in the forenoon I have been narrating the ways in which the Government have been coming to the rescue of the ryots in

[Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker] [9th May 1952]

the famine areas. I was speaking of remission of revenue, both in full and partially. I was saying Government have been giving freely takkavi loans, and that on loans already advanced, collections have been postponed. The military authorities have come to our aid. Their help has been of great use to us in deepening wells. I myself saw one well which has been deepened by the military authorities. They have deepened it with the aid of air compressors. I find in many wells in Chittoor district which have been deepened with the aid of air compressors, water is available to a depth of twelve feet.

"Then, Sir, Government have placed the implements of the Agricultural department at the disposal of the Famine Commissioner, as also the technical staff, like surveyors, etc. They are being rushed to places where famine is acute. So, I submit all that is possible is being done to relieve distress. That has been made our first charge, for we want to see that the ryot lives before he does anything else. I went to certain parts of Guntur district like Vinukonda and Palnad taluks. I found the people were agitated over getting the Nandikonda Project so much that I found even little children were proclaiming 'Nandikonda Project ki jai'. I told them that, before they get that, they should see that the ryots actually are alive. Their immediate concern was to keep their body and soul together, so that when the project comes to fruition they can reap the benefit therefrom. I told them there is time enough for pushing through the Nandikonda Project. It may take some years to complete it. But their immediate concern was to tide over the present famine. They should first have drinking water, and for that they should deepen their wells. This Government gave a free gift of Rs. 150 each for deepening wells to get drinking water.

"Sir, this Government are willing to render as much help as possible to the people. But the trouble is, they cannot go on at a gallop. The Central Government have come to our rescue and they have made available to us a sum of two crores of rupees. They have also given Rs. 48 lakhs for running gruel centres. As a matter of fact, much more money is needed for this purpose, because I find the contagion of famine has spread to other districts. At least half a dozen districts will be affected shortly by famine. Our departments are alert and sufficient instructions have been issued to our officers to rush relief at the slightest sign of famine. The only difficulty is want of funds. We wish we had something like the magic bowl which was given to Droupadi, a cash chest from which the moment the Finance Minister takes money it is immediately replenished, so that in this way we may have inexhaustible funds. Again, Sir, we must have some time to work our schemes. It is not like Aladdin's lamp, by the mere rubbing of which the genie would appear, and for the mere bidding of it a palace would come into existence. The whole programme has to be worked in course of time, step by step. For that, a peaceful atmosphere is necessary. Constructive schemes can be got through only when peace and order prevail in the State. Therefore hon. Members will think in that way and see that peace

[Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker] [9th May 1952]

and order, the first requisite for any constructive scheme, comes to prevail in the State.

"I may tell the House that we were put in the saddle only just a month back. I shall change the metaphor, for horse riding does not seem to be fashionable now-a-days. I think motor driving has become fashionable. In fact, many hon. Members of this House are fond of motor driving; and I think, some Members on the Treasury Bench are very fond of motor driving. In fact they treat motor driving as their pet hobby. So, I would change my metaphor and say, the Ministry has changed its gear from the first to the second and it will shortly switch on to the top gear, and the whole scheme will work in trim and the State will derive a substantial good therefrom. So I wish that hon. Members are a little more patient. Let them wait for some time, see the work done and then it will be time for them to express their opinion. We must see that our labour for winning Swaraj is not lost. Let us keep up that Swaraj by making the ryot flourishing and happy."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is the first time that I am participating in a debate in the Legislature of this State. What little experience I have of parliamentary life was gained in the Constituent Assembly and the Parliament.

"After listening to the various speeches made by hon. Members on the floor of this House, you will permit me to say, Sir, that a very high level of debate has been maintained throughout. The Opposition's main duty is to oppose everything whether it is good, bad or indifferent. The Opposition has done that task very well indeed. The main criticism of His Excellency's Address has centred round, not about what is contained in that speech, but about things left unsaid. To understand that Address it is necessary to place before this House the circumstances under which we advised His Excellency to summon this House early this month. Elections were over in January and we accepted office on the 10th of April. Almost the first question that we had to decide soon after accepting office was when to summon this Legislature. In that connexion we had to take note of Article 382 (1), in the Transitional Provisions of our Constitution under which the old Houses continued to be in existence till the new Houses of the Legislature were summoned. So we had to decide whether we should summon the Assembly and the Council at as early a date as possible or whether we should postpone it. I think we came to the correct decision and that was that the new Houses should be brought into existence as early as possible. That was the first consideration which was in our mind in summoning this Legislature soon after we assumed office. There was another factor also working in our mind and that was the circumstances under which this Government was formed. It was claimed by Mr. T. Prakasam, as the leader of the United Democratic Front, that he had a strength of 167 Members in the Legislative Assembly and that we should be called upon to form the Ministry as he was the legitimate person who should lead this State as its Chief Minister. He seems to have written a letter to that effect to His Excellency the

[Sri C. Subramaniam] [9th May 1952]

Governor. I am not going into the merits of the question as to whether it was proper on the part of His Excellency to have called upon the Congress Party to form the Ministry or not. As a matter of fact, we were called upon to form the Ministry and we formed the Ministry. It was alleged by the Opposition, on public platforms and also in the Press in language which was not quite complimentary, that they had a majority in this House, that the Ministerialist Party had no majority and that the Ministry did not enjoy the confidence of the Legislature. It was for us to find out whether we had a majority or not. We never wanted to burke that issue. If it was only for the purpose of bringing the Houses into existence, we could have summoned them for the election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker and Chairman and Deputy Chairman and adjourned to meet some time in June. We thought that the verdict of the House should be known here and now, and that was why we took the decision to have a regular session at the earliest opportunity. Under Article 176 (1) of the Constitution, it is necessary that the Governor should address both the Houses at the commencement of the first session. So we had to give some sort of an Address. It might be said that we should have disclosed the entire programme in the Governor's Address. That was not possible. We took up office only in April, and almost all of us are new to the job. Even Rajaji was here as long ago as 1937 and he has taken up the reins of administration after a lapse of fifteen years. Many of us were not even Members of this Legislature; we were somewhere else. In these circumstances, we wanted some time to study the affairs and financial position of the Government to make up our mind as to what schemes should be proceeded with. After all, as my hon. Friend, Mr. R. V. Swaminathan pointed out, the programme of the Indian National Congress is well known. We did not fight the election without any programme. We fought the election on the basis of the Congress Election Manifesto and the draft Five-year Plan which is going to be finalized shortly. If we so desired, we could have said some general things in the Address. But that would have been highly improper. That is my respectful submission. We thought we could make mention about the widespread famine in Rayalaseema districts and in various other districts and made mention about them in the hope that we would get very useful suggestions from the hon. Members on the Ministerialist side as well as the Opposition side. We had to put through a Bill in this sitting whether we desired it or not. That being the only legislative business, it was mentioned. The Raja Saheb of Vizianagaram said that it was an innocent Bill and I also consider it an innocent Bill. It is only under these circumstances that we were not able to give a complete picture of what we intend to do and what our programmes and policies are. One hon. Member went to the extent of saying that this showed a complete bankruptcy of policy. Another hon. Member went a step further and attributed motives to the Government. He said that it was not due to the bankruptcy of policy but to the existence of policies which were so reactionary that they could not be disclosed to this House at this juncture. Both the allegations came from the Opposite side and

[9th May 1952] [Sri C. Subramaniam].

I do not know which of them is correct. I may tell you that we have absolutely no idea of hiding anything from this House. Only with the majority vote of this House, we can continue to hold office as Ministers and not otherwise. Therefore it is really not our intention to keep back anything of our programmes and policies and we will place them before this House at the earliest opportunity. I was painfully surprised to hear Dr. K. B. Menon say that the legislative mind of the Government had not been disclosed. What legislative business there is for this sitting has been disclosed. We are meeting again in June for considering the budget. As has been said in the Address, His Excellency the Governor will address the Legislature at the commencement of that session under Article 175 (1). Then we will be able to give a complete picture of our policies and programmes and the hon. Members will have ample scope to express their opinion in the general discussion of the budget and on the voting of the Demands for Grants. I have explained in brief why the Governor's Address could not contain anything more at the present juncture.

"I have one more point to deal with and that is the criticism levelled by my hon. Friend Mr. Ramamurthi. I am sorry to find that he is not in his seat. When an hon. Member makes a criticism, courtesy requires that he should be present to hear the reply of the Government. I suppose he will learn this in due course. I hope his friends in this House will convey to him what I am going to say. I have always got a soft corner in my heart for my friend Mr. Ramamurthi. He had been my classmate. He played the role of a rebel even from his college days and he has continued to do so. I am glad about it. I do not know whether he is going to play the role of a rebel again. What pleased me most was his talking about the Constitution and constitutional activities. I wish he will continue to think and act on constitutional lines."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—"As long as we are given freedom."

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—"We are going to give them the fullest freedom so long as their acts are constitutional. There can be no doubt about it. The hon. Member can take that assurance from me on behalf of the Hon. Chief Minister and I am sure he also will give that assurance."

"The hon. Member Mr. Ramamurthi alleged that we set up a very bad tradition in choosing a nominated Member of the Council as the Chief Minister. The majority party is called upon to form the Government and it is open to that party to elect its own leader. After all, whom have we elected as our leader? Not any person who has been defeated in the election. As Congressmen we have kept up that tradition of not returning to the Legislature by any back-door method any candidate defeated in the election. (Applause.) What have the Members on the Opposite side done? They elected to the Council a person who lost his deposit in the Assembly elections (applause) and also made him the Leader of their party."

[9th May 1952]

SRI G. RAMA RAO :—“ On a point of order, Sir. Is the Hon. Minister in order in addressing the House with a stick in his hand? ”

3-30 P.M. * THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ It is the usual illusion, Sir. The pencil in my hand looks like a stick to him.” (Laughter)

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Sir, the Hon. Minister said ‘entering the Legislature by the back door’. Is that not a reflection on the Legislative Council? ”

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ I was referring to persons against whom the verdict of the people has been given. It is only in that context that I said so. The Constitution provides for the existence of the Council and for the method of election also. Having stood for election, having got the verdict of the people and having been defeated in the election, I do object to persons entering the Council by the back door. I hope that my hon. Friend understands this. It is not that he does not understand it.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Again he is using the words ‘back door’.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Let the Hon. Minister have his say without interruptions.”

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ After all whom have we elected as leader? We have elected a person who was a valiant fighter in the cause of our freedom, and one who has occupied the highest position—the highest office—in this land. He is a staunch social worker, and he, by his writings in Tamil, has enriched the Tamil language and literature. It is only that person we have elected as leader. If members opposite think that they have got 14 members to create a Member of the Council, and elect that person as their leader, we have elected our leader by the unanimous choice of 152 members. (Hear, hear.) We have asked him to lead us as our Chief Minister.” (Interruptions.)

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Let there be no interruptions. Let the Hon. Minister continue his speech without interruptions.”

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ After all what is wanted is good Government. We want an efficient Government. We want a Government in which the people will have faith. We want a Government which will enthuse the people and create in them great hopes. (Interruption.) I challenge anybody. My Chief Minister went to Madurai, to the very constituency from which the hon. Member Mr. Ramamurthi has been returned. I wish the hon. Member was there at that time.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ On a point of order, Sir. Is the Hon. Minister in order in challenging hon. Members here? He has used the words ‘I challenge’.”

9th May 1952]

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The word ‘challenge’ can be used. But if the words ‘challenge for a fight’ have been used, I will have to give my ruling.”

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“ I wish the hon. Member Mr. Ramamurthi had been there to see the enthusiasm of the people and the love with which the people of Madurai greeted the Chief Minister. That was the case in the Triplicane beach meeting and in the Salem meeting. It is not as if we have elected a person who is not popular with the people. On the other hand we have elected a person who has instilled a new hope in the people. If hon. Members opposite want to attack us on the ground that he has been nominated, he has been nominated because of the unanimous choice and verdict of 152 members, the chosen representatives of the people. As far as that aspect is concerned, I do not think I need say much more.

“ With regard to the other points, hon. Members have made very useful suggestions. From this side also hon. Members have given many helpful suggestions. They will all be taken into consideration. Regarding the formulation of the food policy, very many useful suggestions have been given. Here one central factor has to be borne in mind, and that factor is that we are a deficit State in food. We have to import food from outside. We are not able to import. What we want is rice, and sufficient quantity of rice we are not able to get. We are given wheat and milo. Are we to reject this wheat and milo and say we would take only rice? We would not be able to get that quantity of rice we require. In these circumstances we have to take an over-all picture of the whole situation. We should see what would best suit the people of this State. It is only in that light that I am looking at controls. The Government would consider whether it is necessary in the interests of the common people to relax or continue or take away the controls altogether. I may assure hon. Members that we will take into consideration the various useful suggestions made by them, in formulating our food policy, and I am quite sure when we come before the Assembly in the next Session, hon. Members will approve of our policy. I hope the Opposition will not oppose our policy merely for opposition's sake. If there are any defects in our policy, I am quite prepared to be corrected by them, and criticised by them, and if they are able to convince us that there is something wrong in the formulation of our policy, we will be pleased to rectify the defects in the best interests of the country and the common man. Thank you, Sir.” (Hear, hear.)

* SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, as every one of the hon. Members here very clearly knows, this is the first time I have entered an Assembly of any sort, either Parliament or here, and I have not had any occasion before I became a member of this Assembly, even to have a look at the Assembly not to speak of participating in the proceedings as a Member. Just in front of me are sitting old and experienced people who have had to face heavy battles in the Assembly. To-day my job of replying to

[Sri T. Nagi Reddi]

[9th May 1952]

them, even though I have not had much experience, is not so very difficult for the simple reason that I feel that I am in the right and that the Government to-day are not. It is with that clear conscience and clear perspective that I stand up here to oppose the motion, and to put forth my opinion about the Governor's Address and also about the speeches that have been made from the other side, especially the one that has just been made by the Leader of the House. I was surprised when I read the Address, after I left the House, to see in the very first paragraph of the Address, a reference to the passing away of King George VI. We have been told that on behalf of the people of the State we are paying our respectful homage to the King who has passed away, because the late King worthily upheld the great traditions of the British monarchy. As one who has been reading and understanding the history of the world, I know that that portion of the history of Great Britain, has been such that millions and millions of people in all corners of the world have been shot down by British bullets, aeroplanes and guns. Therefore, Sir, I cannot here say that I pay homage to that imperialism which to-day butchers peoples of other lands. As one who belongs to a country which has suffered under that imperialism for more than one hundred years, I would not say that I pay homage to that imperialism. On the other hand we are sympathising with those countries which are fighting against that bestial imperialism. I say from here that we on this side of the House are guaranteeing to them that our sympathies and friendship are with them. They can be sure that we in this country will fight for them, and that our sympathies and admiration are not for those who fight against them, their ambitions and ideals. I hope that many of the hon. Members opposite, if they are given freedom of expression, would certainly agree with me in this respect. In the same manner, I would say that I would send greetings not to Queen Elizabeth there but to the people of Britain who are to-day fighting against mighty forces in their own country. What is happening in other parts of the country and the world? Under the aegis of British imperialism, they are suppressing other countries. I raise my voice and pay my respectful greetings to that part of Britain which is fighting against its own Government, which is demolishing other people's freedom, their social life and their culture, and trying to establish their imperialism along with another imperialism, that is the American imperialism. With these words, I pass on to the next item.

"Having paid homage to the late King for upholding the great traditions of the British monarchy, the Address says, 'A democratic Constitution like ours will be largely what the voters and legislators make of it. The voters have done their part, and it is up to you, the legislators, to help in evolving sound traditions.' Unfortunately, as every part of our country knows, the traditions that have been established here after the elections have taken place, are such that they are not worthy of the Constitution or worthy of ourselves. We are all representatives of the people. The people have given a clear verdict against the Government that sat on the Treasury Bench—not in this Chamber but in another Chamber in

9th May 1952]

[Sri T. Nagi Reddi]

Fort St. George. The people's verdict has been so very clear that not only the Ministers at that time but every authority in the Congress party was defeated in the elections. Every authority in the Congress Party was defeated, especially from Andhra and Kerala. Every President, every Secretary, and every one of the executives of the Congress Party was so very thoroughly defeated, that it was expected that the Government of that party would not sit on the Treasury Bench and give advice to the Governor. That part of the Congress Party which was not in agreement with the party which ruled at that time would not agree to the suggestions made by the Government. The Hon. the Leader of the House has been saying that the Congress Party elected a person, and that person has been nominated by the Governor. Things happened only last month, and they are not yet out of their minds. They are very clear in their minds. What is it that actually happened? Did the Governor nominate the Hon. C. Rajagopalachari after the election of the leader? No. Was the Hon. Chief Minister nominated because all those in that party represented to him that he should be their leader? No. The Hon. Chief Minister was nominated only on the advice of the then Chief Minister. We could see the difficulty of that Chief Minister. He was also a defeated Minister, and he advised the Governor to nominate the Hon. Sri C. Rajagopalachari, and the Governor nominated him to control and to establish his Government. He could find his majority only after he became Chief Minister and not before then. I would have very much liked if the Hon. Mr. Subramaniam had said, 'We elected him as leader; we got him into the Council by election to help us to have a good Government'. They could have done this. But on the other hand what do we find? Nomination took place first. The leadership election came later. Then the Ministry came into existence. That is the order in which things have taken place. The Ministers who advised the Governor at that time tried to wriggle out of a crisis in which they had placed themselves. The people pushed them to that crisis. They went to the Governor and said that if one particular leader was elected, the crisis of the party in power could be solved easily and that they could again come to power. That is my point. The wish of the people has not been fulfilled. The people never expected that such a thing would take place at all. That is a thing for which we expect a reply from the Government. The people have given a verdict and the Government cannot go against it morally. (Interruption.) Yes, we have waited so far.

"Now, it has been said that we must evolve some traditions. We have been hearing quite a lot about this. But the people's verdict has been thrown into the waste-paper basket. I do not think we are sent here to disregard the verdict of the people. Indeed we must evolve some very good traditions, and I expect we will be able to do so. In this connexion, we have been hearing so many things about the Mother of Parliaments after coming into this Assembly. I have been hearing quite a lot of it and I do not know, Sir, whether what has been done by the Government is in accordance with the procedure of that Mother of Parliaments. I

[Sri T. Nagi Reddi]

[9th May 1952]

find that in the Mother of Parliaments after elections take place, a new Ministry comes into power and it is only on the suggestion of the new Ministry that nominations are made to the House of Lords and certainly not on the suggestion of the old Ministry which is not going to come into power or on the suggestion of a defeated Prime Minister.

"Now, we have been asked to evolve sound traditions. I would ask, through you, Mr. Speaker, the Government Benches on the other side whether sound traditions can be evolved by flouting the people's verdict especially when they have given a clear verdict, namely, 'We have defeated the Ministers, we have defeated the whole hierarchy of the Congress Party, and we do not want them'. Sir, this tradition which they are setting up is a wrong tradition.

"Sir, next comes the statement from the Governor that the elections have been held with great impartiality. Sir, I have been one of those whose standing here itself, clearly proves that the elections were not impartial. I was kept inside the prison when the elections were held. I was not allowed to meet my electors. I was not allowed to put before the people my programme. There were thousands of representations before the Government but they refused to allow me to go to the people and place my opinion before them. Not only that. Even though the Advisory Committee directed the Government to release me on the 4th January 1952, the latter took time to release me till almost all the elections were over except perhaps only one—and that was on the last day probably. They expected that I would not go to that constituency. On the other hand, unfortunately for the Government, I ran up to that constituency, Madanapalle, to take part at least in that election. This is an instance and I can give you hundreds of such instances. Here is my hon. Friend Sri P. Ramamurthy sitting just behind me who was also kept inside the prison when the elections took place. Hundreds of Members of the Communist Party were not allowed to participate in the elections because they had been sentenced rightly or wrongly. Thus there was the political trouble created by the Government whereby we were not allowed to participate in the elections properly and effectively. The Government thought that because most of the Communist Party Leaders were not outside the prisons, they would not get elected. But the Government have received a rebuff there also. Hence it is that we are here. Sir, I say that with the establishment of the police camp in Andhra, there are hundreds of cases still pending in the courts. Thousands of our comrades are involved in conspiracy cases and many other cases. Even though we were not released by the Government even at the time of the elections, even against the guards of the Malabar Special Police, we could come into the Legislature, because the people wanted us here and did not like the Congress Party to be here. Now, the fact that we have been elected does not mean that the Government had given us all facilities and that impartial elections were held. I would not agree in that respect with what is stated in the Governor's Address. The Address clearly does not portray the happenings during the election period.

9th May 1952]

[Sri T. Nagi Reddi].

"Then, Sir, we have been told that the Government have not given us a programme because they assumed office only a few days back. On the other hand, their action has given us an indication of their programme. The very use of section 144 and of force just at the time when the election of the Speaker was taking place here in this hall and the very use of their power and authority to go to different places to mobilise people for their success after coming into the Government, knowing that they are not in a majority, are clear indications of how our Government are functioning and in what direction they are moving.

"The Hon. Sri Subramaniam said that while one of the members of our side remarked that his policy was reactionary, another hon. Member, my hon. Friend Sri Ramamurthy said that the Government were bankrupt of any policy. I would say that a bankrupt policy leads to reaction. When a Government have no policy, and cannot have any policy because of the manner in which the Government had been formed and because of the programme which they had enunciated in their election manifesto which was referred to by the hon. Gentleman Sri Swaminathan, that itself is a very clear indication that the Government existing to-day are reactionary because their policies and their programmes are not for the benefit of the people. Of course, five years back, that is, in 1946 or so, they had an election programme. They went to the people and asked them to give their verdict. The people gave their verdict in a substantial majority. But what happened to that programme which they placed before the electorate? That programme was not cared for and was not put into practice. It was not placed before the Legislative Assembly. It was not stated in the Assembly, 'Here we are going to do this and that for the people.' In fact, that programme went into the waste-paper basket and as a result of it we find after five years, deterioration in the economic, social, political and other spheres. On account of this, their party is not in a position to go to the people. It is a party that cannot tell the people what they are going to do and they cannot give the people any benefit of their power. Now history has given its verdict that such a party can never be as powerful the next time as it was previously. Sir, I know that the governmental side has been having a programme for a number of years and yet the Government are not definite as to what they are going to do. They say, 'We want a good and efficient Government.' I agree with that. That is what is wanted. In addition to that it can also be said that we must have some policy of land reform without which we cannot get on. We must provide something for the people. We are told that Prohibition is a very good thing. At the same time, we are told from the same side that the question of Prohibition can be reconsidered if the Assembly wants it. In this connection, I would like to say one thing. Here is a Government which has a programme of course, but that programme is such that they will not be able to confer any benefit on the people. Let us take the land question. Certainly five years were enough to allow the poor people, agricultural labourers, to occupy those lands which were Government lands and which were cultivable lands. If those lands had been placed

188 DEBATE ON HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS

[Sri T. Nagi Reddi]

[9th May 1952]

in the hands of agricultural labourers and if they had been given enough facilities to cultivate them properly, it would have been very helpful and there would have been no food crisis at all to-day. Why did not the Government do it? Will the present Government do it? Will they take months to do it? For this purpose, an Act could be passed for placing those cultivable Government lands in the hands of those very people who want them and cultivation can be progressively increased. In that way we can increase production and benefit the country. To adopt this course, we do not need engineers, we are not faced with economic forces, we do not need to allot a lot of money in our Budget for this item. Here are the tenants who have been suffering under the landlords for hundreds of years. If they are given certain rights, if they are allowed to cultivate the lands continuously for five years, if they are told that the landlord would not be able to eject them from the land and that they need pay to the landlord less than what they had been paying hitherto and might take more for themselves, there would be more production. If this had been done, we would not be faced with the food problem to-day. On the other hand, we would have been able to say that the food crisis has come to an end. That is the way in which a Government should function.

"Now, I am afraid the very same party which has come into power by reason of its election manifesto cannot rule this part of the country efficiently and for the benefit of the people because it has no policy for increasing food production. The Government say that they have stated their policy in their election manifesto. It is not at all proper to say so. To say on our side that the Government have no policy is correct because a policy which is not for the benefit of the people, which is reactionary and which is against the interests of the people, is not a policy at all. It will only lead to the ruin of the country. Therefore, my hon. Friend Sri Ramamurthi was justified in saying that this Government to-day were bankrupt so far as their policies and programmes were concerned. However, the Government tell us that they will give us some indication of their policy in the next Budget Session. Well, Budgets come and go. The Hon. Sri Subramaniam has given us a lengthy explanation of the purpose for which this session has been called. Really this session has been called for giving us a Governor's Address without any indication of what the Government are going to do for the people. I am only sorry that the Government's money has been wasted for nothing. The Government could have come out even with the few things that they have done and they could have told us what they are going to do in the future.

"Sir, the Government came into existence sometime back and they have done certain things. What is it that they have done so far? They are parading that political sufferers who have been granted lands till to-day will be left with their lands but that in future they are not going to give any more lands to political sufferers. Well and good. But I would say that just as I was sitting to-day in the Speaker's room during the recess, I received a communication from one of the political sufferers from Kadiri

9th May 1952]

[Sri T. Nagi Reddi].

that within these five years, the biggest landlords, the biggest leaders of the Congress Party, have already been given lands and that too the best of the lands. But now the Government say that they are not going to give any more lands to political sufferers. What does that mean? It means that those members who belong to the poorer classes and who have really taken part in the freedom struggle will not be given lands because they come from a class which is not at all catered for by the Government which is now in power. If the Government really want to set right the mistake that has been done by the past Government, let them come forward boldly and say that Sri Sanjeeva Reddi, one of the biggest landlords of Anantapur, and Sri T. C. Nagi Reddi of Tadpatri taluk, who have taken lands from the backward class of people for their own sake, in the name of the great sacrifices they have made in the freedom battle, should give back their lands. If the Government give those lands to the people who need them for cultivation, then I would say that this Government are doing something for the poor people. The present 4 p.m. policy of the Government is very good for the landlords and the bigwigs but it will not help the poor people. The voice of the poor people is not at all heard. Their views on various points are being brushed aside by those in authority. If such a policy of exploitation of the poor people and giving a helping hand to the rich and big landlords is to continue, we cannot certainly accept such a policy. If such a policy is to continue in other fields and other walks of life, we will not be having an efficient and just Government. An efficient Government will then be impossible of achievement. I say on the floor of this House that we have a Government here which consists of big landlords and businessmen, which will not and cannot help the poor people. This Government will not set right matters. This Government cannot effectively solve the present food crisis. Here we have a long list giving particulars about the famine conditions in Rayalaseema. I am glad that this question has been referred to by many hon. Members on the floor of this House. I am also glad that the newspapers, especially papers like the *Andhra Patrika* and *Andhra Prabha* have come forward to prominently feature the famine conditions in Rayalaseema and the horrors noticed in that part of our State. Here is a Government which comes and says, 'We have done this and that. We are going to do some other thing' and so on. I would like to give a few instances as to what actually happened in that part of the State. When the Central Food Minister Mr. Munshi visited Tadpatri and later when His Excellency also visited that place, we, the people of that place, approached them and told them that even the little money that they have allotted for being spent on the people of that place was wasted and not put to proper use. We told them that the money was wasted as the various works intended to be executed in those parts were entrusted to contractors. We wanted that the system of entrusting such works to contractors should cease. Now, what is happening there? Even the few lakhs of rupees that are being spent there are going into the hands of a few contractors and not into the hands of the suffering people of those

[Sri T. Nagi Reddi]

[9th May 1952]

parts. Is this complaint coming only from the Communists? It is always easy to brush aside such complaints, which are genuine, by saying, 'Oh! these are complaints made only by the Communist party and one need not take any notice of it.' Such a policy was followed in the past by those in power and I believe the same policy will be adopted by those who are sitting on the Treasury Bench at the present time also. We impressed this very point on Mr. Murshī and His Excellency when they visited Tadpatri. This was not accepted by them. In this connection, I would like to refer hon. Members to the facts that were placed before the country through the correspondent of the Press Trust of India, who travelled throughout the famine area. It has already been reported in the Press that the poor people in those parts were only getting eight annas as their wage even though the Government have said that they should get one rupee. What have the Government done in the matter? We, as the representatives of the people, placed the facts before the authorities. But no heed was paid. We have been told that the Government have granted remissions in some cases. I would have very much appreciated if the Hon. Minister had given fuller particulars as to the number and names of the villages in which the Government have granted remissions. Regarding these remissions, one particular instance was brought to the notice of His Excellency when he visited the famine area. There is a village called Yellanur in Anantapur district. That place is one of the worst famine-affected areas. In that village, land revenue was collected from the people by force. In spite of the pathetic protests on the part of the poor villagers, the authorities did not stop the collection. When we bring such bare facts to the notice of the authorities concerned, they say that everything is Communist agitation and nothing else. There are no political parties in that village. So far as the political field is concerned, neither our party nor any other party is represented there. So far as politics are concerned, the people of that place are novices. So, let the Government not brush aside our representations without looking into them. When we made a representation, what was the reaction of the Government? The reaction of the Government was this. They went to that village with all their strength and forced the poor people to pay the land revenue. Some people resisted this and did not pay the land revenue. The result was that their vessels and other things were taken away from their houses by the authorities. I can give hundreds of cases like this where the people have been subjected to great suffering. The Government have not done anything to help these poor people. They say that they have given work to the people. I received a note only yesterday saying that in my district, Anantapur, only 8 to 10 thousand people have been provided with work and they too receive only very poor wages. At the time of such famines, even the British Government used to provide work for a larger number of people in each district. Take the famine of 1943 which was not severer than the present one. Effective steps were taken by the then Government and a greater number of men were given work. If one were to check up the figures relating to the persons employed

9th May 1952]

[Sri T. Nagi Reddi]

by the Government then and now, one can understand how slack the present Government have been. We have witnessed many famines. It is not as though the present famine has taken us by surprise. We have lived in the past in famine years. Such famines affect a large section of the population and any Government worth the name should have long-term plans to avert such famines. Have the Government really done anything substantial to avert such famines? I do not want to go into details. The Hon. Minister Sri Subramaniam was telling us yesterday that we should bring specific cases to the notice of the Government. I can give him many instances to show that Government were not doing anything where famine was raging. I have quoted some instances just now and there are many others in my file. I will hand over the details relating to them to Mr. Subramaniam after the present sitting is over. This famine, as I have already said, used to visit us even in the past. The previous Governments did not care to tackle this problem and give some relief to the suffering people. As a result of this, the people from these famine-affected areas have been migrating from their villages and going from one place to another with begging bowls in their hands. Any Government, or for the matter of that, anybody with a feeling heart will and must sympathise with the fate of these poor people. The history of Rayalaseema contains many such famines. We have been asking or rather insisting on the Government that the Rayalaseema area should receive better treatment at their hands and some of the important irrigation projects must be undertaken there in order to avoid the recurrence of such famines next year or at least five years from now. To-day what is the position? Even those huge tanks built by the great Kings of Vijayanagar, like Krishnadeva Raya, are in a very bad state. Such tanks are capable of irrigating hundreds of acres. These tanks as well as their supply channels are not properly looked after. The Government should lose no time in getting these tanks repaired. Secondly, there are certain other tanks which are under repair for a very long time and no cultivation is going on. Why not the Government expedite the repair work and cultivate large extent of land? I will give one example here. There is a village called Illore, where every cent of the land belongs to Harijans and other poor people. There is a tank in that village, which is in a bad state. The poor people of that village have been repeatedly requesting the Government to see that that tank is repaired. It has not been done. The Government will not really be helping the poor people unless and until they give them permanent relief.

"I now come to the most important question which is throbbing in the heart of every Andhra to-day, namely, the question of the creation of the Andhra State. We have been told that some part of the State or other is not in agreement with the creation of a separate State. I would like to mention in this connection that those who say that the people of Rayalaseema are not in favour of the creation of an Andhra State are not speaking the truth. It is incorrect to say that the people of Rayalaseema are against the creation of a separate State. Probably, there may be certain sections of the population, as naturally there will be with regard to

[Sri T. Nagi Reddi]

[9th May 1952]

every matter in every part of the State, who are opposed to the creation of an Andhra State. There is bound to be opposition to any progressive move. Even when the British people were ruling us, there were certain Maharajas and others, some of whom are to-day sitting on the Treasury Bench, who were opposed to the Independence move. (An hon. Member: 'Some of them are sitting on the other side as well!'). Such people were opposing the freedom struggle. Did we not get Independence in spite of them? So, it is no reason at all to say that some people are opposed to the creation of an Andhra State. The verdict of the people in the recent elections in our parts in favour of the Communist and K.M.P. candidates clearly shows that the people of that part of the State are definitely in favour of an Andhra State. There is no reason to say that we are against it. We want a separate State so that we may get rid of such famines. We are confident that a separate Andhra State will certainly give us the things that we want. Only a separate State of our own will be strong enough to tackle this problem of famine. The people of Rayalaseema have given us the right to demand of the Government, that they must pass a resolution in this House urging upon the Government of India to make the necessary arrangements for the immediate creation of an Andhra State. Only then, much of the trouble noticed in that part of the country can be reduced.

"While we are on this subject, I would like to have a point clarified. We find from the newspapers that there is a classification of Government files into Andhra, Rayalaseema, Tamilnad and so on. To divide Andhra into two parts is much against the national sentiments of our Andhra nation. I am afraid the Government are trying to divide that part of the State and create bitter feelings among the people. This Government must take the responsibility for creating such bitter feelings. If the Government want to keep law and order and if the Government want to maintain peace, they must not try to divide the Andhra area. Their attempt should be to unite and not divide. Let not the Government adopt the divide and rule policy. If they persist in doing that, they will never have law and order and peace.

"In this connexion, I wish to observe that one of the hon. Members said that I was opposed to the Krishna-Pennar Project and to bringing the water of the Krishna-Pennar down to the south. I wish to make the position clear. Anybody with some common-sense will agree that the water of a particular river should first be utilized for the irrigation of the lands in that part of the country in which that river flows, and if there was any surplus after irrigating those lands, that could be utilized for other areas. This is justice and fair play. I do not want that the water should be wasted and allowed to go into the sea. Any surplus water can be used for the benefit of other parts. I request that the Government may take up the projects, viz., Nandikonda, Sangameswaram and Sidheswaram. These projects can be undertaken at a cheaper cost and can bring a larger area under cultivation. These will lessen the chances of famine and will increase the prosperity of the people of Rayalaseema and other parts. I would request hon. Members

9th May 1952]

[Sri T. Nagi Reddi]

to take my reference to this subject in the light in which I have spoken, and see that troubles are not created in the way of the Government's taking up such smaller projects which are equally capable of irrigating vast acres of lands, and that too at cheaper cost. Let them urge upon the Government to give greater irrigation facilities to the famine-affected areas by undertaking such projects."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I shall give the hon. Member only five minutes more."

* SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—"Sir, you have given me only five more minutes. Let me refer to one or two more matters of urgency before I close. We have gone through one of the biggest elections in the history of the world and, as a result of that election, we are sitting here to-day as the people's representatives. For the last three years, in the whole of this State we have seen the rule of the law, the rule of the gun, and all kinds of repressive measures have been undertaken to put down peaceful agitators. This rule has spread from one end of the State to the other, so that people have been witnessing a stunned state of affairs. Yellamara and Hatur have become historical, Salem and Cannanore have become historical, for the firing resorted to by the police in those places, on the political prisoners. Innumerable conspiracy cases have been going on. Innumerable instances of molestation of women and looting of villagers have been reported. If these cases are placed before an enquiry committee, I am sure, the verdict will go against the Government. Let me give one more instance. In Badveli taluk, a sister was molested by her brother at the bidding of the police. The bayonet was pointed at him. Let these matters be placed before a public enquiry committee composed of people's representatives. Let the people be asked to give evidence, unfettered and unmolested. As a Communist and on behalf of the Communist Party I am prepared to submit myself to such an enquiry. Let the Government also come out. If the challenge is accepted by the Government and if the matter is placed before a committee of enquiry, I am sure, people will know who was violent and who was non-violent. The world will know that the Government that profess non-violence have been practising violence and we have been non-violent.

"Then, Sir, there is the case of a large number of teachers whose certificates have been withdrawn by the Government in the last four or five years. On behalf of these people, I would plead that they should be given back their certificates and restored to their original positions. Repair of this unjust act should not be unjustly prolonged, as has been done so far.

"Sir, let me say in the end, so long as the Government act in a constitutional manner, so long as the Government are in a position to give the people some relief in their distress and in their troubles, so long as the Government do not deny to the people the right to organize themselves for agitation for their legitimate rights and so long as the Government proceed on proper lines, there will be a

194 DEBATE ON HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS

[Sri T. Nagi Reddi]

[9th May 1952]

stable and permanent Government. But if they do not come forward with a programme to remove the bitterness in the minds of the people, there will be no moral Government in existence here, even though they might sit on the Treasury Bench by force of their majority, which they have managed to get after being put in office through methods which were not proper.

"With these words, Sir, I resume my seat."

81 * THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I hope my young Friends on the other side will not mistake my object or my manners if I congratulate them on the manner in which they have conducted the debate and participated in the discussion towards a common end. They are new—many of them—to parliamentary procedure, and perhaps even to parliamentary method of thinking. They have done well and this certificate from me, again I must say, may not be taken to be patronising. It is no empty patronising but is really an expression of my satisfaction. I have reached a stage in my life when good acts please me, especially when they come from young people, who will hereafter have to take charge of the Government. (Hon. Members: 'Hear, hear.') While my personal feelings are there, I cannot hide my fears also in this respect. Unless a greater sense of constitutionality and a greater sense of responsibility are developed side by side with ability and tact, I do not think that much good will result from youth and ability and eloquence. But here I shall stop for, if I overdo the thing, I might be really mistaken for delivering a lecture where I am trying to express my own thoughts.

"My friend, Mr. Nagi Reddi, has made, if I may say so, a very comprehensive and good speech, which I might take as a text for my own reply in order to economise the time that I have to utilize. He began like Mr. Ramamurthi with an attack on my, if I may say so, status in this Assembly. It is difficult, Sir, to take an objective view where oneself is concerned and even if I do not, it is difficult to convince other people that I take an objective view. I would, therefore, only refer my friends on the other side, who have really any honest doubts in the matter of the propriety of my being at the head of the Government, to Article 164 of the Constitution and ask them to understand the purpose and the policy behind that Article. There can be no doubt as to the propriety of what the Governor has done or as to the propriety of what I have done in accepting the position I occupy to-day. If Article 164 is embodied in the Constitution, it is not for mere empty form but with a definite object, as its contents will show. What does it say? Briefly, it says that the Governor as the head of the State, whether here or in any other place, can call a member to take over responsibility or can call a private person to take over responsibility, and in the latter case, it will be his duty to vacate the seat if he is not returned to the Legislature within six months of his nomination. Was this only an empty provision? Was there not any reason behind it? Did not the framers of the Constitution imagine that there would be occasions, there would be circumstances, when a man who was not elected to any of the legislative bodies, would have

9th May 1952] [Sri C. Rajagopalachari].

to be called in, for the good of society, for the good of the State? I do not claim, Sir, that this is so in my case because it is not my judgment that is relevant. But I say, the Article has this purpose behind it. The Article does not need any defence on my part. It was adopted in the Constituent Assembly and in view of that, all the accusations and objections raised fall to the ground.

"Then, my Friends go back to the practice of that 'detestable' foreign House of Commons. The argument is that it is always a member of the House of Commons that holds the position of Prime Minister. If we dive into the traditions of the Houses of Parliament, we will find many Ministers and many Prime Ministers who held their places in the House of Lords only. We have no House of Lords. We have a different Constitution. I need not dwell further on this to defend the Governor's action in this matter.

"Sir, we have the chronology of events. Mr. Nagi Reddi was quite right in taking into account the chronology of events and setting it before the House. I want to say this. It is quite true that if I had, as some famous journals in India suggested, planned to become Chief Minister here and if I had really intended to take over responsibility here, I would have certainly found my way into any one of the constituencies and would have been elected. But if my own statement that I did not intend to take part in the politics of the country were taken at full face value, one could understand why all this difficulty arose, why my name was mentioned for this office, why the Governor called me and wanted me to be in charge. Therefore, I think, if hon. Members will put aside prejudice, if hon. Members will put aside the sense of frustration from which they are suffering for some reason or other and will examine this question properly—(Interruption by an hon. Member)—I shall come to point of frustration later; I thought you were raising a point of order—they will find that there is nothing improper in what has been done. We shall have to provide for many difficult situations in our Constitution from time to time; we have to change and adjust. As one constitutional authority has said on the subject, there should be no rigidity about these matters. There should be a certain amount of flexibility in the Constitution, specially of a great country like ours with the un-uniform composition of our population and the country's physical features. We may drop this matter for the present at that. I am in charge of the Government and let me be dismissed and I go. But let me tell you this. Even if I were not a nominated member, if I were younger, let me throw out this challenge, I would within six months get elected to the House from any one of the constituencies, perhaps one which you might vacate on my behalf. (Loud cheers and applause.) But it is not necessary for the present. Let us work in good humour. Let us work for the good of the country. The people have asked me to take up a difficult and unpleasant task. Am I not old enough to know the difficulty of the task? I know it. If all of us combine, we can do some good to the country. Well, you note down the difficulties and errors that I have committed and

[Sri C. Rajagopalachari] [9th May 1952]

try to avoid them when you come to power. Also if you will write a biography, you may say that so and so was wrong in such and such matters. But as long as I am here, I crave of all my young Friends—here in this House, whether on my side or on the opposite side, to help me so that we may be of some good to the people and make our State really worthy of the honour that has been conferred on it, namely, an independent status inside the Republic. If we go on quarrelling with one another, I do not think we can achieve anything.

"Sir, my Friends were talking of the victories of the Communist Party here and there. But, may I have the liberty of saying what I consider is the secret of their success in certain places? It is because gentlemen who were in charge of the affairs of the Congress quarrelled with one another on personal grounds, the Communists were able to come in in those places. (Some hon. Members: 'No, no'.) That is my view of the matter, and I, like a scientist in a laboratory, can prove it. I can prove to the satisfaction of every political scientist that the Communists shall not come in there where my party men have joined together. (Applause.)

4-30 p.m. "Sir, objection was raised to the first paragraph of the Governor's Address. The objection, I consider, should not receive too much discussion. The objection, in my opinion, is thoughtless and indecorous. The quotations made from the paragraph of the Address are entirely wrong and inaccurate. I can excuse my hon. Friend for my part, because he is young and new to the work. When we make a quotation from a document and found objections on that quotation we must read the passage accurately. The word 'homage' was mentioned when quoting. Is that word mentioned in the paragraph in the Address referred to. That shows that when we get into a previous bias in our mind, we read things which are not there at all. I put this forward only by way of example. Many of us may commit the mistake of reading what we have in our mind and not what there is in the passage objected to. Let me now deal with the main objection. The hon. Member Sri Ramamurti repeated that objection. I submit with all respect that the objection taken is most indecorous and it is, I must say, thoughtless. Here is a phenomenon of world importance, that we in India have non-violently, on the whole non-violently struggled and wrenched independence from the most powerful Imperial power in the world. After that independence was secured we have voluntarily, having created a Republic, a Republic without a King—British or any other, that does not matter—having created it, we voluntarily said we shall be part of the Commonwealth because the 'Commonwealth' is really as the term indicates, an institution for the 'weal', for the good of the countries concerned. It has nothing to do with politics. And when we said that even as a Republic we would remain in the Commonwealth, many legal pundits said it was impossible because the British system and the Commonwealth did not permit a Republic in it. The objection was overcome. Such a man, if I may

9th May 1952] [Sri C. Rajagopalachari].

say to my young Friends a story,—it is a true story, in fact it has very much to do with the argument, it is interesting, and so let me be heard—such a man as Mr. Winston Churchill burst into tears when he heard that we in India as a Republic decided to be in the Commonwealth. Is there any greater victory in the world than a moral victory of this kind? Is there anything more creditable than that a country, after a struggle for over 50 years and odd, having attained independence said, 'We shall be your friend.' Is there any greater moral phenomenon in the world than that we have goodwill and friendship between Britain and India? Now the Governor of our State followed what was done in Delhi when the King died. Reference was made in Parliament to the King and to the successor at the time when the gloom of death was on the Royal family. We now send a word of cheer, saying that even we, the red republics of India send words of sympathy. What do we say? We say '... our regret at the passing away of King George VI, the Head of the Commonwealth of which our Republic has elected to be a member.' Is there anything wrong in this? I think there is everything of which we should be proud in the statement. I leave it at that. As time passes my friends on the other side will forget the superficial and non-sensical prejudices they have in their minds." (Cheers.)

(The hon. Member Sri S. T. Adityan stood up in his seat.)

MR. SPEAKER:—"Order, order. The Hon. Minister is not yielding. The hon. Member must resume his seat."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"I am sure 'nonsense' is a very good term."

SRI S. T. ADITYAN:—"I object to the use of the expression 'nonsense'."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"I know that it is a parliamentary expression. Because you do not know that 'nonsense' has been ruled to be parliamentary, you raise the objection."

SRI S. T. ADITYAN:—"I want a ruling from the Chair."

MR. SPEAKER:—"What the Hon. Minister said was 'non-sensical prejudices'. It is quite parliamentary."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"I will tell the hon. Member what 'nonsense' means. It is just absence of sense. My argument is that there is no sense in objecting to the paragraph. I do hope that the indecorum of the objection has been wiped out by the earnestness of my answer."

"Then, Sir, objection was raised to the content of the Address. My hon. Friend, the Minister for Finance, has dealt at length with that. Again I must complain that when an hon. Member found an argument on a statement either in the text of the Constitution or in the commentary, the words in the commentary should be kept in mind and commentary should not be added to commentary. My hon. Friend, the Rajah of Vizianagaram, who is now in the Opposition bench read a quotation

[Sri C. Rajagopalachari] [9th May 1952]

What he read came to this: the business of the session should form the content of the address. The length of the session and the occasion of the session must necessarily govern the nature of the business. It is not an election manifesto that could be expected in the Governor's Address as to the whole policy of the party. If that is done, that would be a manifesto for election but not an Address to the Legislature at a particular session. Now, I remember fairly accurately the words, that were read from the commentary—"it is an occasion when the Ministry will have the right to review the past and state their future policy",—not their future policy for all time or for the year. You may read the passage again and see whether it is there. We definitely say here we had necessarily to meet at once, to elect the Speaker and to elect the Chairman. We have to do certain things first and then we shall meet for the Budget when the entire policy of the Government will more or less come under review, because of the very fact that the Budget must cover the policy of the Ministry for the year if not for a longer period. (The hon. Member, Sri P. Ramamurti, stood up on a point of information.) I want to save time and I am not yielding. If I have committed any errors, hon. Members should forgive me. I do not want to take more time than I should. The Address covers certain matters which are unimportant, but which are urgent and certain matters which are important and on which we say we have done such and such things.

"Much was said about the famine relief being insufficient. But many of the observations made by the hon. Member, Sri Nagi Reddi, in the matter are, I fear, a little out of date and also based on wrong information in many respects. Well, I cannot go into the details now. If Mr. Nagi Reddi's complaints are in the matter of administration of the relief, there are many ways by which they could be brought to the fore. He can put questions. He can send information to the Minister concerned. He can bring a motion if it is of sufficient importance. I would suggest that in all these matters where we have a common end in view, namely, giving relief, we need not try to displace one another by political strategy, we can help one another by giving information, by examining the priorities of various things. For instance various projects were referred to. Hon. Members coming from particular districts referred to particular schemes for particular areas. Well there are numerous projects all over the State. We have to take them all together and settle priorities based on certain definite and just principles. We must have an eye on the exchequer and the possibility of begging, borrowing and stealing for carrying out these projects and then criticise one another to the fullest satisfaction of the House, if anything goes wrong. But this is not the time for finding fault on mere negative grounds, that this is not mentioned and that is not mentioned in the Address.

"Then, Sir, I come to the main point. I do not recognize the hotch-notch Opposition. At any rate in my mind I do not recognize the hotch-potch Opposition sitting in front of me. More than any other party I recognize the Communist Party as the Opposition party."

9th May 1952]

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"This is not a hotch-potch Opposition. What about the other side?"

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Too much protestation discloses your inner doubts about the matter. I maintain that the Communist Party is my Opposition. I maintain this for two purposes. (An hon. Member: 'Divide and rule policy'.) You won't be divided by all that. The Communist Opposition, I maintain is my Opposition for this reason. The hon. Members on the other side have found fault with us for not having given our policy in the Address. I have explained why it could not find a place therein, why the entire scheme of the Government could not be given there. Since the question has been asked, I am prepared to say about myself why I am here so far as I am concerned, I am here to save my country from the traps and the dangers of the Communist Party. (Applause.) That is my policy from A to Z. I consider the Communist Party a great and dangerous trap, a trap not only because of the inherent qualities and policies of the Communist Party but also because of the condition of our country. I admit that there is great poverty in our country. I admit that there is a large amount of good Government that is yet to come for the benefit of our country. I admit also that our people are uneducated. I do not bother about illiteracy. The illiterate man is often more educated than the very literate man. There is a large amount of ignorance in our country. I consider the Communist Party therefore is a great danger to India, greater danger than to any other country. I want my people to understand it so that my policy may be well understood. I place my cards on the table. I tell the Communist Party 'You have to take me as your enemy No. 1.'

"And now, Sir, I come to 'frustration'. A little before my being called to the pleasant office, a little before I was called to take up office which I call 'pleasant' by way of satire—I had better always explain my jokes—a little before that, it was expected that the Congress Party would break on account of internal disorder. Unfortunately it did not."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"It might even now."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"You may still hope for it and that explains what I am going to say. There is a deep sense of frustration that at least temporarily I have saved the break up. (An hon. Member: 'Only temporarily'.) Let them pray if they believe in prayer that it has been only temporarily saved. Let them hope also that it may be only temporary. I am game for fair play and cricket. That is why I am placing my cards on the table. I am your enemy No. 1 and may I say you are my enemy No. 1. That is the position. If the hon. Members want my policy, they can take this to be my policy, from A to Z, apply it to every one of the measures and they will understand the unity and integrity underlying my present statement."

[Sri C. Rajagopalachari] [9th May 1952]

"What is the policy of the Communist Party? Every difficulty in the country, every discontent in the country, every complaint in the country must be taken up, interpreted in the language of opposition to the *status quo* and to the Government, expanded, exaggerated, repeated, added to and rolled on and made to grow like a snow ball so that the Government may get a bad name. On the one hand they want industrialisation, on the other hand they want cottage industries. They complain of poor men being deprived of their lands in one place and in another place they say that lands must be taken from them and nationalized. Every kind of contradictory satisfaction to every kind of discontented men. That is the technique of Communism in India." (Cheers.)

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"It is not so. You have not understood it."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"Now you can allow an opponent to misunderstand you. It is only when one sympathises one understands. If I sympathise with Communism I can understand it better than that. But I do not sympathize with it. I admit it. I say it openly. It is for the Members on the opposite side to show that I am wrong and nobody will be gladder than myself, if I am proved to be wrong in my statement in this respect. I want all my young friends on the other side to be really as good as they claim to be, and I would want them to grow as good as I would like them to grow. If I am wrong I shall be satisfied."

"Let me now come to their main policy to which I object. I say, do not lay traps for the poor people. That is my appeal to the Communist party. By all means work for socialism in your own way. By all means put before the country your policy. But do not place traps to capture parliamentary backing for your policy. Do not tell stories. Do not exaggerate. Do not go and work up discontent and then trap people. That is my appeal. I shall stop with that."

4-50
p.m.

"Now I come to the important point. Everybody knows that self-interest and selfishness constitutes the biggest urge outside the family that moves man. But humanity cannot live on that. Humanity has found from time immemorial that social co-operation must be also added on to this urge of selfishness. Otherwise, no happiness is possible and no life is possible. Now, social co-operation and mutual co-operation are contrary to the spirit of selfishness, and how then are we to bring these together? The Communists believe that compulsory dictatorship will bring about that social co-operation. (Interruption from the Opposition Benches.) I speak as I understand your policy. Every word I say is what I believe and that is my great claim. The policy of the Communist Party is that the social co-operation that is necessary to be practised so as to work against the urge of material and selfish interests of individuals, can be attained and has to be attained through a dictatorship, whereas we on this side believe in democracy—although the word 'democracy' is the property of everybody now and we will have to find some other word on account of

9th May 1952] [Sri C. Rajagopalachari].

the misuse of this word by the other side—and that this social co-operation can be brought about by the democratic method of discussion, debate, agreement and consultation, the parliamentary method without any violence and without any liquidation of particular classes. The word 'liquidate' meant something very innocent in the old days. But now, after the Communists began using the word, it has come to mean murder and nothing else. Without liquidation of particular individuals or classes, to secure social co-operation for the maintenance of the life of the society, we believe in the democratic method. The Communists believe in the method of producing a dictatorship if possible without violence, but if necessary through violence. I would challenge anybody to say 'No' to what I have said and I shall welcome it. In fact, in a different capacity I have been asking for a denial, I have been trying for it and I could not get it. That is why I say with some degree of emphasis that this is the policy of the Communist Party. Sir, I have dwelt on this because it is after all the fundamental of our situation. I have said that I have come here to oppose the Communists and I have given the reason why I oppose them. I do not want compulsion and I do not want violence whether it is necessary or unnecessary. I want social co-operation not at the cost of bloodshed, not at the cost of injustice, but as a result of democratic parliamentary work. If that could be achieved, we can all co-operate and there is no difficulty. The programme of exploitation of every grievance in the world brought together in speeches and in writings and in pictures and photographs, cannot be promoted without the Government defending the people against it. That is what the Opposition is trying to promote. That is why I say my policy is to oppose the Communist Party."

"Then, Sir, references were made to various other matters, for instance about the handloom industry. Now, I must say that the speech made by the hon. Member, Mr. Kotaiah, from the other side was the best speech in this debate and I say this not as a compliment only, but for this reason that everything that he said was valuable and helpful and will be taken into account by the Government."

"Then comes the question of rain. Slyly and ironically, a few Members made references to my belief in prayer for rain. I have no hesitation in repeating my faith in it. Does anybody believe, I ask, that we can get on without rain? Can we get on without rain with the help of machinery or apparatus, petrol or gas engine or administrative arrangements? Impossible! Rain is absolutely essential and how can it come? Can anybody discover how it can be brought about? One hon. Member said, 'What is the good of praying? We must do things necessary for producing rain.' What is the thing necessary for producing rain? Mr. Speaker, you will forgive me and will not find me guilty of impertinence when I say that I know more science than any of the people I see on the opposite side. I do not know that there is any mechanism invented by anybody to produce rain. We may read something interesting about it especially in the magazine issues of

[Sri C. Rajagopalachari]

[9th May 1952]

ordinary newspapers, but the real scientist will tell you that we cannot produce rain in any useful degree. We can, of course, produce rain in a kettle in a laboratory. But, to produce rain in this context, viz., for meeting famine and for irrigation projects, no mechanical process has yet been found either by Government or by other scientific bodies. Another hon. Member thought he scored a point over me when he said that it was the sins committed by the Congress that stopped the rain. Very probably, I admit. (Laughter.) But, I do not know entirely the mind of Providence. It may be due to the sins committed by the other side. There are many miseries and misfortunes which lead to knowledge, wisdom and better life later on. Well, I do not wish to probe into the inscrutable mind of Providence. But, as long as we are human beings, we must continue to have faith in God. If anybody has no faith, I cannot quarrel with him. But, no irony, no sarcasm or ridicule, no cocksureness of upstartist knowledge can shake me from my faith in God. I am entitled to place my faith in God and I am entitled to pray. If my young friends have not learnt it, Mr. Speaker, they will learn it by and by. Sir, I do not want to detain the House longer and I hope that every one of the amendments moved by the hon. Members will be rejected and that the House will accept the Motion of Thanks moved by my hon. Friend, Mr. Venkatasubba Reddi."

5 p.m. MR. SPEAKER:—"I will now put the amendments to the vote of the House. I want to know whether the hon. Members are willing to withdraw their amendments."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI:—"No withdrawal and no division, Sir."

AMENDMENTS.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note (1) that Your Excellency has not been advised by your Ministers properly as regards the situation in the State in various respects and the means of bringing effective relief to such a situation; (2) that Your Excellency's Ministers did not advise you to take effective and immediate steps in connection with famine conditions in Rayalaseema districts and other famine areas and even the measures adopted later were inadequate to ease the situation; and (3) that no effective measures were contemplated to prevent the ever-recurring famine year after year in those areas known as 'famine zone'." (Sri T. Nagi Reddi.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but that this House regrets that in the said Address His Excellency the Governor should have failed to inform the Legislature of the causes of its summons as relate to the entire period of the session; and expresses its surprise and concern that His Excellency the Governor should have postponed a clear indication

9th May 1952]

[Mr. Speaker]

of the contemplated legislative policies of his Government regarding several matters of vital and immediate interest, such as food shortage, famine, land reform, prohibition and the like." (Dr. K. B. Menon.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note that the measures and proposals made in the Address are inadequate to deal with the present situation in the State." (Sri K. Rajagopala Rao.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret that in the said Address no indication was given of the measures to be immediately taken to solve on a long term basis, the problems of recurring famines and unemployment on a mass scale that stalk the State of Madras to-day." (Sri K. Krishna Rao.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note with disappointment—

(1) that no steps have been indicated to provide drainage schemes for any of the towns in Andhra districts;

(2) that no mention has been made of supplying electricity to dry areas in Andhra districts for agricultural purposes;

(3) that no steps have been suggested to start minor irrigation schemes to increase food production immediately;

(4) that no attempts have been envisaged to ameliorate the condition of unemployed labourers caused by the closing down of industries in many districts;

(5) that no mention has been made of attempts to increase the salaries of Non-Gazetted Officers to the level of those recommended in the Central Pay Commission report;

(6) that no mention had been made regarding privileges of Members." (Sri Pillalamarri Venkateswarlu.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret that nothing has been said about the working of the present Prohibition Act, the miseries it has caused to thousands of toddy tappers and the vast toiling masses of the State." (Sri C. Pulla Reddi.)

The amendment was lost.

[9th May 1952]

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note that His Excellency the Governor was ill-advised in taking measures to implement the Malabar Tenancy (Amendment) Act despite unanimous opposition to the same on the part of tenants of all shades of opinion and from majority of elected Members of the Assembly from Malabar, and in failing to take measures to relieve the peasants who were hard hit by the sudden and abrupt fall in prices of coconut, arecanut, pepper and other agricultural products of Malabar." (Sri P. K. Gopalakrishnan.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"I am going to put the amendment of Mr. T. C. Narayanan Nambiar to the vote of the House."

SRI T. C. NARAYANAN NAMBIAR:—"Sir, we have not been given time to speak on our amendments."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I am not bound to give time to the hon. Member."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note that His Excellency the Governor is ill-advised in observing complete silence on the burning educational problems of the State specially with regard to the pitiable pay and service conditions of the teachers; and that it is necessary to bring to the notice of His Excellency the Governor the imperative need to take immediate steps

(a) to remove

(1) the disparity in the scales of pay of the teachers of the same grade;

(2) infringement of the right of teachers to organize;

(3) the ban on teachers becoming members of any legal political party; and

(4) the impediments in the way of spreading free and universal primary education as guaranteed by the Constitution by immediately evolving a progressive, democratic and national educational policy.

(b) to remove the cancellation or suspension of teaching certificates indiscriminately consequent on the alleged 'communist troubles' of 1948-50 and order reinstatement with compensation." (Sri T. C. Narayanan Nambiar.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note that despite the fact that there is a serious crisis in the handloom industry in the Madras State and as a result of this lakhs of workers are unemployed and thrown in the streets the Government failed

9th May 1952]

[Mr. Speaker]

(1) to suggest and to take concrete steps to give immediate relief to unemployed handloom workers;

(2) to place orders with the handloom industry for supply of cloth for the defence and other departments;

(3) to subsidize the handloom factory owners to clear away the accumulated stores of cloth at cheaper rates and enable them to run the industry;

(4) to prohibit the import of foreign cloth into this country;

(5) to find markets for the handloom goods at home and abroad;

(6) to lower the price of the yarn;

(7) to change the textile policy of the Government and the attitude towards the handloom industry; and

(8) to take immediate steps to save the industry from complete collapse and to save the workers from starvation deaths and stop unemployment." (Sri K. P. Gopalan.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note the failure to recognise the great urge among the people of Andhra, Kerala, Kanara and Tamilnad for the formation of linguistic States and to recommend to the Government of India suitable steps for the immediate formation of such linguistic States." (Sri M. Hanumantha Rao.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to state that no mention is made in the said Address of the conditions of handloom weavers." (Sri B. Sankaraya.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note that nothing is mentioned about the working of the Zamindari Abolition Act." (Sri S. Ramalingam.)

The amendment was lost.

[9th May 1952]

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member is not in his seat and the following amendment—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note that the problems of zamin ryots have not been touched upon in the said Address." (Sri G. Yellamanda Reddy.)

will be deemed to be withdrawn.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note that the problems of inamdari ryots have not been touched upon in the said Address." (Sri K. Govinda Rao.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note that the deplorable conditions under which the agricultural labourers are living and the solution of the problem has not been mentioned in the Address." (Sri Guntur Bapanayya.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret that issues regarding the miserable conditions of the non-gazetted officers of the State and their real and just demands for living wages and relief from their overburdened work have not been dealt with." (Sri G. Rama Rao.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"I am going to put the amendment of Mr. V. Gopalakrishniah to the vote of the House."

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNIAH:—"Sir, if you will allow me to withdraw some portions of my amendment, I will withdraw those portions."

MR. SPEAKER:—"It cannot be allowed."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note

(1) that the Address contained reference to the passing away of King George VI and congratulatory message to Queen Elizabeth on her ascending the throne;

(2) that no reference was made in the Address to the formation of Andhra State; and

9th May 1952]

[Mr. Speaker.]

(3) that no reference was made in the Address to Nandikonda and Siddeswaram projects." (Sri Vavilala Gopalakrishniah.)

The amendment was lost.

JANAB K. M. SEETHI:—"Sir, in the hope that the Government will consider the matter and give proper treatment to the minorities, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my amendment."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I hope the House will agree to it. The following amendment of Janab K. M. Seethi was, by leave, withdrawn:—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to state that His Excellency the Governor has not been fully and correctly informed of the sufferings of the people owing to the failure of the Government to give them the necessities of life, viz., food, cloth and houses, protection to industries, employment for labour and also their failure to redress the grievances of the minorities in the matter of the treatment accorded to them and their experience in the recent general elections."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note that no mention is made in the Address about the irrigation developments in the upland (dry) areas in this State in general and in Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts in particular." (Sri M. Veerabhadram.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note that there is no mention in the Address about the unemployment and living problems facing the working population of this State." (Sri C. Venkatakrishna Rao.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret that the Government have not taken immediate steps to remove the feelings of bitterness prevailing among the general public due to—

(a) the continued attack on the civil liberties in all parts of the State;

(b) the failure of the Government to withdraw the conspiracy cases and other cases pending against as many as 500 workers, peasants, students and members of the Communist Party of India for the past two and a half years and over;

(c) the failure of the Government to order the release of all political workers and trade union and Kisan leaders convicted and undergoing sentences in different jails;

[Mr. Speaker]

[9th May 1952]

(d) the failure of the Government to institute enquiry into complaints of police atrocities, torture, rape, etc., on the workers and peasants and their families during the past five years and to take action against guilty officials;

(e) the failure of the Government to order the refund of the amounts of security, collected and forfeited from the presses belonging to political parties and trade unions;

(f) the failure of the Government to restore the properties seized from the organisations of workers and peasants;

(g) the failure of the Government to order the refund of collective fines and restoration of properties confiscated from the people; and

(h) the failure to publish the report of the committee appointed by the Government to enquire into the firing on political prisoners inside Salem Jail on 11th February 1950." (Sri M. Kalyanasundaram.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret

(1) that the Government has failed to grapple with the problems of the slump which has already led to a closing down of the handloom industry, the tannery industry and other industrial establishments leading to the unemployment of hundreds of thousands of workers and middle class employees, and to a great shrinkage of trade and commerce;

(2) that the Government has failed to address itself to the most urgent task of basic agrarian reforms providing for protection and safeguarding of the interests of tenants and landless agricultural labourers, which alone would enable the State to arrest the rapid decay in agriculture and take a major forward stride in agriculture and by providing the necessary internal market to enable the State to get over the slump and take a major forward stride in industry, trade and commerce;

(3) that the Government continues the policy of the previous Government in assisting employers to impose greater burdens on the workers and in suppressing the trade unions by resort to large scale victimisation and dismissals." (Sri P. Ramamurthi.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note that in spite of all this the Government have only just touched the fringe of the problem of famine relief in Rayalaseema and left lakhs of the famine-stricken people to face starvation deaths and miseries of untold nature and that they have

9th May 1952]

[Mr. Speaker]

failed to grant subsistence loans and execute famine works in a degree which will afford relief even to 2 per cent of the lakhs of famine-stricken people." (Sri D. Seetharamiah.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"I am going to put the next amendment to the vote of the House."

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN:—"Sir, I have not been given an opportunity to speak on my amendment. My amendment is a non-party one. There can be no divided opinion on this amendment. I would like to know what the Hon. Chief Minister thinks about this."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Is the hon. Member withdrawing his amendment?"

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN:—"No, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note that in view of 90 per cent of Ceylon Indians being descendants of original inhabitants of Madras State, the Government have not taken proper steps to impress upon the Central Government the necessity for a speedy and honourable settlement of the Ceylon Indian problem." (Sri V. Balakrishnan.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member Mr. Krishna Rao is not in his seat. The amendment, viz.,

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note that there is no reference in the Address to the improvement of scheduled areas or agency tracts."

will be deemed to be withdrawn.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member Mr. V. R. Krishna Iyer is not in his seat. The amendment, viz.,

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note the utter absence of any indication regarding safeguarding of civil liberties, the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive in the rest of the State, the provision of free legal assistance to poor litigants, the dissemination of free education, the provision of free medical service as also public health service to the poor millions and the grant of increase in salaries to non-gazetted officers in conformity with the Central Pay Commission's scales and the imposition of wholesome taxes like death duties and taxes on plantations."

will be deemed to be withdrawn.

MR. SPEAKER:—"The question is—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note that

[Mr. Speaker]

[9th May 1952]

(1) the relief measures so far adopted in the famine-stricken areas of this State are quite inadequate and far from satisfying the urgent requirements of these areas;

(2) in the matter of granting remission of land revenue the attitude and policy of the Government has been to extract as much as possible from the peasants;

(3) the amount allotted for subsistence loans is quite inadequate;

(4) there is much delay in the disbursement of loans and corruption is rampant;

(5) the recovery of loans due to the co-operative banks and private money-lenders has not been stopped; and

(6) the gruel supplied at gruel centres is of a poor quality and has literally no food value." (Sri N. Sivarami Reddi.)

The amendment was lost.

MR. SPEAKER :—" I am going to put the main motion to the vote of the House. The question is—

'That an humble address be presented to His Excellency the Governor as follows :—

" May it please your Excellency,

We, the Members of the Madras Legislative Assembly beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the Address delivered to both the Houses of the Legislature on the 6th of May."

The motion was carried.

MR. SPEAKER :—" The House will now adjourn and meet again at 11 o'clock on Monday, 12th May 1952."

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 o'clock on Monday, 12th May 1952.

THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 12th May 1952.

The House met in the Assembly Chamber, Government Estate, Mount Road, at eleven of the clock, Mr. Speaker (THE HON. SRI J. SIVASHANMUGAM PILLAI) in the Chair.

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

I.—CONDOLENCE RESOLUTION *re.* THE DEATH OF DR. U. RAMA RAO.

MR. SPEAKER :—" It is my painful duty to inform the House of the death of Dr. U. Rama Rao, a former President of the Legislative Council."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, as you have observed, this morning, in the early hours, Dr. U. Rama Rao, one of the leading figures in the City of Madras, passed away in peace without any period of illness or pain preceding his end. I heard this from his bereaved widow this morning, and it gave me a kind of sad satisfaction. Dr. Rama Rao was born in 1874. He was the good Samaritan for all the young people in the City of Madras in the late nineties of the last century, among whom I was one, being a young student lodger in the City of Madras at that time. Dr. Rama Rao was for a long time member of the Madras Medical Council and was also its President. He was the editor of 'The Antiseptic' and 'Health' and he published several tracts on health and hygiene. He was President of the Indian Medical Association and Superintendent of the St. John's Ambulance Brigade of this district. Sir, apart from the active and invaluable services he rendered in his own profession, he was an elected Member of the Council of the Corporation of Madras for many years, he was a member of the University Senate and of the old Legislative Council of Madras. He became a member of the Council of State in Delhi in 1927, which he resigned in 1930. When a popular Ministry took charge of Madras in 1937, he was a Member of the Legislative Council and was its elected President from June 1937 to March 1943. Hon. Members who served in the Legislature at that time know well the manner in which he discharged his duties. He was an exceedingly points, good-hearted and benevolent man. The enormous public service which he did during his long life is worthy of commendation. His two worthy sons, and grandson also, belong to that same noble profession. Dr. Rama Rao was a model citizen and model head of his family. The members of his family, I am sure, will maintain the noble traditions started by the father; all those he has left behind in his family will, I hope, maintain the same tradition of professional service and politics without egotism or rancour. Sir, I move, in accordance with the practice followed in this House, that the following resolution be adopted :—

'That this Assembly places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the demise of Dr. U. Rama Rao, a former

212 CONDOLENCE RESOLUTION re DEATH OF DR. U. RAMA RAO

[Sri C. Rajagopalachari] [12th May 1952]

distinguished President of the Legislative Council and a member of the Legislature for many years, and conveys its sense of sympathy to the members of the bereaved family.

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, on behalf of my party and on my own behalf I associate myself wholeheartedly with all the words said by the Hon. Chief Minister. Dr. Rama Rao had been one of the most outstanding figures in the public life of this city. He was not merely a leading doctor, but he was one of the most popular doctors. When I first came to Madras as a student the first doctor's name I heard was the name of Dr. Rama Rao, because he was the most easily accessible doctor not only to the rich but to the poor, and particularly to the student population. He was very generous-hearted and broad-minded. He had the satisfaction of seeing, before he expired in ripe old age, one of his sons occupy a Minister's post in this important State of Madras. It is good that he expired without any pain or suffering. It is the kind of death all must aspire for after living to a good old age. I associate myself with the sentiments expressed by the Hon. Chief Minister in moving the resolution.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I associate the Chair with the sentiments expressed by the Hon. Chief Minister and the Leader of the Opposition. I knew well Dr. Rama Rao; he was a very popular doctor and he had a roaring practice. He was a Member of the Legislative Council for some time, and as President of the Legislative Council he maintained its prestige and dignity.”

The resolution reads as follows :—

“ This Assembly places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the demise of Dr. U. Rama Rao, a former distinguished President of the Legislative Council and a Member of the Legislature for many years, and conveys its sense of sympathy to the members of the bereaved family.”

As a mark of respect to the deceased, I request hon. Members to stand in their places for two minutes, and pass the resolution.

“ The resolution was passed unanimously, the hon. Members standing in silence for two minutes.”

II.—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

STARRED QUESTIONS.

Famine conditions in Karur and other taluks in Tiruchirappalli district.

* 1 Q.—SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM: Will the Hon. the Minister for Land Revenue be pleased to state whether—

(a) any representations have been made to the Government by the local officials and public bodies regarding famine conditions prevailing in some parts of Karur, Kulittalai and Perambalur taluks of Tiruchirappalli district; and

(b) if so, the steps proposed to be taken by the Government to give immediate relief to the people in this area?

12th May 1952]

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ (a) Yes. In April the Collector of Tiruchirappalli reported that Karur, Kulittalai and Perambalur taluks of Tiruchirappalli district were affected to some extent due to the failure of the north-east monsoon.

“ (b) The conditions in the three taluks referred to by the hon. Member are not such as to warrant immediate relief. The Collector has however chalked out a programme of works including formation of roads and deepening of drinking water wells for execution at short notice in case of emergency.”

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“ Sir, is the execution of such relief works undertaken by the Government officials directly and the wages paid to the workers by the Government officials themselves, or is it given over to contractors, who execute them and pay wages to the workers? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ Usually it is given to contractors, who execute these works. Now Collectors have been given ample discretion to execute these works departmentally in view of the emergency.”

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Sir, in view of the answer to clause (a) namely, that representations have been received by the Government from the district that famine conditions are prevailing, may I know on what basis Government came to the conclusion that the conditions are not so bad? ”

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—“ Probably certain conditions that prevail in the famine-affected areas like Rayalaseema do prevail here also. There are probably symptoms of famine in certain parts of Tiruchirappalli district. To meet such cases the District Collector has schemes on hand and he will put them into execution the moment the emergency demands it.”

SRI K. VINAYAGAM :—“ Sir, may I inquire whether similar representations have been made by the local officials of Chingleput regarding the prevalence of famine conditions in that district? ”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member may put a separate question.”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ Sir, I would like to know what the Hon. Minister means when he says that certain conditions prevailing in Rayalaseema districts prevail in Tiruchirappalli district also and yet immediate relief is unnecessary. I would like to know why he feels that these areas do not require immediate relief.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ Which areas? ”

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—“ Kulittalai, Karur and Perambalur.”

[12th May 1952]

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" The situation in the areas referred to is not probably so acute as to warrant the immediate implementation of the relief measures that the Government contemplate."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" Sir, the Hon. Minister says, that the conditions there probably are not serious. May I know whether any information has been received about the conditions there now? May I know what is the extent or kind of famine condition that would satisfy the Government to take immediate action? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Anticipating that the situation may worsen, the Collector has got schemes ready. The moment local officers report that it is necessary to start famine relief works, the Collector will implement his scheme."

SRI P. B. K. RAJACHIDAMBARAM :—" Is it not a fact that the Government ordered remission of kist in Pudukkottai thinking there is famine condition there, and so may I know why no famine relief work has been taken up there? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Notice."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—" Sir, in view of the fact that famine conditions exist in this particular area and also in some other parts of Tamil Nad, but the attention of the Government has not been drawn to it because of lack of publicity as in the case of Rayalaseema, will the Government come forward and make a proper enquiry into the conditions prevailing in these areas? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" In which areas? The hon. Member should confine himself to the areas mentioned in the question."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—" I mean Karur, Kulittalai and Perambalur taluks. Will Government come forward and make a proper inquiry to find out whether famine conditions prevail there? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" While Government do their part of the business I wish hon. Members also do their part by bringing to the notice of Government the condition of affairs in the districts."

11-15 a.m. SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANY :—" Will the Hon. Minister be pleased to state whether it will be possible to place the reports of the Collector of the district on the table of the House? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" I want notice, Sir."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" The Hon. Minister replied in answer to a supplementary question that he was leaving it entirely to the discretion of the local officials to decide whether famine conditions prevailed or not. May I know in that connexion whether it is the policy of the Government to leave it entirely to local officials? "

12th May 1952]

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" Local officials are given a certain amount of discretion and it is controlled by the Government."

SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR :—" Does the Hon. Minister know that the attendance in elementary schools has fallen very low in these famine areas? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" I suggest to the hon. Member to put a separate question."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" May I know whether the works that are being carried out are going to be given to contractors or will the Government themselves be taking responsibility for them? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" I am afraid I have already answered that question."

SRI P. B. K. RAJACHIDAMBARAM :—" May I know, Sir, who is to decide whether there is famine or not? Is it the Government or the local officer? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" I am afraid I have already answered that question. Both the local officers and the Government."

SRI E. L. RAGHAVA MUDALIYAR :—" Will the Hon. Minister be pleased to state whether he will consider the desirability of executing these famine relief works departmentally? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" I have already told the House that it is also being done."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Will the Government think of appointing some non-official committees, whose opinions also may be taken into account on this question? "

THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" I do not think the hon. Member wants to prolong the execution of the works; if that is his idea, I think the suggestion will be good but the Government want to hurry up with the work and bring immediate relief to the people."

Promulgation of orders under section 144 in Madras City.

* 2 Q.—SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" Will the Hon. the Chief Minister be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that orders under section 144 were promulgated in some parts of the City of Madras on the 6th of May 1952, and if so, why; and

(b) whether it is a fact that the police authorities have arrested nine persons and caused injuries to many due to a lathi charge?

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" (a) It is a fact that orders under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, were

[12th May 1952]

promulgated by the Commissioner of Police, Madras, prohibiting the taking out of processions, the shouting of slogans and the carrying of placards and flags in certain thoroughfares leading to the new Assembly Hall on 6th May 1952. As to the reason for the passing of the orders, the Commissioner of Police was satisfied that such demonstrations were likely to lead to disturbance of public tranquillity and peace. As immediate prevention of any such breach of the peace was necessary, the Commissioner of Police promulgated the orders on the afternoon of the 5th May.

"(b) It is a fact that the Police authorities effected some arrests. The number of persons so arrested was thirteen, not nine, and the arrests were for breach of the prohibitory order as well as disobedience of previous orders in force in the City as regards processions, etc., without licence.

"It is not true that the Police resorted to a lathi charge and therefore the latter half of this question does not arise."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" May I know, Sir, from the Hon. the Chief Minister the grounds upon which the Government came to the conclusion that certain parties would lead a demonstration and that it would lead to violence and mischief and may I know whether any efforts were made by the Government to contact the leaders of the Communist Party and the United Democratic Front to ascertain whether it was a fact or not."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" The matter has been fully discussed in another connexion and I have nothing more to add in answer to this supplementary question."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" The Hon. the Chief Minister said that the matter has been fully discussed in another connexion but he did not say on the basis of what information, allegations were made and on what ground the names of these parties were included in the order? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" The question has been answered with regard to the facts that were wanted. As regards the grounds upon which the Commissioner of Police acted, I have stated in answer to clause (a) of the question that he had certain information. As regards any further details, it is not possible nor is it convenient to answer by way of reply to a supplementary question."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" The Hon. Minister stated that it was not true that a lathi charge was made. May I in that connexion submit that 13 people were treated for injuries on account of the lathi charge by the Police and will the Government take that information from me and will they institute an enquiry into the matter? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" The hon. Member is giving information."

12th May 1952]

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" I am also suggesting the institution of an enquiry."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" If the hon. Member has any complaint to make, he can certainly send the complaint to me and the Government will look into it."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" The Hon. Minister said in the course of his reply that a previous order had also been infringed namely, that a licence was not taken out for taking out a procession. May I know, Sir, for how long the order for taking out a licence for holding meetings or taking out processions in the City has been in force and for how many more years will it continue? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" The orders that were referred to, regarding the necessity for taking out a licence before a procession is taken out or a meeting is held, have been in force since 1950, and they were repeated in accordance with the Code of Criminal Procedure from time to time and they will end by about June this year. As to whether they will continue or not, it will depend upon the state of things at that time."

SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANY :—" May I know, Sir, whether the orders under section 144 were promulgated by the Commissioner of Police *suo motu* or in consultation with the Hon. the Chief Minister? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" If the question is with reference to the last order issued on the 5th June 1952 the proposal was made by the Commissioner and it was finalised in consultation with the Government."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" I wish to submit that my question has not been answered. The question was whether the leaders of the parties against whom such action was taken by the Commissioner of Police were sent for and consulted and their opinion ascertained before the Government gave their final sanction for promulgating orders under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, against them."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Information was brought on the 5th of May with reference to action to be taken on the 6th and at that time there was sufficient material for the Government to come to a conclusion in the matter. I did not consult the leaders, because the printed material relating to the matter was enough to show that there was sufficient ground for apprehension."

SRI K. VINAYAGAM :—" Is the Hon. the Chief Minister aware that in the course of giving effect to the orders under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, an hon. Member of this House was humiliated by a Police official and he was actually manhandled while he was entering the Assembly? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" I do not think that anybody was humiliated."

[12th May 1952]

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Was it not possible for the Commissioner of Police to consult the leaders of parties against whom the orders were passed *ex parte*? ”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ This supplementary question is, in my humble opinion, mis-conceived. The question is not whether any particular parties were responsible or not responsible, but the real question was whether there was a danger of the demonstration itself and whether the apprehension was well-founded or not. Whether any party, A or B took part in it or made arrangements for it or another party did or did not attend a meeting in connexion with it, is not the question at issue, but the matter is with reference to the resulting apprehension for which there was ample ground, and the only point was that the demonstration should not be allowed to be held in the approaches to the Legislative Assembly. The fact that a particular party did or did not join in it, is a totally different issue and that was discussed the other day.”

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ May I know, Sir, why then were the names of parties brought in, in that order if the purpose of the Government was only to prevent the demonstration taking place? ”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ There are two aspects of that question, one is whether certain disturbances were apprehended or not, and the other is the reasons for that apprehension, which may be partly correct or partly incorrect. The only question is whether there was sufficient justification for the apprehension. So far as the necessity for the promulgation of the orders was concerned, there was enough reason and the Commissioner was bound to state the grounds, broadly or in detail according to his discretion, and they were mentioned. As to whether any particular party mentioned did or did not do the particular thing alleged, is not really relevant for the question whether the order was necessary. It is only the entire totality of circumstances that is relevant for that purpose.”

SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—“ I wish to know, Sir, whether the printed material referred to by the Hon. the Chief Minister referred in terms to the particular political parties, namely, the United Democratic Front and the Communist Party functioning in this House and if so, whether he will be pleased to place the printed material on the table of the House? ”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ The printed material that I referred to gave sufficient ground for apprehending a demonstration, but the accuracy of the editorial statements is not at all relevant for the questions. Whether the Editor of the *Dhina Thanthi* or the *Viduthalai* spoke the truth is not the point, but only the attitude taken up by the *Dhina Thanthi* (with which the hon. Member is connected in a way) and the *Viduthalai*. Whether the printed materials

12th May 1952]

were sufficient for the Government, to apprehend on the evening of May 5, that there would be demonstrations on the morning and again in the evening of May 6, that is the only question. There was ample evidence and I will read it to the House if desired to show that no Commissioner of Police with his head on his shoulders and brains in his head could ignore the same.” (Cheers.)

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ According to the answer given by the Chief Minister there was sufficient ground for him to apprehend that there would be a demonstration, and I would like to ask him whether an apprehension of the demonstration alone would warrant issue of orders under section 144 or the material before him should warrant the inference that there would be a breach of the peace? ”

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ I have answered the question enough; I am afraid it is a debate really that is being conducted. I think questions are intended for eliciting information and not for eliciting arguments.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ We shall pass on to the next question.” 11-30 a.m.

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—“ Sir, now that the Hon. the Chief Minister himself has told us that this has become a debate, it is evident that most of the Members want more information. I therefore request you, Sir, to kindly allow a half-hour debate on this.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“ I have already allowed enough time for this question the other day and to-day. I am not therefore going to allow a half-hour debate.”

Refusal by the Deccan Abkari and Sugar Factory to take sugarcane from the growers.

* 3 Q.—SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM : Will the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture be pleased to state—

(a) whether any representations were made on behalf of the sugarcane growers of Karur and Kulittalai taluks of Tiruchirappalli district to the effect that the Deccan Abkari and Sugar Factory situated at Pugalur refuses to take the sugarcane from the growers; and

(b) whether the Government propose to take any action in the matter?

THE HON. DR. R. NAGANA GOUD :—“ (a) Yes.

“ (b) Yes. The Government have already asked the Factory Management to complete crushing of all the registered cane before closing down. The management's final reply is awaited.

[12th May 1952]

"Sir, since the answer was prepared, I understand the factory has been closed down without notice. The Government will enquire immediately into the rights and wrongs of the matter and will try to do what can be done."

SRI P. B. K. RAJACHIDAMBARAM :—" May I know, Sir, whether the Government before passing the previous order, enquired into the rights and wrongs of the representations of the ryots? "

THE HON. DR. R. NAGANA GOUD :—" Notice."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" Sir, are the Government aware that the sugarcane standing on the fields will become completely waste if this question is not immediately decided? "

THE HON. DR. R. NAGANA GOUD :—" Sir, I have said that the Government will immediately enquire into the rights and wrongs of the matter and will do what can be done."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I have allowed the hon. Member Mr. Kalyanasundaram to speak sitting in his seat as he is unwell."

SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM :—" May I know the personnel of the management of the company? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, I am sorry to interrupt. When the enquiry takes place, the whole question will be gone into. I am afraid the disclosure of the names of the persons may lead to prejudice. I therefore beg of the hon. Member not to put the question."

SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM :—" Sir, the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture was pleased to say that an enquiry was about to take place immediately. Will the Government please take alternative measures to prevent deterioration of sugarcane and the consequent loss to the agriculturists? "

THE HON. DR. R. NAGANA GOUD :—" Everything that is necessary will be done by the Government."

SRI T. NAGI REDDI :—" Sir, asking for information, I would like to put it through you, Sir, is not prejudicing the case. I would like to know whether the Hon. the Chief Minister is not willing to reply simply because it is going to prejudice the case? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Sir, the hon. Member who put the question has been kind and reasonable enough not to repeat the question. I don't think it is good form for any hon. Member to insist on the names being mentioned, especially when my appeal has made an impression on the person who put the question. If the hon. Member wants to know what the kind of prejudice is and what the objections are for naming the persons, the answer may add to the difficulties. The Hon. Minister in charge has promised to do all he can and enquire into the rights and wrongs. I don't think there is any substance for further discussion. Whether he is a Mussalman or a Christian, does it make any difference except for prejudice? "

[12th May 1952]

SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANY :—" On a point of order, Sir, I want to know whether the Hon. the Chief Minister is entitled to make a statement when the Hon. the Minister in charge is replying? "

MR. SPEAKER :—" Certainly."

SRI P. B. K. RAJACHIDAMBARAM :—" In spite of the advice of the Hon. the Minister for Agriculture, the factory authorities have closed down the factory. May I request the Government to take immediate steps so that the ryots do not have to suffer any further? "

THE HON. DR. R. NAGANA GOUD :—" Sir, the answer to clause (b) of the question was that immediate action would be taken in the matter? "

SRI S. DEIVASIGAMANY :—" Will the Government be pleased to state the loss incurred by the sugarcane growers? "

THE HON. DR. R. NAGANA GOUD :—" Notice."

SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM :—" Are the Government aware that cultivation this year also is affected over a large area because of the adamant attitude of the factory authorities? "

THE HON. DR. R. NAGANA GOUD :—" The whole question will be gone into, Sir."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—" May I know the quantity of sugarcane that is lying idle on account of the closure of the factory? "

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" If hon. Members will pardon me and if you will permit me, Sir, I wish to state that I have received numerous telegrams on this point and it is necessary to look into the matter urgently and it is being done. Unfortunately the policy that we have to look into now is an old policy by which certain sugarcane areas have been registered and allotted by registration to certain factories to manufacture sugar out of cane. Luckily, I found on enquiry that, unlike in other areas in India, the liberty of the cane-growers to make their own jaggery has not been taken away in our State. It is a very good thing. By agreement there are certain conditions for the supply of cane to the factories and the manufacture of sugar, binding the factories and the cultivators of the area. The legal position must be examined and the rights and wrongs also have to be examined. The cane-growers derive more benefit by the factory's sugar manufacture, than by independent manufacture of jaggery. It is a state of affairs in which each gets bound to the other. Now, the factory owner says, 'My machinery has to be overhauled and I have to close it.' We cannot simply by our order physically keep the machinery going. These are the difficulties we have to look into and hon. Members may rest assured that I shall have an eye on the difficulties of the cane-growers as well as the urgency of the repairs to the machinery."

[12th May 1952]

that is alleged, and whether it is true that work has to be stopped. Whether the damage is much or small, we will try to minimise it as much as possible. This is my assurance to the poor sugarcane-growers. Hon. Members on the opposite side as also on this side are interested in the matter and the House may rest assured that everything that is possible will be done."

Revision of the price of paddy.

* 4 Q.—SRI R. KRISHNAN: Will the Hon. the Minister for Finance be pleased to state whether the Government have recommended to the Central Government, raising the price of paddy, and if so, why?"

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"This Government had recommended to the Government of India an increase in the procurement price of paddy for the khariff year 1951-52 for the following reasons:—

- (1) The cost of production had increased;
- (2) Prices of essential commodities other than foodgrains had increased;
- (3) Procurement prices in Madras State were lower when compared to the other deficit States in the Indian Union causing a lot of heart-burning to the producers in this State. Protests against such discrimination were made in the Legislature and the Press;
- (4) A stimulus in the shape of increase in the price of foodgrains was necessary for the success of the Grow More Food Campaign and also to arrest the tendency on the part of producers to switch over to commercial crops for which higher prices were prevailing; and
- (5) The Government of India increased the pool prices of imported paddy and Orissa State was charging higher prices for its rice exports to this State.

SRI R. KRISHNAN:—"Does not this increase in the price of paddy increase the price to the consumer? Was the purchasing capacity of the consumer taken into consideration?"

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"The increase was only annas eight per maund and it was not considerable."

SRI K. P. GOPALAN:—"Is it a fact, Sir, that the heavy export charges which the P.C.C. Societies impose are one of the reasons for the increase in the price of rice?"

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"I don't think that factor has got anything to do with this, Sir."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN:—"May I know, Sir, what the rates recommended to, and agreed by the Central Government were?"

12th May 1952]

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"We recommended an increase of 10 per cent and the Central Government agreed to eight annas which works out to about 6½ per cent."

SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN:—"The Hon. Minister was saying that the prices of other commodities had increased and hence the price of paddy also was increased. May I know, Sir, whether the Government are aware that the prices of coconuts, arecanuts and other commodities in Malabar have gone down much and in view of this, is it not fair that the price of paddy also should be reduced?"

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Sir, that was only a temporary decrease and we can review the price of paddy when the prices of other commodities get stabilised."

SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP:—"Are the Government satisfied that the increased price would go to the actual cultivators and not to the middlemen and the absentee landlords?"

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"We are paying this price to whoever sells the paddy to us."

SRI T. VISWANATHAM:—"The question was whether the Government would take steps to see that this increased price goes to the actual producer and not to somebody else. Instead of saying that they will pay the increased price to whoever comes before them, will the Government take steps to see that the price goes only to the producer?"

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Sir, under the procurement system, it is only the producer from whom the paddy is procured. Therefore, it can be presumed that the price goes to the producer only."

SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Whom does the Government understand by the term 'producer'—the man who actually tills the land or the landlord?"

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM:—"Whoever produces paddy, Sir."

Payment of salaries to Members of the Legislature.

* 5 Q.—SRI K. KRISHNA RAO: Will the Hon. the Minister for Finance be pleased to state—

(a) whether it is a fact that the Hon. Sri B. Gopala Reddi, the then Minister for Finance, stated at a press conference in January 1952, that the newly elected Members of the Assembly, under the new Constitution, will be paid salary as from the day they were declared to have been elected;

(b) whether there is a proposal to pay salaries to Members of the Legislative Assembly as from 21st April 1952 instead of from the date they were declared elected; and

[12th May 1952]

(c) if the answer to clause (b) is in the affirmative, the reasons therefor?

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“(a) There was no press conference held by the Hon. Finance Minister in January 1952.

“(b) & (c) Under Article 382 (1) of the Constitution, the old Legislative Assembly and Council ceased to exist, and the new Legislative Assembly and Council came into being, with effect from the date on which His Excellency the Governor issued his summons to the new Houses of the State Legislature to meet for their first session. As this summons was issued on 21st April 1952, the Members of the new Legislative Assembly are entitled to their salary only from that date, and till that date the Members of the old Legislature were entitled to draw their salaries.”

11-45 a.m. SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—“Is there not a separate and specific article in the Constitution of India laying down the manner in which salaries are to be paid to the Members of the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council?”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“No, Sir. There is no provision in the Constitution regarding the payment of salaries and the date from which they should be paid. We are governed by the Payment of Salaries and Removal of Disqualifications Act of this State.”

SRI T. C. NARAYANA NAMBIAR :—“Is the Hon. Minister aware of any press conference in which the announcement referred to in the question was made?”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“I am not aware of any such conference.”

SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—“What is the value to be attached to the representative character of democracy if salaries are paid to Members who have been divested of their representative character?”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“It is a matter of opinion.”

SRI M. NARAYANA KURUP :—“Will the Hon. Minister for Finance be pleased to state whether these newly-elected Members were considered to be Members of the Assembly or not before the 21st April 1952, or do the Government consider that vacancies of membership occurred only after this date as contemplated under section 12 (2) of the Madras Payment of Salaries and Removal of Disqualifications Act.”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“We are not concerned with the status of the Members before 21st April 1952. The only point that arises in connexion with this question is, when they actually became entitled to the payment of salaries. We are governed by a specific Act and according to that Act, we have come to the decision that the only relevant date is the date of summoning.”

12th May 1952]

SRI S. T. ADITYAN :—“Will the Hon. Minister consider the whole question again in the light of another suggestion that we wish to make, viz., of the three conditions mentioned in section 12 (2) of the Madras Payment of Salaries and Removal of Disqualifications Act, the third condition regarding the occurrence of vacancies should not be taken into account. Is the Hon. Minister prepared to consider the question on those lines?”

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—“We have taken legal opinion and we have come to this decision. If fresh and better light is thrown, we will certainly welcome it.”

MR. SPEAKER :—“Questions over.”

III.—RESOLUTIONS—WAIVER OF NOTICE UNDER RULE 120 OF THE ASSEMBLY RULES.

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“Sir, I gave notice of two resolutions—one under rule 48 of the Assembly Rules and another non-official resolution—requesting you to waive notice under rule 120 of the Assembly Rules. May I know whether they are coming up before the House to-day?”

MR. SPEAKER :—“I have not waived notice. If the notice had been waived, it would have been included in the agenda.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“What about the other resolution coming under rule 48, regarding the policy underlying sales tax? May I know whether it is coming?”

MR. SPEAKER :—“If I had included it, it would have been on the agenda.”

SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“When will it be taken up?”

MR. SPEAKER :—“At the proper time.”

IV.—PANEL OF CHAIRMEN.

MR. SPEAKER :—“I have to announce to the House that under rule 15 of the Madras Assembly Rules, I have nominated the following four Members of the Assembly to be the Panel of Chairmen for the first session of the Legislative Assembly newly constituted under the Constitution of India :—

- (1) Sri S. Ramasamy Naidu.
- (2) Mr. W. J. Fernandez.
- (3) Janab K. M. Seethi.
- (4) Sri P. Venkatasiviah.

V.—GOVERNMENT BILL.

THE MADRAS REQUISITIONED LAND (CONTINUANCE OF POWERS) BILL, 1952.

MR. SPEAKER :—“We shall take up the next item on the agenda. The Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952.”

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—“On a point of order, Mr. Speaker, Sir, this Bill which is sought to be moved relates to

[12th May 1952]

lands which have been requisitioned under the Defence of India Act, 1939, and that Act did not make any provision for payment of compensation."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member is making a speech and is not raising a point of order."

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO:—"Sir, it is against the fundamental rights guaranteed under Article 31 (2) of the Constitution of India and if the lands are in the possession of the Government, they are there by *jabardast* and not by law. Article 31 (2) definitely says:

'No property, movable or immovable, including any interest in, or in any company owning, any commercial or industrial undertaking, shall be taken possession of or acquired for public purposes under any law authorizing the taking of such possession or such acquisition, unless the law provides for compensation for the property taken possession of or acquired and either fixes the amount of compensation or specifies the principles on which, and the manner in which, the compensation is to be determined and given.'

Section 2 (xxiv) of the Defence of India Act (XXXV of 1939) only mentions the requisitioning of any property, movable or immovable, including the taking possession thereof and the issue of any orders in respect thereof. Therefore, what is contemplated is not the payment of any compensation and, as a matter of fact, to-day owners of many of the lands which have been requisitioned in the past under the Defence of India Act are not paid any compensation for their continued possession by the Government. So, it is *ultra vires* of the Constitution and becomes inoperative once the Constitution comes into operation. Therefore, I request the Hon. Speaker to rule the Bill out of order as it is *ultra vires* of the Constitution."

* THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—"Sir, I submit it is not a point of order. Rather it is in the nature of a complaint or grievance. I do not see any point of order in that."

MR. SPEAKER:—"I must inform the House that a point of order can be raised without notice if it arises in the course of the proceedings. In England the Speaker is assisted by a K.C. Here, I have not been given any such Legal Adviser. Even in England, if an hon. Member wants to raise a point of order, unless it arises out of the proceedings, he must give due notice. I suggest that we must follow that principle here also. In the previous Legislature, I have given a long ruling on this matter. The hon. Member can refer to it if he wishes. I think the Bill is in order. If the hon. Member still wishes to pursue the matter he can move the courts in the matter."

* THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER:—"Sir, I move that—

'The Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 (L.A. Bill No. 3 of 1952), be taken into consideration at once.'

[12th May 1952] [Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker]

In this connexion, I want to say that this legislation is not in the nature of a new venture. It is only continuing a piece of legislation that is in operation now. "Now, Sir, as the Statement of Objects and Reasons states, this legislation was in operation on account of the Defence of India Act, 1939, and then it was regularized by the Central Act XVII of 1947 and then again there was the Madras Act II of 1951. That Act having lapsed, it was necessary to pass an Ordinance (Madras Ordinance I of 1952) in March and this Bill seeks to regularize that Ordinance and make it into an Act. The matter is very simple. I find a number of amendments have been proposed and I am simply bewildered and I do not know what they really are. After all, this Bill merely wants that certain acts of Government in respect of certain properties which had been taken over by the Government should be regularized. This is an aftermath of the war. Just as it has affected many other walks of life and departments of administration, it has also affected our legislative work. Therefore, it is sought through this Bill to regularize for one year only the action of the Government in continuing to keep in possession the requisitioned properties. Everything will be set right during this period and there may not be any necessity for renewing the Bill again. Now, I would like to know what the nature of the objection from the other side is and then I will meet it."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The motion is—

'That the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 (L.A. Bill No. 3 of 1952), be taken into consideration at once.'

Now, I will ask Mr. Venkateswarlu and Mr. Krishna Rao to formally move their amendments so that the motion and the amendments may be before the House for discussion."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"Sir, I am given to understand that certain Members of this House want to oppose this legislation."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member cannot anticipate those things. During the course of the debate, he will come to know about that."

"Let the hon. Member move the amendment that stands in his name."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"Sir, I move—

'That the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of 17 Members of the Assembly.'

228 THE MADRAS REQUISITIONED LAND (CONTINUANCE OF POWERS)
BILL, 1952

[12th May 1952]

SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM:—"I second the amendment, Sir."

SRI K. KRISHNA RAO:—"Sir, I move—

That the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting public opinion thereon."

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNAIAH:—"I second the amendment, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Now, the motion and the amendments are before the House for discussion."

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU:—"Sir, now that the amendments have been moved, I want to say that certain Members want to oppose this Bill."

MR. SPEAKER:—"Nobody prevents the hon. Member from opposing it. The only thing is that it will save time if both the motion and the amendments are before the House for discussion. Otherwise, there will be too much of repetition."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon. Minister for Land Revenue, while moving this Bill, gave us practically little information as to why it has been necessary for the Government to come forward with this Bill. The only statement that he has made is the Statement of Objects and Reasons mentioned in the Bill and beyond that, no other information has been vouchsafed to this House."

12 noon. "Certain lands and certain properties were requisitioned between the year 1939 when the Second World War broke out, and 1945 when it terminated, for purposes which were connected or were even remotely connected with the war. The Government thought if necessary to keep these lands in their possession even subsequent to the expiry of the Defence of India Act. Now, nearly twelve years have elapsed after the outbreak of the war and it is seven years since the war ended and even to-day the Government do not care to place before the House the exact nature and extent of the properties they still hold under requisition, whose properties they are and why it is that the Government still consider it necessary to keep them under requisition even though the war ended seven long years ago. The Government do not place before the House the facts and yet they expect us to give them sanction to continue to keep these lands under requisition and put them to whatever use they desire according to their sweet will. This is my first objection.

"My second objection is that I thought that if we at least went through the Address of His Excellency the Governor some reasons would be found why the Government still considered it necessary to hold these lands under requisition. Even the Governor's Address has not vouchsafed us any reasons. All that we are told in the Address is 'as the work of derequisitioning of

12th May 1952] [Sri P. Ramamurthi]

these properties could not be completed before the end of March 1952, immediate action had to be taken to extend the life of the Central Act referred to for a further period of one year from 1st April 1952.' I am not at all able to understand the meaning of this. 'Requisitioning' and 'derequisitioning' are certain well-known legal terms. Government deem it necessary to take possession of certain properties held by private individuals, for certain purposes of Government and the moment that need ceases and the Act under which they were requisitioned expires or ceases to operate, the process of derequisitioning also begins to operate automatically. There is no question of Government finding itself unable to derequisition the properties before the 31st March 1952. When the Act ceases to be operative the properties also cease to be requisitioned property and, if the Government still want to continue to be in possession of these properties, they are no more doing so under any Act. It has been unlawful occupation all these days. I am not able to understand what is meant by the statement of His Excellency the Governor that the work of derequisitioning of these properties could not be completed before 31st March 1952. It may be that certain rules have to be complied with and certain formalities have to be gone through before handing over possession of the property to the individual to whom it belongs. This, however, does not mean that the properties cease to be derequisitioned property. The moment the Act ceases to operate the property is derequisitioned and there can obviously be no legal justification for the Government to continue to keep them under requisition and for coming to this House and telling us, 'You must now empower us to continue to hold on to these properties.' This is one aspect of the question and, in fact, the Government have not told us why they want to continue to be in occupation of these lands and to what use they want to put them.

"Apart from these general objections, I would also like to go a little more in detail into the provisions of the Bill and point out that this Bill as it is framed may not be acceptable to the High Court, if anybody chooses to question its provisions. I will not therefore be a party to this House rushing through this piece of legislation in haste without understanding its legal implications. In the past, I think, we have had enough of such pieces of legislation, the provisions of which have been held to be *ultra vires* of the Constitution by the High Courts and the Supreme Court. The Courts have also held that the Central Legislature or the Provincial Legislatures that passed such legislation were not competent to pass them. I do not think that this House should take upon itself the responsibility once again to get such a certificate from the judicial tribunals of this country. It is absolutely essential that before we push through any legislation we must try and find out whether that piece of legislation corresponds to the provisions of enactments that have already been enacted and does not offend the fundamental provisions of the Constitution itself about which this House, and indeed every Member of it, is concerned.

[Sri P. Ramamurthi] [12th May 1952]

" Sir, if the Government are anxious to have a legislation of this type and if they want this House to pass an enactment of this kind, conferring powers on the Government to continue to keep under requisition certain properties and even to requisition certain properties as being absolutely necessary for certain public purposer, I think it is necessary that the House must go into it with very great care, and for that purpose refer the whole Bill to a Select Committee or circulate it for eliciting public opinion so that we may not be guilty of passing any legislation in haste. That is why, I am very particular that this Bill must be gone into with a little more of care and thought.

" Now, Sir, let us go back into the history of this legislation. If you look at the Statement of Objects and Reasons you will find it stated that during the last war, lands and buildings were requisitioned under the Defence of India Act, 1939, and they continued to be subject to requisition under the Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Act, 1947 (Central Act XVII of 1947), that before the expiry of that Act on the 1st April 1951, its life was extended until the 1st April 1952 in so far as it related to immovable properties under requisition by or under the authority of the Central Government (Central Act IX of 1951) and that a similar extension of the life of that Act was necessary in so far as it related to immovable properties under requisition by or under the authority of the State Government and Madras Act II of 1951 was accordingly enacted. The provisions made were these, viz., that after the Defence of India Act expired, the Government of that day promulgated an Ordinance in 1946 which continued the provisions of the Defence of India Act for purposes of continuing to keep under requisition properties requisitioned under the Defence of India Act. Later on when the Legislative Assembly met they passed in 1947 the Central Act referred to before, viz., the Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Act, 1947, whose life expired on the 1st April 1952. Before that Act died a natural death in the normal course of events the Government of India thought, as I take it, for very good reasons that the provisions of this Act were contrary to the Fundamental Rights provisions laid down in Part III of the Constitution and that they would be held to be *ultra vires* if questioned in a Court, and so brought in another legislation referred to in paragraph 2 of the Statement of Objects and Reasons, viz., the Requisitioning and Acquisition of Immovable Property Act, 1952 (Central Act XXX of 1952), which received the assent of the President on March 15, 1952, and became law from that date. The very first section of this Act says that it completely repealed the Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Act, 1947. Therefore we arrive at a position between March 15 and March 30, 1952, when the 1947 Act of the Central Government referred to already and on which the Madras Government had passed its corresponding Act had ceased to exist. Therefore for 15 days, i.e., from March 15, the date on which the 1952 Act of the Central Government received the President's assent and March 30, the date on which the Madras Government passed its Ordinance, the powers which the Madras Government had under the

12th May 1952] [Sri P. Ramamurthi]

1947 Act of the Government of India ceased to exist. There was, therefore, no property in the hands of the Madras Government which would be deemed to be requisitioned property between the 15th March and 30th March 1952. I am speaking on the advice of legal authorities and I would be very glad to know what the Advocate-General has got to say on this matter when I contend that if the Governor of Madras thought it fit to issue an Ordinance on the 30th March 1952 validating the provisions of the 1947 Act which ceased to exist on 15th March 1952, the Madras Government did not have in their hands any property which could be deemed requisitioned property. This Bill which is sought to be enacted to replace this Ordinance does not take away the fundamental fact that there was no requisitioned property with the Madras Government between March 15 and March 30, under the provisions of the 1947 Act. I am sure the Bill, if passed into an Act, will be declared *ultra vires* by any Court."

THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI:—"What about the effect of clause 9 (2) of the Bill?"

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"I know there is a saving clause—clause 9 (2) which states—

"For the avoidance of doubt, it is hereby declared that the repeal of the said Act by the Central Ordinance III of 1952 and Central Act XXX of 1952 shall not be deemed to have affected the operation of the said Act, as respects any requisitioned land as defined therein which at the time of such repeal was subject to requisition by or under the authority of the State Government and for their purposes."

I would submit that this saving clause will not in any way save this Bill, for the simple reason that I would like to refer to the judgment of the Madras High Court in what is called the Veerabhadriah case in 1949. The position may be briefly explained as follows. In 1947 the Madras Legislature passed what was called the Maintenance of Public Safety Act. Later on, in 1949 it was held by the Patna High Court and the Supreme Court that the extension of the provisions of such an Act by an order of the Executive Government in 1948 would have no legal effect. As a result of these two decisions, the Madras Government passed an Ordinance in 1949 which sought to validate the provisions of the 1947 Act even for the period from 1947 to 1949. In the Veerabhadriah case the Madras High Court held that this kind of validation was *ultra vires* and all that the Government of Madras and the Legislature were entitled to do was to seek immunity for those persons who had acted during this period in good faith thinking that the provisions of the Act of 1947 continued to exist and that the Act was in no way *ultra vires*. This was all that was conceded by the judgment of the Madras High Court. I therefore say that this saving clause cannot in any way save this Bill. The Ordinance will not in any way be upheld by a Court of Law. This is one aspect of the matter.

"Now, Sir, apart from these facts, let us take into consideration the various clauses in the Bill.

[Sri P. Ramamurthi] [12th May 1952]

12-15 P.M. "In the Central Act (The Requisitioning and Acquisition of Immovable Property Act, 1952), certain fundamental principles have been incorporated and they do not find a place in the Bill now under discussion before the House. It became necessary for the Government of India to enact this new piece of legislation (The Requisitioning and Acquisition of Immovable Property Act, 1952) because the old Act (the Central Act XVII of 1947) obviously came into conflict with the Fundamental Rights in Part III of the Constitution of India. The Hon. Chief Minister might think it rather strange that I, a Member of the Communist Party, should now come to defend the property rights of private individuals. The Hon. Chief Minister, I know, has stated in the other House . . ."

MR. SPEAKER:—"The hon. Member should not refer here to whatever has taken place in the other House."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI:—"I know the Hon. Chief Minister has made statements that the Communist Party are advocating nationalisation of lands, etc. I would like to inform the House that the Communist Party has got a certain programme, and the programme that is placed before the country by the Communist Party is based on the development of our society. We are not opposed to the holding of private property as such. In fact we demand that the tillers of the soil should be given lands and that property rights should be vested in them and not in the feudal landlords. (The Hon. Chief Minister: 'It is a trap.') It might be a trap. All the property rights of the common masses, ordinary peasants and even those of the capitalists should be protected in the existing state of society. That is why, the Communist Party has come forward to defend the property rights which are sought to be taken away arbitrarily by the Government under this Bill. This is another reason why I want to oppose this Bill."

"I would like to draw the attention of the House to the provisions contained in the Requisitioning and Acquisition of Immovable Property Act, 1952, passed by the Central Parliament and point out the difference between the principles contained in the provisions of this Act and those contained in the provisions of this Bill, now before us, and I would say that itself constitutes a reason why the Bill in the present form should not be enacted into law. The House must take into consideration the reasons which impelled the Central Parliament to change its legislation (Central Act XVII of 1947) in the particular way in which it had been done. Take the question of requisitioning of property. The Central Act lays down that the property that has been requisitioned must be for a public purpose and the moment that property is held for any purpose other than a public purpose it must automatically and immediately be derequisitioned. This is one of the fundamental provisions that has been included in the new enactment of the Central Parliament."

"Section 5 (1) of this Act (Central Act XXX of 1952—the Requisitioning and Acquisition of Immovable Property Act, 1952) states as follows:—

'All property requisitioned under section 3 shall be used for such purposes as may be mentioned in the notice of requisition.'

[12th May 1952] [Sri P. Ramamurthi]

Under section 3 (1) of this Act, it is incumbent on the requisitioning authority to give notice to the person whose property is going to be requisitioned specifying therein the purpose of the requisition. The proviso to section 6 (1) states—

'Provided that where the purposes for which any requisitioned property was being used cease to exist, the Central Government shall, unless the property is acquired under section 7 release that property, as soon as may be, from requisition.'

Therefore the Central Act lays down firstly, that the requisitioning authority must give notice to the person whose property is going to be requisitioned specifying therein the purpose of requisition, secondly, that the property requisitioned must be used for such purposes as may be mentioned in the notice of requisition and thirdly, the moment the purposes for which any property is requisitioned cease to exist the property must be restored to the owner, and it is not open to the Government to use that property for any other purpose. These provisions are mandatory in the Central Act as is evident from the use of the word 'shall' in those sections.

"Clause 2 of the present Bill before the House reads as follows:—

'All immovable properties which were requisitioned by or under the authority of the State Government and for their purposes under the rules made under the Defence of India Act, 1939 (Central Act XXXV of 1939), and which at the commencement of this Act continued to be under requisition by virtue of the Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Act, 1947 (Central Act XVII of 1947), Madras Act II of 1951 and Madras Ordinance 1 of 1952, shall continue to be subject to requisition until the expiry of this Act; and the State Government may use or deal with any such immovable property (hereinafter referred to as requisitioned land) in such manner as may appear to them to be expedient:

'Provided that the State Government may at any time release any requisitioned land from requisition.'

Under this provision, it is not necessary for the State Government to inform the owners whose properties have been requisitioned about the use to which their properties are put. Having requisitioned properties in 1939 which may or may not be connected with a public purpose, it is not open to the Government, particularly in view of the Fundamental Rights conferred under Part III of the Constitution of India, now to deal in any manner they please with the properties requisitioned in 1939. Under this clause, the State Government may use or deal with any such immovable property in such manner as may appear to them to be expedient. This, in principle, is wrong for the Government to do. These properties were requisitioned in 1939, 1940, 1941, etc., before the Constitution of India came into force. After the Constitution of India which guarantees certain fundamental rights to all citizens of India came into force, it is absolutely necessary for the State Government to safeguard, in the matter of requisitioning of property, the Fundamental Rights in spirit as well as the letter of the law. I am of opinion that this provision goes against the rights conferred under Part III of the Constitution. Again, under this provision, the State Government can put to any use the requisitioned properties, which is against the Fundamental Rights guaranteed under the Constitution."

234 THE MADRAS REQUISITIONED LAND (CONTINUANCE OF POWERS)
BILL, 1952

[12th May 1952]

MR. SPEAKER :—“ The hon. Member has already taken 30 minutes. He will soon finish his speech.”

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—“ Clause 4 of this Bill states as follows :—

‘ If at any time the State Government are of opinion that it is necessary to acquire any requisitioned land for a public purpose they may acquire such land by publishing in the *Fort St. George Gazette* a notice to the effect that they have decided to acquire such land in pursuance of this section.’

Under this provision, it is not incumbent on the State Government to tell the people that the property so requisitioned is demonstrably for a public purpose. Under this provision, it is not even necessary to inform the parties concerned as to what exactly is the public purpose for which a particular property is sought to be requisitioned. All that is required is only the satisfaction of the Government or their Executive that in their opinion it is necessary to acquire a particular property for a public purpose and nothing more.

12-30 a.m. “ In this Bill the State Government want to take absolute powers to requisition property. Let us contrast this with the Central Act. Section 7 of the Requisitioning and Acquisition of Immovable Property Act, 1952, says—

‘ Where any property is subject to requisition, the Central Government may, if it is of opinion that it is necessary to acquire the property for a public purpose, at any time acquire such property by publishing in the Official Gazette a notice to the effect that the Central Government has decided to acquire the property in pursuance of this section :

‘ Provided that before issuing such notice, the Central Government shall call upon the owner of, or any other person who, in the opinion of the Central Government, may be interested in, such property to show cause why the property should not be acquired ; and after considering the cause, if any, shown by any person interested in the property and after giving the parties an opportunity of being heard, the Central Government may pass such orders as it deems fit.’

Whereas in the Central Act, an opportunity is given to the owner of the property or other parties who are interested in it to show cause why the property should not be acquired, no such opportunity is given in this Bill. I am not saying that the provisions of the Central Act are good. I think that the ‘ public purpose ’ specified in that Act must be demonstrably so in a Court of law. Part III of the Constitution guarantees certain Fundamental Rights and one of them is that no property shall be acquired unless it be for a public purpose. This right is a justiciable right ; in other words, when an affected person feels that the purpose specified is not a public purpose, it is open to him to agitate the matter in a Court of Law. Under this Bill, it is not necessary for the Government to specify even the purpose for which they acquire a property. Then how can a Court of law decide the matter? On this very ground, I say that this Bill can be declared *ultra vires*. Clause 4 of the Bill reads :—

‘ If at any time the State Government are of opinion that it is necessary to acquire any requisitioned land for a public purpose, they may acquire such land by publishing in the *Fort St. George Gazette* a notice to the effect that they have decided to acquire such land in pursuance of this section.’

The clause is very defective and the powers conferred by it are open to abuse by the Government, as they may acquire a land and

THE MADRAS REQUISITIONED LAND (CONTINUANCE OF POWERS) 235
BILL, 1952

12th May 1952] [Sri P. Ramamurthi].

put it to any use they like. I am not prepared to clothe the Government with such absolute powers. What exactly the powers of the Government are should be made absolutely clear. I say that this Bill does not correspond to the spirit—I am not bothered whether the letter is fulfilled or not—of the Fundamental Rights guaranteed by our Constitution ; it goes contrary to certain Fundamental Rights. It even differs from the Central Act in that certain safeguards provided in that Act do not find a place here.

“ First of all, the Government must satisfy the House as to the need for keeping properties under requisition. If they satisfy us on this point, then it is necessary to go in detail into the wording of the various clauses to see that the Bill conforms to the Fundamental Rights and does not give absolute powers to the Government to deal with property in any manner they please. Therefore I oppose the motion that the Bill be taken into consideration. If the Bill is taken into consideration, then I support the amendment of Comrade Venkateswarlu for referring the Bill to a Select Committee.”

* SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—“ Sir, this Bill relates to properties which the Government took over from 1939 onwards on the specious plea of war. The Defence of India Act was not really necessary. It has a strange and peculiar history. War broke out on one fine morning. As the Leader of the Opposition in the Central Assembly said at that time, within two days, a ready-made Bill was placed before the Central Legislature. The Bill was passed not so much to prosecute the war as to trample the interests of the common man. This will be apparent if one reads the debate in the Central Legislative Assembly of those days, particularly the speeches made by the Members of the Opposition. That Act is a Draconian Act under which the Government can simply seize property and pass any order they like. That Act does not contain any of the safeguards for protecting the rights and interests of owners of land as are provided in the Land Acquisition Act. It is Nawab durbarism and nothing less ; it is sheer autocracy. I want the House to realize the injustice perpetrated in the forcible taking over and expropriation of land under that Act during war time. In Visakhapatnam, Nellore, Ponneri and many other areas, the lands of a number of small peasants were taken over without paying any compensation and enclosed in barbed wire fencing. There was nobody even to reply to representations. We were told that the war was on, that we should help the British and that therefore we had to put up with some inconvenience. My point is, why the Government should continue to hold properties which were requisitioned or acquired with so much injustice and denial of elementary human rights. This is a matter on which, I think there can be no two opinions at all. If a property was taken over for the defence of India, its retention can no longer be for the defence of India as India is no longer at war. Therefore the Government have absolutely no right to continue to retain the property. From 1946 onwards, such property should have been

[Sri K. Krishna Rao] [12th May 1952]

returned to the owners. Besides requisitioning property, men were conscripted to serve in the different theatres of war. Have they been taken over for civil jobs? Many of them were simply demobilized and left uncared for and unemployed. As somebody said—

'Bars and bolts cost something,
Indians cost nothing.'

That is the cynicism with which this Government have treated them. When that is the case with human beings, why should the Government continue to retain the requisitioned properties? Some of these properties are situated in strategic places like the vicinity of the Visakhapatnam Harbour. Compared with the period of requisition, say about 1939, the value of lands must have risen fabulously high now and it is very easy to use these lands for the purpose of political patronage, for purchasing a number of people who hold great strategic positions in the State. Holding a strategic position is a source of great political power. That is the real reason why the Government do not want to part with the properties. During the war, there was no popular Ministry in the State. There was the Advisers Government under section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935, and there was sheer autocracy. What an amount of terrible injustice and oppression must have been exercised over the peasants in requisitioning their lands? After the war, the leaders said that they should come to power and they did come to power. That was a good thing. But they do not want to apply the same principle to requisitioned lands because the owners unfortunately do not belong to the Congress Party and are not big landlords or owners of big printing presses. That is the whole trouble. They are in remote villages and that is the reason why we did not know of them much. Sometimes truth comes out. I would refer the House to the proceedings of the last Assembly. Mr. V. I. Muniswami Pillay had not become a Communist because he bundled grievances and hurled them at the Government. On 12th March 1951, he said in the Assembly—

'I would like to inform the House through you, Sir, that the Governments of the Union and the State have been occupying the lands in Coimbatore and other districts for such a long time that it is working great hardship on the owners of these lands. There are so many people who have been applying for land for house construction. The town of Coimbatore is extending so fast that it is highly necessary that this Government as well as the Central Government should think about this and close the chapter of this Act at an early date.'

Fourteen months have elapsed since he uttered those words. If there is an order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, things get moving within two minutes. If the Government want to arrest a Communist, wireless messages issue, jeeps rush in and he is spirited away into the Vellore detention camp or the Cuddalore Central Jail. But there is so much delay or inaction in derequisitioning lands because the Government want to use them as a means of political patronage. The Government have absolutely no moral justification to continue to hold lands which were taken over against all elementary principles. The Indian National

12th May 1952] [Sri K. Krishna Rao]

Congress have told us that a legislation passed to meet a war emergency should not be continued in force even for a day after the cessation of that emergency. The Defence of India Act for the war of 1914-18 ceased to be in force from 1919. At that time the Government wanted to continue the emergency powers and passed the Rowlatt Act. The Congress concentrated all its energy to see that that Act went out of the statute book. Why? Because a very great principle of politics was involved. Emergency powers intended to ride rough-shod over men's liberties and to treat men as animals or inanimate beings, assumed by the Government on the specious plea of war, should not be continued even for a day after the emergency ceases. That was the great principle there. That is why I say that the earlier the lands are restored to the owners, as Mr. Muniswami Pillay said, the better for all it will be. Mr. R. Subba Ayyar, who was talking about these lands, in the last Legislative Assembly, said,—

'The Hon. Minister says that they are giving very liberal compensation. In fact I know extensive lands have been taken on requisition in Gummidipundi of Ponneri taluk during the war under the Defence of India Rules. They are yet to be derequisitioned. The liberal compensation referred to by the Hon. Minister is Rs. 10 to Rs. 15 per acre of wet land. The owners are now anxious to cultivate the land. In these places there are large extents of land available even outside barbed wire fencing.'

There were all these complaints. There were a number of complaints from Visakhapatnam. My friends in Visakhapatnam have been telling us that a number of acres near the Visakhapatnam harbour have been taken away. Why is it that those lands have not yet been derequisitioned? Is it because the Government want to give them to somebody or have the Government promised to give those lands to some people? These are all things which must be gone into. People have all along been under the impression that if they make complaints, they will be dubbed as Communists and sent to Vellore Jail. Now a very different atmosphere prevails. People are free to-day to ventilate their grievances and express their difficulties. Let us know what has happened between 1939 and now. Let us know whose properties have been taken away under the Defence of India Rules—Nawab Durbar rule? Let us know who are the owners whose properties have been robbed from them. I would suggest, Sir, that this whole Bill and the provisions contained in the Bill should be gone into fully and public opinion elicited thereon. I should certainly like to have information on this. Mr. Sitarama Reddi, the then Minister, said on the floor of the Legislative Assembly on the 12th March 1951. 'There are still 96 cases of immovable property held by this Government. They are situated in four districts, namely, Malabar, Visakhapatnam, Coimbatore and Madras. They are mostly lands and not buildings.' (Page 675, Vol. IX—1951.) Here he says they are mostly lands and not buildings. But later on, on page 676, he says, 'Sir, as I said, so far as Coimbatore is concerned, there is no land which is under requisition. The buildings only have to be derequisitioned.' Sir, is it buildings or lands, I should like to know. On page 675, Mr. Sitarama Reddi says, 'there are 96 cases.' In the Legislative Council on 17th March 1951, he says, 'there are still 106 cases of

12-45
p.m.

[Sri K. Krishna Rao] [12th May 1952]

properties held under requisition for the purpose of the State.' I would like to know whether the number of requisitioned properties has increased within five days. Let not Government put forward the argument that it is all just a Communist affair. Let them not think like that. The position is this. A responsible Minister says one thing in the Assembly and another thing in the Council. He gives one figure in the Assembly and another figure in the Council. We should, therefore, like to know the truth. We remember the days when the war was on, a number of persons came and told us, 'Our lands have been taken away and given to the loyalists of the British Government.' I know, Sir, a great loyalist was given large extents of lands for raising casuarina plantations. I know another loyalist gentleman in Tanjore was also given a good portion of land. I should like to know whether this requisition was under the Defence of India Rules. Compensation was not payable then. I should like to know if lands are to be robbed from the poor in order that the rich may be given those lands. Whether the British Government did it or this Government did it, does not matter. The people have suffered much by this requisitioning of property in war time. They must really be compensated. It is not merely nations that should get reparations, but individuals also must get reparations. The people have suffered very much and they must have recompense, as every Congressman got five acres of land for having once gone to jail during the summer vacation! Those whose properties have been requisitioned have suffered very great hardship, and they must be reimbursed for the loss which they have suffered, certainly on account of the inability of the political parties to lead our country properly. I would request the Government to consider the matter fully before they hustle us into accepting this measure. At any rate, let us know what the truth is. We do not want to be hustled into accepting this Bill. Of course the Governor has issued the Ordinance. But we should like to know why the Governor did not come before the Legislative Assembly before the 31st March. It was open to him to do it. Why should he stampede us into accepting the principle of this Bill? I want, Sir, that this Bill should be circulated for eliciting public opinion."

SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNIAH:—“అవ్వతే, మొదట Defence of India Act వచ్చినప్పుడు ఇప్పటిం ఉన్నటువంటి వారందరూకూడ ఆ చట్టము పనికిరాదు. దానిలో చాలా నిర్బంధాలున్నాయి, దానివల్ల సామాన్య ప్రజానీకము చాలా కష్టపడ్డారు. పాలగుదురు. కనుక ఆ Act ఉండకూడదని అన్నారు. కాని, అప్పుడు యుద్ధ సమయమైనందున, యుద్ధాన్ని ఎదుర్కొనే నిమిత్తం అందుకు కావలసిన టెక్నిషియన్లు, ట్రైనింగు కేంద్రాలు మొదలగు యుద్ధావసరాలు చేసుకోవలసిందిగా, వాటికి కావలసినటువంటి ఆస్తులను ప్రభుత్వము స్వాధీనము చేసుకొనుటకుగాను Defence of India Act అవసరమని ప్రభుత్వమువారు ఆ చట్టాన్ని అమలులో పెట్టినారు. కాని ఇప్పుడు యుద్ధము అయిపోయినది. ఆ ప్రమాదమునుండి గట్టికి బయట పడ్డాము. ఇంక ఈ Defence of India Act అవసరము గనుక ఈ చట్టము పోకుండాని అనుకొన్నాము. కాని Defence of India Act

12th May 1952] [Sri Vavilala Gopalakrishniah]

చేరుకు మాత్రము పోయిందిగాని దాని అధికారము పోలేదు. అదే చట్టము మరొక రూపములో వెలువడింది. దీనినే ఇంకోక. Ordinance రూపములో కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వము ప్రారంభించింది. దానిలో విమని చెప్పబడింది అనగా ఏమే ఆస్తులపై Defence of India Act క్రింద ప్రభుత్వము చే స్వాధీనపరచుకొనబడినంత, అవన్నీ అటులనే ప్రభుత్వము స్వాధీనములో ఉంచుకొనబడునని చెప్పబడినది. కనుక Defence of India Act పోయినప్పటికీకూడ అది నామమాత్రమేగాని, దాని అవయము పోలేదు. అది ఇంకోక రూపములో పరిణమించింది. ఇది ఎట్లున్నదనగా తెలుగులో ఒక నామిత ఉన్నది. “విద్య చనిపోయిందిగాని, ఇంకా పురుటికెంపు పోలేదు” అన్నట్లు Defence of India Act పోయినాకూడా, దాని అవయము పోలేదు. ఆ.రోజుననే యుద్ధమున్నందున దాన్ని ఎదుర్కొనేందుకు కావలసిన టెక్నిషియన్లు, మిషినరీసు తయారు చేసేందుకు అక్కడక్కడ ట్రైనింగు కేంద్రాలు మొదలగువి నియమించవలసి యుంటుందని చాలా అక్కడక్కడ ట్రైనింగు కేంద్రాలు మొదలగువి నియమించవలసి యుంటుందని చాలా భూములు స్వాధీనం చేసుకొన్నారు. అందులో సామాన్య రైతాంగానికి చెందినటువంటి అనేక పొలాలు గూడా యున్నవి. కాని వారికి అందుకు తగిన compensation గూడా లేకుండా పోయింది. ఇంకా ఈ Ordinance లో విడుదలపడినంత, ప్రభుత్వమువారికి కావలసిన ఆస్తులను ముందు స్వాధీనము చేసుకొని, తరువాత వాటిను ఇస్తామని చెప్పబడినది. ఈ విధంగా సామాన్య ప్రజానీకముయొక్క కష్ట సుఖాలు గూడా గమనించకుండా ప్రజల అనుమతి కూడా తీసుకోకుండా వారి భూములు స్వాధీనము చేసుకొనుట చాలా అన్యాయము. యుద్ధము అయిపోయినాకూడా, ఇంకా భూములను ఎందుకు ప్రభుత్వము స్వాధీనములో ఉంచుకొన్నారో అర్థము కావడం లేదు, ఉదాహరణముగా, గుంటూరులో రింగు రోడ్డులో పాములపాటి వెంటటక్రిష్టయ్యగారిచే స్థాపించినటువంటి War Technicians యొక్క కేంద్రము ఇప్పటికీ కూడా యున్నది. ఇక్కడ ఉన్నటువంటి ప్రధాన మంత్రిలు కూడా దానిని చూచినారు. ఆ Technicians కేంద్రము క్రింద ఉన్నటువంటి పోలీసులు కూడా, ఇప్పటికీ ఆయన స్వాధీనములోనే ఉన్నాయి. ఇప్పుడు Technicians Camp గాని, మరేమిగానిలేదు. అయినాకూడా ఆ పొలాలను వెనకకు ఇవ్వలేదు. వాటికి సంబంధించిన రైతులంతా కూడా ఆ పొలాలను వారికి ఇచ్చివేయవలసిందని స్పష్టత్వానికి విన్నవించుకొన్నాకూడా కూడా ఆ పొలాలను వారికి ఇచ్చివేయవలసిందని స్పష్టత్వానికి విన్నవించుకొన్నాకూడా పర్యవర్తము వాటిని ఇవ్వకుండా యున్నారు. యుద్ధము అయిపోయి వాటి అవసరము లేకపోయినా కూడా, రైతులకు వారి పొలాలను ఇవ్వలేదు. పోనీ దానికి తగిన compensation అయినా ఇస్తారా అంటే అదికూడా లేదు. కొంతగా పొలాలు విమియను మేము స్వాధీనము చేసుకోవడంలేదు. అధికాక చరాస్త్రమి స్వాధీనము చేసుకోలేదు. స్థిరాస్థి మత్రిమే పుచ్చుకొన్నామని ప్రభుత్వము చెప్పుచున్నది. ఇది బాగానే యున్నది. వారి పుణ్యస్థాన వారి చర్యలు చరాస్త్ర వరకు రావలసి వచ్చినా సంతోషించవలసియున్నది. కాని యుద్ధము అయిపోయినా కూడా ఇంకా ఈ భూములు ప్రభుత్వ స్వాధీనములో ఎందుకు ఉండవలెనో తెలియకున్నది. ఈ పొల్లమీద ఆధారపడియున్న సామాన్య రైతాంగముకూడా కూడా వేరే శివసాధారము లేకుండా చాలా కష్టాలకు గురి అగుచున్నారు. అందువల్ల నేను మనవి చేయుచున్నది ఏమనగా, ఈ విల్లును ఈ సభలో ఇట్లనే ఆమోదించకుండా ప్రజాప్రాయానికి వసించి, ప్రజాభిప్రాయానుగుణంగా తీర్మానించవలసిందని ప్రభుత్వమువారిని కోరుచున్నాను. యుద్ధమేమే అయిపోయింది. Defence of India Act కూడా పోయింది. జైల్లో ఉండినవారు కూడా విడుదల అయినారు, కాని ప్రభుత్వము స్వాధీనపరచుకున్న పొలాలు మాత్రము ఇంతవరకు ఇవ్వలేదు. సామాన్య ప్రజానీకానికి ఉపయోగపడకుండునటువంటివి, రైతుల అవసరాలకు మించి ఎక్కువగా ఉండునటువంటి పొలాలు ప్రభుత్వము స్వాధీనము చేసుకొని

[Sri Vavilala Gopalakrishnaiah] [12th May 1952]

నవ్వటకీ పరచాలేదు. దానివల్ల ఎవరు విమోచితులై పడరు. కాని మీ రెకాంగము యొక్క పాటలు స్వాధీనపరచుకొంటే వారు నానా బాధలు పడవలసి వస్తుంది, కనుక తారతమ్యము లేకుండా, ప్రజల కష్ట సుఖాలను గమనించుకుంటూ మొత్తము అధికారాన్ని తా తీసుకొని ప్రభుత్వము వారికిష్టము వచ్చిన పాలనను స్వాధీనము చేసుకొనుట విమోచనము వ్యాయముకాదు. ప్రజల సౌకర్యాలు కల్పించే నిమిత్తం గాని మరే ప్రజా పయోగానికిగాని భూమి కావలసినదే ఓదివరకే Requisitioned Land Act ఉండనే ఉంది. దానిద్వారా అవసరమైన భూమిని తీసుకోవచ్చు అదిగాక మళ్ళి ఇప్పుడు స్థిరాస్తులపై సర్వాధికారాలు కావాలని కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వము Requisitioning and Acquisition of Immovable Property Act అని ప్యాస్ చేసింది. అదే ప్రకారం ఇప్పుడు ముద్రాను ప్రభుత్వము కూడా ఈ రాష్ట్రానికి సంబంధించినటువంటి స్థిరాస్తులను స్వాధీనపరచుకొనేందుకు ఒక Ordinance చేసి అది చట్టరూపముగా తీసుకొని వస్తున్నారని, ఇది చాలా అన్యాయము. కనుక ప్రభుత్వమువారిని నేను కోరునది విమోచనగా, ఈ బిల్లును ప్రజాభిప్రాయానికి పంపించి ప్రజాభిప్రాయము ఇందుకు అనుకూలంగా ఉండినట్లైతే తప్పక దీనిని ప్యాస్ చేసి అమలులోనికి తీసుకొని రావచ్చును. కనుక దీనిని ప్రజాభిప్రాయానికి వదిలి పెట్టేనే మంచిదని చెప్పి మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. లేకపోతే, కనీసము ఒక సెలెక్షు కమిటీనైనా నియమించి వారి నిర్ణయం ప్రకారం చేయవలసినదని కోరుతున్నాను."

SRI R. LAKSHMI NARASIMHA DORA :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, a proper appreciation of the provisions of this Bill now before the House, would not have necessitated so much of discussion which it has provoked from so many sides of the House. We are not competent to criticise the provisions of the Defence of India Act, 1939, or of the Central Act of 1947 which sought to extend the life of the original Act. Nor are we competent to criticise the provisions of Madras Act II of 1951, which was passed to extend the life of the Central Act in so far as it related to immovable properties under requisition by the State Government. Of course I do not appreciate the slackness on the part of the Government in disposing of the properties which have been requisitioned under those Acts. The Government of India passed that Act at a time when war was on. The war ended somewhere in 1945, and I do not think that the conditions prevailing then still exist in 1952. We can understand the purpose of the Act better if the Government say they want a little more time to derequisition the properties. They have neglected all these years to return the properties to the owners. I should expect the other side to welcome this measure, and this Bill should not be a controversial Bill. The other side has been criticising the Government for having requisitioned properties and not returning them to the owners. Some hon. Members speak of giving compensation and some speak of returning the lands to the owners for putting them to the use for which they were intended, etc. Whatever it is, we are at a stage when the Government want to acquire some of the properties which they requisitioned. Of course there is an Act dealing with acquisition

12th May 1952] [Sri R. Lakshmi Narasimha Dora]

of lands. Government can acquire lands under that Act. I do not think the Government are justified in bringing forward this legislation and passing it in this session.

"Sir, the one thing to which I take objection is this. The original Act provides for two methods of disposing of the property. One is release from requisition and the other is acquisition of the property. Then, section 3 of the original Act says—

'Notwithstanding the expiration of the Defence of India Act, 1939, and the rules made thereunder and the repeal of the Ordinance, all requisitioned lands shall continue to be subject to requisition until the expiry of this Act and the appropriate Government may use or deal with any requisitioned land in such manner as may appear to it to be expedient :

Provided that the appropriate Government may at any time release from requisition any requisitioned land.'

Section 4 deals with the delivering back of property to the owner thereof. Section 5 deals with the power of acquisition. Sub-clause (1) of clause 4 of the Bill says—

'If at any time the State Government are of opinion that it is necessary to acquire any requisitioned land for a public purpose, they may acquire such land by publishing in the Fort St. George Gazette a notice to the effect that they have decided to acquire such land in pursuance of this section.'

The other sub-clauses in the original section, section 5, are adapted as sub-clauses (2) to (5) of clause 4 of the Bill. In this new sub-clause (1), the words 'public purpose' have been introduced which we do not find in the original section. I would invite the attention of the Hon. Minister in charge of the Bill to sub-section (3) of section 5 which runs as follows :—

'No requisitioned land shall be acquired under this section except in the following circumstances, namely :—

(a) where any works have during the period of requisition been constructed on, in or over the land wholly or partly at the expense of Government and the appropriate Government decides that the value of, or the right to use such works should be preserved or secured for the purposes of Government.

(b) Where the cost of restoring the land to its condition at the time of its requisition would, in the determination of the appropriate Government, be excessive having regard to the value of the land at that time and the owner declines to accept the release from requisition of the land without payment of compensation from Government.'

These are the only two conditions under which the property can be acquired. The new sub-clause (1) uses the words 'acquire any requisitioned land for a public purpose'. I feel that we are tinkering with these clauses because the new words introduce a new condition in addition to the two conditions already existing. I think the introduction of the term 'public purpose' is inconsistent with the two original conditions. Therefore, the term 'public purpose' may be omitted. Otherwise, it may create confusion. With these words, I submit the Bill may be accepted and no useful purpose will be served by referring it to a Select Committee because it is virtually based on an Act passed by the Central Parliament. No useful purpose will also be served by circulating it for eliciting public opinion for the same reason."

[12th May 1952]

SRI PILLALAMARRI VENKATESWARLU :—" Sir, the Government are accepting the motion for reference to a Select Committee."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Then I will put the motion to the vote of the House."

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wish to explain the position in detail and then make a suggestion. Most of the things said by hon. Members are irrelevant. The object of this Bill is not to make any requisition in order to keep any land unnecessarily and in fact, all these requisitioned lands are a mere burden so far as the State Government are concerned. The derequisitioning process is not merely a legal process. Some constructions have been made here and there; some changes have been made. We will have to hand over the property as we took. For that, we will require some time. So, derequisition is not merely a small matter on paper but it is a matter which will have to be gone into in detail and which involves some difficulties, and it has taken time. Let no one imagine either one of the two things, namely, that we want fresh power, autocratic power, to take over private people's land, or that we wish to hold property unnecessarily and wastefully for the State. If these two things are accepted, then I want the House to understand that there is a certain amount of work to be done before derequisitioning and, therefore, the legal propriety of the action of the Government in holding the property during the period required must be put in order. If we take time to derequisition and hand over the property to its owner we should have no gaps, as was pointed out earlier, wherein we hold the property without proper right to hold it. So, there was an Ordinance and this Bill has been introduced for the purpose of making the Ordinance an Act. The Ordinance protects us for six weeks from May 3 when we met to swear or from May 6th when we actually had the Speaker elected and the House constituted. We could not take risks. The Ordinance will lapse on the 14th June or so. If we have a 'select' Select Committee—I use the word 'Select Committee' in a double way—it may be a 'select' Select Committee, that is to say, the people will give their attention immediately and properly to the main issue and not look at it as if we have a fight over something, we may perhaps deal with the Bill, and any defects or omissions that may be noticed may be set right and it may be supplemented where necessary. For instance, provision regarding notice to be given before acquiring land for a public purpose, so that the other side may be heard before acquisition, has been referred to. It was not our object at all not to give notice but it may be provided for. If we could have a small Select Committee and complete all the work within, say, a week or so, we may meet rather early in June and devote a day for the Bill and have it passed. I do not wish to

12th May 1952] [Sri C. Rajagopalachari]

have unnecessary bouts with the other side in the first session. I would like to work with them in a Committee in the first session itself and see how they co-operate with me."

MR. SPEAKER :—" So, the Government accept the motion? "

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—" The motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee, by agreement, may be adopted and we may be settling the names of the Members presently so that when we meet again after lunch we will be able to give the names. We will give a list of 12 Members plus the Mover of the Bill, that is, 13, a good number for derequisitioning. (Laughter.) On behalf of the Government and on behalf of the Mover of the Bill, I accept the amendment for referring the Bill to a Select Committee and move that the number of Members of the Select Committee may be 13 instead of 17."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Then, let the hon. Member Sri Krishna Rao withdraw his amendment . . . "

SRI K. KRISHNA RAO :—" I request the leave of the House to withdraw my amendment to circulate the Bill."

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

MR. SPEAKER :—" Instead of 17 Members, the Hon. the Chief Minister wants to make it 13. I think the amendment is accepted."

The Hon. the Chief Minister's amendment was put to the House and carried.

MR. SPEAKER :—" I shall put the amended motion to the vote of the House and if it is carried, the original motion of the Hon. Minister goes. The question is—

"That the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952, be referred to a Select Committee consisting of 13 Members of the Assembly."

The motion was carried.

MR. SPEAKER :—" The names of the Members of the Select Committee would be given after lunch. We shall now take the next item on the Agenda."

* SRI P. RAMAMURTHI :—" May I make a suggestion to you, Sir? In anyway we are going to meet in the afternoon for the purpose of knowing the names of the Members of the Select Committee. There is also not much of business to be transacted in the afternoon. Therefore, I would suggest that we adjourn now and meet in the afternoon to discuss the Resolution."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I hope the Government have no objection."

[12th May 1952]

THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" No objection, Sir."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The House will now rise and meet again at 2-30 p.m."

(After lunch—2-30 p.m.)

MR. SPEAKER :—" The Hon. Minister will now give the names of Members of the Select Committee."

* THE HON. SRI M. A. MANICKAVELU NAICKER :—" I give below the names of the hon. Members who will form the Select Committee, the motion for constituting which has been approved by this House this forenoon :—

1. The Hon. Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker,
2. The Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam,
3. Sri T. Viswanatham,
4. Dr. K. B. Menon,
5. Sri S. Swayamprakasam,
6. Sri V. Gopala Gounder,
7. Sri K. Krishna Rao,
8. Sri N. Gopala Menon,
9. Sri Chinnathambi Thevar,
10. Sri S. Ramaswami Naidu,
11. Srimathi T. Kotamma Reddi,
12. Sri K. V. Vema Reddy, and
13. Sri B. Gangayya Naidu."

MR. SPEAKER :—" The question is—

"That the following hon. Members will constitute the Select Committee on the Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 (L.A. Bill No. 3 of 1952) :—

1. The Hon. Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker,
2. The Hon. Sri C. Subramaniam,
3. Sri T. Viswanatham,
4. Dr. K. B. Menon,
5. Sri S. Swayamprakasam,
6. Sri V. Gopala Gounder,
7. Sri K. Krishna Rao,
8. Sri N. Gopala Menon,
9. Sri Chinnathambi Thevar,
10. Sri S. Ramaswami Naidu,
11. Srimathi T. Kotamma Reddi,
12. Sri K. V. Vema Reddy, and
13. Sri B. Gangayya Naidu."

The motion was carried.

12th May 1952]

MR. SPEAKER :—" Under Rule 83 of the Madras Legislative Assembly Rules, I hereby nominate Hon. Sri M. A. Manickavelu Naicker, to be the Chairman of the Select Committee."

VI.—GOVERNMENT MOTION RE.

EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN CITIZENS OF CEYLON FROM RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP.

* THE HON. SRI C. SUBRAMANIAM :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the following resolution standing in my name :—

That, this Assembly expresses its deep sympathy with those citizens of Ceylon who having been settled in Ceylon for the benefit and development of the island and become citizens of Ceylon are by a series of measures sought to be excluded from the rights of citizenship conferred on the people of Ceylon.

That, this Assembly extends to these unfortunate citizens of Ceylon its fullest sympathy in their struggle for justice and equal civic rights.

That, this Assembly appeals to the better mind of the people of Ceylon to extend their support to their unfortunate brethren in their struggle for their legitimate rights.

That, this Assembly recommends to the Government to forward the above resolution to the Government of India for necessary action.

"Sir, I think any lengthy speech in support of this motion is not necessary. Before tabling this resolution, I consulted the Hon. Leader of the Opposition and also some other leaders on the other side. It is almost an agreed resolution and therefore, I am sure, it will have a smooth passage in this House. In discussing this resolution, I would like hon. Members to bear in mind that we are dealing with the independent Government of Ceylon. As far as we are concerned, we have absolutely no right to interfere with the internal administration of Ceylon. They are as much an independent country as we are. Therefore, it will not be right on our part to indulge in any kind of strong criticism against that Government. Further, ours is a State Assembly. As such, we have absolutely nothing to do with any other foreign State. In these circumstances, I request the hon. Members not to be severe in their criticism with regard to the attitude of the Government of Ceylon.

"The first part of the resolution deals with the exclusion from the rights of citizenship of certain people who have been in Ceylon for a very considerable time. They have gone there from India, and especially, from South India. No doubt, they went there to eke out their livelihood. Having gone there, by their hard work they have developed the country. I have not myself gone to Ceylon. But, I have learnt from many people who have gone

246 EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN CITIZENS OF CEYLON FROM RIGHTS
OF CITIZENSHIP

[Sri C. Subramaniam] [12th May 1952]

there and also from literature relating to Ceylon that the development of that land is mainly due to the people who have gone over there from South India, and, but for the labour and hard work of these people, Ceylon would not have been developed to its present state. Having gone there, they have settled there and have become almost residents of that island. Unfortunately, at the present time, certain fundamental rights and certain elementary rights to which ordinary residents of a country are entitled, are being denied to them. It is no doubt true that it is for the country concerned to have their own laws of citizenship. But, in having those laws of citizenship certain principles of natural justice have got to be observed. They should not exclude a certain set of persons and a certain section of the community residing in that island on the ground that they were born in another country or on the ground that they came from another country. They can prescribe a qualification that for the purposes of determining the citizenship of a person, he should have resided there continuously for a certain period. Having prescribed that qualification, they should see that all those persons who satisfied the conditions and qualifications prescribed by them are made citizens as early and as easily as possible. But we find that though the right of citizenship is sought to be conferred on Indians, all sorts of obstacles are placed against them. We also find that as a result of this, most of the Indians who are now residing in Ceylon are excluded from the rights of citizenship. Now, there is going to be an election to the Parliament of Ceylon. Those residents of Ceylon, who have gone from India and who have been residing there for a very long time are denied the right to exercise their franchise, as citizenship rights have not yet been conferred on them. Hon. Members may perhaps know that a movement has been launched thereby those residents who have been denied this elementary right. It has been the policy of the Government of India, the people of India and also the Indian National Congress that support and sympathy should be extended to those people to whom this elementary right is denied and who are being exploited by others, even though those people may live in another part of the world, completely separated from us. Not only in Ceylon, but in South Africa also, some of our brethren are facing the same fate. Of course, the present resolution does not deal with that. But, it is necessary that we should extend our sympathy and support to those unfortunate citizens who are to-day fighting for their elementary rights. We cannot be blind to the fact that they are our own kith and kin, although they may live in another part of the world. We cannot shut our eyes to their disabilities. It is but just and necessary that we should express our sympathy to them, and this we are doing by this resolution. We are watching with interest and sympathy their struggle for recognition of their citizenship rights. Our sympathies are with them.

"In this connexion, we are also appealing to the better mind of the people of Ceylon, who have got sympathy for human values. This question should be considered in the light of the entire humanity. The people of Ceylon should think that everybody should

[12th May 1952] [Sri C. Subramaniam]

have equal rights, whatever may be their place of birth. We appeal to the people of Ceylon that they must give support to those unfortunate residents who are now fighting for their legitimate rights. I am moving this resolution to express our sympathies to those residents of Ceylon who are fighting for their citizenship rights. Ceylon has got ever so many natural ties with India. Sometime back, a bogey was set up that India wanted to conquer Ceylon. It has been made clear that there was no such intention on the part of India to conquer Ceylon or to force that country to do a particular thing. We recognize Ceylon as an independent country and we have been dealing with that country as such. But we are entitled to extend our sympathy to any section of the people in any country in any part of the world, if they are suppressed, and denied even the elementary rights. It is the duty of every right-minded and democratic-minded citizen to extend his sympathy and support to the extent possible, to those oppressed people, in the matter of establishment of elementary rights. We have got a right to do this, because of our past association with Ceylon. So, I request hon. Members to pass this motion unanimously. As for sending this resolution to the Government of Ceylon, I do not think we can deal with Ceylon directly. What we can do is to send this resolution to the Government of India for taking necessary action. That will be the only right thing for us to do, as we have nothing to do with a foreign Government. With these words, I move this resolution and commend it to the honourable House."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Motion moved—

"That this Assembly expresses its deep sympathy with those citizens of Ceylon who having been settled in Ceylon for the benefit and development of the island and become citizens of Ceylon are by a series of measures sought to be excluded from the rights of citizenship conferred on the people of Ceylon.

"That this Assembly extends to these unfortunate citizens of Ceylon its fullest sympathy in their struggle for justice and equal civic rights.

"That this Assembly appeals to the better mind of the people of Ceylon to extend their support to their unfortunate brethren in their struggle for their legitimate rights.

"That this Assembly recommends to the Government to forward the above resolution to the Government of India for necessary action."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Does the hon. Member, Mr. C. Venkatakrishna Rao, move the amendment standing in his name? " 2-45 p.m.

SRI C. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO :—" No, Sir, in view of the assurance given by the Hon. the Leader of the House in his speech which embodies the spirit of my amendment."

MR. SPEAKER :—" Does Mr. R. V. Swaminathan move his amendment? "

[12th May 1952]

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—" Yes, Sir, I move—

' That this Assembly requests the Government of India to take this question to the United Nations Organization.' "

MR. SPEAKER :—" If the amendment is seconded, then the Government Motion as well as the amendment will be before the House and the House may discuss both."

SRI S. JAYARAMA REDDI :—" I second the amendment."

SRI C. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is an important resolution which is intended to support a section of the people in Ceylon who have been disfranchised. Nearly eight lakhs of Indians who have settled in Ceylon and who have developed the plantation and other industries of that country have been denied the right of citizenship. This is a gross violation of human rights. It is a pity that such a thing happens in what is called a Commonwealth and it is also a pity that a lot of prejudice is involved in this move. Sir, prejudice often results from self-interest and the Ceylonese authorities out of self-interest have denied the eight lakhs of citizens their right to vote at the elections as also their citizenship rights. What does the Ceylonese Government say? It says it is just accidental that it has happened so. I feel it is not an accident. It is an attempt to deprive a section of the people who may not like the type of Government that exists in that country of their legitimate rights. Injustice has been done to eight lakhs of Indians in Ceylon. The Government of India had addressed a conciliatory note to the Ceylonese Government that the matter might be taken up again, but the Ceylonese Government treated this matter as though it was not of much importance and said that it considered that the error had crept in only with regard to the coming elections. No, no. It has crept in for all time. It is an attempt to drive away these settlers out of Ceylon stage by stage and we have read in newspapers that the Ceylonese authorities are trying to deport hundreds after hundreds of Indian settlers there on the plea that they had gone there recently. This is the way things are happening. We are not only going to protect the rights of the Indian citizens in Ceylon who have been done an injustice, we are also going to support in this resolution the fundamental rights of the entire human race. Wherever things are done on account of prejudice we must protest. We should voice in most emphatic terms—and we should not mince words in this matter—our protest. We must tell the Ceylonese Government that even though they can claim the right to follow an independent policy they should not perpetuate this sort of injustice. It is not a question, Sir, of our taking up the cause of Indians. It is not a question of Indians or Ceylonese. It is a question of human rights being violated. These eight lakhs of people have been there for more than two or three generations. It is not their fault that their fathers had gone to Ceylon for settlement. It is not just or right that somebody else should reap the benefits of their labour and that they should be denied their elementary right of citizenship. I say, Sir,

12th May 1952] [Sri C. Venkatakrishna Rao]

it is not a conciliatory attitude that we should adopt when fundamental rights are affected. We should as a matter of fact adopt a just attitude and just attitude in this case means stiff attitude. Unless such an attitude is adopted by us, men in power in Ceylon will go the same way as their self-interest dictates. The Government of India have already adopted enough conciliatory attitude and it is time that this House warns seriously that the Ceylonese Government cannot in the name of technicalities continue to perpetrate this kind of injustice. It is not outsiders that can set the thing right. It is the Ceylonese Government themselves that are to take up the cause of Ceylonese Indians and I am sure there is enough democratic feeling in that country which supports the cause of fundamental rights for the citizens. If the Government of Ceylon are not going to protect the rights of these citizens, what is to be done by us? We believe in democracy and we should fight for it and see that the citizens of Indian origin get their rights. I do not think it is fair that the Ceylonese Government should raise the bogey of Ceylon being invaded. What I feel, Sir, is that the Ceylon Indians should not be left in the air, to the tender mercies of the ruling power in Ceylon. They should be repatriated or their rights should be protected. This is the course that is open for this House to adopt. It is a pity that, while India is said to be in the Commonwealth, Indians in a Commonwealth country should be treated as though they are slaves and serfs. When we raise this issue in this House, Sir, we must remember that there is a principle involved in it. I feel, therefore, that this Legislature and other legislative bodies in the country should voice their emphatic protest wherever and whenever the rights of citizens of Indian origin are being trampled upon and I hope the Commonwealth countries will realize this fact."

MR. SPEAKER :—" I fix ten minutes for each Member."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—" Mr. Speaker, Sir, while supporting the resolution moved by the Hon. the Leader of the House and thanking him for the same, I would like to point out that the question of Indians in Ceylon has been there for several years and yet it remains unsolved. This matter was taken up with the Ceylonese Government even before our independence. It was the Indian National Congress that first took up this matter and some of the Indian leaders also visited Ceylon in this connexion—particularly our present Prime Minister Mr. Nehru and our Chief Minister Rajaji. They tried their best to settle the issue but it is there still. What is the trouble there? There are about ten lakhs of Indians who have settled there and who want the right to vote at elections. Of these ten lakhs of persons, eight lakhs are South Indians. They want the same rights as are enjoyed by other people in Ceylon. They want franchise. Sir, the Indians in Ceylon had been enjoying certain rights and they were agitating for more. But now even the very rights they were enjoying have been taken away. Very few names are found in the electoral rolls so far as Indians are concerned. The new Act has placed certain restrictions on the

[Sri R. V. Swaminathan] [12th May 1952]

right of an Indian in Ceylon to vote. Those who want to get themselves registered as Ceylonese nationals have been denied the right to do so and this prevents them from voting at the elections. Sir, even to-day there are about two lakhs of applications pending before the Government from Indian nationals in Ceylon seeking citizenship rights. This fact has also been admitted by the Ceylonese Government and yet they have not done anything. In the Parliament of Ceylon, there are seven Indian members representing the Indian community there. Now on account of the several restrictions imposed by the new Act, none has so far filed any nomination for election to the Parliament. At a time when the Indian settlers were fighting for more rights, this Act was passed and it has taken away even those rights enjoyed by them previously.

"Then, Sir, coming to the amendment I have moved, this matter is fit to be taken before the U.N.O. After all, we can only recommend to the Central Government that this matter may be taken to the U.N.O. While we cannot do it ourselves, we can make a recommendation to the Central Government. Then, Sir, even though we are competent to make such a recommendation, it may be asked how this matter which concerns the internal administration of Ceylon can be taken there. I agree that only a dispute between two independent countries can go before the U.N.O. and not matters relating to internal administration of any country. Why then, Sir, was the question of South Africa taken to the U.N.O.? This question is the same as the South African Indian question, though in South Africa it is racial discrimination that is practised. Events in Ceylon in recent times and the statements made by the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, and the Home Minister of Ceylon have taken the question to the level of the South African Indian question. The Home Minister of Ceylon, in a statement in connexion with the satyagraha started by the Indians there, has threatened us that he cannot guarantee the safety of the Indian nationals in Ceylon. That is the statement that he has made. I am, therefore, only making a reasonable demand that this question be brought before the United Nations Organization.

3 p.m. "Recently, the Prime Minister of Ceylon made an election speech in which he made certain allegations against the Indians settled there. It looked as though it was an election stunt. He said that he cannot tolerate these 'Kuppuswamis and Ramaswamis' enter the Parliament of Ceylon. Ceylon is a member of the Commonwealth. As such, I am not able to understand such statements being made by the Prime Minister of Ceylon. Is this not racial discrimination, I ask? The people of Ceylon have no programme to put before the people during this election, to catch the imagination of the people, the voters. That is why I think they are creating this bogey of Indians in Ceylon. I feel that we can take this matter to the U.N.O. When Indians are threatened in that manner in another country, we cannot shut

12th May 1952] [Sri R. V. Swaminathan]

our eyes and keep quiet without taking any action. When Indians are humiliated there, we must take up the matter immediately and do something in the matter.

"Though a small country, Ceylon is our neighbour and we love that country, we love the people of that country and we want that country to prosper. We are no enemies of Ceylon. Only we want that a peaceful solution to this question should be found and Indians who have gone there and who have been there for generations, who have not even seen this land, should be given the citizenship right. We only request the Ceylon Government not to deny the right of citizenship to Indians in Ceylon. With these words I move my amendment and hope that the Hon. the Leader of the House will add my amendment to the resolution."

* DR. K. B. MENON :— It is unfortunate, Sir, that the cordial relations that existed between India and Ceylon have been brought to a breaking point on the eve of the elections in Ceylon, on an issue on which, I am sure, world opinion will not be on the side of Ceylon. If this proposition had been brought before the Ceylon Parliament before it was prorogued, probably that Parliament would have found a solution acceptable to both sides. It was not done. Now the Prime Minister of Ceylon is taking refuge under sentimentalism and technicalities. Was that a mere mistake or an accident? Judging from the utterances of the Prime Minister of Ceylon at the various public meetings in Ceylon where he has said that he would not like to have these 'Ramaswamis and Kuppuswamis' returned to Parliament, I am afraid he is trying to tickle the nationalism of the Ceylon nationals. That is a trick that is generally played by the ruling classes to capture and exploit their sentiments in their own interests. It is not something which is uncommon to us. The British people played on the sentimentality of our people and we have paid dearly for it. We have lost a part of India as a result of that.

"Sir, after all, the eight lakhs of people who have gone to Ceylon, went there at the invitation of the people of Ceylon. They have been there for a long time. They have worked for Ceylon. They have done everything for Ceylon. And now they feel it is their duty to apply for the citizenship of Ceylon. It is only fair to expect the people of Ceylon and the Prime Minister of Ceylon to accept and acknowledge the rights of Indians in Ceylon. If this is not done and if certain bogies and objections are raised by them the question naturally arises. 'Why is it that they are doing all this?' I am afraid the only answer I can find for that is, to divert the attention of the people from the main issues at stake in the elections. By raising this issue of Indian immigrants in Ceylon claiming their citizenship rights, he has very successfully diverted the attention of the voting public from the main economic and political issues that ought to loom large in any election campaign. To that extent I feel the Prime Minister of Ceylon and his party have succeeded in the game.

[Dr. K. B. Menon] [12th May 1952]

"Now where is a solution for this problem to be found? Is the solution to be sought in the United Nations Organization, or is it to be expected to come from the Prime Minister of Ceylon? The eight lakhs of people who ask for citizenship rights are poor people, common people and therefore our appeal also should be to the common people of Ceylon, the workers and the poor peasants of Ceylon and not to the State. I am sure the people of Ceylon will back up the cause of the Indians in Ceylon and find a satisfactory solution."

SRI K. T. KOSALRAM :—“கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே! இலங்கையில் வாழ்கின்ற எட்டு லக்ஷம் இந்தியர்களுக்கும், அவர்களது பிறப்புரிமையாகிய, பிரஜா உரிமையாகிய உவா. ருரிமையைக் கொடுக்க இலங்கை சர்க்கார் தவறி விட்டதின் காரணமாக இன்று இச் சபையிலே கொண்டுவந்துள்ள தீர்மானத் தைப்பற்றி கனம் மந்திரி அவர்களும், மற்ற அங்கத்தினர்களும் பேசினார்கள். அந்த அக்கிரமமான ஒரு செயலை எதிர்த்து இன்று காந்திய முறையில் போராடுகின்ற சத்தியாக்ஷிகளுக்கு அனுதாபம் தெரிவிக்கும் ஒரு பகுதியும் அந்தத் தீர்மானத்தில் சேர்க்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. உண்மையிலேயே இந்தியாவில் வாழும் இந்தியர்களைவிட இலங்கையிலே வாழ்கின்ற மக்கள் தான் அவர்களிடம் அதிகமாக அனுதாபம் காட்டக் கடமைப்பட்டிருக்கிறார்கள்.

“எனென்றால் சுமார் ஐம்பது வருஷ காலத்திற்கு முன்னால் இலங்கை இந்திய மரபணத்தின் ஒரு பகுதியாகவே இருந்தது. காரும், மலையுமாக அப்போது இலங்கை இருந்தது. சென்னை மாகாணத்தின் ஒரு பகுதியாக இருந்த அந்த இலங்கை மிகவும் பிற்போக்கான நிலையில் இருப்பதைக் கண்டு அப்பொழுது இருந்த மேன்மை தங்கிய கவர்னர் அவர்கள் இங்கே இருந்த இந்திய மக்களுக்கு ஒரு சரியான உறுதிமொழி கொடுத்து ‘நான் இலங்கைக்குப்போய் அதை வளமையும், செழுமையும் உள்ளதாக ஆக்குங்கள். இலங்கை செழுமைபற்றதாக இருந்தால் அது சென்னை மாகாணத்தையே பாதிக்கின்றது’ என்று சொன்னதன்பேரிலேயே இங்கிருந்து இந்தியர்கள் இலங்கைக்குக் கப்பலேற்றப்பட்டார்கள். இலங்கை சென்ற இந்தியர்கள் தங்கள் இரத்தத்தைச் சிந்தி பதலும் இரவுமாக வேலை செய்ததின் காரணத்தால்தான் இன்று இலங்கை அரசாங்கத்திற்கு தேயிலை தோட்டங்களிலிருந்தும் ரப்பர் தோட்டங்களிலிருந்தும் 100 கோடி ரூபாய் வருமானம் வந்துகொண்டிருக்கின்றது. இந்த 100 கோடி ரூபாய் வருமானம் இல்லையானால், இன்று இலங்கை அசாங்கமே இருந்திருக்க முடியாது. நம் நாட்டு இந்தியர்கள் இலங்கையிலே போய் குடியேறி இரத்தத்தைச் சிந்தி உழைக்கவில்லையானால், இந்த 100 கோடி ரூபாய் வருமானம் இலங்கை அரசாங்கத்திற்கு வந்துகொண்டிருக்காது. அப்படி நாட்டை வளமைப்படுத்தி, செழுமைப்படுத்தி அரசாங்கத்திற்கு வருமானம் வாங்கித்தந்த எட்டு லக்ஷம் தமிழர்களுக்குதான் இன்று இலங்கை அரசாங்கம் பிரஜா உரிமை கொடுக்க மறுக்கின்றது. இது மிகவும் கண்டிக்கத்தக்க நன்றிகெட்ட செய்கையாகும். இந்தமாதிரியான ஒரு விஷயத்தில் என் நண்பர் ராவ் அவர்கள் சொன்னார்கள் ‘அங்கே வாழும் இந்தியர்களுக்கு சரியான தீர்ப்பு அளிக்கப்படவேண்டும், அல்லது அவர்களைத் தாய் நாட்டிற்குத் திருப்பி அழைத்துவிடவேண்டு’ மென அவர்கள் கூறிய யோசனையை நானும் முழுமனதோடு ஆதரிக்கிறேன்.

“அதிருஷ்ட வசமாக சென்னை மாகாணத்தின் முதன் மந்திரியாக கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் இப்போது வந்திருக்கிறார். மத்திய சர்க்காரிலும் அவர் பதவி வகித்தி வந்திருக்கிறார். இலங்கைக்கும் அவர் நேரிடையே சென்று பார்த்திருக்கிறார். அங்கேயுள்ள இந்தியர்களின் நிலை என்னவென்று அவருக்கு நான் எடுத்துச் சொல்ல வேண்டியதில்லை. அங்கேயுள்ள இந்தியர்களின் உரிமை பறிக்கப்படுமென்பதால் அதைப் பார்த்துக்கொண்டு எந்தத் தமிழனும் இங்கே சும்மா இருக்கமாட்டான். இலங்கை சர்க்காரைக்

[12th May 1952] [Sri K. T. Kosalram].

கைப்பற்றிய அடலிகளும் டட்டலிகளும் பதவிக்கு வந்தவுடனேயே சட்ட சபையிலே ஒரு தொண்டைமாறோ ஒரு அஜீனோ. சுப்ரமணியனோ ஒரு தமிழன் வருவதை நான் பார்த்துக்கொண்டு சும்மா இருக்கமாட்டேன் என்பதாக பகிரங்கமாக தேர்தல் கூட்டங்களிலே இந்தியர்களுக்கு விரோதமாகப் பேசுவதைப் பார்க்கிறோம். இந்தியர்களுக்கு அளிக்கப்படும் பிரஜா உரிமையைப் பறிக்க அந்த சர்க்கார் பலவந்தமான செயல்களிலே ஈடுபடும் பொழுது நம்முடைய இந்திய ஹை கமிஷனர் அங்கே இருந்தகொண்டு என்ன செய்கிறார் என்றே தெரியவில்லை. பொதுவாக இலங்கைக்கு நியமிக்கப்படும் ஹை கமிஷனர்கள் திறமை மிக்கவர்களாகவும் தமிழர்களுடைய உரிமைகளைக் காப்பாற்றுவதற்காக போரிடக்கூடியவர்களாகவும் இருக்கும் படி இந்திய சர்க்கார் கவனித்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டியது மிகவும் அவசியமாகும். இன்று இந்தியர்களுக்குப் பிரஜா உரிமையை வழங்க மறுத்து விட்டு இலங்கை சர்க்கார் பொதுத் தேர்தலை நடத்துவதற்கு வேண்டிய தேசக் கோரிடங்களுக்குக் கொண்டு போகும்படியாகக் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். நாமும் காமன்வெல்தில் இருக்கிறோம். இலங்கையும் காமன்வெல்தின் கீழுள்ள நாடுதான். அதனால் மிகவும் தாராளமாக இந்த விஷயத்தை உலகக் கோர்ட்டுக்குக் கொண்டுபோய் பொதுத் தேர்தல் அங்கு நடக்காத படி உடனடியான தடை உத்தரவு போடுவதற்கு வேண்டிய ஏற்பாடுகளை யும் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன். இந்த விஷயமாக இந்திய சர்க்கார் அவர்களுக்கும் கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் சரியானபடி ‘அட்வைஸ்’ பண்ணவேண்டுமென்பதாகவும் நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இன்னும் ஒரே ஒரு விஷயத்தைப்பற்றி எடுத்துக் கூற விரும்புகிறேன். நம் நாட்டுச் சர்க்காரர்களான 8 லக்ஷம் இந்தியர்கள் இன்று இலங்கையில் இருப்பதால்தான் இலங்கை அரசாங்கத்திற்கு 100 கோடி ரூபாய் வருமானம் வருகிறது என்பதை யாரும் மறுக்கமுடியாது. அந்த 8 லக்ஷம் இந்தியர்களை யும் உடனடியாக இந்தியாவுக்குத் தருவித்து விட்டால், அந்த அரசாங்கத்திற்குக் கிடைத்துவரும் அத்தனை ரூபாயும் நிச்சயமாக விரயமாகிவிடுமென்பதை நான் சொல்லுவேன். அகில இந்திய காங்கிரஸ் கமிட்டிக் கூட்டத்தில் ஒரு சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் நேருஜி அவர்கள் சொன்னார்கள், அப்பொழுது கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்களும் அங்கே இருந்தார்கள். இலங்கையில் உள்ள நம்நாட்டு மக்களின் பிரஜா உரிமை பறிக்கப்படுமென்பதால் நான் சும்மாயிருக்கமாட்டேன். இவ்வாறு அவர்கள் தாய் நாட்டுக்குத் திருப்பி அழைக்கப்பட வேண்டுமென்பதாக அவர் சொல்லியதை யாரும் மறந்திருக்க முடியாது. இன்னொன்றும் சொல்லுகிறேன். பாகிஸ்தானிலிருந்து இன்று லக்ஷக் கணக்கான அகதிகளை நாம் திருப்பி அழைத்து அவர்களுக்கு இங்கே இருக்க இடமளிக்கவில்லையா? சென்னை மாகாணத்தில் மாதிரம் இன்று 10 ஆயிரம் அகதிகள் வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அதைப்போலவே இன்று இலங்கையிலுள்ள நம் இந்தியர்கள் யாவரையும் திருப்பி அழைத்திவிட வேண்டியதுதான் மிகவும் முக்கியமான காரியம். அப்படி திருப்பி அழைத்துவிட்டால் நிச்சயமாக இலங்கை சர்க்காருக்குக் கிடைத்து வரும் நூறு கோடி ரூபாய் வருமானமும் நின்றுபோய்விடும். அதிலிருக்கும் இந்த விஷயத்தை நம் நாட்டுத் தலைவர்கள் யாருமே புரிந்து கொள்ளவில்லையென்று நான் நினைக்கிறேன். நம் நாட்டு இந்தியர்கள், இப்போது அங்கே உள்ளவர்கள் நிச்சயமாக சோம்பேறிகள் அல்ல. இலங்கையிலுள்ள காடுகளையும், மலைகளையும் அழித்து அதை செழிப்புள்ள ரப்பர் தோட்டங்களாகவும், தேயிலை தோட்டங்களாகவும் ஆக்கிய உழைப்பாளி மக்கள் அவர்கள். அவர்களை திருப்பி இந்தியாவுக்கே அழைத்தாலும் அவர்கள் இங்கேயுள்ள காடுகளையெல்லாம் நன்றாக விலகாய நிலமாக்கிப் பாடுபட்டு இங்கேயுள்ளவர்களை எல்லாம் நன்றாக உற்பத்திப் பொருளை பெருக்குவார்கள். உழைத்து நிச்சயமாக நம் நாட்டு உற்பத்திப் பொருளை பெருக்குவார்கள். அதில் யாரும் சந்தேகப்படவேண்டியதில்லை. அதனால் அங்கேயிருக்கும் எட்டு லக்ஷம் தமிழர்களும் திருப்பி அழைக்கப்படுவார்களென்பதால் எப்படி அவர்கள் ஜீவிக்க வழி செய்வது என்பதைப் பற்றிக் கவலைப்படவேண்டாம். அவர்கள் ஜீவிக்க வழி செய்வது என்பதைப் பற்றிக் கவலைப்படவேண்டாம். குறிப்பாக அங்கே வாழும் இந்தியர்கள் தங்கள் தாயகமாகிய இந்தியாவில் வாழும் மக்கள் தங்கள் விஷயமாக என்ன செய்யப்போகிறார்களோ என்று

[Sri K. T. Kosalrain] [12th May 1952]

ஆவலோடு எதிர்பார்த்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். சாதாரண முறையிலும் போராட்டம் நடத்த ஆரம்பித்திருக்கிறார்கள். இலங்கை அரசாங்கம் அவர்களுடம் சரியான முறையிலே நடக்கத் தவறிவிட்டது. இந்த இக்கட்டான நிலையில் நாம் அவர்களுக்கு சரியானபடி உதவி செய்து அவர்கள் நம் மீது வைத்திருக்கும் நம்பிக்கைக்குப் பாதிரமாக வேண்டும். நண்பர் ஸ்ரீ சாமிநாதன் அவர்கள் சொன்னதுபோல உலகக் கோர்ட்டுக்கு உடனடியாக இவ் விஷயத்தை எடுத்துச் சென்று அங்கே தேர்தல் நடக்காதபடி தடுக்க தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுக்கவேண்டுமென்பதாக கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் இந்தியப் பிரதம மந்திரி நேருஜி அவர்களை வலியுறுத்திக் கேட்டுக் கொள்ள வேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.

“இலங்கை அரசாங்கம் சுதந்திர நாடாக இருக்கிறது. பண்டார நாயகர் அங்கேயிருக்கும் தமிழர்களுக்கு இருக்கின்ற எல்லா உரிமைகளையும் பறித்து விடுவதற்குக் கங்கணம் கட்டிக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார். இலங்கை சுதந்திரம் அகடந்தபோதிலும் அங்கேயிருக்கின்ற அமெரிக்க ஆங்கில முதலாளிகளிடம் அவர்கள் சம்பம் எதுவும் காட்டமுடியவில்லை. ஆனால் இலங்கையில் மிக அருகில் இருக்கும் இந்திய நாட்டின் கூலி மக்களிடம் அவர்கள் நடந்து கொள்ளும் முறை மிகவும் வெட்கப்படத் தக்கதாகும். நாமும் அதைப் பார்த்துக்கொண்டு வாளாயிருப்பது மிகவும் சரியான முறையல்ல. இன்று இலங்கையிலுள்ள எட்டு லட்சம் தமிழர்களும் அவ்வரசாங்கத்தின் நடத்தைக்கு எதிராக போராட்டம் ஆவங்கியிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கு உதவி செய்ய எங்கள் திருநெல்வேலி மாவட்டத்திலிருந்து மாத்திரம் பல்லாயிரக் கணக்கான மக்கள் இலங்கை செல்ல ஒவ்வொரு நிமிஷமும் துடித்துக் கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் அங்கே செல்ல இந்திய அரசாங்கம் பாஸ் போர்டு கொடுத்து உதவி செய்யாவிட்டாலும் பரவாயில்லை. வாயை மூடிக்கொண்டு சும்மா இருந்தாலே போதுமானது. கடற்கரை யோரமாக உள்ள அதிகாரிகளை கொஞ்சம் கண்ணை மூடிக்கொண்டிருங்கள் என்று சொல்லி விட்டாலே போதுமானது. திருநெல்வேலி மாவட்ட மக்கள் அங்கே சென்று காந்திய முறையில், அஹிம்சா முறையில் அவர்கள் நடத்தும் போராட்டத் திற்கு தங்களுடைய உதவிகளை எல்லாம் கொடுத்து அவர்கள் போராட்டம் வெற்றியடைய எல்லாவற்றையும் செய்வார்கள். ஆகையினால் நான் கனம் பிரதம மந்திரி அவர்களை மிகவும் தாழ்மையாகக் கேட்டுக்கொள்வது இது தான். இலங்கை செல்ல விரும்புவோர்களுக்கு கேட்டுக்கொள்வது இது கொடுங்கள். இல்லையானால் கடற்கரைப் பக்கமுள்ள அதிகாரிகளை கண்ணை மூடிக்கொண்டு சும்மா பேசாமல் இருக்கச் சொல்லுங்கள். என்ன நடக்கிற தென்பதை பின்னர் பார்த்துக் கொள்ளலாம், என்பது தான்.

“இலங்கைக்குச் சுதந்திரம் வாங்கிக் கொடுத்தவர்கள் இந்தியர்கள் தான். இதை இலங்கை சர்க்காரும் மறுக்க முடியாது. வேறு யாரும் மறக்க முடியாது. அப்படி இலங்கைக்கே சுதந்திரம் வாங்கிக்கொடுக்க போராடிய இந்தியர்களுக்கு இப்போது பிரஜா உரிமை கொடுக்க மறுக்கப்படும்போது அதை இந்தியா பேசாமல், பார்த்துக்கொண்டிருந்தால் இந்தியாவுக்கு அதை எதிர்க்க தைரியம் இல்லையென்றே அர்த்தமாகிவிடும். அதற்காக குறிப்பாக ஒரே ஒரு விஷயத்தை கனம் மந்திரி அவர்களுக்குச் சொல்லுகிறேன். முன்பு ஸ்ரீ கிரி அவர்கள் இந்திய ஸ்தானிகராக அங்கே இருந்தார்கள். இப்போது ஸ்ரீ மேன்ன் இருக்கிறார்கள். யாரும் அங்கேயுள்ள தமிழர்களின் நலன்களைக் குறித்துப் பாடுபடுவதாகவே தெரியவில்லை. வெளி நாடுகளுக்கு ஸ்தானிகரை நியமித்தால் அவர்கள் தங்கள் நாட்டு மக்களின் உரிமைகளை முதலில் பாதுகாக்கப் பாடுபடக் கூடியவர்களாக இருக்கவேண்டியது மிகவும் அவசியமாகும். அதனால், இலங்கைக்கும் சரியான ஸ்தானிகரை நியமித்து அங்குள்ள தமிழர்களின் உரிமைகளைப் பாதுகாத்துக் கொள்ள தக்க வழியைச் செய்யுமாறு கனம் பிரதம மந்திரி நேருஜி அவர்களை கனம் ராஜாஜி அவர்கள் கேட்டுக்கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்பதாக நான் கேட்டுக்கொண்டு இந்த தீர்மானத்தை முழுமனதுடன் ஆதரிக்கிறேன்.”

1-15 * SRI M. KALYANASUNDARAM:—“Mr. Speaker, Sir, I support the main motion moved by the Hon. Minister Mr. C. Subramaniam. I think many will be surprised that I am

12th May 1952] [Sri M. Kalyanasundaram]

supporting the main motion and opposing the amendment moved by my friend Sri R. V. Swaminathan. Although for the purpose of playing to the gallery, the Hon. Minister Mr. C. Subramaniam stated the other day that the role of the Opposition is to oppose each and everything for the sake of opposing at any time and every time, whether it is good or bad, I, as one belonging to the Opposition can say that we are here to make the Treasury Benches become wise and sober. We are not here to oppose anything for the sake of mere opposition. If the hon. Members sitting on the Treasury Benches would go through the amendments moved to the motion on the Address of His Excellency they would find notice of an amendment by my friend Mr. Balakrishna Servai. He was then very hesitating and at one time he even thought of withdrawing the amendment. But since there was no conciliatory reply from the Treasury Benches he did not withdraw his amendment but pressed it to a vote. I am glad at least today we are supporting this motion which is before the House.

“Let us realize that when we are supporting the motion championing the cause of the citizens of Ceylon of Indian origin, we are also supporting the cause of democracy in Ceylon. These eight lakhs of Indians who are now denied citizenship rights in Ceylon are mostly people employed in the tea and rubber estates owned mostly by the British people. Before the attainment of Independence, the British were ruling Ceylon. Their policy of divide and rule has not even now ended in Ceylon. If the British interests in Ceylon are to be protected they can carry on only by their life-long policy of divide and rule. This is the secret behind the denial of citizenship rights to the Indians settled there. Their attempt is to divide the forces of democracy in Ceylon. We should not forget this fact when we deal with this problem.

“The Indians who have settled there and who have contributed so much for the development of Ceylon are now denied their legitimate rights. Their interests are identical with those of the Ceylonese people themselves. Naturally we could expect support from the Ceylonese people themselves for the cause of Indians. Even the democratic parties in Ceylon are supporting the cause of these eight lakhs of unfortunate Indians. In spite of all these, the ruling classes in Ceylon are adamant in denying citizenship rights to our unfortunate brethren. For this unfortunate state of affairs the foreign policy of the Indian Government requires examination.

“An amendment has been given notice of by my friend Mr. R. V. Swaminathan that the matter be referred to the United Nations Organization. We have had bitter experience of the United Nations through our Kashmir issue. We know what is going to happen to Kashmir ultimately and we also know what is going to be the attitude of the people of Kashmir towards India. We gain nothing in inviting the United Nations Organization to interfere in our affairs. This is a similar matter between the people of India and the people of Ceylon. Reference of this issue

[Sri M. Kalyanasundaram] [12th May 1952]

to the United Nations Organization would mean an invitation to the Imperialists to interfere in our affairs, and to increase the bitterness between India and Ceylon. The Hon. Minister Mr. C. Subramaniam may oppose the amendment of Mr. R. V. Swaminathan for different reasons. Possibly he may object to the amendment on the ground that such an action on our part may embarrass the Central Government. But I am not concerned with the Central Government or this Government; with this party or that. I am concerned with the legitimate interests of the people of Ceylon. While supporting the cause of the Indians in Ceylon we should raise our voice against ill-treatment meted out by the Imperialists to our brethren whether in Malaya or Africa or Burma or Indonesia. This problem is closely linked with the freedom struggle of the natives of all these countries over the colonial rule. If we keep in mind what is happening to our people in Malaya and take proper action, that will be heartening to our brethren in Ceylon. If we keep mum, then the ruling classes in Ceylon will be emboldened to exploit our people still more. I should say that for all these unfortunate happenings our foreign policy is to be blamed.

"I also wish to make one more submission. There are nearly eight lakhs of Indians who are now denied the fundamental right of citizenship in spite of their having taken Ceylon as their motherland. We must also demarcate from them certain other kinds of people who claim equal facilities with the Indians but who in reality are making huge fortunes at the expense of the Ceylonese people. We should never support the claim of such kind of people who do good neither to our fair name nor to Ceylon.

"Sir, I think I have made my points clear. With these words, I support the main motion moved by the Hon. Minister Mr. C. Subramaniam and oppose the amendment given notice of by my friend, Mr. R. V. Swaminathan. In conclusion, I wish to observe, Sir, that we, the members of the Opposition, are here not to oppose everything and speak empty words but to make the Government wise and sober. We do not believe in empty threats, nor are we going to be cowed down by the threats."

* DR. P. VARADARAJULU NAIDU :—"Mr. Speaker, the question of refusal of citizenship rights to the Indians in Ceylon is not a simple question; it has a great political importance. During the last fifty years, the British who had been ruling Ceylon knowing that we Indians would ultimately be free, wanted to create anti-Indian feeling either on communal basis or on religious basis or on territorial basis. In these three things, they succeeded. As a result of such a policy by Britain even in Burma, we are all aware how our people were driven from that country. Next comes Ceylon. In South Africa, the condition is really worse. Some of my friends have written to me that they would be returning to India very soon. A great danger is involved when the Ceylon Government refuses to give our people their elementary right of citizenship.

12th May 1952] [Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu]

"The British or any other nation in the world think that South Indians, like the Scotch people, are the most intelligent, and wherever they go, whether to Ceylon, Malaya, Burma, or Africa, or even to America, they come forward very well. Not only as labourers have they succeeded in establishing a reputation as hard-working wage-earners, but as businessmen also they have come up very well. But, now the question involved is merely political.

"Sir, when I had been to Ceylon in 1937 to preside over the Tamilar Conference in that country, I said, in my speech at Kandy, that, when India got freedom, Ceylon should be our naval base. Now, it is going out of our influence. Ceylon had been part of our country for centuries. Those who have watched the history of the development of Ceylon will see that particularly the Tamilians have done yeoman service to that country. Even to-day in the Colombo Museum, there is a crown and a special throne depicting Tamil culture, which shows that the civilization of Ceylon is based entirely on Tamil culture. Now, they want to send the Indians away, not because they are not wanted there, but because the British people do not want the Indian sphere of influence to spread in any of the neighbouring countries of India.

"Then, Sir, to add to our troubles, in Pakistan we are not wanted; we are not wanted in upper India where there is a distinct dislike of Madras; in Ceylon we are not wanted; and in Burma we are not wanted. Therefore, Sir, we must take serious note of the situation. Again, Sir, we are supposed to be members of the Commonwealth. A grave doubt has come into my mind whether it is worth while to be in the Commonwealth when they are not able to protect our people within the Commonwealth. Therefore, I think a time may come when we have to disown our relationship with the Commonwealth entirely.

"Now, Sir, however much we differ from the Communists and the Soviet policy in countries within the Russian sphere of influence, we do not have this kind of disparity or distinction created or communalism fomented. Whenever the British have had their influence, we are now eating the bitter fruits of their influence. Therefore, Sir, there is no use taking our case before the U.N.O. as suggested by an hon. Member. U.N.O. is a huge fraud played on the world. The U.N.O. was created after the Second World War. After the First World War, they had what they called the League of Nations; and the Second World War brought forth the U.N.O. We have had bitter experience as regards taking our case before the U.N.O. You know what happened in the case of Kashmir. They are not going to solve the Kashmir problem during our lifetime; they will keep it perpetually burning, so that we do not come together. So, Sir, in regard to the suggestion that we may take the Ceylon question before the U.N.O., I hope that mistake will not be committed. Sir, the solution of the problem lies in the hands of the Government of India. If the Government of India and the Government of Madras cannot have the courage to solve the problem, I can say with all the force I can command

[Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu] [12th May 1952]

that the time will come when the Tamilians will take their armies to that country and rescue our people. With these words, I support the resolution."

* SRI V. BALAKRISHNAN :—Mr. Speaker, Sir, my amendment to the motion of thanks to His Excellency for his Address contained a similar object, but unfortunately, it got miscarried. Of course, it was not intended to carry a negative sense or even remotely to imply a censure. It was, on the other hand, purely informative and suggestive and nothing more. It was intended to convey to the Government of India the anxiety of the people of the Madras State who rightly feel that they are connected with their compatriots in Ceylon who are involved in the Satyagraha movement.

" Sir, the Ceylon Indian problem is essentially a Ceylon-Madras problem, because 95 per cent. if not more, of the people involved are all descendents of the original inhabitants of the Madras State. Though my amendment to the motion of thanks fell through, I am, however, happy at the appearance of this resolution. The situation in which I am, now could best be described by quoting the famous Tamil homely story of the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law for the benefit of the non-Tamil Members of the House. The arrival of a new daughter-in-law provoked the mother-in-law so much that the mother-in-law, seeing a beggar in front of her daughter-in-law with a begging bowl receiving grains from her, and feeling zealous of her own rights over the house, rushed to the beggar, turned the bowl upside down and reprimanded her daughter-in-law. Not content with that, to display her right, she herself took a handful of grains and put them into the bowl. In the same manner, the Government were unwilling to allow my amendment with the same object to go through, but have now come forward with this resolution to their credit. Irrespective of the authors, I welcome this resolution and I support the main motion wholeheartedly.

" Now, Sir, coming to the resolution itself, it is somewhat obscure and little wide of the mark—mere verbal sympathies and no concrete suggestions. The question of the citizenship of Ceylon has been once for all decided and it has been accepted by the Ceylon Government, by the Government of India and the Ceylon Indian Congress. They have defined their laws, just as each country according to its needs and conditions has stipulated who shall be admitted to its citizenship and who shall not be. Every independent country has its own laws of citizenship. All citizenship laws of the countries in the world are not uniform. For instance, myself, though of Ceylon origin 100 per cent, had to obtain Indian citizenship right according to the Indian laws and I had to go through all the required proofs and formalities of the laws of India. No doubt, the citizenship laws of Ceylon are rigorous and severe compared to those of some other countries. Can we blame Ceylon because their laws are severe and rigorous while our laws are easy

12th May 1952] [Sri V. Balakrishnan]

and not difficult? The Ceylon laws cannot be easily complied with and are beyond the capacity of our ordinary folk who are there for centuries and generations.

" The immediate issue has passed beyond the principle of citizenship and is not immediately concerned with the eight or nine lakhs of Ceylon Indians. Of these several lakhs of Indians who were given time to apply for citizenship, only about 2½ lakhs of Indians applied; and of these, nine thousands have been registered. The bone of contention is with regard to these 2½ lakhs of applicants who were on the electoral registers at the time of the last elections, but are now omitted. Before Ceylon obtained Dominion Independence under the Donoughmore Commission scheme, every resident in Ceylon who had lived there for five years previously and six months immediately before the registration of voters, was given the right of franchise and on that basis a large number of estate labourers living in estates found their names on the voting registers; and consequently many Ceylon Indians—as many as seven—were able to find seats in the Ceylon Parliament and two or three more non-Indians with sympathies for Ceylon Indians also got elected with the support of Indian voters. In independent Ceylon with her rigorous laws, the once enfranchised Indian voters became disfranchised and the chance of even a single Indian getting elected was nullified and the political power of Indians to influence the policy of Ceylon was automatically lost. This, in short is the present situation that has overtaken the Ceylon Indians. The late Prime Minister, Mr. Don Senanayake died suddenly. His son, the Minister for Agriculture—Mr. Dudley Senanayake was appointed to succeed his father as Prime Minister, and after ten days of office as Prime Minister, he dissolved the Parliament to obtain the mandate of his people for his succession to his father as the Prime Minister. With the Indian names out of the registers, and with the two lakhs and odd applications pending, the general elections in Independent Ceylon, for the first time excludes Indians. The Indians were taken by surprise and for the first time statutorily, they have become ineligible and are political outcasts, and naturally an unhappy situation has arisen for our people. Constitutional protests were made without any success. As a last resort Satyagraha was decided upon. I witnessed the inauguration of the Satyagraha. I watched its operation for a week from day to day. It must be said to the credit of the Satyagrahis and their supporters that the satyagraha was absolutely peaceful, and perfectly non-violent in thought, word and deed. Mr. Speaker, Sir, as an observer and as one who is genuinely interested in cordial Indo-Ceylon relations, and who is publicly and personally devoted to both countries—to Ceylon as the land of my birth and growth and to India as the land of my adoption and public life—I ascertained the impression of the Ceylonese people in tramcars, buses, roads, saloons, etc. The opinion of the indigenous people of the country was that the satyagraha, irrespective of the merits of citizenship—was most ill-timed and inopportune. The country is going through

[Sri V. Balakrishnan] [12th May 1952]

a general election and this is a time when passions are roused easily and tension quickly created, in which the majority people remember their rights only and forget their duties. A slight mishap or an indiscreet word or deed is bound to become exaggerated and enlarged publicly and the consequence is racial hostility and class animosity driving the partisans to violence and physical strife. That is one opinion I obtained from the indigenous people, from the highest to the lowest. These apprehensions are shared widely by many Indians and their representative institutions. It is for this reason that the Indian Mercantile Chamber of Commerce and the Nattukkottai Chettiar's Association are standing out. I also approached the leaders of the movement, Mr. Aziz and Mr. Tondaman, and discussed this matter with them on the verandah of the Prime Minister while they were at satyagraha. Their opinion was that the time factor was the making of the Ceylon Government. They, the Ceylon Indians, had been forced into this situation because, even while the applications were pending and the entire community was disfranchised, without giving any chances to those who have applied, the General Elections were being rushed through purposely to exclude even the small number who have chosen to apply for voting rights. This being the first General Elections in Independent Ceylon and the Indians who were born and who lived and laboured in the country as the heirs of their ancestors who have enriched the country, should feel pride and pleasure in participating in the elections of an Independent Ceylon. They do not want to go down in history as having just played the part of spectators: they would rather go down in history fighting non-violently for their rights than become insignificant and passive political outcasts. The satyagraha was born of this feeling, Mr. Speaker, that is just and inevitable with which, I am sure, every one in this House would agree.

"Sir, last year, in 1951, I casually discussed this matter—Ceylon Indian problem—with the present Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, who was then the Minister for Agriculture, under his father, Mr. Don Senanayake. The present Prime Minister, my one-time classmate and playmate at St. Thomas College, though then not connected directly with this question, observed that the Ceylon citizenship laws were equal and fair to all; that Indian had not been discriminated as such and that Ceylon would never be unfair and unjust to anybody, particularly to Indians.

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, the immediate point is how best to effect an amicable settlement leading to the withdrawal of satyagraha. The General Elections should be over in a month and as the polling dates draw near, tension is bound to increase, tempo to aggravate, and recrimination to spread. Today's papers announce that 70 satyagrahis have been called up, and with the actual voting days fast approaching, feelings on both sides are bound to become enraged and embittered. Is this situation to continue, each day widening the gulf? If no solution is possible, at best the growing tension should be eased.

12th May 1952] [Sri V. Balakrishnan]

"Mr. Speaker, Sir, Satyagraha in this country is entirely different to the movement in Ceylon. The backgrounds of the movements in India, Ceylon and South Africa are fundamentally different, though common objectively. In India we fought against foreign domination. In South Africa the indigenous South Africans made common cause with us against a microscopic minority of Whites. Whereas in Ceylon, non-Ceylonese—or at best those whose rights according to prescribed laws have yet to be recognized—are struggling against the nationals of the country at a time of public abnormality. This difference in background must not be lost sight of. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was born under a tea bush, grew on a tea estate; every inch of my body and every drop of my blood is of Ceylon origin, growth and development. I cannot contemplate any coldness and deterioration of feelings between Ceylon and India—between my natural mother and my adopted mother.

"Sir, two suggestions to break the situation were current in Colombo during my stay. One suggestion emanating from the Ceylonese side was to provide three representatives to the Ceylon Indians by nomination. The Ceylon Indian Congress is, on principle, definitely against representation by nomination. The other suggestion from the Ceylon Indian circles is to declare the seven Indian constituencies as dual-member constituencies and to have by-elections to these constituencies after the General Elections, on the 1949 electoral basis, thus enabling Indians to choose their representatives. This suggestion which concedes the Ceylon Indians' demand is considered to be impractical, since it involves constitutional changes.

"Sir, a deadlock exists, satyagraha continues, bitterness grows. I appeal to our Chief Minister to take up the matter with our Central Government and devise ways to stop the widening gulf. Many a difficult knot in this country has been untied by our Chief Minister.

"Sir, I suggest that a Goodwill Mission be sent from this country to Ceylon to meet both parties and evolve an amicable settlement. Let our anxieties be allayed. Let the cordiality and affinity that have existed through centuries between the two countries be not marred; let them grow and flourish. Let us pray for success to the cause of our compatriots in Ceylon. Let us with equal fervour pray for the emergence of our people from this ordeal without any bitterness or ill-will against the Ceylon people, should the object be not achieved who were on the electoral registers at the time of the last elections and who are now omitted.

"Sir, in this connexion, I would like to make one or two suggestions for a solution of the problem. While I say it, I want to refer to one proposal connected with an undertaking between the leaders of parties contesting the elections, namely, that constituencies where Indian settlers have lived—which are about seven or eight—shall be declared as dual-member constituencies and that after the general elections are over, a re-election be held for these constituencies and opportunity given to disfranchised Indians, to

[Sri V. Balakrishnan] [12th May 1952]

exercise their franchise and allow them to select their own men. It was also said that Indians might be nominated to Parliament. But, on this question of nomination, Mr. Tondaiman and Mr. Rajalingam were emphatic and they were not prepared to accept nomination. I would plead with the Hon. Chief Minister to make some concrete proposals to the Government of India, so that they may take up the question in right earnest and allay the anxieties of the people of the Madras State.

"Sir, I am a man of Ceylon origin and every inch of my body and every drop of blood in my body owes its origin to Ceylon. The whole of the island consists of tea estates and I shall not like any diminution in the cordiality of feelings that exists between Ceylon and India and I am prepared to give my life for it. I would plead with the Hon. Chief Minister to see that the relationship between these two peoples, which is already deteriorating, does not deteriorate to an irretrievable extent."

3-45 P.M. JANAB K. M. SEETHI:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I wholeheartedly support the resolution which embodies the desire of the people of the Madras State to get bare justice at the hands of the Ceylon Government for the Ceylonese citizens who have the sin of their having been Indians at one time. The citizenship rights which our erstwhile countrymen and the present citizens of Ceylon claim should not be denied to them by any canon of justice or equity. Those countrymen are now suffering and struggling for getting justice done to them. The discrimination against Indians in various parts of the world affects our very self-respect. It is a dramatic irony that discrimination is shown against a people born in a country where a great sage was born who gave to Ceylon its religion and philosophy of which the Ceylonese are proud even to-day. It is a double irony that an Asiatic country like Ceylon, which should maintain good-neighbourly relations with India with which she has very many ties of kinship, should indulge in narrow ideas of nationalism and discriminate against Indian born citizens of Ceylon. As a matter of fact, the prosperity of Ceylon is the result of the contribution made by Indian labour and Indian trade and commerce. Sheer gratitude requires the Ceylonese to concede to the Indian born citizens of Ceylon, the citizenship right which they are now asking for. Indians did not go there as birds of passage to snatch certain advantages which they did not deserve. They went to Ceylon to settle permanently and shared in the weal or woe of that country. To deny franchise rights to full-fledged citizens of Ceylon is a denial of justice to a section of humanity. We have to do our utmost in expressing our sympathy and supporting the cause for which our erstwhile countrymen are struggling in Ceylon. As has been said by the hon. Member who just sat down, all conciliatory measures have to be adopted to find a peaceful settlement of this question. The High Commissioner of India in Ceylon was very conciliatory. He did his best to convert the Ceylon Government to a reasonable frame of mind, but failed. I believe the Government of India also are taking a conciliatory attitude and carrying on negotiations with the Ceylon Government

12th May 1952] [Janab K. M. Seethi]

for a peaceful solution of this problem. Though our attempts till now have failed, there is no reason to despair. We have to persevere in our attempts to find a peaceful settlement.

"If we accept the amendment for referring the matter to the U.N.O., I feel it may be taken by the outside world that we are not serious about it at all. When one does not feel about a matter seriously, a reference to the U.N.O. may be thought of. We have so many other ways for getting justice done to our countrymen. Till all these means are exhausted, we should not even think of the U.N.O. for settling this problem. I oppose the amendment and wholeheartedly support the main resolution."

SRI A. S. SAHAJANANDAM:—"கனம் தலைவர் அவர்களே, சிலோன் முன்பு ஒரு காலத்தில் சென்னை கவர்னரடைய ஆட்சியில் இருந்தது. அந்த விஷயங்களைப்பற்றி பல அங்கத்தினர்கள் எடுத்துச்சொன்னார்கள். சிலோனிலுள்ள காடுகளை அழிக்க இந்தியாவிலுள்ள வைசியர்களும், வட நாட்டு ஷேட்களும் தங்களுடைய பணத்தைக் கொட்டினார்கள். தமிழ் நாட்டிலுள்ள ஏழை ஜனங்கள் அந்த நாட்டிற்கு அந்தக் காலத்தில் சென்று அந்த நாட்டை வளம்பெறச் செய்து அந்த நாட்டை நல்ல ஸ்திதிக்குக் கொண்டுவந்தார்கள். நான் ஒரு சமயம் சிலோனுக்குச் சென்றிருந்தேன். அங்கு போய் பார்த்தபோது நம்முடைய தமிழ் நாட்டு ஜனங்கள் அங்கு வேலைசெய்யும் பொருட்டு குளிரில் தேயிலை தோட்டத்தில் கீழே உட்கார்ந்து கொண்டும், படுத்துக்கொண்டும், நிற்கும்படியாகவும் இருந்துகொண்டிருந்தார்கள். அப்பொழுது அவர்களை கண்ணால் பார்த்தேன். அவ்விதம் அந்த நாட்டை நல்ல நிலைமைக்குக் கொண்டுவந்தவர்களுக்கு நன்றி பாராட்டாமல் அந்த நாட்டு சர்க்கார் இருப்பது மிகவும் விசனிக்கத்தக்க விஷயமாகும். உலகம் எல்லாம் சுதந்தரம் அடைந்துவரும் இந்த சமயத்தில் இந்தியர்களுக்கு சிலோன் கவர்ன்மெண்டு உரிமையைக் கொடுக்க தவறி விட்டது. அது மிகவும் விசனிக்கத்தக்கதாக இருக்கிறது. அங்கே கனம் கே. நரசே அய்யர், 'ஆனாபன்,' மெம்பராக இருந்தார் அந்த காலத்தில். அவரும் போட்டுப்பெற்றும் வந்தார். அவருக்கு இப்பொழுது உரிமை எவ்வாறு போனது என்பது தெரியவில்லை. இந்தியர்கள் விட்டிவிட வேண்டுமென்ற நோக்கத்துடன் இப்போது அங்கே இந்த வேலையைச் செய்கிறார்கள். ஆகையினால் இங்கே இருக்கும் நம்முடைய சென்னை கவர்ன்மெண்டின் முதல் மந்திரி அவர்கள் அதற்கு தீவிரமான முயற்சி எடுத்துக்கொண்டால் உடனே அவர்கள் பணிவார்கள். அவர்களும் உடனே பணியத்தான்வேண்டும். கனம் கோசல்ராம் அவர்கள் சொன்னமாதிரி அங்கே இலங்கையிலுள்ள 8 லட்சம் இந்தியர்களையும் இங்கே வரவழைத்து காப்பாற்ற வேண்டுமென்றால் அது முடியாத காரியம். ஆனால் அவர்கள் இங்கு வந்தால், சிலோன் கவர்ன்மெண்டு கவிழ்ந்துபோய்விடும். 'இலங்கை இந்தியர்களுக்கு இங்கே பிழைப்புக்கு வசதி கிடையாது. ஏற்கனவே அவர்கள் இங்கு பிழைப்பு இல்லாவிடில் அந்தக் காலத்தில் மலேயா, பர்மா முதலிய இடங்களுக்கும் சிலோனுக்கும் போய் குடியேறினார்கள். அங்விதம் அங்கு குடியேரியும் இப்பொழுது அவர்களுக்கு அங்கே உரிமை கிடைக்கவில்லை. அங்குள்ளவர்களைக் காப்பாற்ற இந்தியா கவர்ன்மெண்டும், சென்னை கவர்ன்மெண்டும் தக்க நடவடிக்கை எடுத்துக் கொண்டு சிலோனிலுள்ள ஜனங்களுக்கு உரிமைகளை வாங்கிக் கொடுக்கும்படி கேட்டுக்கொண்டு இந்த தீர்மானத்தை முழுமனதுடன் ஆதரிக்கிறேன்."

SRI P. K. GOPALAKRISHNAN:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion. I have a special responsibility to support this motion because not less than ten thousand Indians in Ceylon are from my constituency. Mr. Dudley Senanayake, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, said that the Indians had one leg in Ceylon and another leg elsewhere. I think he wants to make the

[Sri P. K. Gopalakrishnan] [12th May 1952]

people misunderstand the whole position. There are several lakhs of Indians in Ceylon. All of them are not demanding the franchise right; only those who have chosen to be citizens of Ceylon and have made Ceylon their home are demanding this elementary human right. It is the duty of every democratic citizen of the world to raise his voice in support of the cause of these Indians. Democratic opinion in Ceylon is already rising in favour of the Indians there and certain parties there have expressed themselves in favour of the Indian cause. I think the Government of Ceylon have a definite motive in denying the franchise right to the Indians in Ceylon. Ceylon for long has been a colony of British Imperialism and she still continues to be so. Economically Ceylon is still dominated by British Imperialists, British planters, British bankers and British capitalists. The people of Ceylon are fighting against British imperialism for the attainment of real independence and democracy. The Ceylon Government want to misrepresent to the people that the Indians are responsible for some of their troubles and not the Britishers, and thereby divert the attention of the people from their struggle for real independence. As was said by my hon. Friend Mr. Kalyanasundaram, in supporting the demands of Indians in Ceylon, we are voicing the cause of democracy, the cause of the struggle of the people of Ceylon for real freedom.

"With regard to the amendment, I think, that nothing can be achieved by referring the matter to the U.N.O. We have already referred the Kashmir question to that body and it is delaying a solution of this question indefinitely. We find that imperialists want to divide the two neighbouring countries of India and Pakistan. If this question is taken to the U.N.O., the imperialists, mainly the American imperialists who are dominating that body, will adopt their old policy of divide and rule and will never solve this problem satisfactorily and quickly. We know that the traditional policy of America is to exterminate the Negroes and Red Indians there and the American-dominated U.N.O. will never fight for the just cause of Indians in Ceylon. So I oppose the amendment and wholeheartedly support the motion. I extend the good wishes of the people of this State to the struggle of the Ceylonese people for real independence. Application of coercion or economic sanctions or reference of the matter to the U.N.O. will not solve the problem. Only by the creation of democratic opinion throughout the world, a real and lasting solution can be found to this problem of the denial of the just civic rights to the Indians in Ceylon."

* SRI K. R. VISWANATHAN :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I give my wholehearted support to the Government motion expressing sympathy and offering support to the unfortunate Ceylonese Indians in their struggle to establish the rights of citizenship. This message of sympathy, will be a great source of strength and enthusiasm to the struggling people. We learn that by adopting the 1950 list of voters instead of the 1951 voters list though belated for the conduct of general elections in Ceylon, the Ceylon Government

12th May 1952] [Sri K. R. Viswanathan]

have denied franchise rights to 8 or 9 lakhs of Ceylonese citizens of Indian origin. I may remind the Madras Government that 80 to 90 per cent of the Indians in Ceylon are Tamilians or at least from Madras and hence the responsibility of the Madras Government for securing to our unfortunate brethren their legitimate rights becomes all the greater.

"Though this matter has been there for well over a year, the Government of India did not intervene quickly to effect a settlement in favour of the Indian in Ceylon. They raised their protest through the High Commissioner of India in Ceylon only at the last moment when the Ceylon Government had come to a decision about the matter. The Government of India's suggestion to issue an ordinance, since the Parliament of Ceylon was not in session, to protect the rights of Indians was not accepted. The Premier of Ceylon said that he had to respect the wishes of his late lamented father in disfranchising Indians. The Premier of Ceylon did not want to go into the question whether this measure was just or not. He had simply to carry out the wishes and words of his father dead and gone. He did not think that the legitimate rights of several lakhs of people are at stake. It is a pity that Ceylon, a member of the Commonwealth, should turn down the request of the Government of India, a neighbouring country and a member of the Commonwealth, to reconsider its attitude in the matter of the just rights of the Indians in Ceylon. Again the repeated representations of the leaders of the Ceylonese Indian Congress fell on deaf ears as a result of which the Ceylon Indians had to launch the struggle of *satyagraha*. Their peaceful and non-violent struggle for a just and righteous cause will open the eyes of the Government of Ceylon to the injustice done to the large Indian community and thus pave the way for an honourable settlement. With these words, I support the motion."

* SRI H. SATYANARAYANA DORA :—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, 4 p.m. I have great pleasure in supporting the motion moved by the Hon. Minister. It is Indian capital and Indian labour that has contributed so much to the prosperity of Ceylon, and yet, nearly eight lakhs of Indians have been denied the right to participate in the general elections. Even now, Sir, Ceylon depends to a very large extent on us for certain very important materials. If they are denied, what will be the effect? Because our Government are good and generous, this kind of obstinacy is persisted in. Ceylon is just like a sister to India. I do hope that good sense would prevail and the large Indian population will be given the franchise. Some of my hon. Friends want to take stronger measures. But I am afraid we have to proceed very cautiously in the matter. Ceylon is as much an independent country as India. What did we do when a number of our people—lakhs and lakhs of our men—who were settled in Burma, were sent out from Burma? I am afraid this is a matter in which we have to proceed very cautiously, and I am sure the Hon. Minister's resolution is sufficient to express our feelings in the matter."

[12th May 1952

* SRI T. ANANTHA PAI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, there was a time when the people of India who settled down in all other countries were not given the status they deserved, because they were considered as coming from a slave country. Times have changed and India has become a free country. Times have changed and India has become a free country now. So also Ceylon. The condition of the people of Ceylon is not essentially different from that of the people of India. But all the same, India believes in democracy and has extended the right of voting to all those who wanted it. People from other countries who have settled here are given the right to vote. In my own constituency I know of a Swiss lady who is given the right to vote. She has spent most of her time in India. To-day all that the Government of India asks of Ceylon is to extend the right of voting to the people of India who have gone away from India and settled down in Ceylon for very many generations and made themselves part and parcel of that country. They have given their life-blood to see that the rubber and tea plantations of Ceylon prospered. They added considerably to the prosperity of the country. Their services were accepted in full, but unfortunately, they are not given the right to vote. I can say to-day that but for the exploitation of Indian labour, the Ceylonese would not have prospered to such an extent as they have to-day. By extending the right of voting to these Indians who want it, I do not think the Government of Ceylon will in any way change. It is the fundamental right that these Indians are asking for. It is just, right and proper that they should be given the right to vote. Any persistence in the denial of voting rights may endanger and strain the good relations existing between the two countries. India and Ceylon have got many great problems to solve, together, and it is unfortunate that there should be any sore in the relationship between these two countries which may make it difficult for them to pull together. The right of voting extended to these people will add to the fund of goodwill, that it has taken many years to build, and will help India and Ceylon to work together. If the right of voting is not extended, it would lead to the straining of relations between the two countries, and it would continue to be a sore for all time. When larger problems are expected to be handled, it is quite likely that the sore appears over and over again. Personally I do not wish that this matter should be referred to the United Nations at all. They have had sufficient number of problems referred to them and until those problems have been solved, it is not worth sending any more problems to them for solution. I would rather wish, as our friend Dr. Menon said, that a straight appeal is made to the people of Ceylon by the people of India that all those people of India who have settled in Ceylon are part and parcel of Ceylon, and that they should be regarded as such. It is not true to say that they will in any way come in the way of the economic development of the Ceylonese. All that they want is a right to play their role in the economic development of the country.”

“SRI K. R. SAMBANDAM :—கனம் சபாநாயகர் அவர்களே, கனம் சி. சுப்பிரமணியம் அவர்கள் கொண்டுவந்த இந்த பிரேரணையை நான் மனப்

12th May 1952] [Sri K. R. Sambandam]

பூர்வமாக ஆமோதிக்கிறேன். இப்பொழுது அதற்குக் கொண்டு வரப்பட்ட சில திருத்தங்களை—அவைகள் விரும்பப்படாத விஷயமாக இருப்பதால்—அவைகளை எதிர்க்கிறேன்.

“ சாதாரணமாக இப்பொழுது கனம் ஆர். வி. சுவாமிநாதன் அவர்கள் யு. என். ஓ.-க்கு இந்த விஷயத்தைக் கொண்டு போகலாம். என்று சொன்னார். சாதாரணமாக கார்ஷிப் பிரச்னை அங்கு எப்படி தீர்க்கப்பட்டது என்பது நமக்கு எல்லோருக்கும் தெரிந்த விஷயம். இந்த பிரச்சனையில் நாம் ஏதாகிலும் மனப்பூர்வமாகச் செய்யவேண்டுமென்றால் நாம் ஹைதராபாத் பிரச்சனையை எப்படி சீக்கிரத்தில் தீர்த்தோமோ அதேபோல் செய்யவேண்டும். இல்லையானால் இதில் எந்த விதமான முடிவும் வர்ப்பாது.

வற்பாது.
“இரண்டாவதாக கனம் கோசல்ராம் அவர்கள் பேசும்போது அங்கே இருக்கும்படியான இந்தியர்களை இங்கே கொண்டு வந்தால் ஒரு சமயம் இந்தப் பிரச்சினையை தீர்க்கலாம் என்று சொன்னார். இப்பொழுது இங்கே இருக்கும் வேலை இல்லாத திண்டாட்டப் படித்தவர்களுக்கும் படிக்காதவர்களுக்கும் இருக்கும் இந்த சூழ்நிலையில் அதுவும் பாகிஸ்தானிலிருந்து கொண்டு வரப்பட்ட அகதிகள் கூட இங்கு பிச்சை எடுக்கும் நிலையில் இருக்கும்போது இலங்கையிலிருந்து இந்தியர்களை இங்கு கொண்டு வந்தால் அவர்களை வைத்து இங்கு எப்படி சமாளிக்க முடியும் என்ற ஒரு காரணத்தை நாம் யோசித்துப் பார்க்க வேண்டியதாக இருக்கிறது. சாதாரணமாக நமது தென்னாட்டில் இருக்கும் மக்கள் அவர்களுடைய ஒரு சிறிய கருத்துக்களை வைத்துக்கொண்டு ‘திரைகடல் ஓடியும் திரவியம் தேடு’ என்ற பழமொழிக்கு ஏற்ப அவர்கள் தென் ஆப்ரிக்கா, மலேயா, மொரிஷஸ் முதலிய இடங்களுக்குப்போய் அந்த நாட்டை வளம்பெறச் செய்து, பணமுதலிய இடங்களுக்குப்போய் அந்த நாட்டை வளம்பெறச் செய்து, அவ்வித படுத்தி நல்ல நிலைமைக்குக் கொண்டு வந்திருக்கிறார்கள். அவ்வித நிலைமைக்குக் கொண்டு வந்தவர்களுக்கு இப்பொழுது அங்கே வாழவும் நிலைமைக்குக் கொண்டு வந்தவர்களுக்கு இப்பொழுது அங்கே வாழவும் கூடாது; பிறப்பு உரிமை கூட கிடைக்கவில்லை என்றால் அது யாராலும் ஆமோதிக்கக்கூடிய விஷயம் அல்ல. ஆகையினால் இந்த விஷயத்தை நாம் ஒரு முக்ய பிரச்சினையாகக் கருதி கூடிய சீக்கிரத்தில் இலங்கையில் இருக்கும் அவ்வளவு இந்திய மக்களுக்கும் பிரதிநிதித்துவமும் பிறப்புரிமையும் அவ்வளவு இந்திய மக்களுக்கும் பிரதிநிதித்துவமும் அயல் நாட்டுப் கொடுக்கப்பட வேண்டும் என்பதை நமது பிரதம மந்திரியும் அயல் நாட்டுப் பிரச்சினையில் இதையும் ஒரு முக்கிய பிரச்சினையாக எடுத்துக்கொண்டு, இந்த மாதிரியான விஷயத்தை உடனடியாகத் தீர்க்காவிட்டால் பிற்பாடு இந்த பிரச்சினையானது தீர்க்க முடியாமல் போய்விடும். இப்பொழுது தென் ஆப்ரிக்காவில் இதே மாதிரி போராட்டம் நடந்துகொண்டிருக்கிறது. அதே மாதிரி போராட்டம் இன்றைக்கு அங்கும் ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்டுவிடும். இன்னும் மாதிரி போராட்டம் இன்றைக்கு அங்கும் ஆரம்பிக்கப்பட்டுவிடும். இதர இடங்களிலும் மற்றும் மலேயா முதலிய இடங்களிலும் ஏற்படும் ஆகவே இலங்கை இந்திய மக்களின் உரிமைப் பிரச்சினையை ஒரு முக்கிய பிரச்சினையாக எடுத்துக்கொண்டு அதற்கு வேண்டிய நடவடிக்கைகள் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளப்பட்டுவேண்டும். அதற்கு வேண்டிய காரியங்களையும் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளப்பட்டுவேண்டும். என்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டு தக்க சமயத்தில் எடுத்துக்கொள்ளவேண்டும் என்று சொல்லிக்கொண்டு இந்த பிரச்சினையை முழுமனதுடன் ஆதரித்து அதற்குக் கொண்டு வந்த திருத்தப் பிரச்சினையை எதிர்த்து என்னுடைய பேச்சை இதுதான் முடித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறேன்.”

* SRI VAVILALA GOPALAKRISHNIAH :—“అధ్యక్షా, ఈ తీర్మానాన్ని నేను వృథాయంత్రాశ్చకముగా విలపిస్తున్నాను. కాని అసలు ఈ సిల్వానులో భారతీయుల విజయములో జరుగుచున్నటువంటి సంఘటనలకు మూలకారణమేదో ఆటో-చించగలవలసిన అవసరమున్నది. భారతీయులకట్లు ఇటువంటి సంఘటనలు ఒక పిల్లా-నులానే కాదు. ఈ సంఘటనలు రంగూనులో కూడ జరుగుచున్నవి, దక్షిణ పిల్లా-నులానే కాదు. ఈ సంఘటనలు రంగూనులో కూడ జరుగుచున్నవి, దక్షిణ ఆఫ్రికాలో జరుగుచున్నవి. భారతీయులు ఎక్కడ ఉంటే అక్కడ ఏదో కొన్ని సంఘటనలు జరుగుచూ నేయాడుచువి. భారతీయులు రంగూనులో ఉన్నా ఏదో ఒక సంఘటన, దక్షిణ ఆఫ్రికాలో ఉన్నా ఏదో ఒక సంఘటన వింటున్నాము. ఇప్పుడు

[Sri Vavilala Gopalakrishniah] [12th May 1952]

సిలోనులూ భారతీయులకు సామాన్య మానవునికి ఉండవలసిన హోటంగు హక్కుకూడా లేకుండా చేసినది. కనుక దీనికంతకు మూలవిరాట్ స్వరూపమేమిటో తెలుసుకోవాలి. ముఖ్యంగా మన దేశము కామస్వెల్తులూ ఉన్న భారతీయచేతనే ఈ ఆభావం; భారతీయులు కామస్వెల్తులూని దేశాలకు ఎక్కడికి వెళ్లినా అక్కడ వెళ్లగొట్టబడుతున్నారు. దీనికి ప్రధానకారణమేమంటే భారతదేశమునా ప్రజాస్వామిక ఉద్యమాలు చాలా ప్రబలంగా ఉన్నాయి. దీనికి సంబంధించినటువంటి ఆయా ప్రజాస్వామిక దేశాలూ ఆ ఉద్యమాలను నడుపుతున్నారు. కనుక, అటువంటి సంప్రదాయాన్ని నేరుకొన్నటువంటి భారతీయులను అక్కడనుండి వెళ్లగొట్టడమంటే, దీనికి కారణం సామాన్యవాద కుట్ర అనేది మాత్రము మరచిపోకూడదని కోరుతున్నాను. అందువల్ల నేను మనవిచేయునదేమనగా, ఈ విషయాన్ని U.N.O. కు తెలుపుకొంటే ఏమి ప్రయోజనముండదు. వారు దీని పరిశీలనకు విడో ఒక సబ్ కమిటీని నియమించుతారు. ఆ సబ్ కమిటీ ఎల్లకాలము ఈ విషయమై ఆలోచిస్తూనే ఉంటుంది. తుదకు U.N.O. యొక్క సమన్వేత లేకపోవచ్చు. కనుక U.N.O. కు తెలుపుకోవడంతో ఏమి ప్రయోజనంలేదు. అందువల్ల ప్రధానంగా మనము చేయవలసినదేమిటంటే, ఇప్పుడు మనము కామస్వెల్తులూ ఉన్నాము. సిలోనుకూడా కామస్వెల్తులూ ఉన్నాము. కాని కామస్వెల్తులూ ఉన్నందున మనము అనుభవిస్తున్న దేమిటంటే, భారతీయులు సిలోనులూ ఉంటే అక్కడనుండి మెడబట్టి నెట్టబడడం, దక్షిణాఫ్రికాలూ ఉంటే అక్కడనుండి మెడబట్టి నెట్టబడడం, రంగూనులూ ఉంటే అక్కడనుండి నెట్టబడడం జరుగుతున్నది. ఇదేనా మనము కామస్వెల్తులూ ఉన్నందుకు ఫలితము? కనుక మనము చేయవలసినదేమిటంటే మన ప్రభుత్వము కామస్వెల్తుల సమావేశానికి వెళ్లినప్పుడు ఈ సమస్యను అవ్వటం వచ్చించి మనదేశము కామస్వెల్తులూ ఉండి ఏమి ప్రయోజనము? ఎందుకు ఉండవలెను? ఇతర దేశాలలూ భారతీయులు నిరాదరింపబడి బహిష్కరింపబడుతున్నారు. వారికి సామాన్య పౌర హక్కులు కూడా ఇవ్వకుండా ఉన్నాయి. కనుక ఈ సమస్య న్యాయంగా పరిష్కరింపబడి ఇతర దేశాలలూ భారతీయులకు అన్ని సౌకర్యాలు, పౌరహక్కులు కల్పిస్తేనే గాని, లేకపోయిన మేము కామస్వెల్తులూ ఉండవలసికోలేదు అని వాదించవలసిందని కోరుతున్నాను. మన కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వము కామస్వెల్తులూ ఉండాలనే కోరుతున్నది. కాని భారతీయులు అన్నిచోట్లనూ ఈ మదిరి బహిష్కరింపబడుతుంటే కామస్వెల్తులూ ఉండి ఏమి ప్రయోజనము? ఇతరదేశాలవారు మనదేశంలోఉంటే వారికి మనము అన్ని పౌరహక్కులు ఇస్తున్నాము. హోటంగు హక్కుకూడా ఇస్తున్నాము. ఇంగ్లీషువారు ఉంటే వారికి హోటంగు హక్కుకూడా ఇస్తున్నాము. భిర్తావారుంటే వారికి హోటంగు హక్కు ఇస్తున్నాము. సిలోనీవారు ఉంటే వారికికూడా హోటంగు హక్కు ఇస్తున్నాము. దక్షిణాఫ్రికావారు ఉన్నా, వారికి ఇస్తున్నాము. అమెరికావారు ఉన్నా, వారికి ఇస్తున్నాము. ఈ మదిరి మన దేశంలో ఇతర దేశస్థులు ఎవరు ఉన్నప్పటికీ వారికి అన్ని పౌరహక్కులు ఇస్తూ, వారికి మనమంతో *commensurate* గా ఉండున్నప్పటికీ, భారతీయుల పట్ల ఇతరదేశస్థులు ఆ మదిరి ఉండడం లేదంటే చాలా విచారంగా ఉన్నది. కనుక నేను మనవిచేయునదేమనగా ఈ సమస్య పరిష్కారము U.N.O. ద్వారా ప్రయత్నించినా లాభములేదు. భారతీయులకు ఏ దేశములూ నైనా సామాన్య సిటిజన్షిప్ హక్కులను ఇవ్వకపోయినట్లైతే మేము కామస్వెల్తులూ సభ్యత్వాన్ని పెంచునే వడలుకొంటామని వేషవలసిందని కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వానికి తెలుపవలసిన కోరుతూ, ఇంతటికో నిరమించుకొంటున్నాను."

12th May 1952]

* SRI T. VISWANATHAM :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, I only rise to say that the House is unanimous on the subject of this resolution and that there is no difference of opinion in this matter. The disfranchisement of the Indians living in Ceylon is a matter of national concern, and on this we, the Opposition members, are in entire agreement with the Government. We only want that the Government should take effective steps. Some two years ago, we had a similar resolution passed in this House, and I do not know what steps were taken in pursuance of that resolution by the Central Government and what reply the Ceylon Government gave to the Central Government. This House, I believe, did not hear of any reply. However, this time at least I am standing here only to tell the Government that they must take effective steps, and that they must see that the Central Government also take effectives. It should not merely be a matter of representation, but it must be something more. We must put our heart and soul into the matter. I support the resolution.”

* THE HON. SRI C. RAJAGOPALACHARI :—“ Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a very significant fact that all sections of the House have warmly supported this motion regarding the citizenship rights of Indians in Ceylon. So far as these people that live in Ceylon and have lived in Ceylon and have made Ceylon their home are concerned, they are called Indians on account of the origin of their nationality and not on account of their present civic position. Indians in Ceylon for whom this resolution has been conceived are like people in America who speak English and who came from England or like the people in Canada who came from England and who speak English or like any other people who carry the culture and the language of their country of origin with them but who have worked heart and soul for the progress and the development of the country where they have landed and to which they belong now. It is, therefore, wrong for the people of Ceylon or any section of the people of Ceylon to look upon these people as if they were outsiders or foreigners. This is the fundamental error, the fundamental mischief in the whole attitude against which we are fighting now. There is a great deal of good reason that has been urged against the amendment that has been proposed by my hon. Friend Sri Swaminathan. It is contrary to the approach which I wish, for my part, should be made in this respect. We have to depend upon the better mind of the people of Ceylon. It is no use depending on an outsider for the purpose of putting pressure upon the people of Ceylon. Franchise acquired for 10 per cent of the population of Ceylon by means of pressure from abroad will be worth nothing; it will be not worth the paper on which that franchise is recorded. It is only when the people of Ceylon are convinced and their better mind has turned the other way round and given the franchise that these people are entitled to in justice, that the franchise will amount to something valuable. To make matters quite clear, let us imagine that 10 per cent of the Members of this House get their right in this House through pressure from abroad, be it from the U.N.O. or be it from

4-16 p.m.

[Sri C. Rajagopalachari] [12th May 1952]

any other great, big and powerful country; would that right carry any weight in this House? It is only when the House recognizes out of its own conviction the right of the 10 per cent—that the voice of even one-tenth or one-twentieth of the Members of this House will have great weight. What applies to the imaginary case that I have put forward applies to the whole of Ceylon. If the people of Ceylon really can be convinced that these emigrants from India who went there and tilled and worked and worked hard—some of them died, some of them fell sick, and from one generation to another they have worked—have looked upon Ceylon as their home, so much so that when they come back to India they really feel as absolute strangers in India, and if the people of Ceylon recognize the value of the service rendered by these people, then alone would their franchise be valuable, and it is on that basis that we claim the franchise. It is not as if we have sent 8 lakhs of people abroad to conquer that place or to get the franchise of that place and dominate over others. These 8 lakhs of people have settled in Ceylon as citizens of Ceylon and it is unfortunate that fear, apprehension and petty and narrow ideas of self-interest have prevented those who are in charge of the fortunes of Ceylon and of the politics of Ceylon from seeing the true position and they have not been able to recognize the plain justice of the case of these people for whom we are fighting. But we should never give up hope. It is no use thinking in terms of either economic, political or other pressure from outside and force being utilized as a means of getting the right, which like the Dead Sea fruit will be worthless as long as we acquire it through that pressure. It is only if we acquire it in the proper way that franchise will have any value. We do not hope and cannot hope that these eight lakhs of people will multiply in future and get numerical influence in the politics of the State. What we want is the right that belongs to them by reason of their attachment to Ceylon. Therefore, we should be patient. Neither the method that was referred to by one hon. Member who spoke as the method employed in bringing order in Hyderabad nor an appeal to the U.N.O. to be our arbiters and decide between us two cats fighting here, should be thought of and I beg of the hon. Member Sri Swaminathan to withdraw the amendment to this motion. This motion stands on higher grounds. Let it stand on its own legs.

“ Sir, many hon. Members from both sides of the House have referred to the influence which our Prime Minister, the Prime Minister of India can wield and ought to wield in this matter for the benefit of the people of Ceylon. He has great influence but that influence is born out of his gentleness, dignity, his peculiar amiability and his own personality. We cannot force a man to act apart from his own nature and hope to retain his influence. If we depend upon the influence of Mr. Nehru, we must depend upon his own ways, his own manners, his own amiability and his own utter gentleness and his moral power. If we want him to be powerful, we must allow him to act in his own way. But if we give him directions from here to

[12th May 1952] [Sri C. Rajagopalachari]

do this and to do that, in the first place, he will not do that because he is not a man who will give up his own ways and adopt other people's ways and suggestions, and even if he adopts other people's ways, it would not suit him. It has been laid down long ago in the Gita that no man can profit by acting against his own *dharma*—every man must act according to his own *dharma*—and *dharma* here means his own nature and make-up. There is no good trying to go against one's own nature. Therefore, let us leave it to the Prime Minister of India who is a great power. Let me tell my hon. Friends here that to-day the Prime Minister in Delhi is not less a power than Gandhiji was in his own time. In his own way he has a moral power of which all the biggest powers in the world are a bit nervous and are a bit afraid. Though we have no army worth mentioning, no navy worth the name, and no aircraft carrier and no personnel worth mentioning for the purpose of offensive and aggressive operations—yet we are very powerful. We seem to operate from a sphere a little higher than the air and stratosphere itself. We have got a moral level from which the Prime Minister speaks to the whole world and I do hope that the leaders of Ceylon will listen to it. We must be content with that and that is a great deal more powerful than force.

“ I do not want the debate to be diluted by any references to other methods which do not apply in this case. No section can get a place in democracy on any other basis except that of democracy. Therefore, the people of Ceylon must be persuaded. We must hope and try to get it done. The people of India who have gone and settled down in Ceylon, I have no doubt, look upon Ceylon as their home, but by reason of the present conflict, one eye of theirs is turned towards India. Because of the very conflict, the poor people who have not the franchise look to India for support. That, I hope, will not mislead the people of Ceylon to imagine that these are Indians and not really people of Ceylon. Adversity compels them to look to India. I can give my own personal experience in the matter. It is the villagers, the ordinary peasant folk, that have gone there. If they return to India to see distant relatives on occasions of death or marriage or during a holiday, they do not feel at home in India and they look eagerly to the date when they will get a passage to go back to Ceylon. Economic conditions also have produced that feeling. Causes produce effects and those effects cannot be ignored. It is the poverty of India that forced our people to go there. It is the industry of these people that developed Ceylon. It is the beauty of Ceylon and the fact that Ceylon is a good place that make the people wish to live in Ceylon and be loyal to it. Let us, therefore, look at the matter in a spirit of goodwill and I am sure one day or other it will bear fruit. After all, we must depend on forces of goodwill and not on forces of pressure. In this particular case, there is no use depending on pressure and I am quite certain in my mind and I must tell my hon. Friend Sri Swaminathan that I will never agree to send this issue to the United Nations Organization; whatever the reasons may be, it is unnecessary to

[Sri C. Rajagopalachari] [12th May 1952]

state them here in detail. We must somehow or other decide it between Ceylon and ourselves. Let us not yield to the temptation, without realizing it, of feeling more or less on imperialistic lines that our people have spread abroad all over South Asia, that we must have power everywhere, that we are a great people, and that we must fight it all out, and retain our influence and our power there. That is only a pale shadow of the imperialism which has gone from India and which we do not wish to imitate. Let us not think on those lines. Let us think on better lines, namely, that our people have gone and developed the prosperity and the wealth of the countries around us, that those people must and will recognize our place in those countries and when men have lived there permanently and even their language has been altered to a considerable extent, they must be treated as people of those countries. I can assure the people of Ceylon—many of them are my friends—that the Tamil-speaking labourer in Ceylon looks upon Ceylon as his own home and he speaks a Tamil which is different from the Tamil of the village to which he originally belonged and it is a crime to treat such people as citizens of India where they have no connexion at all and where they will only suffer if they come back. It is impossible to take these people back to India; we will never take them back to India whatever may be their misfortunes. We must make it quite clear to everybody that these people will not come back to India and that these people will be there either as a nuisance or as citizens. This is the crux of the matter. I hope that the amendment will be withdrawn and that this House will adopt this motion with one voice."

SRI R. V. SWAMINATHAN :—" In view of the reasons given by the Hon. the Chief Minister, I beg to withdraw my amendment."

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

MR. SPEAKER :—" The question is—

' That this Assembly expresses its deep sympathy with those citizens of Ceylon who having been settled in Ceylon for the benefit and development of the island and become citizens of Ceylon are, by a series of measures, sought to be excluded from the rights of citizenship conferred on the people of Ceylon.

' That this Assembly extends to these unfortunate citizens of Ceylon its fullest sympathy in their struggle for justice and equal civic rights.

' That this Assembly appeals to the better mind of the people of Ceylon to extend their support to their unfortunate brethren in their struggle for their legitimate rights.

' That this Assembly recommends to the Government to forward the above resolution to the Government of India for necessary action.' "

The motion was carried.

12th May 1952]

MR. SPEAKER :—" I adjourn the House to meet again at 11 a.m. on Friday, the 13th June 1952."

The House then adjourned to meet again at 11 a.m. on Friday, the 13th June 1952."

VII.—PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE OF THE HOUSE.
Amendment to the Malabar Tenancy Rules, 1951.

INDEX TO MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY DEBATES

FIRST SESSION OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA.

Volume I (Nos. 1 to 7).

3rd, 5th to 9th and 12th May 1952.

	PAGES
A	
Adityan, Sri S. T.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	52-53
Adjournment motion re— Arrest and "lathi charge" by the Police near the Assembly buildings on 6th May 1952	24-26
Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, promulgation of an order in Madras City on 6th May 1952	21-24
Anantha Pai, Sri T.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	42-43
Governor's Address, discussion on	78-80
Resolution re Citizenship rights in Ceylon	266
Appalaswami, Sri Bojja— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	47-48
Arumugam, Sri R. S.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	43
B	
Balakrishnan, Sri V.— Governor's Address, discussion on	108, 209
Resolution re citizenship rights in Ceylon	258-262
Bapanayya, Sri Guntur— Governor's Address, discussion on	105
Bhaktavatsalu Nayudu, Sri B.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	18, 56
Bills— Introduced	62
Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952— Message from the Governor re	61-62
Referred to Select Committee	225-245
Business of the House— — for 6th May 1952, announcement,	10
C	
Ceylon— Resolution re Citizenship rights of Indians in	245-272
Chadayan, Sri M.— Governor's Address, discussion on	137-138
Citizenship rights in Ceylon— Resolution re	245-272
Committees— Public Accounts Committee, Election to	61, 176
Condolence resolution re— Death of Dr. U. Rama Rao	211-212

	2	
		PAGES
	D	
Deccan Abkari and Sugar Factory— Question re Refusal of sugarcane by Deputy Speaker— Election of	219-222 17-19, 26-80	
Durgaprasad Veerabhadra Deo Bahadur, Sri V.— Governor's Address, discussion on	133-134	
	F	
Famine— Question re Prevalence of—Conditions in Tiruchirappalli district Fernandez, Mr. W. J.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	212-215 41-42	
	G	
Gajapathi Raju, Sri P. V. R.— Governor's Address, discussion on	167-168	
Gopala Menon, Sri N.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	49	
Gopalakrishnan, Sri P. K.— Governor's Address, discussion on Resolution re Citizenship rights in Ceylon	102 263-264	
Gopalakrishnaiah, Sri Vavilala— Bill—Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker Governor's Address, discussion on Resolution re Citizenship rights in Ceylon	228 238-240 35-36 105 206-207 267-268	
Gopalan, Sri K. P.— Governor's Address, discussion on Governor's Address to the Legislature— Discussion on	103 165-166 65-145 165-210	
Govinda Rao, Sri K.— Governor's Address, discussion on	104, 177	
Govindaswamy Nayagar, Sri A.— Governor's Address, discussion on	114-117	
	H	
Hanumantha Rao, Sri M.— Governor's Address, discussion on	104	
	J	
Jagannathan, Sri M.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	43-45	
	K	
Kalyanasundaram, Sri M.— Bill—Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 Governor's Address, discussion on Resolution re Citizenship rights in Ceylon See Questions and Answers.	228 106 254-256	
Kosalram, Sri K. T.— Resolution re Citizenship rights in Ceylon	252-254	

	3	
		PAGES.
	K—cont.	
Kotaiah, Sri Pragada— Governor's Address, discussion on	127-129	
Koti Reddi, Sri K.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	45-46 108	
Krishna Ayyar, Sri V. R.— Governor's Address, discussion on	129-133	
Krishna Rao, Sri K.— Bill—Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952	225-226 228, 235-236 243 33-34 101	
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker Governor's Address, discussion on	121-123	
See Questions and Answers		
Krishnan, Sri R.— See Questions and Answers.		
Kumaraswamy Raja Bahadur (Raja of Karvetnagar)— Governor's Address, discussion on	89-90	
	L	
Lakshmi Narasimha Dora, Sri R.— Bill—Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952	240-241 84-86	
Latchanna, Sri G.— Governor's Address, discussion on	62-63	
Legislative Assembly— Acoustics of the Chamber Meeting on 6th May 1952 for the Governor's Address, Precautionary measures taken by the Police, Adjournment motion, etc., re Question re Salary of Members	21-26 147-165, 215-219 223-225	
	M	
Malabar Tenancy Rules, 1951— See Papers laid on the table of the House	62	
Manickavelu Naicker, the Hon. Sri M. A.— Bills—Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill Governor's Address, discussion on	226-227, 244 174-179	
Menon, Dr. K. B.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker Governor's Address, discussion on Resolution re—Citizenship rights in Ceylon	30 101 112-114 251-252	
Message from the Governor re— Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952	61-62	
Muni Reddi, Sri M.— Governor's Address, discussion on	88-89	
Muthiah Chettiyar of Chettinad, Raja— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker Governor's Address, discussion on	36-37 73-77	
	N	
Nagarajan, Sri V. R.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker Governor's Address, discussion on	31-32 117-119	

	PAGES
N—cont.	
Nagi Reddi, Sri T.—	
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	27-28
Governor's Address, discussion on	96
Privilege motion re—	183-194
Criminal Procedure Code, section 144, orders with special reference to certain Legislature Parties	156
Narayana Kurup, Sri M.—	157, 161, 162
Governor's Address, discussion on	134-136
Narayana Nambiyar Sri T. C.—	
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	50-51
Governor's Address, discussion on	103, 204
Narayanawami Naidu, Sri G.—	
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	52
Neeladrirao Reddi, Sri Asi.—	
Governor's Address, discussion on	172-174
P	
Paddy—	
Question re Procurement price, enhancement of	222-223
Padmaprabha Gounder, Sri M. K.—	
Governor's Address, discussion on	91-93
Panel of Chairmen—	
Announcement re	225
Papers laid on the table of the House—	
Appropriation Accounts, 1949-50, Audit Report, 1951, Finance Accounts, 1949-50 and Audit Report, 1950	
Malabar Tenancy Rules, 1951, amendment to the	273
Periyaswami, Sri M. P.—	
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	49-50
Police—	
Adjournment motion re—	
Arrests and "lathi charge" near the Assembly buildings on 6th May 1952	24-26
Commissioner's order under section 144 in Madras City on 6th May 1952	21-24
Point of order re presence of policemen inside the Assembly Chamber	30-31
Privilege motion re Commissioner's order under section 144	147-165
Question re Commissioner's order under section 144 on 6th May 1952.	215-219
Privilege motion re—	
Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, orders of Commissioner of Police with special reference to certain Legislature Parties	65, 147-165
Public Accounts Committee—	
See Committees.	
Pulla Reddi, Sri C.—	
Governor's Address, discussion on	102
Q	
Questions and Answers—	
Kalyanasundaram, Sri M.—	
Question re—	
Deccan Abkari and Sugar factory, refusal of sugarcane by	219-222
Famine conditions in Tiruchirappalli district	212-215
Krishna Rao, Sri K.—	
Question re Legislative Assembly, salary of Members	223-225

	PAGES
5	
Q—cont.	
Questions and Answers—cont.	
Krishnan, Sri R.—	
Question re paddy, enhancement of the procurement price of	222-223
Venkateswarlu, Sri Pillalamarri—	
Question re—Orders under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, in Madras City, promulgation of	215-219
R	
Raghava Mudaliyar, Sri E. L.—	
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	18-49
Rajagopalachari, the Hon. Sri C.—	
Adjournment motion re—section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, promulgation of an order in Madras City on 6th May 1952	23-24
Arrests and "lathi charge" near the Assembly buildings on 6th May 1952	25
Bill—Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952	231
Condolence Resolution re death of Dr. U. Rama Rao	242-243
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	211
Governor's Address, discussion on	53-56
Privilege Motion re—Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, orders with special reference to certain Legislature Parties	194-202
Resolution re Citizenship rights in Ceylon	148
Rajagopala Rao, Sri K.—	153-159
Governor's Address, discussion on	161, 162
Rajan, Sri P. T.—	269-272
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	
See Speaker (Temporary).	
Rajeswara Rao, Sri M.—	
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	37-38
Governor's address, discussion on	
Raju, Sri K. T.—	
Privilege motion re section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, orders on certain Legislature Parties	32
Rama Rao, Dr. U.—	83-84
Condolence resolution re death of	
Ramakrishna Reddi, Sri B.—	
Governor's Address, discussion on	211-212
Ramalingam, Sri S.—	
Governor's Address, discussion on	93-96
Ramamurthi, Sri. P.—	
Bill—Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952	104
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	228-235
Governor's Address, discussion on	243
Privilege Motion re section 144, Criminal Procedure Code orders on certain Legislature Parties	53
Rama Rao, Sri G.—	74, 95, 107
Governor's Address, discussion on	109-112
Ramaswami Kander, Sri N. C.—	
Governor's Address, discussion on	159-161
Ramaswamy Naidu, Sri S.—	
Governor's Address, discussion on	105
Governor's Address, discussion on	126-127
Governor's Address, discussion on	69-73

R—cont.

Ramesam, Sri K. V.— Governor's Address, discussion on	86-88
Rao, Sri C. V. K.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	43
Governor's Address, discussion on	105, 106
Resolution re Citizenship rights in Ceylon	247, 242-248
Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952— See Bills.	
Resolution re— Citizenship rights in Ceylon	245-272
Rama Rao, Dr. U., death of	211-212
Rulings— Bills—Point of order raised that the Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill is <i>ultra vires</i> of the constitu- tion as the Bill did not provide for payment of Compensation. Ruled that the Bill was in order and that the ultimate authority to decide whether it was " <i>ultra vires</i> " was really the Court and not the Speaker	225
Debate— "Written speeches" permitted in the case of maiden speeches ..	69
Decorum— (i) Clapping of hands not allowed. No objection to thumping on the tables	74, 109
(ii) Visitors in Visitors' Gallery should not clap their hands ..	16, 120
(iii) Members should not cross the floor between the Speaker and a Member addressing the Speaker	32, 83
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker— (i) A nominated Member also can participate in the election ..	14
(ii) There is no objection to a Minister who is not a Member of the Assembly (but a Member of the Council) making a speech congratulating the Speaker on his election	53
Governor's Address—Resolution of Thanks—Amendment— A "No-Confidence Motion" cannot be moved by way of an amendment to the Resolution of Thanks but can be moved only according to the relevant rules in the Madras Assembly Rules and subject to the restrictions imposed by them	101
Publication in the Press— Amendments should not be published in the Press before they are admitted by the Speaker	68
Unparliamentary Expressions— "Challenge" is parliamentary, but not "Challenge for a fight" ..	183
"Nonsense" and "Nonsensical prejudices" are parliamentary ..	197
Sahajananda, Sri A. S.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	39-40
Resolution re—Citizenship rights in Ceylon	263
Sambandam, Sri K. R.— Resolution re Citizenship rights in Ceylon	266-267
Sankarappa, Sri B.— Governor's Address, discussion on	104
Satyanarayana Dora, Sri H.— Resolution re Citizenship rights in Ceylon	265
Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code— Adjournment motion re order under—in Madras City on 6th May 1952	21-24
Privilege motion re order under—in Madras City on 6th May 1952 ..	147-165
Question re order under—in Madras City on 6th May 1952	215-219

S—cont.

Seetharamaiah, Sri D.— Governor's Address, discussion on	107
Seethi, Janab K. M.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	40-41
Governor's Address, discussion on	105
Resolution re Citizenship rights in Ceylon	124-126, 207 262-263
Siddanna Gowd, Sri B.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	45
Sivaprakasam, Sri V. S.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	108
Sivarama Reddy, Sri N.— Governor's Address, discussion on	16, 56-60
Sivashanmugam Pillai, Sri J.— Elected as Speaker	138-142
See Speaker, Mr.	
Somayajulu, Sri S.— Governor's Address, discussion on	
Speaker, Mr.— Adjournment motion re— Arrest and "lathi charge" near the Assembly buildings on 6th May 1952 (ruled out of order)	24-26
Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, order promulgated in Madras City on 6th May 1952 (ruled out of order)	24
Announcement re— Panel of Chairmen	225
Public Accounts Committee, Election to	61
Bill—Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 ..	62, 63
225, 226-228	
232, 242-245	
211, 212	
Condolence Resolution re death of Dr. U. Rama Rao	13-16
Election of Sri J. Sivashanmugam Pillai as—	26-60
Election of Deputy Speaker	17, 18
Governor's Address, discussion on	19, 65, 68 94, 95, 100-101, 177
Privilege motion re section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, orders with special reference to certain Legislature Parties	66 147-152, 154-156, 180-162
See Rulings.	
Speaker, Temporary (Sri P. T. Rajan)— Announcement re— New Members, swearing-in of	1-2, 6-7 13-16
Speaker, election of	
Subramaniam, the Hon. Sri C.— Bill—Madras Requisitioned Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952 ..	244
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	26-27
Governor's Address, discussion on	89
Public Accounts Committee, Election of Members to— Resolution re Citizenship rights in Ceylon	179-183 61, 176 245-247
Sugar factory— Question re refusal to take sugarcane by Deccan Abkari and Sugar factory	219-222
Suvarna, Sri N. N.— Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	51-52

	PAGES
S—cont.	
Swaminathan, Sri R. V.—	
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	39
Governor's Address, discussion on	168-170
Resolution re—Citizenship rights in Ceylon	248
	249-251, 272.
Swayamprakasam, Sri S.—	
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	49
Swearing-in of Members	1-7, 9, 11, 19
T	
Thimma Reddi, Sri P.—	
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	30
Governor's Address, discussion on	80-83
U	
Uppi, Janab K.—	
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	31
V	
Varadarajulu Naidu, Dr. P.—	
Resolution re Citizenship rights in Ceylon	256-258
Veerabhadram, Sri M.—	
Governor's Address, discussion on	106
Vemiah, Sri S.—	
Governor's Address, discussion on	136-137
Venkatasubba Reddi, Sri T. N.—	
Governor's Address, discussion on	66-68
Venkateswarlu, Sri Pillalamarri—	
Adjournment motion re Arrests and "lathi charge" near the	24-25
Assembly buildings on 6th May 1952	227, 228
Bill—Madras Requisition of Land (Continuance of Powers) Bill, 1952	242
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	32-33
Governor's Address, discussion on	102
	170-172
See Question and Answers.	
Viswanatham, Sri T.—	
Adjournment Motion re—Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code,	21-22
order promulgated in Madras City on 6th May 1952	212
Condolence resolution re death of Dr. U. Rama Rao	28-29
Election of Speaker and Deputy Speaker	75, 95
Governor's Address, discussion on	97-101
Privilege motion re—Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, order	
passed on 6th May 1952 with special reference to certain	65,
Legislative Parties	147-152, 155-157, 161-162
Resolution re Citizenship rights in Ceylon	269
Viswanathan, Sri K. R.—	
Governor's Address, discussion on	90-91
Resolution re Citizenship rights in Ceylon	264-265
Yellamra Reddi, Sri G.—	
Governor's Address, discussion on	104

61018
 V211, 31 'N52'
 N53-131